

21st Century Gateways: Immigrants in Suburban America

by Audrey Singer, Susan W. Hardwick and Caroline B. Brettell

New trends in immigrant settlement patterns are changing communities across the United States. The traditional American story of immigrant enclaves in the heart of major cities has been fundamentally altered with the restructuring of the US economy, the decentralization of cities, and the growth of the suburbs as major employment centers.

Prior to the 1990s, immigrant settlement had a predictable pattern and was limited to mostly Southwestern and coastal states and metropolitan New York, Los Angeles, Miami and Chicago.

Audrey Singer (asinger@brookings.edu) is a Senior Fellow in Metropolitan Policy at the Brookings Institution.

Susan W. Hardwick (susanh@uoregon.edu) is a Professor of Geography at the University of Oregon and senior research fellow at the Vancouver Metropolis Centre.

Caroline B. Brettell (cbrettel@mail.smu.edu) is the Dedman Family Distinguished Professor in the Department of Anthropology at Southern Methodist University.

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By the last century's end, due to shifts in labor markets, immigrants, both legal and illegal, were increasingly settling outside well-established immigrant gateways in a new group of cities and suburbs. The swiftness of the influx has often been accompanied by social and economic stress. In many rural areas, small towns and suburban areas, the institutional structures that could assist in integrating immigrants—both community and governmental—are insufficient or non-existent.

Many of the newest, largest destinations, such as Atlanta, Las Vegas and Charlotte, are places with no history or identity of immigration. Other metropolitan areas, such as Sacramento, Minneapolis-St. Paul and Seattle, once important gateways in the early part of the 20th century, have recently re-emerged as major new destinations.

Taken together, the fastest growing "second-tier" metropolitan areas, including Atlanta, Austin, Charlotte, Dallas, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Phoenix, Portland (OR), Sacramento and Washington, DC, along with 11 other metropolitan areas, house one-fifth of all immigrants in the United States today. We have named this class of metropolitan areas the 21st century gateways.

These 20 metropolitan areas are largely characterized by post-World War II urban development, very recent growth of their immigrant populations, and predominantly suburban settlement.

In contrast to more established central-city destinations and patterns of settlement, trends in 21st century gateways constitute a new context for the social, economic and political incorporation of immigrants. All of these places are confronting fast-paced change that has wide-reaching effects on neighborhoods, schools, workplaces and local public coffers.

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Identifying the 21st Century Gateways

Our identification of 21st century gateways is based on a historical typology of urban immigrant settlement in the United States developed by co-author demographer Audrey Singer. Based on trends in the size and growth of the immigrant population over the course of the 20th century, this typology includes six immigrant gateway types:

- *Former gateways*, such as Buffalo and Pittsburgh, attracted considerable numbers of immigrants in the early 1900s, but no longer do.
- *Continuous gateways*, such as New York and Chicago, are long-established destinations for immigrants and continue to receive large numbers of the foreign-born.
- *Post-World War II gateways*, such as Houston, Los Angeles and Miami, began attracting immigrants in large numbers only during the past 50 years or less.

Together, the continuous and the post-World War II gateways will be referred to as *established immigrant gateways* here.

- *Emerging gateways* are those places that have had rapidly growing immigrant populations during the past 25 years alone. Atlanta, Dallas-Ft.

Worth and Washington are prime examples.

- *Re-emerging gateways*, such as Minneapolis-St. Paul and Seattle, began the 20th century with a strong attraction for immigrants, waned as destinations during the middle of the century, but are now re-emerging as immigrant gateways.
- *Pre-emerging gateways* are those places, such as Raleigh-Durham and Austin, where immigrant populations have grown very rapidly starting in the 1990s and are likely to continue to grow as immigrant destinations.

Immigrant Gateway Growth in Comparative Perspective

Some of the fastest immigrant growth rates during the 1990s registered in metropolitan areas with very small immigrant populations to begin

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with. Nonetheless, many large metropolitan areas saw a doubling or more of their foreign-born populations in the 1990s alone, including Atlanta, Dallas-Ft. Worth, Portland (OR), Minneapolis-St. Paul and Las Vegas.

At the same time, in the more established immigrant gateways, growth rates registered smaller percentage change: an average of 45% in the continuous gateways and 39% in the post-World War II gateways.

Likewise, it is not unexpected that some of the largest established gateways have seen minor percentage growth recently. This is due in part simply to the absolute size of the immigrant populations in places such as Los Angeles, where the immigrant population grew only 3.1% (but grew exceptionally fast in nearby Riverside-San Bernardino), and New York, which had only 9% growth between

2000 and 2006.

Other metros that registered strong growth in their immigrant populations in the 1990s due to the technology boom, such as San Francisco and San Jose, have seen the pace of foreign-born growth dramatically slow since 2000, when the technology bubble burst.

In contrast, during the same 2000-2006 period, the greatest percentage increases in foreign-born populations among metropolitan areas were in emerging Orlando, Atlanta and Las Vegas and pre-emerging Charlotte and Raleigh (all between 53-62%).

In absolute terms, Dallas-Ft. Worth, Atlanta, Washington and Phoenix saw the largest gains among the 21st-century immigrant gateways. However, established New York topped the list with an estimated 450,000 immigrant newcomers settling since 2000. Post-World War II gateways Houston, Riverside-San Bernardino and Miami followed, each with more than 250,000 new immigrants in the most recent period.

Immigrants in Suburban Metropolises

Another new immigrant settlement trend—one taking place wholly within metropolitan areas—was the dramatic increase in suburban settlement of immigrants, beginning in the 1990s. As the urban economy has shifted from manufacturing to new economy services, the suburbs have become the preferred location for dispersed commercial and office space.

Immigrants have followed the suburban job and housing opportunities in great numbers. By doing so, they have broken with historical patterns of immigrants moving to central cities where housing and jobs were plentiful, and where they found others from their own background. Now many immigrants move directly to suburban areas from abroad.

While the more established gateways have seen suburban settlement taking place over a protracted period of time,

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Renters and the Housing Credit Crisis

by Danilo Pelletiere and Keith Wardrip

Traditionally, rental housing in this country is viewed as a residual category embracing only those too young or too insubstantial to be owners (Kruekeberg, 1999): The loss of a rental unit from the habitable stock or the processing of an eviction are events that often go unrecorded (Hartman and Robinson, 2003). Thus, for much of the past two years, as the implosion of credit and housing markets progressed, gaining national attention, the impact on renters and rental housing went largely unrecognized by policymakers and the media. But renters are being hurt by the weakening housing market in at least three significant ways. First and most directly, renters make up a significant share of those facing tenure insecurity and eviction due to the foreclosure of the homes they live in (just as they make up a significant share—32%—of all U.S. households). Second, the current crisis is reshaping the trends and patterns in housing markets, with an increase in rental demand already discernable and uncertainty about where an additional supply of affordable rental units will come from. Compounding this problem is the rapid rate at which banks are taking

Danilo Pelletiere (danilo@nlihc.org) has been the Research Director of the National Low Income Housing Coalition since 2003, where he is responsible for the Coalition's data analysis, public opinion and rapid response research efforts, as well as the Coalition's annual Out of Reach report, one of the most cited sources on local housing costs in the United States. He teaches and is a Senior Fellow at the George Mason Univ. School of Public Policy, where he received in PhD in Public Policy.

Keith Wardrip (keith@nlihc.org) has been a research analyst with the National Low Income Housing Coalition for 3 years. He hold a M.A. in geography from the University of Colorado.

ownership of former rental properties, emptying them and leaving them unoccupied (see below). And finally, housing has once again become a priority on the agenda of local, state and federal government. How renters will fare in this reprioritization of housing policy, however, remains largely to be determined.

Many Renters Caught in Foreclosure

Through emerging data and the pleading of advocates, the great extent to which renters and rental units are caught up in the crisis is now becoming evident. For example, in

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March 2008, RealtyTrac reported that 38% of foreclosures nationwide and roughly half of the recent foreclosures in Nevada, Illinois and New York involved rental properties (cited in CBS Evening News, 2008, March 27). Similarly, the Mortgage Bankers

Association's National Delinquency Survey found that at the end of 2007 almost one in five of all foreclosure starts was a one-to-four-unit rental property (cited in JCHS, 2008).

New York University's Furman Center (2008) found that in New York City, 60% of the 15,000 foreclosure filings in 2007 were properties with two or more units. At least half of the more than 30,000 households in properties in foreclosure were likely renter households. And in Boston, cases of eviction due to foreclosure heard by the Housing Court at least doubled from 2006 to 2007, reaching roughly 20 per week (Appelbaum, 2007). Similarly, in Providence, lenders sought to evict more than 400 tenants from foreclosed homes in the first three months of this year (Arditi, 2008). The National Low Income Housing Coalition estimates that 45% of the units scheduled for auction or owned by banks in New England were rental units (Wardrip and Pelletiere, 2008a). In Hennepin County, Minnesota, 43% of the county's foreclosed properties were not owner-occupied in the first ten months of 2007, potentially affecting between 2,500 and 3,000 tenant households (Hennepin County Task Force, 2007). Furthermore, calls to

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Zelma Henderson

We dedicate this issue of *Poverty & Race* to Zelma Henderson, a beautician, the last named et al. of the 13 *Brown v. Board of Education* plaintiffs, who died in May at age 88. Ms. Henderson grew up in a small Kansas town where she attended an integrated elementary school (Kansas law required racial separation only for elementary schools in towns of 15,000 or more). When she moved to Topeka, her two children were bused to an all-black school across town, which set her teeth on edge: "I knew what integration was and how well it worked, and couldn't understand why we were separated here in Topeka," and so she joined the Supreme Court suit. "None of us knew that this case would be so important and come to the magnitude it has. What little bit I did, I feel I helped the whole nation," she told a *Dallas Morning News* interviewer. Another instance of how important it is for individuals to assert what is right.

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Homeline, a Minnesota tenant hotline, from renters facing eviction as a result of foreclosure increased over 400%, from 78 in 2006 to 424 in 2007 (Heath and Jones, 2008).

Even in a weaker housing market such as Cleveland, rentals make up a significant portion of foreclosure filings. According to recent research (Rothstein, 2008), an estimated 30% of foreclosures in Cuyahoga County were rental properties. The Cleveland Tenants Association, a referral agency associated with the County's "Don't Borrow Trouble Hotline," reported 373 calls from renters in foreclosure between January and March of this year, nearly as many (420) as it received in all of 2007 (Rothstein, 2008). The number of cases with landlords seeking to evict tenants tripled in the Cleveland Housing Court from September 2006 to September 2007 (Harris, 2007).

