There are over 100 million migrants (immigrants and refugees) in the world today. This unprecedented level has prompted widespread concern about the causes and consequences of international migration. Although the United Nations General Assembly recently has taken steps to convene an international conference on migration and development, migrant-receiving countries such as the United States are developing national immigration policies that may seriously jeopardize the basic human rights and economic survival of this growing population.

The United States receives less than 1% of the world’s migrants on an annual basis. Nonetheless, it has responded to the international crisis in migration by cracking down on undocumented immigrants, tightening border controls, restricting access to political asylum, and threatening migrant access to public assistance programs. Most policy makers are quick to pander to racist and xenophobic fears and claims that immigration has become a primary source of this country’s economic instability.

Despite the ever-increasing volume of restrictions and resources devoted to immigration, these measures have had little, if any, impact on the sources and patterns of international migration.

( Please turn to page 2 )
Sources of International Migration

Historically, some factors have consistently influenced migration flows, but dramatic political and economic changes over the last decade have produced new migrant populations and patterns that defy "traditional" immigration controls and have led to a widespread belief that international migration has indeed reached crisis proportions. Many experts consider it one of the most significant global issues of our time, reflecting economic and societal failures to provide adequate jobs and shelter, environmental protection and the preservation of basic human rights.

The root causes of international migration are several and often intertwined, so that traditional categories, such as labor migration, family reunification or asylum-seeking are no longer clear-cut:

* Economic: While economics is a major cause of displacement, migrants who come from impoverished conditions are likely to have been affected by other factors, including political and social unrest not formally acknowledged as endangering human rights conditions.

* Political: Most of today's refugees are fleeing conditions of generalized violence and hostilities rather than individual persecution. Most current conflicts are taking place within countries rather than between them.

* Environmental: Millions of people have been displaced because the land they live on has become toxic or is unable to support them. While some conditions are the result of natural disasters, much environmental degradation is caused by humans—national and multinational business interests that disregard protections or purposely ravage natural resources.

* Ethnic tensions: Many of the highly publicized refugee flows today have been traced to ethnic tensions unleashed by national instabilities and conflicts or fomented by political adversaries. In the process of national consolidation, some minority groups may be viewed as obstacles, breaking up a country's national identity or dividing political loyalties.

The United States receives less than 1% of the world's migrants.

The destinations of migrants have also significantly shifted over the last 30 years. Migration patterns have always been affected by such factors as geographic proximity, historical and political ties, culture, language and so forth. But the dominant flow is South to North, a trend that has significantly increased in the last few decades, and with the United States as a particular magnet for migrants from developing countries. However, there is still considerable migration among Northern countries, and more so among countries in the South. Obviously, 99% of the world's migrants do not come to the United States, despite current national fears that the country is being overrun by "hordes" of the foreign-born.

Who Are the Migrants?

The International Organization for Migration estimates there may be about 30 million "irregular" migrant workers—those who are undocumented or without legal permission to remain in countries where they live. The United States receives an estimated 200,000-300,000 undocumented immigrants annually.

About 20 million migrants are displaced within their own countries and have not crossed international boundaries.

The refugee population has more than doubled over the last decade and a half: over 20 million today, compared with an estimated 8.5 million in 1980. Seventy-five percent of these refugees have moved to neighboring countries in developing regions, which are most hard-pressed to accept new and often rapid increases in population. Refugees are the most numerous within Asia—about 10 million people—with about 5.5 million in Africa and 4.5 million in Europe. By contrast, advanced countries such as the United States and Canada together receive just over 1 million refugees.

Because migration has become such an important issue, recent international fora, such as the U.N.'s International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), held in Cairo last September, have been strongly criticized for their insufficient treatment of the migration question.

Sending countries were especially frustrated at the ICPD by the attitudes of Western nations, typically the receiving countries. A particularly heated debate broke out over the issue of family reunification, which sending countries felt should be preserved in the official conference document as a "right" of migrant people. However, Canada, the United States and European nations opposed the language, offering a compromise that merely "encouraged" nations to consider family reunification in determining their immigration policies—an action which the sending countries, predominantly composed of people of color, felt was just one more example of the racial hostility of the predominantly white receiving nations.

While the conference made gains in asserting the centrality of the empowerment of women in addressing resolutions to rapidly escalating population

(Please turn to page 4)
Quiz
Immigration: Myths & Facts

The following quiz was prepared by the Applied Research Center (25 Embarcadero Cove, Oakland, CA 94606) as part of one of 15 “issue study groups” for its Campaign on Community Safety & Police Accountability. Answers to the quiz are on page 6.

1. In the last 4 years, the poorest immigrants arriving in the U.S. came from:
   A) Africa  B) Asia  C) Central America  D) Former Soviet Union

2. The area with the highest percentage of immigrants to the U.S. who are high school graduates is:
   A) Europe  B) Central America  C) Africa  D) Asia

3. The immigrant population that earns the highest median household income in the U.S. is:
   A) Mexican  B) English  C) Indian  D) African

4. In 1910, the U.S. population was 15% foreign-born. In 1990, the foreign-born percentage of the population was:
   A) 8%  B) 10%  C) 18%  D) 22%

5. Studies by the Urban Institute show that for every 100 new immigrants:
   A) Employment decreases by 62 jobs  C) Employment increases by 46 jobs
   B) The number of jobs stays the same  D) It’s impossible to tell how the job market reacts.

