

Poverty & Race

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The "School to Prison Pipeline"

The growing awareness of disproportionate rates of incarceration among young African-American men—and the severe consequences of even short-term incarceration for education, employment, housing and access to opportunity—have prompted a new search for answers and solutions among civil rights and anti-poverty organizations. This inquiry began (and continues today) with a range of research and advocacy to address the racial bias inherent in the criminal justice system—in the interaction of racial profiling, jury bias, inadequate and unequal indigent defense systems, and racially skewed sentencing laws. More recently, the focus has turned to the causes of racialized outcomes operating within juvenile justice systems.

In this issue of Poverty & Race, we profile a new generation of research and advocacy that looks at how schools and other government-based systems operate to increase the likelihood that children of color will eventually become involved with the juvenile justice system, often with lifelong harmful consequences. We have asked experts from four organizations that are doing complementary work in this area to share their insights and approaches: Daniel Losen from the Harvard Civil Rights Project discusses the important scholarly work the Project has sponsored, particularly on the issue of disproportionate drop-out rates, and its implication for advocates; Michael Wenger of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies profiles the work of the Dellums Commission, which, like the Children's Defense Fund, is looking for answers not just in schools, but in all of the systems that affect children and their families; Judith Browne and Monique Dixon from the Advancement Project describe their work in aggressively confronting the role played by school discipline policies in contributing to disparate rates of minority incarceration; and Morna Murray from the Children's Defense Fund summarizes the key conclusions of CDF's new "Cradle to Prison Pipeline" project.

We expect that many of these mechanisms will turn out to have a geographic component: There are few systems more effective than residential segregation in permitting structural inequality of this kind to thrive— but at the same time, we know that many of the racially disparate outcomes will be not be easily explained by place. The structural roots of inequality can follow lower-income children even into high-opportunity settings, and these reports suggest that we must continue to be vigilant in our efforts to keep the next generation of at-risk children out of jail, and out of our juvenile justice systems.

Re-Directing the School to Prison Pipeline

by Daniel J. Losen

In 1999, Christopher Edley, Co-Director of The Civil Rights Project at Harvard University (CRP), following Jesse Jackson's bold defense of suspended students in Decatur, Illinois, told his staff that he had scheduled a meeting with Education Secretary Richard Riley and requested CRP to create a briefing document on racial dis-

parities in school discipline for possible use during that meeting. CRP reviewed the literature and crunched some of the discipline data compiled by the Office For Civil Rights of the US Department of Education, along with data from the the US Department of Justice's Office of Juvenile Justice

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and Delinquency Prevention, as well as numerous other sources. We were able to use the empirical evidence we found to frame the issue that had come up in Decatur as a part of an egregious national trend toward increasingly harsh use of suspension, intensifying the disproportionate suspension of Black and Latino children from school.

Having worked very closely with Penda Hair and Judith Browne of the Advancement Project on a number of issues, we joined forces once more and in June of 2000 put together a Summit on Zero Tolerance that was co-sponsored with the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition, the League of United Latin American Citizens and the National Coalition of Advocates for Students. The Summit keynote was delivered by Rev. Jackson, with participation by Jonathan Kozol and numerous civil rights leaders, together with parents, students, researchers and national education leaders and policymakers.

Together, the Summit participants resolved to keep the issue in the limelight and to continue the collaboration while bringing what strengths we each had to the issue. One immediate outgrowth from the Summit was a joint "Action Kit" we produced with the Advancement Project, consisting of advocacy guidance to combat discrimination in school discipline.

In May 2003, CRP convened researchers and advocates in a two-day

School to Prison Pipeline Conference. CRP's work commissioning new research for this conference typifies our role working to serve as a catalyst for producing the best research on a given topic and raising awareness of it, so that civil rights advocates and educational policymakers will have the best evidence at their disposal in formulating arguments and seeking remedies.

In this case, research presented at the conference combined prior research on high-stakes testing, special education and drop-outs with new information on issues ranging from racial disparities in alternative disciplinary schools and programs serving public school students removed from regular

That racial disparity in school discipline and achievement mirrors racially disproportionate minority confinement was readily apparent.

classrooms for school code violations, to the economic benefits of a host of intervention programs. That racial disparity in school discipline and achievement mirrors racially disproportionate minority confinement was readily apparent. Our work in this area has continued to evolve, with a focus on using research to inform our collaboration with leading advocates toward stimulating meaningful school and juvenile justice reforms.

In the fall of 2003, we published *Deconstructing the School to Prison Pipeline*. The book introduction provides empirical evidence supporting a conceptual overview of the pipeline, and the chapters that follow offer detailed analyses of selected aspects of the pipeline, including research outlining the economic benefits of promising interventions.

In October 2004, CRP convened a roundtable, co-sponsored by NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund (LDF), with advocates, researchers and policymakers from across the nation, concentrating on the pipeline issues as they arose in four states: Texas, California, North Carolina and Mas-

sachusetts. In addition to this work, in 2004 we conducted and disseminated new research revealing the desperately low graduation rates of Black, Latino and Native American students, especially males.

Our parallel research and advocacy efforts to highlight the drop-out crisis emphasize the need to report more accurate figures on graduation and drop-out rates, disaggregated by race, as well as the abject failure of states and the federal government to implement the accountability for improving graduation rates delineated in the No Child Left Behind Act. In drawing attention to this crisis we have increasingly emphasized the connection between the disproportionate number of students of color who attend "drop-out factories" (high schools where fewer than 60% of the entering freshmen graduate with a diploma) and the increased risk that drop-outs face of winding up in prison. For our 2004 national report, "Losing Our Future" (jointly released with The Urban Institute and Advocates for Children of New York), and subsequent reports on California (March 2005) and the South (April 2005), we teamed up with national scholars, including Robert Balfanz, Chris Swanson and Russell Rumberger. After detailing the deep racial dimensions of the crisis down to the district level, the report provides estimates of the millions upon millions of dollars in related lost wages and higher prison costs associated with dropping out of school. Many national and state news media, some in front-page stories, have used the data provided in our reports, disaggregated by race and gender.

Our current pipeline-focused initiative has two components. The first entails a collaborative effort with LDF, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Center for Law & Social Policy, the Mental Health Legal Advisors Committee and many others, finishing written guidance requested by roundtable attendees. This advice- and resource-filled document is to be released by December, and will contain legal background information on

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The O'Connor Project: Intervening Early to Eliminate the Need for Racial Preferences in Higher Education

by Lisbeth B. Schorr

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Over the half-century since the US Supreme Court's ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*, our nation has struggled to fulfill its commitment to racial equality. In *Brown*, the Court recognized the indispensable role that equal education opportunity would play in achieving that goal. Yet, not long after *Brown*, the country's courts and political leaders seemed to agree that after centuries of slavery and racial exclusion, equal opportunity alone would not be enough to ensure African Americans an equal stake in our nation's social, cultural and economic life. Policies of racial preferences were implemented to provide African Americans greater access to educational, employment and other opportunities. By the end of the 20th Century, the backlash against these affirmative action policies threatened to bring progress toward racial inclusiveness to a halt.

In 2003, however, the US Supreme Court's decision in *Grutter v. Bollinger* (539 U.S. 306 [2003]) upheld the constitutionality and desirability of diversity programs that take race into account and which, in effect, accord racial preferences to African-American applicants to graduate school. In her opinion for the Court, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor emphasized the limited extent to which these preferences may be relied upon by university administrators. She also imposed a durational limitation on their use, declaring her expectation that racial preferences in higher education

will no longer be necessary in 25 years.

Justice O'Connor's expectation is realistic if, and only if, the nation acts promptly to put in place the measures that would eliminate, or substantially reduce, racial disparities that occur between birth and young adulthood. Figuring out the actions needed is the easier part, because the knowledge about what works to reduce these disparities now exists, waiting only to be assembled and disseminated in actionable form. The hard part—mobilizing

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the political will to implement this agenda—will require a major effort by American opinion leaders, black and white.

Here is what we can and must do to reduce or eliminate racial disparities early in life and thereby eliminate the need for racial preferences at the university level:

- First, reduce racial disparities in birth outcomes.
- Second, reduce the disparities in school readiness.
- Third, attack racial disparities in the outcomes of kindergarten through 12th-grade education.
- Fourth, reduce significant racial disparities in the successful transition to young adulthood.

A fundamental tenet of the agenda laid out here, which I call "The O'Connor Project," is that in a nation

in which a legacy of slavery and Jim Crow plays such a powerful and destructive role, no single, isolated change can bring about conditions where racial preferences will be unnecessary. What is needed, rather, is a combination of actions that would eliminate racial disparities at each decisive stage of development. As Harvard professor William Julius Wilson, leading scholar of urban poverty, has pointed out, to "drastically reduce and eventually eliminate the environmental differences that create the present gap in black and white achievement," we must "attack all aspects of the structure of inequality." This is a daunting challenge, but one that this nation can meet by building on widely shared and strongly held values—the importance of education, family responsibility and social justice.