It should not be surprising that renters are caught up in the current credit crisis. Rental housing, particularly the one-to-four-unit stock (50% of the nation's rental housing), is financed by the same housing finance system as owner-occupied housing; indeed, the largest segment of the rental market (35%) is single-family homes (JCHS, 2006: 23). As the housing market weakens and subprime and predatory loan terms continue to take their toll, this stock is clearly susceptible to the same strains as the owner-occupied stock.

Based on their finding that multi-unit properties in Massachusetts were 30% of foreclosures but only 10% of sales, Foote, Girardi, Goette and Willen (2008) have argued that multi-unit properties actually may be more vulnerable to foreclosure due to higher combined loan-to-value (CLTV) ratios. The thinking, echoed elsewhere (Evans, 2007), is that as prices soared, many smaller rental properties were increasingly held or bought and operated primarily to extract the appreciation in value, not only upon resale but on an ongoing basis through cash-out refinancing. As a result, these

properties were often mortgaged for more than their rental income potential and long-term costs might dictate. It is hypothesized therefore that as values have fallen, owners of these small investment properties go into foreclosure rather than pay for and operate a depreciating asset in which they have negative equity. Along with high CLTV ratios, national statistics suggest non-owner-occupied purchases were more likely to receive higher-priced loans than similar owner-occupied properties (Avery, Brevoort, and Canner, 2007). Essentially, the argument is that if the current crisis was

45% of units scheduled for auction or owned by New England banks were rental units.

brought on by a speculative bubble, as appears to be the case, speculative rental units would be expected to be disproportionately affected by the implosion of that bubble. The renter-occupants who may live in them are simply collateral damage.

A more general and perhaps additional explanation for the high concentrations of rental housing among foreclosures, however, appears to lie in the economic geography of rental housing in the U.S. In short, rental housing in this country is highly concentrated in a relatively few neighborhoods, primarily co-located with economic distress and minority populations. Price declines have likely been steepest in these neighborhoods, thus increasing the likelihood of foreclosure.

It is well known that subprime or predatory loans and high CLTV ratios are concentrated in poor and minority neighborhoods (e.g., Avery, Brevoort, and Canner, 2007). Facing economic distress themselves and/or in their broader community, homeowners and landlords with little accumulated home equity or other accumulated wealth are less likely to find a way to make payments. With prices falling, struggling landlords and homeowners cannot sell their property for enough money to avoid foreclosure (Foote, Girardi,

Goette and Willen, 2008).

Making matters worse in low-income neighborhoods is that, while subprime and predatory loan terms clearly exacerbate the conditions for foreclosure, falling home prices and rising unemployment are emerging as the two best indicators of rising foreclosures. Most low-income neighborhoods experienced anemic or non-existent real income growth for much of this decade, and the recent slowdown has intensified their distress. More recently, there is evidence that after more rapid increases in home prices, many communities with lower-priced homes may now be experiencing more rapid price declines. It is this confluence of poverty, predatory lending and falling home values in low-income neighborhoods that has exposed all mortgaged housing, including the rental stock concentrated in these neighborhoods, to a greater risk of foreclosure. As is often observed, when the broader economy catches a cold, low-income and minority communities come down with pneumonia.

Analysis of New England data from the same source Foote, Girardi, Goette and Willen (2008) used in their analysis of Massachusetts foreclosures supports the conclusion that neighborhood effects are a likely factor in explaining the significant numbers of rental homes in foreclosure (Wardrip and Pelletiere, 2008b). Among neighborhoods with similar shares of rental housing, a greater concentration of poverty within a census tract was found to raise the expected incidence of foreclosure auctions and bank ownership. Conversely, however, greater concentrations of rental housing in a neighborhood indicated no similar pattern among neighborhoods with similar concentrations of poverty. Along with having high foreclosure rates, the high-poverty, high-renter neighborhoods in the study are also home to significantly higher proportions of non-white residents and other measures of economic disadvantage.

High-poverty communities also contain a disproportionate share of the region's multi-unit, non-condominium housing. Therefore, even though

multi-unit structures do not make up a disproportionate share of foreclosures relative to the underlying distribution of the housing stock in these neighborhoods, the disproportionate share of the region's multi-unit and rental housing in these foreclosure-prone communities may explain the unexpectedly large number of these properties that are foreclosed upon overall. As a practical matter, the higher number of multi-unit foreclosures in these neighborhoods also increases the average number of households affected by each foreclosure. Thus, even if concentrations of rental housing do not have an independent effect on an area's foreclosure rate, the fact that many lower-income and minority households rent their homes does create this association.

All Renters Are Challenged by a Changing Market

Beyond the direct injury of an eviction due to foreclosure, low-income renters are feeling the effects of increasing demand for available rental housing. Foreclosed homeowners and renters are entering the market in increasing numbers while the crisis is also diminishing incomes, opportunities for credit and consumers' preference for homeownership, further swelling the number of current and prospective renters. Today, millions more Americans are looking for decent, affordable rental housing.

The U.S. Census estimates that between the first quarter of 2007 and the first quarter of 2008 the number of renter households increased by 980,000. Since 2005, when housing prices were peaking nationally, there has been an increase of nearly 2 million renters. To provide some context for how rapid this increase has become, in the entire first half of the decade, from 2000 to 2005, the number of renters increased by 792,000. More problematic for communities trying to react to the crisis, the number of rent-

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National Commission on Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity

The 40th Anniversary of the Fair Housing Act provides an excellent time to take stock of the status of fair housing and fair lending in the United States and to look forward to the direction enforcement of the Fair Housing Act and other fair housing strategies should take in the future.

The **Leadership Conference on Civil Rights Education Fund, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, and the National Fair Housing Alliance** have created the National Commission on Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity to conduct regional hearings across the country designed to examine the state of fair housing in America 40 years after the Act's passage.

The Commission will be chaired by former HUD Secretaries Jack Kemp and Henry Cisneros. Other Commissioners include Okianer Christian Dark, Associate Dean, Howard University School of Law; Gordon Quan, former Mayor Pro Tem and Chair of the Housing Committee for the City of Houston; Myron Orfield of the Institute on Race and Poverty at the University of Minnesota; Pat Combs, immediate past President of the National Association of Realtors; and I. King Jordan, President Emeritus, Gallaudet University.

The hearings will explore the persistence of housing discrimination and segregation and its impact on our communities; the nexus between fair housing and other socio-economic factors such as education, access to credit, employment opportunities, environmental injustice, transportation issues, and access to quality health providers; the successes, failures and flaws of the federal fair housing enforcement mechanisms; and strategies to break down residential segregation and provide households isolated in segregated areas the opportunity to find integrative alternatives. The goal is to refocus the nation's attention on fair housing/fair lending and develop a policy agenda to ensure strong enforcement of the Fair Housing Act, a commitment to integrated communities and an increase in the availability of affordable housing.

The hearing schedule is as follows:

July 15th	Chicago
July 31st	Houston – Field Hearing
September 9th	Los Angeles
September 22nd	Boston
October 17th	Atlanta

Each hearing will consist of multiple panels looking at every aspect of enforcement, residential segregation and discrimination in housing. The hearings will culminate with release of a report in December, 2008 detailing the testimony provided at the hearings and outlining future recommendations.

PRRAC is pleased to be providing staff/consulting support to the Commission, along with fair housing consultant Sara Pratt and Julie Fernandes of the Raben Group. For more information, contact Philip Tegeler, ptegeler@prrac.org.

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ers has already increased more than projections were predicting. For example, Harvard's Joint Center for Housing Studies had predicted an increase of just 1.8 million renters for the entire period from 2005 to 2015 (William Apgar, quoted in Swarns, 2008).

This is how one respondent in a recent survey of housing counselors conducted by the National Low Income Housing Coalition (Wardrip and Pelletiere, 2008c) describes the new competition created by foreclosure: "There are both tenants that are displaced by foreclosure as well as potential buyers that can't or don't want to enter into homeownership that are now competing with other tenants for limited rental units." Clearly, foreclosed and evicted homeowners can be added to this list competing for limited affordable rental units.

A foreclosure not only can result in new entrants to the rental market, but it also results in a unit being unoccupied and held off the market at least temporarily during and after the foreclosure process. Particularly in a soft market, it can be a long time before a foreclosed rental property is returned to the market, sold and returned to occupancy. Upon its eventual return, there is no guarantee it will be rented, in good condition, or offered at a similar or lower rent as that before the foreclosure. Moreover, the bias toward homeownership in this country suggests that it will be a lot harder for units to convert, even convert back, from ownership to rental in many locations, certainly more difficult than it was for thousands of units to convert from rental to condominiums and other ownership forms during the height of the boom. Local zoning, neighborhood opposition, condominium and homeowner association rules all generate considerable friction in the conversion from owning to renting. Indeed, the relatively fluid conversion of units from rental to ownership during the boom, often with local government facilitation, is now making it difficult to accommodate

households foreclosed and evicted, often from the very same units, in the rental market. Nearly 300,000 units in large multi-unit properties were converted from rental to condominium ownership in 2005 and 2006 (JCHS, 2008).

It seems likely that in all but the slackest rental markets, increased demand will be met with declining supply in the short run (Rho, Pelletiere, and Baker, 2008). How this situation

Rental housing is highly concentrated in neighborhoods with minority populations.

might be resolved in the long term, whether an excess of units will eventually lead to slacker markets and lower rents as some have predicted (e.g., Timiraos, 2008) for example, remains highly uncertain.

Shifting Policy Priorities Affect Renters

The final channel through which the housing credit crisis is affecting renters is the policy process at the local, state and federal levels. Not only are governments taking steps to directly address the current crisis, but in doing so they are re-ordering their housing policy priorities across the board.

In the majority of states, renters have few rights in a foreclosure, receive little notice and can be evicted shortly after the foreclosure is completed without just cause (such as non-payment of rent). Renters are the last to hear about the impending loss of their home and are evicted through no fault of their own, after having paid rent and losing their security deposit.

Thus, one significant way in which policy has been changing for renters has been to push for greater protections. A number of states have passed new legislation protecting renters in the foreclosure process. Minnesota and Illinois have recently passed laws providing renters with some measure of protection and notice in a foreclosure.