One encouraging recent development is the establishment at Harvard University of the new Charles Hamilton Houston Institute for Race and Justice, headed by Harvard law professor Charles J. Ogletree Jr. The institute will help lead efforts to rally national support for the actions envisioned as part of The O'Connor Project (see Box, page 5).

Implementation of this agenda will change life trajectories as today's children become healthier, better educated and better prepared to succeed in good jobs and to be tomorrow's effective parents. This progress, especially in the context of economic growth, will produce further inroads against racism and discrimination.

What follows is a brief review of the state of understanding of the strategies that we must build on as we seek to reduce racial disparities in crucial outcomes between birth and young adulthood.

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Disparities in Birth Outcomes

Damaging birth outcomes, such as low birthweight, are found twice as often among African-American babies as among whites and are associated with serious cognitive impairments, behavioral and learning disorders, and health problems—all of which predispose children to school failure. The causes of racial disparities in infant health can be environmental, such as an exposure to toxic substances; socioeconomic, including poor housing or nutrition, dangerous neighborhoods or lack of social support; behavioral, including the abuse of drugs or alcohol; or medical, such as the lack of access to prompt, high-quality prenatal care. In addition, unintended, unwanted or early pregnancies, also characterized by racial disparities, are associated with a greater risk of developmental delays, lack of stimulating home environments, and lower levels of cognitive and educational attainment.

A wealth of knowledge is available to improve birth outcomes and reduce teen births through, among other things, universal health insurance coverage; universal access to age-appropriate, reproduction-related health education; changes in the policies and practices of health care providers, including prenatal care and family planning services; and efforts to spread community norms that hold that all births should be intended and wanted, when young people are ready for parenthood.

Disparities in School Readiness

Perhaps the most dramatic race-based disparities occur before children enter school. Children who start behind as toddlers are likely to be left behind in the course of schooling. The number of words in a typical three-year-old black child's vocabulary falls

below the 20th percentile of the national distribution. Similar disparities appear when the comparisons are by the occupational status of the children's families. In 2002, Kansas City three-year-olds in professional families knew an average of 1,116 words, while three-year-olds in families receiving welfare benefits knew an average of only 525 words. These are disturbing findings when one considers that early vocabulary development is strongly associated with later school performance.

By harnessing the tremendous growth in understanding of how children's later prospects are affected by their early physical well-being, and by the stimulation, caring relationships and supports they experience long before they enter school, we could sig-

No single isolated change can bring about conditions where racial preferences will be unnecessary.

nificantly reduce the existing racial gap in how well young children are equipped for school learning.

The remedies here lie in improved child health care, and in strengthening the two domains in which young children spend their time: the family and out-of-home child care.

Improved child health care. In many American cities, health problems such as untreated vision and hearing defects, lead poisoning, poor nutrition and asthma—all of which interfere with normal development and learning—are found in African-American children at two to three times the incidence among white children. Moreover, racial disparities extend to medical care itself. For example, among children ages 1 to 5 with the same health conditions, African-American children are half as likely as white children to receive prescription medication.

The answer is to extend health insurance coverage to all children under 18 years of age, and to make competent, continuing and culturally sensitive health care available through a

readily accessible source of care, which pediatricians like to call a "medical home," that is closely connected to other community resources.

Improved home environments. The family's role in providing the interactions and stimulation so crucial to school readiness is widely recognized, but there is much skepticism about how much change in the ways families deal with their children can be brought about from outside the family. It is encouraging, then, that a rich array of successful, albeit scattered, community-based efforts are already in place that show it can be done. On a small scale that can surely be expanded, these programs are daily enhancing the capacity and impetus of families to read to young children at home, to engage them in rich conversations and to limit television viewing.

In Harlem, new parents learn effective parenting techniques in nine Saturdays of "Baby College" and in home visits from trained parent educators. In Okolona, Mississippi, syndicated columnist William Raspberry's "Baby Steps" program shows parents how to use ordinary kitchen items to teach word recognition while inspiring an entire town to read to its children, tutor them and make its preschoolers "the smartest in northeast Mississippi." All over the country, parents are encouraged to read with their children by gifts of free children's books from pediatricians, libraries and family support centers, and through burgeoning adult literacy programs.

Higher-quality child care. Child care that meets high standards of quality and promotes social, emotional and cognitive development is an essential component of any school-readiness strategy. Because young children develop so rapidly between birth and school entry, many of the skills, abilities and dispositions that go into school readiness are learned in child care and early education programs. Once again, we have plenty of examples of where it's being done right, but systemic changes are required to build on these successes so that all children, especially African Americans, will have

access to the high-quality early care and education programs that are most likely to have a positive impact.

The characteristics these programs share include, among other things:

- Child groupings small enough, together with adult-child ratios low enough, to permit young children, especially babies and toddlers, to have one-on-one time with caregivers;
- Staff turnover low enough to allow stable, continuing relationships to develop between individual children and adults;
- Staff who are culturally sensitive and responsive to the interests and needs of families;
- Staff who encourage active involvement and participation by parents and provide support to mothers and other family members to strengthen their child-rearing capacities;
- Opportunities for children to interact socially with other children and adults in diverse situations, so that they learn to take turns, remember and follow directions, and use adults as sources of information, discipline and enjoyment;
- Staff and parents who have high, age-appropriate expectations for children's behavior and ability to learn and achieve; and
- Recognition that school readiness is more than a set of mechanical skills.

This last characteristic means less reliance on didactic, adult-directed teaching of isolated skills, such as naming letters, and more emphasis on instruction that is individualized and builds on children's current understandings, such as engaging them in problem-solving and manipulation of materials.

Disparities in K-12 Education

America's primary and secondary schools currently operate in ways that simply do not produce a high enough proportion of minority youngsters graduating from high school with the skills to succeed in four-year colleges,

Harvard Achievement Gap Projects

Harvard University researchers are organizing two new initiatives to address the nation's achievement gap challenges. With a focus on racial and ethnic gaps, the Achievement Gap Initiative (AGI) organized three public forums last spring to engage students, educators and the public from the Boston area. It also held a research conference in June, attended by more than 60 researchers from around the nation. The AGI's Faculty Chair and Director is economist and education researcher Ronald F. Ferguson of Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

In addition to producing new research, the AGI will help inform The O'Connor Project, a public-engagement response to Justice Sandra Day O'Connor's assertion that af-

firmative action should be unnecessary a quarter century from now. The project was initially an initiative of the Charles Hamilton Houston Institute that Harvard Law Professor Charles Ogletree founded and will formally launch in September. Ferguson and Ogletree have now joined forces, making The O'Connor Project a joint initiative of the AGI and the Houston Institute, and the two will be Co-Directors. The O'Connor Project aims to inform and engage citizens from all levels of the society in an emergent social movement to help close achievement gaps. Prof. Ferguson can be reached through Sarah_McCann@harvard.edu, Prof. Ogletree through ovitsky@law.harvard.edu.

much less in graduate work. Compared with their white counterparts, black children enter schools that have larger class sizes, undertake less outreach to parents, have fewer well-pre-

The knowledge about what works now exists.

pared and experienced teachers, and are located in areas where safety is an issue. Many have such high mobility rates that a school with an enrollment of 1,000 pupils will have had to try to teach as many as 2,000 different children at some time during the year.

Of the approximately 1.2 million black and Hispanic 18-year-olds in the United States in the year 2000, only about half actually graduated from high school with a regular diploma. Only a quarter had taken the high school courses that would allow them to apply to even the least selective four-year colleges.

The remedies for this start with excellent teachers with high expectations and schools of a size where every child

is known by a school adult. These are measures that will obviously benefit whites as well as blacks. But after that, the remedies must differentiate by context. In schools where students of color are in the minority, the most promising strategies to reduce racial disparities focus on recognizing and changing the subtle and complex institutional practices that perpetuate the gap in academic opportunities, and on convincing those who benefit most from existing arrangements that this is not a zero-sum game. Numerous studies have shown that minority students' progress can occur without detracting from the achievement of white students.

This is not, however, the situation for most black youngsters, nearly half of whom attend high schools from which the majority of students who enter ninth grade never graduate. Only 11% of white students attend such high schools. Thus, the biggest risk factor for dropping out of school before graduating is not a personal or even a family characteristic; rather, it is attending a high school in which gradu-

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ation is not the norm.

A preponderance of research and experience now suggests that the strategies that would change outcomes in these predominantly poor and minority schools involve staffing them with the best and most experienced teachers and adopting a principle enunciated long ago by W.E.B. DuBois: the combination of strong social support with high levels of "academic press." The Consortium on Chicago School Research proposes that neither social support nor academic press alone is sufficient, but that the combination can significantly change outcomes. The Consortium has concluded that the most successful schools are able to create school and classroom environments that: (1) promote strong, caring and supportive personal relationships between students and teachers, parents and other students; and (2) place a heavy emphasis on high expectations for academic success, rigor and conformity to specific standards of achievement.