New Jersey and the District of Columbia already had such protections in place. In most instances these are modest proposals that simply provide tenants with more notice and delay the timing of an eviction in the foreclosure process. Some are seeking to provide more protection. In Massachusetts, for example, bills are pending in the legislature that would: prevent lenders and their associates from evicting tenants from foreclosed properties without just cause; impose a one-time six-month moratorium on foreclosures of owner-occupied property with subprime, predatory mortgages; and require a judicial foreclosure system. All of these bills would benefit tenants in pre- and post-foreclosure properties.

It is important to note that while a bias against renters has likely kept them from being recognized in much of the policy discussion, ironically they have also been left out in part because, of all those caught up in this crisis, they are least plausibly to blame for causing their own problems. When the problems of renters are recognized, their blamelessness can be an asset in erecting protections for them.

While some progress has been made in protecting renters in the foreclosure process, it is less clear what states may do to monitor and adjust to the changing dynamics of renting and owning in this country. Still viewing it as a homeownership crisis, few states or localities appear to be focused on accommodating additional renters.

At the federal level, just as at the state level, the majority of proposed policies to assist households in foreclosure, as opposed to builders, banks and realtors, have been targeted at owner-occupied housing. At the same time, however, some proposals would help renters. For example, proposals have been made in both the House and the Senate that would prohibit evictions in a foreclosure until after 90 days or the end of the lease, whichever comes sooner. Also, there has been an effort to provide additional funds to the FEMA Emergency Food and Shelter Program to aid owners and renters facing foreclosure from

homelessness by providing them with temporary financial assistance.

At a more general level, the rush of housing legislation and the focus on housing by policymakers has provided new impetus and a vehicle for the National Housing Trust Fund, which, when fully realized, would use funding from a variety of dedicated sources to build, rehabilitate and preserve 1.5 million units of housing for the lowest-income families within 10 years. Also, neighborhood stabilization funds have been proposed in both houses of Congress that are in part directed at maintaining rental housing for extremely low-income households.

At all levels of government, however, resources are constrained, and resources for a new priority must of-

ten come at the expense of some other budget item. One benefit of a housing trust fund is that its resources are separate from annual appropriation decisions. While the National Housing Trust Fund would not use existing funds from another housing program, Congress still plans to use some of the new dollars to pay for the first years of another new program aimed at preventing owner-occupied foreclosures. This example shows well the constantly shifting balance of gains and losses that are emerging from the new attention on housing. It remains uncertain whether the policy changes afoot will lead to a more balanced housing policy in which low-income people are a greater priority and rental housing is better recognized for pro-

viding millions of Americans with decent housing. There is real concern among advocates that attempts to shore up home prices and stabilize homeowners further will undercut efforts to create and maintain affordable rental housing.

Conclusion

The current credit crisis is not only a crisis for homeownership. Its impacts are not limited to households with subprime loans. Today, it is a crisis that affects the entire U.S. housing market, generating an existential threat to the housing of millions of minority and low-income households, including renters. □

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The Kerner Commission: Remembering, Forgetting and Truth-Telling

by Bruce R. Thomas

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (NACCD) released its report 40 years ago—on March 1, 1968. The NACCD was popularly known as the Kerner Commission, after its chair, Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois. The Vice-Chair was New York City Mayor John Lindsay. Kerner was a Democrat, Lindsay a Republican. The other nine members reflected the standard political arithmetic of such commissions:

Four Members of Congress: Senator Edward Brooke (R-MA), Senator Fred Harris (D-OK), Congressman James Corman (D-CA), Congressman William McCulloch (R-OH).

One corporate executive: Charles Thornton, CEO, Litton Industries.

One labor leader: I. W. Abel, President, United Steelworkers of America.

One state government executive: Katherine Peden, Commissioner of Commerce, State of Kentucky.

One law enforcement official: Herbert Jenkins, Chief of Police, Atlanta, GA.

One civil rights leader: Roy Wilkins, Executive Director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Nine Commissioners were white, two African-American; ten were male, one female. Of the eleven members, two are alive: Edward Brooke and Fred Harris.

Bruce R. Thomas (boom2@ameritech.net) lives and works in Chicago as a writer and researcher in education. He works part-time at the Chicago Teachers' Center of Northeastern Illinois University and devotes the rest of his time to a non-profit entity he founded and directs called Inventure. The Kerner Commission was his first job following graduate work at Balliol College, Oxford University, on a Rhodes Scholarship.

I worked on the Kerner Commission staff. What follows are reflections on the meaning of the Kerner Commission Report (KCR) as a matter of remembering, forgetting and truth-telling.

* * * * *

The French philosopher and critic Ernest Renan argued that a country's unifying sense of self entails both forgetting and remembering. The French envelop the St. Bartholomew's Day

***The Commission
acknowledged the
multiple ways our racist
past is written into our
present.***

massacre in amnesia. America has done much the same in the matter of race and racism. The KCR assembled a remarkable brief in support not only of remembering our nation's racist past but also of acknowledging the multiple ways in which the consequences of that past are written into the nation's present. Two key paragraphs in the KCR summary told the truth in plain, blunt terms:

(Paragraph One)

This is our basic conclusion: Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal.

(Paragraph Two)

What white Americans have never fully understood—but what the Negro can never forget—is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.

The two paragraphs are markedly different in their relationship to the text of the report.

Paragraph One brings forward to the beginning of the KCR key phrases and concepts from the conclusions to Chapter 16 (“The Future of the Cities”):

The nation is rapidly moving toward two increasingly separate Americas. Within two decades, this division could be so deep that it would be almost impossible to unite:

- *a white society principally located in suburbs, in smaller central cities and in the peripheral parts of large central cities; and*
- *a Negro society largely concentrated within large central cities.*

Paragraph Two does not preview subsequent narrative language. It performs two purposes. One is to state in a few carefully crafted words the racist theme and argument of the KCR. The actual language of the narrative comes at the opening of Chapter 4, “The Basic Causes.” Acknowledging that the causes of racial disorders are “a massive tangle of issues and circumstances,” the report goes on to say:

Despite these complexities, certain fundamental matters are clear. Of these, the most fundamental is the racial attitude and behavior of white Americans toward black Americans. Race prejudice has shaped our history decisively in the past; it now threatens to do so again. White racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II.

The second purpose or function of Paragraph Two is to place in the reader's mind a summary explanatory category for the myriad of concrete details about the black experience in America that suffuse the 265 pages of the main narrative text. From a host of candidates, here are two such details:

[D]ifferential food prices constitute another factor convincing urban Negroes in low-income neighborhoods that whites discriminate against them. (p.141)

Most Negroes distrust what they refer to as the "white press." As one interviewer reported:

The average black person couldn't give less of a damn about what the media say. The intelligent black person is resentful at what he considers to be a totally false portrayal of what goes on in the ghetto. Most black people see the newspapers as mouthpieces of the "power structure." (p.206)

With hindsight, we can today say that Paragraph Two unwittingly served a third purpose: as a preview of one of the three reports that make up the largely unknown second volume of the KCR: "Supplemental Studies for The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders." Released in July 1968, "Supplemental Studies" presented the results of inquiries commissioned (but not endorsed) by the NACCD: "Racial Attitudes in Fifteen American Cities"; "Between Black and White—The Faces of American Institutions in the Ghetto"; and "Who Riots? A Study of Participation in the 1967 Riots."

The "Between Black and White" study generally supports Paragraph Two, but in a more nuanced way. This study, done by a team led by Peter Rossi from Johns Hopkins University, sought to understand "the interface between central community institutions and urban ghettos...." It focused

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"The Integration Debate: Competing Futures for American Cities" – September 5 & 6, 2008

Hosted by the Fair Housing Legal Support Center at The John Marshall Law School, Chicago

Co-sponsored by PRRAC and the National Fair Housing Alliance

Forty years ago marked the passage of the Fair Housing Act following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King. At that time, the Kerner Commission Report predicted that the United States was evolving into two societies—one black and one white. In sponsoring the Fair Housing Act, Senator Walter Mondale proposed that the "law was to replace the ghettos by truly integrated and balanced living patterns."

This conference, hosted by the John Marshall Law School and co-organized by PRRAC's Chester Hartman and George Washington University Professor Gregory Squires (a member of PRRAC's Social Science Advisory Board), will explore the continuing viability of the American integration ideal in a new era.

Keynote speakers will include Shanna Smith of the National Fair Housing Alliance and Roger Wilkins, the Clarence J. Robinson Professor of History and American Culture at George Mason University. Also featured are Melvin Oliver, James Rosenbaum, Nancy Denton, PRRAC Board member Florence Roisman, PRRAC Social Science Advisory Board member Dolores Acevedo-Garcia, Mindy Fullilove, Aurie Pennick and many others.

On Friday morning, September 5th, conference participants will focus on integration and the Fair Housing Act. Is residential integration still our nation's goal? And if so, is it achievable? We will look at the existing demographics of Metropolitan America and discuss the progress we have made in the past 40 years in achieving an integrated society. Then we will look at the Fair Housing Act itself and whether it really has the tools to achieve integration or is better suited simply to reacting to individual complaints of racial discrimination.

On Friday afternoon, we will examine the economic consequences of segregation, including its effects on our schools, earning potential and the accumulation of wealth. We will also examine its political effects and its effect on the criminal justice system.

Saturday morning's discussion will focus on mobility. Is mobility a viable strategy for achieving greater integration? Is it a civil right? Is integration still an appropriate goal to pursue?

The discussion will focus on the newest social and legal research in the area and the varying visions that have developed since 1968. This is a provocative subject, and the program is aimed at providing policymakers, those in the housing industry and fair housing activists a sense of our nation's future and what can be done to reinvigorate our nation's housing agenda.

For more information and to register, go to <http://www.jmls.edu/fairhousingcenter/conferences.shtml>

(KERNER: Continued from page 9)

on police, teachers, social workers, merchants, employers and political workers. Two of the study's four principal findings were:

1. "Although our respondents were aware that their cities faced severe problems of housing, education, poverty, crime and unemployment, *their views can be characterized as optimistic denials of the full seriousness of the position of urban Negroes in their cities.*"

2. "Our respondents' explanations of why civil disorders were occurring showed a contradictory pattern of reasons. On the one hand, *they were very willing to concede that important sources of civil disorders lay in the basic conditions of ghetto life—poverty, unemployment, poor housing.* On the other hand, *they gave a much more important role to militants and 'agitation' than the Commission's Report was able to find was actually the case.*

(Italics in the original)

So: how do we explain this rare instance of remembering and truth-telling in a nation's public discourse?