Of course, it is not easy to create schools with these characteristics, but as more and more education leaders around the country become engaged in precisely this enterprise, the lessons from experience are accumulating and showing the way, so that not only individual schools but whole districts will be able to reorganize on the basis of these principles.

Disparities in Transition to Adulthood

The greatest risk factors that stack the odds against a smooth transition into adulthood are: dropping out of school, becoming an unmarried teen mother, becoming involved with the juvenile justice or foster care system, and living in a neighborhood of concentrated poverty and unemployment. Each of these risk factors occurs disproportionately among African-American youth.

This essay has already explored some of the actions needed to reduce

racial disparities with regard to school drop-out and teen parenting. What follows are some proposals for reducing racial disparities resulting from the prevailing practices of the foster care and juvenile justice systems and from the persistence of neighborhoods of concentrated poverty.

The foster care and juvenile justice systems, with a few exceptions, are not working well for most American youngsters, but young people of color are the worst off. For many, involvement with these systems not only fails to support healthy development, but actually adds more risk factors to the burdens they already carry. African-American youngsters are more likely to be in residential or group care instead of family foster care, they stay in out-of-home care longer, and they

Children who start behind as toddlers are likely to be left behind in the course of schooling.

are least likely to be reunified with their families. The number of youth detained in secure detention facilities, which is perhaps the most significant predictor of a non-mainstream adulthood, has increased by almost 100% since 1985. Virtually all of this growth can be accounted for by the greatly increased rates of detention for youth of color.

Although they have rarely done so in the past, and despite the fact that these systems have proven inordinately resistant to change, they could, as a few such systems have demonstrated, partner with communities in ways that move them beyond a purely punitive to a supportive role in the lives of heretofore marginalized individuals and neighborhoods. They could do much to ensure that the young people over whom they exercise authority have or obtain, among other things, needed skills, education, and physical and mental health services; financial, vocational, entrepreneurial and recreational resources that connect them to

mainstream prospects; and access to caring adults who provide them with the support they need to persevere in their pursuit of change, and to overcome their sense of exclusion and inadequacy.

Finally, we have learned much about how to reduce the risk factors facing the young people who live in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty and unemployment. Nearly four decades after federal legislation outlawed residential segregation, *de facto* segregation persists. Blacks continue to experience more severe racial isolation due to residence than any other racial group, as well as the accompaniments of racial isolation, including concentrated social and economic disadvantage, high rates of crime and unemployment, and deteriorated and unsafe housing. All of these factors contribute to the racial disparities in the transition to adulthood. All of them make it more likely that even strong families cannot protect their children against the magnetic pull of the streets.

The remedies here start with more jobs that pay a living wage and stronger income supports. Additional tools are community-based. Among them: programs to promote homeownership, which is linked to family and neighborhood stability, increased civic participation and social networks; community policing and other efforts to make disinvested neighborhoods safe and attractive; local initiatives to develop and maintain libraries, recreation centers, after-school programs, community centers, parks and play spaces; and local enforcement measures to eliminate abandoned buildings, drug houses and drug dealing, and violations by absentee landlords. Finally, systematic efforts at the community level are required to provide opportunities for youths to connect with and establish solid, trusting relationships with competent and caring adults from outside their own families.

There is little question that the agenda outlined in this essay would sharply reduce racial disparities in

children's birth-related issues, health, school readiness and transition to young adulthood. It would thereby also help eliminate the need for racial preferences beyond the year 2028, as Justice O'Connor's decision in the *Grutter* case requires. Many of the answers about what to do exist, and need only to be put together in actionable form. Our understanding of how to do it may be less refined than we wish, but much of that learning can be assembled as we go. We undeniably have, today, the actionable intelligence we need in order to get started. Now we must mobilize the political will to implement this agenda of both structural and individual change, so that the nation can realize Justice O'Connor's goal for the nation by 2028.

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New Witt Internship Award

PRRAC's 2005 Edith Witt Internship Award goes to Teaching for Change and their intern Katie Li. Teaching for Change (our partner in publishing *Putting the Movement Back Into Civil Rights Teaching*), a wide-ranging local and national education reform organization, will assign Katie to two projects: (1) examining the curriculum for Asian-American students in DC schools, leading to recommendations for changes, particularly in language arts and social studies; 2) strengthening the Asian-American components of *PTM...*, in terms both of lessons and outreach. Katie is a recent graduate of Holy Cross and a 2004 National Harry S. Truman Scholar, with previous experience with Greater Boston Legal Services, Chinatown (Boston) Resident Association and other groups.

Ronald Ferguson, a professor at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, heads a University-wide project, "The Achievement Gap Initiative." Last June 21, he held a meeting of education researchers, which I was fortunate enough to be invited to attend. He opened the day-long session by reading this moving poem, one of many student- and education-oriented poems he has written. He can be reached at ronald_ferguson@harvard.edu — CH

Transformation

*I started kindergarten
Two or three big steps behind.
Some classmates understood things
That had never crossed my mind.*

*The kids who looked real different
Seemed so smart (I can recall). Kids who
looked and spoke like I did
Didn't seem so smart at all.*

*Of course there were exceptions,
But on mostly any day,
It was clear **those** kids were doing best
And we were just okay.*

*Our teachers liked them better
'Cause they always knew the answers,
So kids like me just tried to be
Good athletes and great dancers.*

*The years went by quite slowly
And most things just stayed the same,
Until our principal decided
It was time to change the game.*

*She hinted that the reason
When those other kids did best
Was that many knew already
More of what was on the tests.*

*They learned it from their parents
And from things they did at home.
Much that I and my companions
Never had the chance to know.*

*That had always been the pattern.
Yes for years it was the same.
But the standards movement came along
To finally change the game.*

*Now that there's a new prescription
For the way our school is run,
Everybody's got new goals to reach.
It's getting to be fun!*

*We're learning to get smarter
'Cause our teachers show us how.
They're all serious about it.
Everyone's important now!*

*Time in class is so exciting
That we seldom fool around.
We might make a joke in passing,
But we quickly settle down.*

*After school we do our homework.
Often in our study groups.
When we need them we have tutors
And they give us all the "scoops."*

*If there's something that's confusing,
It's a temporary thing
'Cause the teachers love to answer
All the questions that we bring.*

*All the counselors and teachers
Work with parents as team
'Cause they share the same commitment
To connect us with our dreams.*

*I love the way things are now.
It all just seems so right!
We still play sports and we're still cool,
But now we're also "bright."*

*That first day of kindergarten
Some of us were way behind.
But today I'm graduating
In a truly different time.*

© Ronald F. Ferguson, June 2000.

(PIPELINE: Continued from page 2)

school and civil rights law, examples of promising or successful legal strategies, cites to relevant cases, statutes and regulations, and other types of advocacy recommendations specifically designed for advocates who are litigating in defense of youth on the prison track or are seeking reforms through impact litigation and/or state legislation. It will provide advocates with some substantive tools for reform in a user-friendly format so that ultimately we can foster effective practices, and better identify and prevent problems.

We are also continuing to develop the research base. Through our close work with civil rights advocates on the front lines, CRP, under the leadership of Director Gary Orfield (Professor Edley is now Dean of the University of California-Berkeley Law School), is better able to focus our efforts on those aspects of the problem that need a clearer knowledge base and research-driven recommendations for corrective action. Toward this goal, we are actively collaborating with Professor Charles Ogletree and his newly formed Charles Hamilton Houston Institute for Race and Justice at Harvard Law School (see Box, page 5), as well as with researchers and institutions across the nation.

The Houston Institute and CRP are developing a project that will map the School to Prison Pipeline in three states, beginning with Massachusetts. This project draws heavily on recent efforts by criminal justice researchers to map the neighborhoods that send large numbers of residents to prisons and jails. The data we plan to map will include graduation rates, disaggregated by race; grade retention rates and scores on state-wide assessments, especially in grades 9 and 10; suspension and expulsion rates; class size and staff-to-student ratios; teacher quality indicators; school finance data; level of racial isolation; truancy and other child welfare data; and much more, depending on availability.

By visually illustrating the high costs of incarcerating dense concentra-

tions of minority youth in Massachusetts and at least two other states, this project can help convince lawmakers of the need to redirect funds earmarked for prisons and juvenile halls to improving schools and community services. Consulting with Barbara Kaban (Director of the Children's Law Center in Lynn, Mass.), economists, judges, other researchers and education policymakers, we hope to collect, analyze and summarize the most salient data so that we will literally present a compelling picture of the problem and the potential solutions.

There is need to report more accurate figures on graduation and drop-out rates, disaggregated by race.

We will present what we learn through a series of community forums for direct service providers, educational and legal advocates, law enforcement officials, school officials and others engaged with youths from the neighborhoods we identify. These

forums, led by Professor Ogletree and others at the Houston Institute, will focus on devising solutions and strategies that could include district- and school-level advocacy, legislation and litigation.

Minority youth are hemorrhaging from our middle and high schools in an increasingly hostile environment for racial equity. We believe our work, with continued resources and collaboration, will contribute to stopping the flow and reversing the course for generations to come.

Daniel J. Losen (dlosen@law.harvard.edu) is a Senior Education Law and Policy Associate with The Civil Rights Project (CRP) and has served as a lecturer and clinical supervisor at Harvard Law School. Among his numerous publications dealing with racial inequity in public education are: "The Color of Inadequate School Resources: Challenging Racial Inequities That Contribute to Low Graduation Rates and High Risk for Incarceration" (Clearinghouse Review, 2005) and Deconstructing the School to Prison Pipeline, co-edited with Johanna Wald. □

Life Options for Young African-American Males

by Michael R. Wenger

When former Congressman Ron Dellums (D-CA) agreed to chair the Commission on Life Options for Young African-American Males, he vowed that the Commission, now known as the Dellums Commission, would "not put out another report that will gather dust." The former Capitol Hill veteran, who has made a career of being a strong voice for the voiceless, declared that "the Commission will put together a document and a set of recommendations that will make a tangible difference."

This effort is unique in that it focuses on needed policy changes, especially at the state level, in addressing the needs of young African-American

males, and it frames the issues of overrepresentation in the criminal justice system and the school-to-prison pipeline as health issues. The decision to proceed in this direction was made by Dr. Gail Christopher, Director of the Health Policy Institute (HPI) of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies and the Center's Vice President for Women, Health and Families. With the advice and guidance of Univ. of Maryland Political Science Professor Ron Walters and Senior Policy Adviser Pat Babcock, Christopher convened the Dellums Commission as a key element in HPI's agenda, since public policies at the local, state and federal levels have had

the combined and cumulative effect of limiting the life options for young men of color.

This is a community health issue, because:

- High incarceration rates among minority youth are symptoms of un-addressed family, school and community challenges.
- Disproportionately high rates of drug offense prosecution are being substituted for adequate drug treatment options.
- High incarceration rates mask unmet mental health needs and the lack of appropriate mental health services.
- Resource allocations within local communities (education, public health, mental health, economic development, housing, public safety) are policy decisions or have policy implications.

It is worth emphasizing some of the more sobering numbers reviewed by the Commission:

- About one-third of male youth of color (primarily African-American and Latino) fall into what the Department of Labor describes as the “disconnected youth” category: young people who are isolated and have limited to no participation in the labor force.
- Almost two-thirds of the US prison population are persons of color, predominantly African-American and Latino, and predominantly male.
- Ten percent of black males between the ages of 25 and 29 were in prison in 2001, compared to 2.9% of Latino males and 1.2% of white

males in the same age group.

- The Sentencing Project estimates that in some jurisdictions one in three African-American men between the ages of 20 and 29 are under correctional supervision.
- In the 100 largest US cities, 58% or more of the ninth-grade students in high-minority schools do not graduate four years later, and African-American drop-outs are eight times more likely to be in state or federal prison than are white drop-outs.

The Dellums Commission frames the over-representation of young African-American males in the criminal justice system and the school-to-prison pipeline as health issues.

- Nationwide, African-American students are three times as likely as white students to be labeled mentally retarded and twice as likely to be labeled as having emotional disturbances.

To look more closely at these and other data, their economic impact and innovative practices that illustrate how policy changes can make a difference, seven research papers have been commissioned by the Dellums group:

- Correctional Policy-Incarceration (by Adolphus G. Belk, Jr., Winthrop Univ.) looks at the impact of

the large increase in the proportion of state and local public funds dedicated to correctional programs and the extent to which the private corrections industry has influenced and driven national, state and local policy regarding criminal justice programs.

- Correctional Policy-Alternative Sentencing and Waivers to the Adult System (by consultant Michael L. Lindsey) studies the use and impact of alternative sentencing, including alternatives to incarceration, and the use of waivers as it affects young men of color.
- Correctional Policy-Reentry and Recidivism (by Sandra Edmonds Crewe, Howard Univ.) explores what actually happens to our young men of color when they are held in juvenile detention, jails and prisons. How are they managed? Are they managed in ways that will minimize recidivism? How do they access education and health services?
- Educational Policy and Literacy (by consultant Kay Randolph-Back) examines the implications of national, state and local educational policy changes over the last 20 years in supporting the preparation of young men of color for successes in K-12 education and transition into post-secondary education, technical preparation, and other career and personal choices.
- Health Policy (by consultant Jorielle Brown) assesses the ways in which the application of community health strategies can improve the life options of young men of color and strengthen community life.
- Family Support and Child Welfare (by consultant James Hyman) analyzes how the federal and state policies of the last three decades have affected the stability and strength of families of color.
- Media and the Negative Portrayal of Men of Color (by Robert Entman, North Carolina State Univ.) addresses the bias toward portraying negative images of men of color in the media and evaluates the impact of this bias on white indi-

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PRRAC Update

● We are grateful for the hard work of our two talented summer interns: **Christine Kim**, a first-year student at Georgetown Univ. Law Center & **Sara Asrat**, about to enter her senior year at Princeton Univ., where she is majoring in history.

● Thanks too to **Angela Parker** and **Tee Blackmon**, staff members of the Center for Law & Social Policy (where PRRAC's new office is located), who have been helping with production of *Poverty & Race* and other assignments.

(PIPELINE: Continued from page 9)

viduals, white-run institutions, men of color and the society as a whole.

As of this writing, the papers are in preliminary draft form. But it is nonetheless clear that public policies enacted incrementally over the past 3-4 decades, such as “zero tolerance,” mandatory sentencing requirements and an emphasis on punishment over rehabilitation, even for non-violent drug offenders, have contributed to the disproportionate school drop-out rates among young men of color and to their rates of incarceration. This has led to sizeable increases in expenditures for criminal justice systems, at the expense of public monetary support for education and community health programs that could help to ameliorate this problem. It is equally clear that public

policies related to education, community health and criminal justice are intertwined and must be addressed in a holistic manner.

These sobering realities were discussed in some detail during the public debut of the Commission at Howard University on July 25. At an all-day session, authors of the papers, Commission members, invited respondents and community leaders shared ideas and insights based on both research and actual experiences. The day’s proceedings are available on the Joint Center’s website, www.jointcenter.org. The following day, the Commission held a press briefing at the National Press Club, where Chairman Dellums issued a “call to action,” asking all who “care about the future of our country” to “join us in rescuing our young men of color, and by so doing, living up to our commitment to life, liberty and the pursuit of

happiness for all our citizens.” Subsequent public hearings will lead to a final report in July 2006, with a detailed plan of action that speaks to Chairman Dellums’ commitment to “make a tangible difference.” This plan of action can help to make real the Health Policy Institute’s mission: “To ignite a ‘Fair Health’ movement that gives people of color the inalienable right to equal opportunity for healthy lives.”

Michael R. Wenger (mwenger@jointcenter.org) is a program development consultant for the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. He is former Director of the Network of Alliances Bridging Race and Ethnicity (NABRE) for the Joint Center and former Deputy Director for Outreach and Program Development for President Clinton’s Initiative on Race. □

Ending the Schoolhouse to Jailhouse Track – Lawyers and Organizers Partnering for Change

by Judith A. Browne and Monique L. Dixon

The recent videotape of a five-year old in St. Petersburg, Florida underscored what many education advocates already knew: Zero tolerance has gone too far. No longer does a temper tantrum, such as the one thrown by the St. Petersburg girl after a jelly bean counting game, result in a trip to the principal’s office; it also leads to handcuffs and a ride to the police station. Policies once meant to rid schools of guns have been expanded, causing many schools to become feeders into the juvenile justice system. Outcry by grassroots organizations about the unfair and discriminatory nature of school disciplinary policies and practices led the Advancement Project (AP) to spend the past five years examining the evolution of these policies and the devastating consequences they have on students, particularly students of color. Recognizing that the individuals who are most impacted—parents, children

and youth—often have little or no support in efforts to challenge these practices, the Project has partnered with grassroots youth and parent groups to mount reform campaigns.

The Advancement Project was founded six years ago by veteran civil rights lawyers who were eager to develop and inspire community-based solutions to racial and social justice issues by using the same high-quality legal analysis and public education campaigns that produced the landmark civil rights victories of earlier eras. AP’s founding team believed that structural racism could be dismantled by multi-racial grassroots organizing focused on changing public policies and supported by lawyers and communications strategies.