At the July 29, 1967 press conference announcing his creation of the NACCD, President Lyndon Johnson laid out the questions the Commission was to answer (What happened? Why? How to prevent recurrences in the future?) and also issued a truth-telling

charge: "As best you can, find the truth and express it in your report."

But Presidential exhortation was no guarantee of Commission execution. How did the Commission find its way toward remembering and truth-telling?

Five explanations come to mind. First, one might say that truth-telling possibilities are unleashed when history explodes. So it did in the first nine months of 1967 in the United States; there were, in this period, some 164 separate incidents of urban rioting. Two were momentous: Newark and Detroit. The images in the nation's media were staggering, almost beyond

"White institutions created the ghetto, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it!"

comprehension. This domestic explosion of violence took the country out of the realm of business as usual—and then, as if the domestic events were insufficient, came a second eruption of illusion-shattering violence, in February 1968: the Tet offensive in Vietnam.

The second explanation has to do with the nature of the beast. Commissions like Kerner are born of a political act that creates a non-political space. For both Commission members and staff, the work is a career parenthetical. Involvement with the Commission entailed no negative personal or political consequences. The voice of the Commission was a collective (this is *our* conclusion) in which no

single voice could be singled out for criticism or retribution. The self-editing that is a constituent part of the political mind was largely checked in at the Commission's cloakroom.

Third is the Commission experience itself. For both Commission members and staff, producing the report was an education, as much affective as cognitive. A number of Commissioners traveled to cities where riots had occurred. The Commissioners had homework and, to a remarkable degree, did it, as, for example, in reading staff papers. Particularly notable among those papers was the "Harvest of Racism" document prepared by research director Bob Shellow and his team. Though never publicly released, it exercised considerable internal influence.

Fourth, there were the witnesses, the men and women who appeared in person before the Commission to give testimony. Over months of time, the Commissioners listened to an array of voices that sketched out a portrait of America that became as undeniable as it was uncomfortable. The cumulative impact of this chorus is revealed on the final page of the KCR narrative, the stunningly brief Conclusion built around the words of one witness whose testimony came early in the life of the Commission. The speaker was Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, and the Conclusion quoted his words:

I read that report...of the 1919 riot in Chicago, and it is as if I were reading the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of 1935, the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of 1943, the report of the McCone Commission on the Watts riot.

I must again in candor say to you members of this Commission—it is a kind of Alice in Wonderland with the same moving picture reshown over and over again, the same analysis, the same recommendations and the same inaction.

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Resources

Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders is readily available in both paperback and hardback versions.

The second Kerner Commission Report, *Supplemental Studies*, is available in libraries. Also relevant: *Cities under Siege: an anatomy of the ghetto riots, 1964-1968*, by David Boesel (1971); *The Politics of Riot Commissions, 1917-1970: A collection of official reports and critical essays*, by Anthony Platt (1971); Robert Shellow's paper on "The harvest of American racism" is available at the Lyndon Johnson Presidential Library.

See also the website of The Eisenhower Foundation for a 40-year update on the Kerner Report.

one of the most prominent—and complicating—features of 21st century gateways is that they are, for the most part, metropolitan areas that are fairly suburban in form. They tend to be metropolitan areas that grew after World War II and feature large, lower-density, sprawling, automobile-oriented areas.

Although several of them, such as Charlotte, Phoenix and Austin, have large central cities stemming from annexation, those cities are suburban-like in the way they function, especially when contrasted with the dense cores in more established cities along the East Coast, in the Midwest and dotting the West Coast that received earlier waves of immigrants. This is not to say that some of the more established immigrant gateways are not suburban in form (think Los Angeles) or that immigrants are not living in suburbs in metro areas with a high proportion residing in central cities (think suburban New York, which runs through at least three neighboring states).

To explore some of the most recent trends, and the most recent challenges, we turn to a few examples of 21st century gateways. Although these metropolitan areas share many defining characteristics, such as the sudden influx of immigrants, the lack of recent history of immigration, and heavily suburban form of development, each has distinctive features.

We focus on two case examples that do not usually top the list of typical immigrant destinations: Atlanta and Sacramento.

Atlanta typifies immigration in metropolitan areas in the South Atlantic or the “New South,” a geography historically outside the trajectory of most immigrants that has become increasingly cosmopolitan, in part through immigration in the past few decades, and in part through domestic in-migration.

Sacramento, although it is the capital of California and located in a traditional settlement state, had been largely bypassed by immigrants dur-

PRRAC Update

- We are pleased to welcome **Kami Kruckenberg**, our new Health Policy Fellow. Kami is a recent Harvard Law School graduate with experience in civil rights, and environmental and health law. She will be spearheading our “health mobility” project and PRRAC’s other work on minority health disparities. See www.prrac.org/projects/healthdisparities.php
- PRRAC Board member **Don Nakanishi** has announced his retirement (effective July 1, 2009) as Director of the UCLA Asian American Studies Center, after 18 years of distinguished leadership (as part of a 35-year career at UCLA). Congratulations and job well done, Don.
- PRRAC Board member **William Taylor** was just elected to the National Academy of Education (www.naeducation.org), joining such fellow luminaries as James Comer, Edmund Gordon, Deborah Meier, Robert Moses, Linda Darling-Hammond and Jeannie Oakes.
- We are also pleased to welcome PRRAC’s 2008 summer interns: **Westra Miller** from Georgetown Law School, **Megan Mungia** from Princeton and **Colby Spencer**, recently with the economics graduate program at George Washington University.

ing the mid-20th century, but began to see a rise in its foreign-born population during the 1980s and 1990s. Refugee resettlement has heavily impacted Sacramento’s foreign-born.

Atlanta: Unsettled in the Suburbs

Atlanta offers an excellent example of an emerging gateway in the “New South.” During the past few decades, many from within the United States

Another new immigrant settlement trend is the dramatic increase in suburban settlement.

and from abroad flocked to Atlanta as the metropolitan area’s economy rapidly expanded with the acquisition of major national and multinational corporations. Atlanta is also home to one of the busiest airports in the world and is a major destination for conventions.

The work of historian Mary Odem shows that the racial and ethnic landscape of this traditionally black/white

region began to change in the 1980s as Southeast Asian refugees were resettled in the area.

The foreign-born population comprised only 2% of the metro-area population in 1980, but by 1990 it had doubled to 4%. During the 1990s, Mexicans were drawn to the area by employment opportunities. With the exception of Dallas, another emerging gateway, Atlanta added more jobs than any other metropolitan area in the United States.

By 2000, the foreign-born were 10% of the population of metropolitan Atlanta, and by 2006 immigrants comprised more than 11% of the total population; a slight majority are Latin American immigrants.

The city of Atlanta is a relatively small jurisdiction at the core of a sprawling metropolis. Thus, most of the population lives outside the city where, in 2005, 96% of metropolitan Atlanta’s immigrants lived as well.

Atlanta is a region divided by race: Predominantly white residential areas are in the north and predominantly black neighborhoods in the south.

According to Odem’s analysis, the
(Please turn to page 12)

foreign-born have not moved into areas in southwestern Atlanta and southern DeKalb County where the neighborhoods of the highest concentration of black residents are located. By contrast, however, clusters of immigrants have settled in central DeKalb County and northeastern Clayton County where African Americans comprise one-third of the population.

What has happened at the local suburban level is perhaps best represented by the recent histories of two mature suburban cities in northern DeKalb County, Chamblee and Doraville. Prior to 1970, these two places were largely white, blue-collar communities whose residents worked in nearby factories.

As the economy slowed down in the 1970s and factories closed, many residents began to leave the area, leaving vacant many commercial, industrial and residential properties lining major highways. At the same time, Atlanta began to resettle refugees in the region, and this area became a prime location for low-cost housing for refugee newcomers, with property managers eager to rent their properties.

By the 1980s, two rail stops on the regional train line made this an attractive area for other immigrants, particularly those from China, Korea and Latin America. By 1990, the Chamblee-Doraville area had become one of the most ethnically diverse in the Southeastern United States.

Non-Hispanic whites were almost 90% of Chamblee's population in 1980 but only 24% in 2000, while Latinos comprised 54% and Asians almost 15%. Numerous strip shopping malls along the major thoroughfare, the Buford Highway, are now lined with immigrant and ethnic enterprises.

Recently, Latin American and Asian immigrants, such as those from Vietnam and Korea, have been leaving the low-cost apartment complexes in Chamblee and Doraville as their economic situations have improved. They head north to more remote counties to purchase single-family homes. The formerly all-white suburbs of Gwinnett, northern Fulton and Cobb Counties have also become increasingly diverse (home to immigrants and native-born blacks) and are equally characterized by clusters of ethnic business that have cropped up along major arteries.

Chamblee has responded to increasing diversity by embracing it as a means to attract developers, businesses and tourists, passing new zoning to create an International Village. But,

Responses have ranged from accommodating and inclusionary to hostile and exclusionary.

in contrast, Chamblee passed an ordinance in 1996 forbidding people to "assemble on private property for the purpose of soliciting work as a day laborer without the permission of the property owner."

A host of local suburban areas have passed additional restrictive ordinances that affect everything from educational access to housing to law enforcement. For example, the County Board of Commissioners of Cherokee County, an area that has been attractive to increasing numbers of Latinos, passed legislation in 2006 that declared English the official language of the county and that will penalize landlords who rent housing to undocumented immigrants. This reflects similar legislation that passed in Farmers Branch, an inner-ring suburb of the city of Dallas, but was recently struck down as unconstitutional by a federal judge.

At the state level, Georgia legislators have rejected bilingual education, placing their emphasis instead on programs that emphasize learning English quickly. In 2006, Georgia was one of the first states to pass legislation to

address immigration issues, with the sweeping Georgia Security and Immigration Compliance Act.

This act instituted a range of restrictive measures related to unauthorized immigration, including denying tax-supported benefits to adults without status; requiring police to check status of anyone arrested for a felony and reporting those without status to federal authorities; and requiring proof of legal authorization to work on all state contracts. Since then, other states, such as Arizona and Oklahoma, have passed legislation in the absence of federal immigration reform.

While Atlanta, Dallas, Washington, DC and Phoenix offer good examples of what has been happening in emerging gateways, Portland (OR), Minneapolis-St Paul and Sacramento offer case studies of what has been happening in re-emerging gateways. These metropolitan areas have something in common—a significant number of the foreign-born are refugees from Southeast Asia and Eastern Europe. The suburban patterns of settlement are equally characteristic of these metropolitan areas.