From our inception, we have worked “on-the-ground,” helping organized communities of color dismantle and reform the unjust and in-

equitable policies that undermine the promise of democracy. To implement our theory of change, AP operates on two planes. On the local level, we offer direct, hands-on support for organized communities in their struggles for justice, providing legal and communications resources. On the national level, we actively broaden and extend the practice of community-centered racial justice lawyering, and change the public debate around issues impacting communities of color in order to provide an improved context for change. We are using this approach in our Ending the Schoolhouse to Jailhouse Track Project, a three-year, three-site youth and adult organizing effort to end the criminalization of children by their schools. We are partnering with Padres/Jovenes Unidos (Denver), Community Alliance for Reform in Education-CARE (Palm Beach County, Florida), and Southwest Youth Col-

The “School to Prison Pipeline” – Further Reading:

Advancement Project, “Derailed: The Schoolhouse to Jailhouse Track”
<http://www.advancementproject.org/Derailerepccor.pdf>

Advancement Project, “Education on Lockdown: The Schoolhouse to Jailhouse Track”
<http://www.advancementproject.org/reports/FINALEOLrep.pdf>

Kaaryn Gustafson, “To Punish the Poor: Criminalizing Trends in the Welfare System,” Women of Color Resource Center, Working Paper Series (2005)
http://www.coloredgirls.org/publications/working_03.doc

Jodie Levin-Epstein & Mark Greenberg, “Leave No Youth Behind: Opportunities for Congress to Reach Disconnected Youth,” Center for Law and Social Policy (2003).
http://www.clasp.org/publications/Disconnected_Youth.pdf

Jonathan Kozol, *The Shame of the Nation: The Restoration of Apartheid Schooling in America* (Crown Books, 2005).

Daniel J. Losen & Christopher Edley, Jr., “Why Zero Tolerance is a Civil Rights Issue,” in *Zero Tolerance: Resisting The Drive For Punishment In Our Schools*, William Ayers, Rick Ayers & Bernardine Dohrn eds., New Press (2001).

Daniel J. Losen, “The Color of Inadequate School Resources: Challenging Racial Inequities that Contribute to Low Graduation Rates and High Risk for Incarceration,” *Clearinghouse Review*, January/February 2005

Pedro Noguera, “The Role and Influence of Environmental and Cultural Factors on the Academic Performance of African American Males,” *In Motion* 2002
<http://www.inmotionmagazine.com/pnaamale1.html>

Pedro A. Noguera. “Preventing & Producing Violence: A Critical Analysis of Responses to School Violence,” *Harvard Education Review*. Summer 1995. 65:2.

Gary Orfield, Daniel Losen, Johanna Wald & Christopher B. Swanson, “Losing Our Future: How Minority Youth Are Being Left Behind By The Graduation Rate Crisis,”

Report (February 25, 2004).
http://www.urbanorg.org/UploadedPDF/410936_LosingOurFuture-pdf

Russell Skiba & Reece Peterson, “The Dark Side of Zero Tolerance: Can Punishment Lead to Safe Schools?” *Phi Delta Kappan* (1999)
www.pdkintl.org/kappan/kski9901.htm

Russell Skiba et al. (June 2000). “The Color of Discipline: Sources of Racial & Gender Disproportionality in School Punishment.” Indiana Education Policy Center.
<http://www.indiana.edu/~safeschl/>

Johanna Wald & Daniel J. Losen, eds., *Deconstructing The School-To-Prison Pipeline, New Directions For Youth Development*, Jossey-Bass (2003).

Links

www.childrensdefense.org – for information on CDF’s project on dismantling the “Cradle to Prison Pipeline”

Harvard Civil Rights Project, *School to Prison Pipeline: Charting Intervention Strategies of Prevention and Support for Minority Children*
www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu

Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, “The Dellums Commission: Analyses and Action Plan to Reform Public Policies that Limit Life Paths of Young Men of Color”
www.jointcenter.org/healthpolicy/commission.php#dellums

Advancement Project, “Mapping the Schoolhouse to Jailhouse Track Action Kit”
www.advancementproject.org/publications.html

www.stopschooltojails.org – provides information about the Ending the Schoolhouse to Jailhouse Track project.

www.clasp.org/CampaignForYouth/default.htm: Memo on “Reconnecting Our Youth”—Provides set of recommendations, fact sheets, briefing sheets on each recommendation and links to important research and policy papers.

laborative and the Children and Family Justice Center at Northwestern University Law School (Chicago).

Since the project’s launch in 2003, AP has engaged in participatory research with our partners to map and document the extent of the problem. We collected quantitative data and interviewed stakeholders to gain a deep understanding of the schoolhouse to jailhouse track in each of the sites. This work culminated in the March 2005

release of *Education on Lockdown: The Schoolhouse to Jailhouse Track*, the purpose of which was to lay the groundwork for organizing efforts. The report’s findings have confirmed that students of color are being hurled into juvenile and criminal court for non-violent acts of misconduct. Furthermore, the research demonstrates that the role of law enforcement has significantly changed: Police have become increasingly responsible for

mundane school discipline. For example:

- From 2000 to 2004, referrals to law enforcement by Denver Public Schools rose 71%. In 2004, Black and Latino students were referred at twice and seven times the rates of their White peers, respectively. In that same year, 42% of these referrals were for conduct that could have been addressed in school: dis-
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ruptive appearance, use of obscenities and minor fights.

- In 2003, over 8,000 students were arrested in Chicago Public Schools. More than 40% of these arrests were for simple assault and battery—often nothing more than a threat or a harmless, weaponless fight. Although Black students comprise 50% of the student population, they comprised 77% of the school-based arrests.

In preparation for the release of the *Education on Lockdown*, AP provided media training and communications support to our partners. The report generated significant press coverage, which was amplified on the local level by our community partners, and has laid the foundation for them to build strong local alliances. The report is also being cited in school districts beyond the three sites and is prompting others to take action.

For example, because of Padres/Jovenes Unidos' successful organizing around this issue, over 70 community members stood in solidarity with them at the press conference releasing the report. News coverage prompted a group of Latino parents from a neighboring school district to contact Padres/Jovenes Unidos for assistance. These parents reported that their children were among 17 students suspended or expelled for one year for *watching* a fight that occurred off school grounds. As Padres/Jovenes Unidos took on this issue, AP provided legal advice and strategic support. In consultation with AP lawyers and the Denver office of the Arnold & Porter lawfirm, Padres/Jovenes Unidos and the parents realized that the District had violated its own policies and state law. Consequently, they were able to negotiate an agreement with the school district to re-admit most of the students; remove from the student's disciplinary records any reference to the suspensions; and provide the students with tutoring services to make up for the educational instructions the students missed. Padres/Jovenes Unidos' com-

mitment did not end there: The organization now has a representative serving on a committee to investigate these unlawful actions and implement reform.

In Palm Beach County and Chicago, too, the report has put this issue on the table. In Palm Beach County, AP and CARE have developed strong alliances with a juvenile court judge and lawyers at the public defender and legal aid offices, who are assisting in reform efforts. In Chicago, other local organizations have seized on the

In 2003, over 8,000 students were arrested in Chicago public schools.

report as an opportunity to reform zero tolerance policies. Several groups have formed a task force that is developing a reform agenda and meeting with District officials.

The movement in these sites indicates that the partnership between lawyers and organizers can have a profound impact. With access to legal

and policy research and strategic communications tools, organizers are better positioned to mobilize their communities for positive change. This work also has the potential of strengthening the capacity of the youth and adults involved to become engaged citizens and agents of change. In addition, by lifting the voices of local groups and impacted individuals into the national discourse on this issue, we are beginning to see a shift in public opinion, which will improve the likelihood of eliminating the unnecessary criminalization of youth.

Judith A. Browne is Co-Director of the Advancement Project. She has authored numerous articles and reports concerning the negative impact of zero tolerance school disciplinary policies.

Monique L. Dixon is Senior Attorney at the Advancement Project, where she assists community groups and lawyers throughout the country with legal, policy and communications strategies on a range of issues that include voting rights, education and community-police relations.

The Advancement Project can be reached at ap@advancementproject.org. □

The Cradle to Prison PipelineSM Crisis

by Morna Murray

At present rates, a significantly higher proportion of Black men will go to prison than will receive a college degree. Right now, over 580,000 Black males and over 250,000 Latino males are in prison; fewer than 40,000 Black males and 33,000 Latino males graduate from college each year. There is no single reason for these disturbing trends, but one thing is clear: The only guarantee our nation will provide for every child is detention or a prison cell *after* they get into trouble. At critical points in their development, from birth through adulthood, low-income children of color confront a multitude of disadvantages, which, when accu-

mulated, make a successful transition to adulthood significantly less likely and involvement in the criminal justice system significantly more likely. Our society has done painfully little to address these disadvantages, and at times has helped perpetuate them by promoting policies that consistently have a disparate, negative impact on poor and minority children.

Such disadvantages range from lack of access to prenatal and other health and mental health care, to unstable parenting, to insufficient and ineffective early childhood interventions, to inadequate responses when abuse or neglect or other crises arise, to racial

and economic disparities and inequities in education, child welfare and the juvenile and criminal justice systems. Without significant interventions to remove these multiple, accumulated obstacles, poor and minority youth are forced to compete on an unequal playing field and many fall inexorably behind. Once behind, these children find themselves increasingly off the path to work and college and increasingly on the path to prison.

The Children's Defense Fund (CDF) has monitored with deep and growing concern the vast numbers of young Black and Latino males (and, increasingly, minority females) being confined in our juvenile justice and adult penal systems. Our forthcoming commissioned report, "Dismantling the Cradle to Prison Pipeline," illustrates this phenomenon, using real stories from children and experts interviewed in Ohio and Mississippi, along with highlights from programs around the country that are working, and also including comments and insights from children and young adults who have escaped the Cradle to Prison Pipeline. The report tells difficult stories about the lives of children, but also gives hope. Many children escape the pipeline, with the help of caring adults and communities and effective programs and child-serving systems.

Documenting the Cradle to Prison Pipeline

Existing research documents the pipeline from two compelling perspectives. First, we know the risks that lead to poor outcomes, delinquency and incarceration. Second, we know that poor and minority children experience these risks at a disproportionately high rate. CDF, in its upcoming report, will present a sampling of research and statistics on the prevalence and disproportionality of several major risk areas or "indicators" that, directly and indirectly, feed the pipeline to prison, including: prenatal and subsequent health care; early childhood development; education; child abuse and neglect; mental health; juvenile

delinquency; and poverty.

Three significant risk areas—feeding children directly into the pipeline with an accelerated and heightened chance of incarceration—involve the child welfare, education and juvenile justice systems. Research conclusively establishes that children who are abused and neglected, children who drop out of high school and children who are arrested as juveniles are at greater risk of adult incarceration. There is a direct association between these risk factors and incarceration. But these three risk factors are exacerbated and fed by other risk factors, such as poverty, which can thus be viewed as indirect associations or risk factors for incarceration. For example, children living in extreme poverty are more involved in serious juvenile delinquency, and juveniles who are arrested or adjudicated delinquent experience a higher rate of adult arrests.

A significantly higher proportion of Black men will go to prison than will receive a college degree.

The result of these risk factor interrelationships is a highly complex and convoluted Cradle to Prison Pipeline phenomenon that traps a disproportionate number of poor and minority children. Moreover, research shows that an accumulation of risk factors makes it even more likely that children will be pulled into the pipeline, and this likelihood increases dramatically, along with the number of risk factors.

How We Can Work Together to Dismantle the Pipeline

We want all concerned adults to realize that we *can* and *must* do something about the pipeline to prison. It is hardly surprising that many parents, service providers, policymakers, educators, system personnel, and community and faith leaders are discouraged

New D.C. Bookstore/Community Activist Cafe/Lounge

Teaching for Change, PRRAC's partner organization in producing *Putting the Movement Back Into Civil Rights Teaching*, has just opened a bookstore in the new Busboys & Poets Café in Washington's Shaw neighborhood. The store is a key source for books and films that encourage children and adults to question, challenge and re-think the world beyond the headlines. The Busboys & Poets restaurant and café (run by peace activist Andy Shallal) hosts a dynamic schedule of readings, films and political events. Meeting and performance space available for up to 100 people. Two blocks from the U Street Metro station. If you're coming to Washington and want to schedule an event there, give them plenty of advance notice: www.busboysandpoets.com.

by the realities of children they see trapped in the pipeline. It is tempting to look for easy answers to explain its seeming intractability. The real answers are hard and often politically unpopular. While some parents are not trying hard enough, the vast majority of poor children live in families who work hard and play by the rules and still have been left behind.

Incarceration, by virtue of receiving so much public money, has become America's social program for troubled youths. Meanwhile, early childhood prevention, health and mental health screening and treatment, foster care, adoption assistance, substance abuse treatment, quality education, after-school, mentoring and other less expensive and much more effective programs for at-risk youths and their families face constant cutbacks and budget shortages. The absence of such systemic and programmatic assistance is exactly what makes incarceration more likely. Given the current budget cri-

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sis and current national priorities, we are more likely to pay for the eventual imprisonment of at-risk children than for proven interventions *now* that could put them on the path to meaningful lives. This makes neither moral nor economic sense.

All children need quality health and mental health care, proper food and nourishment, good schools, and safe homes and communities. Every child needs a caring mother and/or father, grandparent or other adult to feel safe and loved. All children need parents and care-givers who are not broken down or chronically depressed by the struggle to survive, find and keep jobs, earn enough money to pay the rent and light and heating bills, and have transportation to go to work. They need adults who value and respect and help them succeed. Every single adult who comes into contact with a child can make a difference every day.

This December, CDF will assemble key state leaders at its Cradle to Prison PipelineSM Institute to examine comprehensive and collaborative strategies for dismantling the pipeline. There is a role for all concerned adults who care about children. There are many levels at which we can dismantle the Cradle to Prison Pipeline, but in order to truly leave no child behind, we must address them all—families, community-based programs and services, all child-serving systems, and state and federal policies that determine the available resources and priorities of child-serving programs and systems.

CDF is committed to dismantling the Cradle to Prison Pipeline tragedy at every level, and we call upon all concerned citizens to join us. We must not give up on any child. Prison is not a foregone conclusion for any child.

Morna Murray (MMurray@childrensdefense.org) is Co-Director of Education and Youth Development at the Children's Defense Fund, where she focuses on juvenile justice issues, violence prevention and advocacy on behalf of at-risk youth, and directs CDF's Cradle to Prison Pipeline project. □

The "School to Prison Pipeline" — Related Efforts:

The initiatives profiled in this issue of *Poverty & Race* are part of a larger movement to expose and reform systems that are separate from policing or criminal justice but that also contribute to the over-incarceration of poor people of color. Some of the other organizations and coalitions working on this issue include:

The Center for Law and Social Policy (www.clasp.org) in Washington, DC is focusing on the role communities play in connecting systems to re-engage "Disconnected Youth" and connect them to the support and interventions needed for successful transition into the workforce. In 2003, CLASP published *Leave No Youth Behind: Opportunities for Congress to Reach Disconnected Youth*, and in 2005 CLASP facilitated the drafting of a Memo on "Reconnecting Our Youth," which is the basis of a coalition effort signed onto by more than 250 organizations. Contact: Linda Harris, lharris@clasp.org.

The Women of Color Resource Center (www.coloredgirls.org) in Oakland supports an "Economic Justice and Human Rights" program, which focuses on both the general impact of welfare reform on communities of color, and the continuing criminalization of the poor through punitive welfare policies, including increasing surveillance and control of the everyday lives of poor families; economic sanctions for violations of administrative regulations; criminal welfare fraud proceedings; and denial of assistance to those with felony drug convictions or arrest warrants. The Center's most recent working paper is "To Punish the Poor: Criminalizing Trends in the Welfare System" (see "Further Readings" Box, page 11). Contact: Kimberly Alvarenga, kalvarenga@coloredgirls.org.

The Schott Foundation for Public Education in Cambridge, MA (www.schottfoundation.org) began the "Black Boys Initiative" in 2003 with the initial goal of creating a movement to improve the educational experiences of black boys in order to ensure that they graduate from high school with the confidence to become successful members of society.

Break the Chains: Communities of Color and the War on Drugs, along with the **ACLU** and the **Brennan Center**, recently collaborated on a March 2005 conference and report, *Caught in the Net: the Impact of Drug Policies on Women & Families*, that addresses, in part, the harsh effects of current drug laws and sentencing policies on children. See www.fairlaws4families.org.

A number of organizations are also working to reform state juvenile justice systems to address the disproportionate commitment of children of color. Some of these groups include the **W. Haywood Burns Institute** in San Francisco (www.burnsinstitute.org), the **ACLU**, the **NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund**, the **Sentencing Project**, and numerous state and local advocacy organizations.

Resources

Most Resources are available directly from the issuing organization, either on their website (if given) or via other contact information listed. Materials published by PRRAC are available through our website: www.prrac.org. Prices include the shipping/handling (s/h) charge when this information is provided to PRRAC. "No price listed" items often are free.

When ordering items from PRRAC: SASE = self-addressed stamped envelope (37¢ unless otherwise indicated). Orders may not be placed by telephone or fax. Please indicate from which issue of P&R you are ordering.