Sacramento's Changing Suburban Landscape

Geographers Robin Dattel and Dennis Dingemans identify a host of forces that have led to the re-emergence of Sacramento as a gateway of immigration. These include a history of immigrant settlement, the region's role as a refugee magnet, the availability of inexpensive suburban housing, and the demand for both "brain" and "brawn" migrants.

Sacramento had about 250,000 foreign-born residents in 2000, and it gained another 100,000 by 2006, making it 17.6% foreign-born. Forty-one percent of this population is from Asia; 33% from Latin America; and 11% from Eastern Europe. Furthermore, Sacramento ranked tenth among all US metropolitan areas in the absolute number of refugees that were resettled between 1983 and 2004.

Immigrants have had an impact on

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the commercial and religious geography of suburban Sacramento communities, as well as on schools that have become increasingly diverse. Notably, Eastern European refugees have been attracted to Sacramento northeast of downtown, as well as to West Sacramento, where a previous generation of Russian immigrants made their home and where religious institutions (Baptist as well as Orthodox) are well-established.

The other large refugee population settling in Sacramento is from Southeast Asia, particularly Vietnam and Laos, including many Hmong. Churches on the south side of Sacramento played an instrumental role in sponsoring refugees. Refugee service organizations, such as Sacramento Lao Family Community Inc. and the Hmong Women's Heritage Association, sprang up in this area.

Southeast Asian refugees settled not only in the south side of the city but also in the adjacent, unincorporated and more suburban area of Sacramento County.

Since Hmong tend to have the lowest incomes among Asian immigrants, they have moved into less-expensive housing, either in the city or in the older inner suburbs.

The impact of the foreign-born on the suburban commercial landscape of Sacramento is significant. A Little Saigon has emerged along Stockton Boulevard, with 350 Asian businesses.

In another area of the city, along six miles of Franklin Boulevard, a Latino commercial strip has developed. Elsewhere in the city there are Korean and Slavic entrepreneurial clusters.

In addition to commercial enterprises, the foreign-born in Sacramento have made their mark on the suburban landscape through their houses of worship—Buddhist, Hindu, Sikh and Tao temples; mosques; Korean and Vietnamese Catholic churches; and Protestant *iglesias*. Fifty-eight churches in the region, most located in the suburbs, are associated with ex-Soviet immigrants.

In Sacramento, as in many other emerging, re-emerging and pre-

emerging suburban gateways, the rapid increase in the foreign-born population is most dramatically felt in the schools. In the local media, several Sacramento radio stations sell air time to ethnic broadcasters, and newspapers in Vietnamese, Lao and Ukrainian are readily available.

The foreign-born also have an impact on the public landscape through their ethnic festivals and their sports activities. Major soccer tournaments are held in the suburbs, and cricket matches take place in the more prosperous suburban communities where South Asians have settled.

Looking Ahead

Local places, whether cities, suburban communities or states, have responded in different ways to the presence of the foreign-born, particularly

Mayors and other local elected officials have declared their jurisdictions as places of "sanctuary."

unauthorized immigrants. These responses have ranged from accommodating and inclusionary to hostile and exclusionary.

When these responses have been legislated through passing local or state ordinances, they reflect the frustrations that many public officials at the state and local level feel about the absence of federal movement on reforming federal immigration policy.

Many of these proposals and new laws affect access to jobs, housing, drivers' licenses and education. Some communities are passing laws that allow local law enforcement to work with federal immigration authorities; others are forbidding this kind of action.

In the inner-ring Dallas suburb of Farmers Branch, as noted above, the population voted to make it illegal for landlords to rent to unauthorized immigrants. In several suburban communities outside Washington, DC, measures regulating immigrant day labor

PRRAC's 20th Anniversary

Save the date: This year marks the 20th anniversary (more or less) of PRRAC, and we are hosting a reception to celebrate! The reception will be Friday, October 24th, from 5:30-7:30 at Busboys & Poets restaurant in Washington, DC. Please contact Kami Kruckenberg (kkruckenberg@prrac.org) for more details or to RSVP.

sites, as well as those denying services to unauthorized immigrants, have been put into place. And several Atlanta suburbs have tightened housing occupancy codes, as well as passed English-language ordinances.

But it is equally important to note that in other local communities—often within the same metropolitan areas—programs and policies have been implemented to reach out to immigrants.

Another Dallas area community, Plano, has a number of outreach programs run by the library system, which offers popular language and literacy programs.

Austin and various other municipalities, including Prince George's County in suburban Washington, have joint police-bank programs to bring immigrants into mainstream banking practices as a way of reducing street crime targeted at immigrants. Many local areas use public money for formal day labor centers.

And mayors and other local elected officials have declared their jurisdictions as places of "sanctuary" that forbid local police to work with immigration authorities. Sanctuary cities include long-standing large gateways such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, Houston and New York. But the list also includes many 21st century gateways, such as Austin, Minneapolis, Portland (OR), Seattle and Washington, DC.

Although many of the more restrictive laws may eventually be struck

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Building a Labor Base for Immigrant Rights in New York City

by Jim Perlstein

New Yorkers United: A Declaration of Principles for Immigrant Worker Rights

We are committed to fairness for all New Yorkers. We are individuals, labor unions, worker centers, community groups, faith-based and advocacy organizations who come together to re-affirm the following principles:

- *Rights apply to all.* The rights of all workers are human rights guaranteed by the United States Constitution and the International Bill of Human Rights.
- *Labor rights are the basis of a just society.* All people should have the right to support themselves and their families, to organize and unionize, to bargain collectively, to keep their families together, and to participate in the civic life of their communities. No one should face reprisals for exercising these rights.
- *Safe and healthy communities are a basic right.* This includes access to affordable housing, healthcare, education and a clean environment.
- *We cannot live in a two-tiered society.* Human, civil and labor rights must be protected regardless of immigration status, the industry in which people work or the community in which they live. A threat to immigrants' rights is a threat to the standards of all workers.
- *New York must set a progressive example.* New York has a tradition of providing opportunity and pioneering social justice that has to be preserved.

Therefore: We commit to work together for a fair and functional immigration system and policies at the local, state and national levels that include a path to citizenship, family unification, civil, labor and human rights.

On June 14, some 200 representatives from many of New York's largest local unions, including the New York City Central Labor Council, an umbrella organization of more than 400 locals with over a million members, joined with representatives of worker centers, faith-based and advocacy organizations, community and parent groups, and student associations, to roll out a "Declaration of Principles for Immigrant Worker Rights," at an event hosted by SEIU Local 32BJ. The collaboration intends to use the Declaration as a wedge to begin a grassroots education-action campaign on immigrant rights issues among working-class New Yorkers.

Jim Perlstein (jperlstein@bassmeadow.com) is a member of the Executive Council and chairs the Solidarity Committee of the Professional Staff Congress, AFT Local 2334, which represents 22,000 faculty and professional staff at the City University of New York (CUNY). He was a member of the Planning Committee for the June 14 event.

For openers, the joint effort will seek to get individuals and groups to sign pledges to vote or otherwise hold public officials accountable to the Principles, educate themselves and others about them, mobilize around them, and encourage neighbors and co-workers to do likewise. The pledge cards will provide a data bank that can be used for initial outreach to rank-and-file union members and community activists. The organizations circulating the pledges will, in the short term, attempt to recruit to the immigrant worker rights efforts they currently have under way—work such as fighting wage theft, enforcing on-the-job safety, coping with ICE raids, agitating for fair local day-labor legislation, etc. Down the road lies the possibility of a formal coalition with a common and concrete agenda.

The effort grows out of a critical analysis by the Coalition for Immigrants' Right to Driver's Licenses of its failure to be able to hold former New York Governor Spitzer to his Fall 2007 commitment to guarantee access to a driver's license to all eligible New Yorkers, regardless of their immigra-

tion status. The Coalition recognized that the support it had gathered in a 4-year campaign was broad, diverse, but paper-thin; and that few organizations had been prepared to invest the significant amounts of time, personnel and political capital needed to build an immigrant rights base that would have enabled Spitzer to withstand the backlash against his driver's license proposal. The Coalition had to acknowledge that even among the member groups of the coalition, particularly the unions, leaders had gotten out in front of rank-and-filers. Union members, recent polls indicate, are poorly informed about immigrant issues, and many have bought into the mindset that "The Immigrant is The Enemy."

Recognizing that a two-tiered working class will depress the living standards of all workers, while acknowledging that real divisions do exist, this new education-action, labor-community collaboration hopes to unite New York's working class over the long term behind genuinely progressive, and comprehensive, immigration reform. □

(KERNER: Continued from page 10)

The fifth explanation rests upon the foundational four. It involved a dollop of artifice, a little procedural two-step that gave us the two memorable paragraphs in the Summary. I have one version of this artifice; I don't know definitively if it's wholly true, partly true or not true at all. But even if its specifics are not precisely true, the version is nonetheless valid as a representation of the human and political process that shaped the final version of the KCR, particularly the Summary.

The version is this: The time came to finalize the report. The day before the final vote approving the text, Mayor Lindsay said to the Commissioners that no one would read the full report and it needed a few short prefatory paragraphs that would convey in just a few words the spirit and meaning of the report and the convictions of the commissioners. The Commission agreed. Lindsay volunteered to draft those few short prefatory paragraphs that night and to present them at the final meeting the next day. Lindsay presented his draft the next day; the Commission accepted it; and so the report opened with those memorable words.

In fact, Lindsay had several weeks earlier asked some of his mayoral staff who were active in assisting his Commission work to start drafting those few short prefatory pages. Lindsay had the pages in his back pocket when he volunteered to draft them overnight. He had decided to choose the most propitious moment for the idea of their necessity that would optimize the likelihood of their acceptance.

Accepted they were—and, in the minds of millions of Americans, the two key paragraphs in the Summary became the Kerner Commission Report. The two volumes of the complete Report comprise some 650 pages, but it was these two paragraphs in the Summary that carried the burden of truth-telling. □

(IMMIGRANTS: Continued from page 13)

down, they have fostered such intense debate that immigration has become an issue of major social significance in numerous local communities nationwide.