Race/Racism

- **"The Diverse Face of Asians & Pacific Islanders in California"** (56 pp., 2005), a detailed demographic profile, has been co-published by the Asian Pacific American Legal Ctr. of So. Calif., the Asian Law Caucus & the Natl. Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium. \$12 from the Ctr., 1145 Wilshire Blvd., 2nd fl., LA, CA 90017, 213/241-0267. Separate reports are available for LA County, Orange County & San Diego County (\$10 each), <http://www.apalc.org/> [9454]

- **White Is**, ed. Preston Wilcox, is a ca. 50-page 1970 (sic) paperback, with illustrations by Sandy Huffaker, published by Grove Press. Each facing two pages contain a statement

completing a sentence begun with the book title (e.g., "wearing rings in your ears while making fun of people who wear rings in their noses"; "a flesh-colored band-aid"; "knocking the numbers game but playing the stock market"), with a terrific accompanying drawing on the facing page. Try to find it for sale on the Internet — we may be able to provide a photocopy. [9459]

- **Surviving Twice: Amerasian Children of the Vietnam War**, by Trin Yarborough (304 pp., 2005, \$25.95), has been published by Potomac Books, 800/775-2518. It deals with the largely unrecognized problem of some 100,000 children born to Vietnamese women and American soldiers, and their truly awful lives, both there and here. [9462]

- **Traces of the Trade: A Story from the Deep North** is a forthcoming documentary by Katrina Browne about her slave-trade ancestors from New England and the legacy white Americans have inherited from the history of slavery. It is in post-production and seeking distribution and engagements. Contact the producer/director at Ebb Pod Productions, PO Box 2236, Boston, MA 02108, 617/349-0019, www.tracesofthetrade.org [9463]

- **The Greensboro (NC) Truth & Reconciliation Commission** held its first public hearing, July 15, 2005; inf. at info@greensborotrc.org [9487]

Please drop us a line letting us know how useful our Resources Section is to you, as both a lister and requester of items. We hear good things, but only sporadically. Having a more complete sense of the effectiveness of this networking function will help us greatly in foundation fundraising work (and is awfully good for our morale). Drop us a short note, letting us know if it has been/is useful to you (how many requests you get when you list an item, how many items you send away for, etc.) Thank you.

- **The William Winter Institute for Racial Reconciliation**, named for the former governor of Mississippi who also served on the Advisory Board for President Clinton's Race Initiative, is housed at the Univ. of MS. For a copy of the May 2005 issue of their newsletter *Wellspring* and further inf. about their activities, contact Susan Glisson at the Inst., PO Box 1848, Univ. Miss., Oxford, MS 38677-1848, 662/915-6734, wwirr@olemiss.edu. [9494]

- **Between Two Empires: Race, History & Transnationalism in Japanese America**, by Eiichiro Azuma (320 pp., 2005), has been published by Oxford Univ. Press. [9496]

- **Global Rights** "helps social justice activists in the US use international human rights laws & procedures to enhance their anti-racism advocacy work." 1200 18th St. NW, #602, Wash., DC 20036, 202/822-4600, <http://www.globalrights.org/> [9500]

Criminal Justice

- **"Racial Profiling of African-American Males: Stopped, Searched & Stripped of Constitutional Protection"** by Floyd Weatherspoon, appeared in the Winter 2004 issue of the *John Marshall Law Review*. The 30-page article, as well as his "Ending Racial Profiling of African-Americans in the Selective Enforcement of Laws: In Search of Viable Remedies," are available at users.law.capital.edu/fweatherspoon/ [9456]

- **"Focus on Prisoner Re-entry: Life After Lockup,"** by Violet Law, appeared in the Jan./Feb. 2005 issue of *Shelterforce*, downloadable at www.nhi.org/online/issues/139/afterlockup.html [9483]

- **Critical Resistance** "seeks to build an international movement to end the prison industrial complex by challenging the belief that caging and controlling people makes us safe." Natl. office (regional offices in Brooklyn & New Orleans) is at 1904 Franklin St., #504,

Oakland, CA 94612, 510/444-0484, crnational@criticalresistance.org, <http://www.criticalresistance.org/> [9492]

Economic/Community Development

- **“University Education for Community Change: A Vital Strategy for Progress on Poverty, Race & Community-Building,”** by Andrew Mott (61 pp., n.d. [2005?]), is available from the Community Learning Proj., 1301 Conn. Ave. NW, #500, Wash., DC 20036, 202/822-6006, <http://www.communitylearningproject.org/> [9449]
- **“Guide to Economic Indicators”** is a new (2005) online reference to key facts/metrics critical to community development, from the Woodstock Inst., 407 S. Dearborn Ave., #550, Chicago, IL 60605, 312/427-8070, www.woodstockinst.org/indicators.php [9460]

Education

- ***The Learning Curve***, published by the Foundation for Child Development, in its June 2005 issue contains “The Case for Universal Pre-K,” by David Lawrence, & “Promise or Peril: Immigrants, LEP Students & the No Child Left Behind Act.” 212/213-8337, harold@fcd-us.org, www.fcd-us.org [9461]
- **“Education on Lockdown: The School to Jailhouse Track”** (2005) — focusing on data from Denver, Chicago & Palm

Beach Cty. (FL)—is available from Advancement Project, cjrc@advancementproject.org, <http://www.schoolstojails.org/> [9504]

- **“Making Progress Toward Graduation: Evidence from the Talent Development High School Model,”** by James J. Kemple, Corinne M. Herlihy & Thomas J. Smith (114 pp., May 2005), is available (no price listed) from MDRC, 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016-4326, 212/532-3200, <http://www.mdrc.org/> [9452]
- ***Rethinking Mathematics: Teaching Justice by the Numbers***, eds. Eric Gutstein & Bob Peterson (179 pp., May 2005), is available (\$16.95) from Rethinking Schools, 1001 E. Keefe Ave., Milwaukee, WI 53212, 800/669-4192, rsonline@execpc.com, <http://www.rethinkingschools.com/> [9453]
- **“California’s Hidden Teacher Spending Gap: How State & District Budgeting Practices Shortchange Poor & Minority Students & Their Schools”** (17 pp. + 33-page Appendices publication, 2005) is available (no price listed) from The Education Trust-West, 155 Grand Ave., #1025, Oakland, CA 94612, 510/465-6444, <http://www.edtrustwest.org/> [9457]
- **“After-School Programs: How They Affect Black Male Development & Educational Progress,”** by Reginald Clark, Alexes Harris & Walter Allen, appeared in the Spring 2005 issue of *Challenge: A Journal of Research on African American Men*, published by the

Morehouse Research Inst., 830 Westview Dr. SW, Atlanta, GA 30314, 404/215-2746. [9458]

- **“Examining the Gaps in Mathematics Achievement Among Racial-Ethnic Groups, 1972-1992,”** a 2005(?) report from the RAND Corp., is downloadable at www.rand.org/publications/MG/MG255/ [9477]
- **Survey on Public Awareness of HS Dropout Problem:** A 2005 survey commissioned by Communities in Schools finds that only 1 in 10 Americans believe the high school dropout problem is a crisis. Inf. on the survey available at www.prnewswire.com/mnr/cisnet/21786/ [9478]
- **“Getting Honest About Grad Rates: How States Play the Numbers & Students Lose”** is a 2005 report from The Education Trust (headed by former PRRAC Bd. member Kati Haycock). Downloadable at www2.edtrust.org/EdTrust/Press+Room.HSGradRate2005.htm [9479]
- **“Year 3 of the No Child Left Behind Act,”** a 2005 report from the Center on Education Policy, is downloadable at www.edweek.org/links [9480]
- **“Closing Achievement Gaps,”** by Ron Haskins & Cecilia Rouse, is the subject of the 7-page, Spring 2005 *The Future of Children Policy Brief*, available at <http://www.futureofchildren.org/> [9497]
- **“School Readiness: Closing Racial & Ethnic Gaps”** is the Spring 2005 issue of *The Future of*

Children, available at <http://www.futureofchildren.org/> [9498]

- **“Addressing Achievement Gaps: Progress & Prospects for Minority & Socioeconomically Disadvantaged Students & English-Language Learners”** is the theme of the 11-page, Winter 2005 issue of *Policy Notes*, available (possibly free) from Educational Testing Service, Rosedale Rd. 19-R, Princeton, NJ 08541-0001, 609/734-5949, pic@ets.org, www.ets.org/research/pic [9499]
- **“The Condition of Education”** (2005), the annual Congressionally-mandated report, is available at nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/ [9505]
- **“Confronting the Graduation Rate Crisis in the South”** (2005), from the Harvard Civil Rights Project, focuses on FL, GA, LA, MS, NC. Available at www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu/research/dropouts/dropouts_south05.pdf [9507]
- **“Prekindergarten Left Behind,”** by Walter Gilliam (2005), is a nationwide study reporting that pre-schools are expelling 3-5-year-olds at 3 times the rate of public schools, and that African Americans (particularly African-American males) are far more likely than white, Latino or Asian American youngsters to be expelled. See the report at www.fcd-us.org/PDFs/NationalPreKExpulsionPaper03.02_new.pdf [9508]
- **GiveKidsGoodSchools.org** is the eAdvocacy website of the Public Education Network.

They've launched Public Conversations on=20=No Child Left Behind, their 2005 advocacy campaign, to raise awareness of NCLB-related issues at the federal, state & local levels. [9509]

Employment/ Jobs Policy

- **"Promoting Work in Public Housing: The Effectiveness of Jobs-Plus,"** by Howard S. Bloom, James A. Riccio & Nandita Verma (263 pp., March 2005), is available from MDRC, 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016-4326, 212/532-3200, <http://www.mdrc.org/> [9447]

- **"Examining the Evidence: The Impact of the Los Angeles Living Wage Ordinance on Workers & Businesses"** (2005) has been released by a group of Univ. Calif. economists. Inf. from Celia Alario, 213/380-0451, 310/721-6517, <http://www.losangeleslivingwagestudy.com/> [9495]

- **"Living Wage Laws in Practice: The Boston, New Haven & Hartford Experience,"** by Mark Brenner & Stephanie Luce (2005), has been published by the Political Economy Research Inst. For copies, contact Prof. Brenner, Gordon Hall, Univ. Mass., 418 N. Pleasant St., #A, Amherst, MA 01002, 413/577-0241, brenner@peri.umass.edu, www.umass.edu/peri [9501]

- **"Cost-Effectiveness of Targeted Reemployment Bonuses,"** by Christopher J. O'Leary, Paul T. Decker &

Stephen A. Wandner, appeared in *Journal of Human Resources* (2005); available at www.ingentaconnect.com/content/wisc/jhr/2005/00000040/00000001 [9502]

- **"The Employment Retention & Advancement Project: Early Results from Four Sites"** (2005) is available from MDRC, update@mdrc.org [9503]

Families/ Women/ Children

- **"Leave No Youth Behind: Opportunities for Congress to Reach Disconnected Youth,"** eds. Jodie Levin-Epstein & Mark Greenberg (109 pp., July 2003), is available from the Ctr. for Law & Social Policy (headed by former PRRAC Bd. member Alan Houseman), 1015 15th St. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20005, 202/906-8000, <http://www.clasp.org/> [9451]

Food/ Nutrition/ Hunger

- **"Hunger Free Community Reports"** were completed by each of the Bill Emerson Fellows, under the program sponsored by the Congressional Hunger Center, dealing with the local communities the Fellows were assigned to during the first 6 months of their fellowship (before coming to DC for the 2nd 6 months, assigned to a policy organization — PRRAC has hosted Fellows in recent years). Copies of any of these reports are available from Kristin Anderson, the

program's co-director, kanderson@hungercenter.org, 202/547-7022. [9468]

Health

- **"The Color of Medicine: Strategies for Increasing Diversity in the U.S. Physician Workforce"** (74 pp., June 2004 reprint) is available from Community Catalyst, 30 Winter St., 10th fl., Boston, MA 02108, 617/338-6035, <http://www.communitycatalyst.org/> [9448]

- **"Children's Elevated Risk of Asthma in Unmarried Families"** is a 3-page, May 2005 Fragile Families Research Brief, available from the Ctr. for Research on Child Wellbeing, crcsw@opr.princeton.edu, crrw.princeton.edu/fragilefamilies [9469]

- **"Leadership for Tomorrow's Health,"** the annual conf. of the Calif. Primary Care Assn., will be held **Sept. 29-30, 2005** in Burbank. Inf. from the Assn., 1215 K St., #700, Sacramento, CA 95814, 916/440-8170, x234, www.cpcsa.org/programs/events [9475]

Homelessness

- **Picture the Homeless: Housing Committee** has developed a comprehensive legislative platform to address the rehabilitation of unoccupied, boarded-up buildings in NYC in such a way as to create jobs & revitalize neighborhoods. Contact them at 170 E. 116 St., #1W, NYC, NY 10029, 212/417-2499, sam@picturethehomeless.org [9486]

Housing

- ***The Geography of Opportunity: Race & Housing Choice in Metropolitan America***, ed. Xavier de Souza Briggs (420 pp., 2005), has been published by Brookings Inst. Press. Many of the contributors, as well as the book editor, are part of PRRAC's family: Angela Glover Blackwell, Camille Charles, Philip Tegeler; among the other contributors: Bruce Katz, Susan Popkin, William Julius Wilson.

- **"Proposed Rollback of Housing Choice Threatens Civil Rights"** is a 4-page article, by PRRAC, in the June 2005 *Housing Law Bulletin*. The full report from which the article was drawn is available at www.prrac.org/policy/php [9464]

- **"A Community Guide to Creating Affordable Housing"** (June 2005), with 14 case studies, is available from Business & Professional People for the Public Interest, 25 E. Washington St., #1515, Chicago, IL 60602, 312/641-5570, downloadable at <http://www.bpichicago.org/> [9465]

- **Manufactured/Mobile/Modular Housing:** The July 2005 issue of *fedgazette*, published by the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, has 5 articles on the subject. Undoubtedly free from them: 90 Hennepin Ave.,

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items for our
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PO Box 291, Mpls., MN 55480-0291, 612/204-5255, letters@mpls.frb.org, minneapolisfed.org [9474]

- **"Discrimination in Metropolitan Housing Markets:"** HUD's reports on the 3 phases of this study are available in printed form (for a "nominal charge") from 800/245-2695, option 4; or are downloadable at www.huduser.org/publications/hsgfin/hds.html [9476]

- **"How Cleveland Redefined Housing Court,"** by Robert Jaquay, appeared in the May/June 2005 issue of *Shelterforce*; downloadable at www.nhi.org/online/issues/141/housingcourt.html [9482]

- **"Who Really Get Home Loans: Year Eleven,"** a 2005 report from the Calif. Reinvestment Coal., looks at Fresno, LA, Oakland, Sacramento & San Diego. Contact the Coal. at 474 Valencia St., #110, SF, CA 94103, <http://www.calreinvest.org/> [9490]

- **The 2005 National Community Land Trust Conf.** will be held **Aug. 17-19, 2005** in Portland, OR. Inf. from <http://www.communitylots.org/> [9467]

Immigration

- **PILA (Partnership for Immigrant Leadership & Action)** is a California organizing group working "to increase civil & political activism among low-income immigrant communities to strengthen democracy & advance social justice." 160 14th St., SF, CA 94103, 415/621-4808, <http://www.pilaweb.org/> [9493]

- **International Migrants Day**, commemorating the date in 1990 when the UN General Assembly approved the Internatl. Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers & Members of Their Families. Inf. from the Natl. Network for Immigrant & Refugee Rights (headed by PRRAC Bd. member Catherine Tactaquin), 310 8th St., #303, Oakland, CA 94607, 510/465-1984, <http://www.nnirr.org/> [9471]

Miscellaneous

- **"Funding the Culture Wars: Philanthropy, Church & State,"** by John Russell (31 pp., Jan. 2005), is available (no price listed) from the Natl. Comm. for Responsive Philanthropy, 2001 S St. NW, #620, Wash., DC 20009, 202/387-9177, info@ncrp.org, <http://www.ncrp.org/> [9450]

- **Class Action** is a project focusing on issues of class & classism. See their website, <http://www.classism.org/> [9472]

- **The Center for the Study of Political Graphics** is holding a poster sale, <http://www.politicalgraphics.org/> [9481]

- **Gatekeepers to the Franchise: Shaping Election Administration in New York**, by Ronald Hayduk (292 pp., 2005, \$35), has been published by Northern Illinois Univ. Press, 815/753-1826. Inf. from lmanning2@niu.edu, <http://www.niupress.niu.edu/> [9488]

- **"Tribal Consultation: Best Practices in Historic Preservation"** is a 2005

study from the National Assn. of Tribal Historic Preservation Officers, 202/628-8476, bambi@nathpo.org, downloadable at www.nathpo.org/special_projects-Best_Practices.html [9489]

- **Ahora Now** is a Commentary Series produced by the Labor/Community Strategy Ctr. Issue No. 7 (35 pp., 2005) —with articles on protecting the black vote, a call for open borders, several international reports, etc. —is available (in Spanish or English - \$7) from the Ctr., 3780 Wilshire Blvd., #1200, LA, CA 90020, 213/387-2800, info@thestrategycenter.org, <http://www.ahorahow.org/> [9491]

- **The 2005 Building Democracy Conf.**, sponsored by the Center for New Community, will be held **Oct. 29, 2005** in Chicago. Inf. from the Ctr., PO Box 346066, Chicago, IL 60634, 708/848-0319, <http://www.newcomm.org/> [9470]

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