With national debate focused on border enforcement and legal status of immigrants, it's easy to overlook the fact that immigrants are local actors. They work in local firms, shops and factories, their children attend local schools, they join local religious congregations, they interact with municipal institutions. The locus of immigrant integration is the local community. This is where social, economic and civic integration happens. □

Resources

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Elzbieta M. Gozdziaik & Susan F. Martin, eds., *Beyond the Gateway: Immigrants in a Changing America* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2005)

Susan W. Hardwick 2008. "Slavic Dreams: Post-Soviet Refugee Identity and Adaptation in Portland, Oregon," (in) *Immigrants outside Megalopolis*, ed. R. Jones (Lanham: MD: Lexington Books)

Ivan Light, *Deflecting Immigration: Networks, Markets, and Regulation in Los Angeles*, (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2006)

Douglas S. Massey, ed., *New Faces in New Places: The Changing Geography of American Immigration* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2008)

Dowell Myers, *Immigrants and Boomers: Forging a New Social Contract for the Future of America* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2007)

Marie Price & Lisa Benton-Short, *Migrants to the Metropolis: The Rise of Immigrant Gateway Cities* (Syracuse: University of Syracuse Press, 2008)

New on PRRAC's Website (www.prrac.org)

A statewide poll on public attitudes toward voluntary school integration and interdistrict public school choice (from the Sheff Movement coalition in Hartford, CT)

Some responses to the article on crime and reconcentration of poverty in the July/August 2008 *Atlantic Monthly*.

"State, Local, and Federal Statutes against Source-of-Income Discrimination" (Updated June 2008)

cuse: University of Syracuse Press, 2008)

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Victor Zuniga & Ruben Hernandez-Leon, *New Destinations: Mexican Immigration in the United States* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2006)

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 (42¢ 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 Institute for Research on Race & Public Policy** at the Univ. of Illinois-Chicago provides seed grants for UIC faculty, sponsors a lecture series and other activities. Contact Interim Director John Betancur, Cuppa Hall (MC 347), 412 S. Peoria St., 3rd flr., Chicago, IL 60607, 312/996-6339, www.uic.edu/cuppa/irrrpp [10961]
- **The Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia** is housed at Ferris State Univ., 820 Campus Dr., ASC 2108, Big Rapids, MI 49307, 231/591-5873. It produced an award-winning documentary, *Jim Crow's Museum*, has two traveling exhibits, and is currently seeking to relocate to a larger space.

Contact Director John P. Thorp, www.ferris.edu/jimcrow [10964]

- **"Structural Racism: Building upon the Insights of John Calmore,"** by (PRRAC Board member) john a. powell, appeared in the March 2008 (Vol. 86, No. 3) issue of the *North Carolina Law Review*. Reprints may be available from Prof. powell, 433 Mendenhall Laboratory, 125 So. Oval Mall, Columbus, OH 43210, 614/688-5429, powell355@osu.edu [10968]
- **"Closing the Racial Wealth Gap Convening: October 27-29, 2007 Proceedings Paper"** (35 pp.) is available (possibly free) from Insight-Center for Community Economic Development, 2201 Broadway, #815, Oakland, CA 94612, 510/251-2600, www.insightcced.org [10985]
- **"A Resource Guide"** (53 pp., Dec. 2007) from the Kirwan Inst. for the Study of Race and Ethnicity (headed by PRRAC Board member john powell) is available from them (possibly free): 433 Mendenhall Laboratory, 125 So. Oval Mall, Columbus, OH 43210, 614/688-5429, Carter.647@usu.edu, www.kirwaninstitute.org [10998]
- **"Talking About Race: Toward a Transformative Agenda,"** a 42-page, Nov. 2007 Resource Notebook (containing, among other elements, an annotated bibliography), is available (possibly free) from the Kirwan Inst. for the

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.

Study of Race and Ethnicity (headed by PRRAC Board member john powell), 433 Mendenhall Laboratory, 125 So. Oval Mall, Columbus, OH 43210, 614/688-5429, www.kirwaninstitute.org [11000]

• **The Fund for an OPEN Society** has a brochure describing its various programs ("...because separate can never be equal"). 515 Valley St., #170, Maplewood, NJ 07040, 973/821-4198, www.opensoc.org [11003]

• **Working-Class White: The Making and Unmaking of Race Relations,** by Monica McDermott (196 pp., 2006), has been published by Univ. of California Press. [11018]

• **Contested Waters: A Social History of Swimming Pools in America,** by Jeff Wiltse (276 pp., 2007, \$29.95), has been published by Univ. of North Carolina Press. [11021]

• **"Asian American Access to Democracy in the 2006 Elections,"** by Glenn D. Magpantay & Nancy W. Yu, is a Jan. 2008 report from the Asian American Legal Defense and Education

Fund; available at www.aaldef.org [11023]

• **Faubourg Tremé: The Untold Story of Black New Orleans,** a 68-minute, 2007 documentary (Wynton Marsalis & Stanley Nelson, Exec. Producers), is available (\$195 + s/h) from California Newsreel/Resolution, 877/811-7495. [11026]

• **Banished,** an 84-minute, 2007 documentary (directed by Marco Williams), about the expulsion of black residents from hundreds of US counties between 1860 and 1920, is available (\$195 + s/h) from California Newsreel/Resolution, 877/811-7495. [11027]

• **How to Make Opportunity Equal: Race and Contributive Justice,** by Paul Gomberg (192 pp., 2007), has been published by Blackwell. [11028]

• **"Lessons from Suffering: How Social Justice Informs Spirituality,"** by (PRRAC Board member) john a. powell, appeared in Vol.1:1 of *University of St. Thomas Law Journal*. Reprints of the 26-page article may be available from Prof.

powell, powell.355@osu.edu [11029]

- **“Dreaming of a Self Beyond Whiteness and Isolation,”** by (PRRAC Board member) John A. Powell appeared in *J. Law & Policy* 18 (2008?).

Reprints of the 33-page article may be available from Prof. Powell, powell355@osu.edu [11030]

- **“Teaching Race/Teaching Whiteness: Transforming Colorblindness to Color Insight,”** by Margalynne J. Armstrong & Stephanie M. Wildman, is available from Prof. Wildman, Santa Clara Univ. School of Law, 500 El Camino Real, Santa Clara, CA 95053-0425, 408/554-5350, swildman@scu.edu, www.scu.edu/law/socialjustice [11031]

- **“Where Is the Debate on Race?”** by (PRRAC Social Science Advisory Board Member) Gregory D. Squires, appeared on the June 17, 2008 website of *The Nation*. Downloadable at www.thenation.comXX20080630/squires [11034]

Poverty/Welfare

- **“The Benefits Gap: How ACORN Is Helping Bridge the Gap”** (Jan. 2008) estimates that a national gap of \$89.7 billion exists between what low-income families are receiving and what the government can provide. More inf. at www.acorn.org [10943]

- **“Rooting Out Poverty: A Campaign by America’s Community Action Network”** (33 pp., 2008) is available (possibly free) from

Community Action Partnership, 1140 Conn. Ave. NW, #1210, Wash., DC 20036, 202/265-7546, info@communityactionpartnership.com, www.communityactionpartnership.com [10950]

- **“Ordinary People: In and Out of Poverty in the Gilded Age,”** by David Wagner (251 pp., 2008, \$24.95), has been published by Paradigm Publishers, 800/887-1591. [10952]

- **Communities of Opportunity** is a 2-year-old San Francisco strategy to dismantle generational poverty and create real change in the city’s distressed neighborhoods. Inf. from Dwayne Jones, COO, 1 So. Van Ness Ave., 5th fl., SF, CA 94103, 415/701-5554, djones@coosf.org, www.coosf.org [10960]

- **“Seizing the Moment: State Governments and the New Commitment to Reduce Poverty in America,”** by Jodie Levin-Epstein & Kristen Michelle Gorzelany (50 pp., April 2008), is available (free) from the Center for Law and Social Policy, 1015 15th St. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20005, 202/906-8000, jodie@clasp.org, www.clasp.org [10971]

- **“Poor Excuses: How Neglecting Poverty Costs All Americans”** (11 pp., updated for 2008), a Reality Check Guide to the Issues, is available (\$3.50) from The Century Foundation, 41 E. 70 St., NYC, NY 10021, 212/535-4441, www.tcf.org [10978]

Community Organizing

Ark Magazine is the (quarterly?) publication of the National Organizers Alliance (whose Gathering 6 was held June 29-July 2 at the National Labor College in Silver Spring, MD). Contact them at 2307 Martin Luther King, Jr. Ave. SE, Wash., DC 20020, 202/543-6603, info@noacentral.org, www.noacentral.org [11004]

Criminal Justice

- **“Cruel and Unusual: Sentencing 13- and 14-Year-Old Children to Die in Prison”** (36 pp., Jan. 2008) is available (no price listed) from Bryan Stevenson, Equal Justice Initiative, 122 Commerce St., Montgomery, AL 36104, 334/269-1803, www.eji.org [10946]

- ***Race in the Courts: The Execution of Willie Francis - Race, Murder and the Search for Justice in the American South***, by Gilbert King (324 pp., 2008, \$26), has been published by Basic Civitas Books. [10999]

Economic/Community Development

- **“Lessons from the Past—Opportunities for a Sustainable Future,”** sponsored by the Planning and Community Development Dept. of San Antonio, will take place **Sept. 15-18, 2008**. Inf. from 210/207-2731, joe.mendoza@sanantonio.gov [10962]

Education

- ***Keeping the Promise: The Debate Over Charter Schools***, eds. Leigh Dingerson, Barbara Miner, Bob Peterson & Stephanie Walters (144 pp., March 2008, \$16.95 + s/h), has been published by Rethinking Schools, 800/669-4192. [10915]

- **“Diplomas Count 2008: Can State P-16 Councils Ease the Transition?”** the 3rd edition of a report on high school graduation rates at the national, state and district levels from *Education Week* and the Editorial Projects in Education Research Center, is available (no price listed), from Patrick Murray, 202/955-9450, x321, or pmurray@commworkslife.com [10921]

- **The Forum for Education and Democracy** is “a ‘reality based’ think tank concerned with educational policy that will support strong public schools.” Contact them at Box 216, Amesville, OH 45711, 740/662-0503, info@forumforeducation.org, www.forumforeducation.org [10925]

- ***Solving California’s Dropout Crisis*** (2008), from the California Dropout Research Project, reports that each year 120,000 students in the state who reach age 20 without a high school diploma cost California \$46.4 billion in lower incomes, increased crime, and higher spending on health care and welfare over the course of their lifetimes. Available at www.lmri.ucsb.edu/edu/dropouts/pubs_policyreport.htm [10926]

- **“A Report on Special Education”** in the District of Columbia (April 2008), by DC VOICE, in collaboration with The Children’s Law Center, Howard Univ. and several other organizations, is available (no price listed) from DC VOICE, 1436 U St. NW, #401, Wash., DC 20009, 202/986-8548, jsmith@dcvoice.org, www.dcvoice.org [10929]

- **“A New Majority: Low Income Students in the South’s Public Schools”** (2008) is available (no price listed) from the Southern Education Foundation, 135 Auburn Ave. NE, 2nd fl., Atlanta, GA 30303, 404/523-0001; downloadable at www.southerneducation.org [10932]

- **“The Enhanced Reading Opportunities Study: Early Impacts and Implementation of Findings”** (2008), evaluating supplemental reading programs as part of small learning communities in 34 high schools in 10 school districts across the country, from the MDRC, is available at www.mdrc.org/publications/471/full.pdf [10935]

- **“Closing the Expectations Gap 2008,”** a 2008 survey of all 50 states and DC about their status in aligning high school standards, graduation requirements, assessments and accountability systems, has been issued by Achieve. Available at www.achieve.org/files/50-state-2008-prepub.pdf [10936]

- **“MetLife Survey of the American Teacher: The Homework Experience”** (2008) is available at www.metlife.com/WPSAssets/

10124301191202765628V1F TeacherSurveyHomework Final.pdf [10937]

- **“Raising Graduation Rates in an Era of High Standards: Five Commitments for State Action”** (2008), from Jobs for the Future, 88 Broad St., Boston, MA 02110, 617/728-4446, x220, jstewart@jff.org, www.jff.org; downloadable at jff.org/Documents/raising_gradrates.pdf [10956]

- **“Rethinking High Schools: Supporting All Students to be College-Ready in Math”** (2008) from WestEd (featuring three high schools — in Bellevue, WA, Norfolk, VA, and Boston) is available at www.wested.org/online_pubs/GF-08-01.pdf [10957]

- **“Teaching in Changing Times”** (2008), a joint project of the National Comprehensive Center for Teacher Quality and Public Agenda, reporting that most teachers feel prepared for classrooms and see teaching as a lifelong profession, is available at www.tqsource.org/publications/LessonsLearned3.pdf [10958]

- **“On Ramp to College: A State Policymaker’s Guide to Dual Enrollment,”** by Nancy Hoffman, Joel Vargas & Janet Santos (59 pp., May 2008), is available (no price listed) from Jobs for the Future, 88 Broad St., Boston, MA 02110, 617/728-4446, x220, jstewart@jff.org, www.jff.org [10963]

- ***Raising the Grade: How High School Reform Can Save Our Youth and Our Nation***, by Bob Wise (2008), former Governor of West Virginia and now

President of the Alliance for Excellent Education, can be ordered at www.all4ed.org/publication_material/RaisingtheGrade [10969]

- **“Parent Expectations and Planning for College”** is a 2008 report from the National Center for Education Statistics; available at nces.ed.gov/pubs2008/2008079.pdf [10986]

- **“National Indian Education Study 2007, Part I”** (2008), from the National Center of Education, finds that fewer than one in five American Indian and Alaska Native eighth graders read at or above grade level. Available at nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/nies/ [10987]

- **“Sizing Up Standards 2008,”** a 2008 report from the American Federation of Teachers, finds that the contents standards for academic courses that vary across states are for the most part not specific enough. Available at www.aft.org/pubs-reports/downloads/teachers/standards2008.pdf [10988]

- **“Confronting the ‘New’ American Dilemma,”** a 2008 report from the National Action Council for Minorities in Engineering, finds a dearth of African-American, Latino and American Indian and Alaska Native students who pursue careers in science, technology, engineering and math. Available at www.cpst.org/NACME_Rep.pdf [10989]

- **“Waiting to Be Won Over: Teachers Speak on the Profession, Unions, and Reform”** is a 2008

Education Sector report, based on a survey of 1,010 K-12 public school teachers. Available at www.educationsector.org/usr_doc/WaitingToBeWonOver.pdf [10990]

- **“Partnering with Your Child’s School: A Guide for Parents,”** a 20-page pamphlet, is available (possibly free) from the HSC Foundation, 1808 Eye St. NW, #600, Wash., DC 20006, 202/254-1220, www.hscfoundation.org [10997]

- **“Fixing No Child Left Behind,”** by Richard D. Kahlenberg, a 2008 Brief from The Century Foundation, is available from them (possibly free): 41 E. 70 St., NYC, NY 10021, 212/452-7723, hicks@tcf.org, www.tcf.org [11001]

- **The National Technical Assistance Center for Community Schools** is part of the Children’s Aid Society—contact them at 4600 Broadway, NYC, NY 10040, 212/569-2866, ta@childrensaid.org, www.childrensaid.org [11005]

- **“A Tribute to Justice Sandra Day O’Connor: Reflecting on Justice O’Connor’s Jurisprudence Relating to Race and Education”** was held on Feb. 22, 2008 at Catholic University’s Columbus School of Law, sponsored by the *Catholic University Law Review*. The *Review* will publish a special issue (Vol. 57, Issue 4) containing conference papers. Inf. from 202/329-6159, amanda.m.west@gmail.com [10934]

- **“Looking to the Future: Legal and Policy Options for Racially**

Integrated Education in the South is a forthcoming (April 2, 2009) conference, co-sponsored by the UNC School of Law, the UCLA Civil Rights Project and the Univ. of Georgia Education Policy & Evaluation Center. They've issued a Call for Papers; with a Sept. 2 deadline (accepted papers will receive an honorarium). Further inf. from Erica Frankenberg, Frankenberg@gseis.ucla.edu [11025]

Employment/ Labor/ Jobs Policy

- **“The Continued Collapse of the Nation’s Teen Job Market and the Dismal Outlook for the 2008 Summer Labor Market for Teens: Does Anybody Care?”** (2008) has been issued by the Center for Labor Market Studies at Northeastern Univ. Available at www.clms.neu.edu/publications/ [10941]
- **“Tunnels & Cliffs: A Guide for Workforce Development Practitioners and Policymakers Serving Youth with Mental Health Needs”** (107 pp., 2007) is available (no price listed) from the National Collaborative on Workforce and Disability for Youth, c/o Inst. for Educational Leadership, 4455 Conn. Ave. NW, #310, Wash., DC 20008, 877/871-0744, contact@ncwd-youth.info, www.ncwd-youth.info [10951]
- **“Thrive: The Skills Imperative”** (2008) has been published by the Council on Competitiveness; available at www.compete.org/images/

uploads/File/PDF%20Files.Thrive.%20The%20Skills%Imperative%20-%20FINAL%20PDF.PDF [10970]

- **“Going Nowhere: Workers’ Wages Since the Mid-1970s”** (11 pp., updated for 2008), a Reality Check Guide to the Issues, is available (\$3.50) from The Century Foundation, 41 E. 70 St., NYC, NY 10021, 212/535-4441, hicks@tcf.org, www.tcf.org [10979]
- **“Reach Higher, America: Overcoming Crisis in the U.S. Workforce”** (61 pp., June 2008), a report of The National Commission on Adult Literacy, is available (no price listed) from the Council for Advancement of Adult Literacy, 1221 Ave. of the Americas, 46th fl., NYC, NY 10020, 212/512-2363, www.caalusa.org [10984]
- ***The Man Who Hated Work and Loved Labor: The Life and Times of Tony Mazzocchi***, by Les Leopold (544 pp., 2007, \$24.95), has been published by Chelsea Green Publishing, www.chelseagreen.com [10995]

Environment

Environmental Justice is a new (2008?) quarterly peer-reviewed journal, exploring the impact of environmental laws, regulations and policies on minority and low-income populations, and the response of these communities. Available at www.liebertpub.com/publication.aspx?pub_id=259 [11012]

Families/ Women/ Children

- **“Women, Slums and Urbanisation: Examining the Causes and Consequences”** (May 2008), produced by COHRE, is available at www.cohre.org/view_page.php?page_id=308 [10922]
- **“No Free Pass to Harass: Protecting the Rights of Undocumented Immigrant Women Workers in Sexual Harassment Cases”** (2008) is a litigation guide by the National Employment Law Project and the ACLU Women’s Rights Project. Available at salsa.democracyinaction.org/dia/track.jsp?v=2&c=R%2BKvnEZWocVQ987Tge0f9dFtdtVerwYW [10948]
- **“School-Age Child Care Arrangements,”** by Sharmila Lawrence & J. Lee Kreader (15 pp., Oct. 2006), is available (possibly free) from the National Center for Children in Poverty, Mailman School of Public Health, Columbia Univ., NYC, NY 10027, contact@researchconnections.org, www.researchconnections.org [10972]
- ***Sueños Americanos: Barrio Youth Negotiating Social and Cultural Identities***, by Julio Cammarota (200 pp., 2008, \$39.95), has been published by Univ. of Arizona Press, hollys@uapress.arizona.edu, www.uapress.arizona.edu [11011]

Health

- **“Advice to the Next President: 7 Ways to Fight Health Inequities”**

appears in the Spring/Summer 2008 issue of *Harvard Public Health Review*. The article presents recommendations by 7 faculty members of the Harvard School of Public Health (including PRRAC Soc. Sci. Advisory Bd. member Dolores Acevedo-Garcia). Contact the *Review* at 401 Park Dr., East Atrium, 3rd fl., Boston, MA 02215, 617/384-8988, [10931]

- **“National Health Insurance: Lessons from Abroad”** (74 pp., 2008) is available (no price listed) from The Century Foundation, 41 E. 70 St., NYC, NY 10021, 212/535-4441, info@tcf.org, www.tcf.org [10945]
- **“Disparities Toolkit for Collecting Patient Race, Ethnicity and Primary Language Data”** (2008) is available in an updated version, free, from the Health Research and Educational Trust, on their website, www.hret.org [10949]
- **“Lifeline to Health Equity: Policies for Real Health Care Reform”** is a June 2008, 31-page briefing paper by Brian Smedley for the Service Employees International Union and the National Conference of Black Mayors. Available (no price listed) from SEIU, 1800 Mass. Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20036, 202/730-7220, and the National Conference of Black Mayors, 1151 Cleveland Ave., Bldg. D., East Point, GA 30344, 404/765-6444, www.seiu.org, www.ncbm.org [10980]
- **“Language Access: Understanding Barriers and Challenges in Primary Care Settings - Perspectives from the Field”** (2008?) is avail-

able from the National Health Law Program, www.healthlaw.org/library/folder.198370 [11013]

- **“Viewpoints: The Health Care Debate”** is a 2008 interview series by the Kaiser Family Foundation, available at www.kaisernetwork.org/health_cast/health2008hc.cfm?hc=2599 [11014]

- **“Healthy Women, Healthy Babies”** (2008), from the Trust for America’s Health, attributes significant infant mortality rates of low-income, urban, African-American newborns to worsening health conditions of pregnant women, due to hypertension, diabetes and obesity. Available at healthyamericans.org/reports/files/BirthOutcomesShort0608.pdf [11015]

- **“National Summit on Poverty and Health Communication”** will take place **Aug. 11-12, 2008** in Atlanta. This invitation-only conf. coincides with the CDC Natl. Ctr. for Health Marketing annual conf., Aug. 12-14. Inf. about the Summit from 404/321-3211 [10955]

Homelessness

- **“Foreclosure to Homelessness: The Forgotten Victims of the Subprime Crisis”** (58 pp., April 2008) is “a national call to action” from the National Coalition for the Homeless. Available (no price listed) from the Coalition, 2201 P St. NW, Wash., DC 20037-1033, 202/462-4822, info@nationalhomeless.org, www.nationalhomeless.org [10981]

- **“Hate, Violence, And Death on Main Street USA: A Report on Hate Crimes and Violence Against People Experiencing Homelessness 2007”** (111 pp., April 2008) is available (no price listed) from the National Coalition for the Homeless and the National Law Center on Homelessness & Poverty. The Coalition is at 2201 P St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/462-4822, info@nationalhomeless.org; the Center is at 1411 K St. NW, #1400, Wash., DC 20005, 202/638-2535, www.nationalhomeless.org, www.nlchp.org [10982]

- **“Giving Homeless Families a Voice: A Community Awareness Tool”** is a very well done 40-page pamphlet created by the NW Coalition for Homeless Families Community Building Project. Contact them at Portland (OR) Impact, 503/988-3771, x22654. [11006]

Housing

- **“The Housing Landscape for America’s Working Families”** (2008) has been published by The Center for Housing Policy—available at www.nhc.org/index/chp-research-publications [10916]

- **“Regional Approaches to Affordable Housing”** (2008) has been prepared by the American Planning Assn. for HUD’s Office of Policy Development & Research; available at www.huduser.org/publications/affhsg_aff_hsg.html. [10917]

- **“Making Affordable Housing Truly Affordable: Advancing Tax**

Credit Incentives for Green Building and Healthier Communities” (2006?) is available at www.globalgreen.org/media/greenbuilding/qap_report_2006.pdf [10918]

- **“Researching HUD’s Housing Programs: Cityscape**, HUD’s publication, in Vol. 10, no. 1, featured a symposium on the 4.3 million households that participate in one or another of the agency’s programs. Included are articles on portability moves in the Housing Choice Voucher Program; the role of social networks in making housing choices; measuring the deconcentration of the HCV Program in 8 met. areas; housing life cycle and length of stay; and whether Census variables are highly correlated with HCV Program holders’ perception of the quality of their neighborhoods. Print version of the issue (may be free) available at 800/245-2691 or read/download at www.huduser.org/periodicals/cityscape.html [10914]

- **“Credit Scoring and the Credit-Underserved Population”** is the lead article in Issue 2, 2008 of *Community Dividend*, the newsletter of the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis. Available (likely free) from them, 90 Hennepin Ave., PO Box 291, Mpls., MN 55480-0291, 612/204-5000, www.minneapolisfed.org/pubs/cd [10923]

- **“Connecting the Dots: A Location Analysis of USDA’s Section 515 Rental Housing and Other Federally Subsidized Rental Properties in Rural Areas”** (May 2008) is available (\$10) from the Housing Assis-

tance Council, 1025 Vermont Ave. NW, #606, Wash., DC 20005, 202/842-8600; contact them for downloading instructions, leslie@ruralhome.org [10924]

- **“Out of Reach 2007-2008: The Wait for a Home Grows Longer”** (April 2008) reports that a full-time minimum wage worker still cannot afford even a one-bedroom apartment in any metro area or nonmetro county at HUD’s Fair Market Rent. Includes data for each state, county and metro area, and nonmetro areas in each state. From the National Low Income Housing Coalition (headed by PRRAC Board member Sheila Crowley); 202/662-1530, x235 for print copy prices; downloadable at nlihc.org/oor2008/ [10928]

- **“Paying More for the American Dream: The Subprime Shakeout and Its Impact on Lower-Income and Minority Communities”** (March 2008) is available (no price given) from the California Reinvestment Coalition, 474 Valencia St., #230, SF, CA 94103, 415/864-3980, www.calreinvest.org [10933]

- **“Louisville’s Foreclosure Crisis”** (32 pp., 2008) is available (no price listed) from the Metropolitan Housing Coalition, PO Box 4533, Louisville, KY 40204, 502/584-6858, kendell@metropolitanhousing.org; downloadable at www.metropolitanhousing.org [10938]

- **“Locked Out: Low Wages and Affordable Housing in Alabama,”** from Arise Citizens’ Policy Project, will be

available as of July 23, 2008, at www.arisecitizens.com [10939]

- **Virginia Housing Statistics Snapshot** has been inaugurated by The Center for Housing Leadership at Housing Opportunities Made Equal of Virginia (HOME)—a data source focusing on the state's housing market. Contact Helen O'Beirne at HOME, 700 E. Franklin St., #3A, Richmond, VA 23219, 804/354-0641, x128, helen@phonehome.org [10942]

- **“Continued Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Ohio Mortgage Lending”** (March 2008), from the Housing Research & Advocacy Center (3631 Perkins Ave., #3A-2, Cleveland, OH 44144, 216/361-9240), is downloadable at www.thehousingcenter.org [10944]

- **“Steered Wrong: Brokers, Borrowers, and Subprime Loans,”** by Keith Ernst, Debbie Bocian & Wei Li (52 pp., May 2008), is available (no price listed) from the Center for Responsible Lending, 302 W. Main St., Durham, NC 27701, 919/313-8500, www.responsiblelending.org [10965]

- **“Housing at the Half: A Mid-Decade Progress Report from the 2005 American Community Survey,”** by Danilo Pelletiere & Keith E. Wardrip (28 pp., Feb. 2008), is available (no price listed) from the National Low Income Housing Coalition (headed by PRRAC Board member Sheila Crowley), 727 15th St. NW, 6th fl., Wash., DC 20005, 202/662-1530, info@nlihc.org, www.nlihc.org

[10974]

- **“Getting to the Heart of Housing's Fundamental Question: How Much Can a Family Afford?”** (26 pp., Feb. 2008), “A Primer on Housing Affordability Standards in U.S. Housing Policy,” is available (no price listed) from the National Low Income Housing Coalition (headed by PRRAC Board member Sheila Crowley), 727 15th St. NW, 6th fl., Wash., DC 20005, 202/662-1530, info@nlihc.org, www.nlihc.org [10975]

- **Major New Jersey Housing Reform Bill:** Details from Housing and Community Development Network of New Jersey, acohen@hcdnj.org [11016]

- **“Collateral Damage: Renters in the Foreclosure Crisis,”** by David Rothstein (15 pp., June 2008), is available (no price listed) from Policy Matters Ohio, 1371 Grandview Ave., #242, Columbus, OH 43212, 614/486-4601, www.policymattersohio.org [11017]

- **“Why Did the Moving to Opportunity Experiment Not Get Young People into Better Schools?,”** by Xavier de Souza Briggs, Kadija S. Ferryman, Susan J. Popkin & Marfia Rendon, appeared in Vol. 19, Issue 1 (2008) of *Housing Policy Debate*. Contact them at 703/838-8320, HousingPolicyDebate@vt.edu [11019]

- **“Foreclosed: State of the Dream 2008,”** by Amaad Rivera, Benda Cotto-Escalera, Jeanette Huezo & Dedrick Muhammad, a Jan. 2008 report, is available (no price listed) from United

for a Fair Economy, www.faireconomy.org/files/StateOfDream_01_16_08_Web.pdf [11022]

- **“Rehabilitating Affordable Rural Housing”** is the theme of the Winter 2008 issue of *Rural Voices*, the magazine of the Housing Assistance Council. Subs are free from HAC, 1025 Vermont Ave. NW, #606, Wash., DC 20005, 202/842-8600, hac@ruralhome.org, www.ruralhome.org [11032]

- **“The Alabama Tenants' Handbook”** (20 pp., 2006) is available (possibly free) from Arise Citizens' Policy Project, PO Box 1188, 207 Montgomery St., #900, Montgomery, AL 36104, 800/832-9060, www.arisecitizens.org [11033]

- **Upstate New York Affordable Housing Conference** will take place **Sept. 23, 2008** in Buffalo. Inf. from Bernie Carr, 718/432-2100, x13. [10954]

Immigration

- *Twenty-First Century Gateways: Immigrant Incorporation in Suburban America*, eds. Audrey Singer, Susan W. Hardwick & Caroline B. Brettell (331 pp., 2008), has been published by Brookings Institution Press, 1775 Mass. Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20036; case studies therein of Portland (OR), Minneapolis/St. Paul, Austin, Sacramento, Dallas, Atlanta, Phoenix, Washington and Charlotte. www.brookings.edu [10966]

- **“Race, Immigration and America's Changing Electorate,”** by William

Frey (2008), is available (possibly free) from the Brookings Inst. Metropolitan Policy Program, 1775 Mass. Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20036, 202/797-6279, www.psc.isr.umich.edu/pubs/pdf/rr08-635.pdf [10992]

- **“Race, Ancestry, and Poverty among Recent Immigrants to the U.S.: A Three-Generation Study,”** by Amon Emeka, is a paper presented at the Aug. 2006 Amer. Sociological Assn. annual meeting; available at www.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/1/0/3/9/6/pages103963/p103963-1.php [10993]

- **“Immigrant Integration in Low-Income Urban Neighborhoods,”** by Lynette Rawlings, is a 2007 Urban Institute report, available at www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/411574_immigrant_integration.pdf [11024]

Miscellaneous

- **The PolicyLink Center for Infrastructure Equity** has just been formed. Contact them at 1438 Webster St., #303, Oakland, CA 94612, 510/663-2333, info@policylink.org [10994]

- *The Right to Transportation: Moving to Equity*, by Thomas Sanchez, Marc Brennan, Jacinta Ma & Rich Stolz (2008), has been published by American Planning Assn. Press. Contact them at www.planning.org/APAStore/Search/Default.aspx?p=3655 [11020]

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