6. A recent Los Angeles County study showed that the county spent $2.45 billion in 1991-92 on schools and other services for resident immigrants. In that same period, resident immigrants:
   A) Paid no taxes  C) Paid $4.3 billion in taxes
   B) Paid $1.7 billion in taxes  D) It is impossible to calculate the amount of taxes

7. Nationally, immigrants receive about $5 billion annually in welfare benefits. Approximately how much do they earn and pay in taxes?
   A) Earn $10 billion, pay $1.3 billion in taxes  C) Earn $100 billion, pay $15 billion in taxes
   B) Earn $15 billion, pay $3 billion in taxes  D) Earn $240 billion, pay $85 billion in taxes

8. Increased immigration tends to:
   A) Produce higher wages for immigrants  C) Produce lower wages for immigrants
   B) Produce higher wages for U.S. citizens  D) Produce lower wages for U.S. citizens

9. A 1992 survey found that it is common for Americans to go to Mexico for health care: 90+ % of Mexican physicians surveyed had treated Americans. The major reason U.S. citizens go to Mexico for treatment is:
   A) They believe that Mexican doctors are more qualified
   B) Mexican doctors take all brands of insurance
   C) Mexican doctors and prescription drugs are cheaper
   D) The climate is better

10. In Northern California, undocumented immigrants and refugees seeking political and economic asylum may be jailed and:

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>TRUE</th>
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<tr>
<td>A) Not be accused of any crime</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B) Are allowed bail</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>F</td>
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<tr>
<td>C) Are allowed a public defender</td>
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<td>D) Are not allowed trial by jury</td>
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<td>F</td>
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<tr>
<td>E) May be placed in maximum security</td>
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<td>F</td>
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<tr>
<td>F) Women may be locked-down for up to 22 hours/day</td>
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growth, the ICPD did not make any headway in confronting the impact of international development policies on population and consequent pressures towards increased migration. Of course, such gross omissions served the political and economic interests of the Western nations that continue to dominate such international gatherings and which resist fetters on their development policies and practices. The debacle over family reunification, however, stirred sending country delegates to press for an international conference on migration and development, a controversial proposal now under consideration at the United Nations.

Such a conference would likely address long-range measures to alleviate migration pressures, including: economic growth, investment and cooperative aid programs; easing the developing countries' tremendous debt burdens; promoting fair trade policies; education, health care access and economic opportunities, especially for women in developing countries; and generally, developing more stable economic environments.

Migration, Development and Trade

There is strong feeling among developing countries that as trade and development policies and agreements are forged, the question of migration must also be put on the table. This was an especially sore point in the negotiations over NAFTA, which essentially redefined the international border between the United States and Mexico by allowing for the free flow of goods, resources and capital, but which omitted discussion of the obvious flow of labor across borders—a permanent and essential element of the global economy.

In the meantime, as the scope of international migration in the new global economy continues to broaden, considerable concern has arisen for rights protections for migrants—and for foreign nationals residing temporarily in new countries. Most receiving countries are taking steps to restrict immigration in ways that have little impact on migration pressures, but which will severely limit the rights and mobility of immigrants already residing in those countries.

Many countries around the world—not just the major receiving nations—have growing percentages of foreign nationals living within their boundaries, and in many instances, migrants, whether documented or undocumented, have few, if any, rights protections.

Pursuing International Protections

The U.N.'s 1990 Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families was created to augment existing covenants, further delineating the growing classes of people not residing in their countries of origin. The Convention faces an uphill battle before it "comes into force" (it requires full ratification by 20 countries, and only a few have ratified it thus far). Even when it gains recognition, its provisions are still subject to the civil laws of each country. However, it does set the basis for promoting international rights standards in this era of the global workforce, and provides a framework for evaluating national proposals dealing with immigration. California's anti-immigrant initiative, Proposition 187, for example, certainly violates the spirit and intent of international migrants' rights protections.

(INTERNATL: Continued from page 2)
Immigration and the Civil Rights Movement's Response

by Bill Tamayo

The civil rights movement in the United States is currently confronted by numerous social issues of unprecedented complexity: concerted attacks on affirmative action, increasing racial violence and hatred, questions about the "genetic ability" of African-Americans to excel, and the lack of political leadership in government to address these issues.

Passage of California's Proposition 187 (the so-called "Save our State" initiative) in November 1994 drove home the message that immigrants, like many others in America, are a drain on society. The public's perception of this community—nonwhite, undocumented, criminally bent, welfare abusers—was fueled by public officials and the media. Not surprisingly, while African-Americans, Latinos and Asian Americans voted against 187, whites voted for it 2-1.

The general alignment of all civil rights groups in California against Proposition 187 was positive. However, that alignment does not yet reflect a common view on the broader questions of undocumented immigration, immigrants rights and immigration policy overall.

As recently as Spring 1990, the NAACP supported the employer sanctions provisions of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, which bars the hiring of undocumented persons and requires some verification of work authorization. While IRCA was being debated in Congress, Latinos, Asians and members of the Congressional Black and Hispanic Caucuses condemned the measure as discriminatory. But the NAACP's Washington lobbyist in 1985 asserted that because of job competition between the undocumented and African-Americans, the organizations supported sanctions. And the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights—the nation's premier coordinating mechanism for civil rights advocacy before Congress and the Executive Branch, representing some 185 national organizations—did not oppose employer sanctions because of sharp division in its ranks.

A 1990 GAO study confirmed the findings and found that nearly 20% of employers admitted discriminating against Asians and Latinos (citizens and lawful permanent residents) because of IRCA. Armed with this evidence, Latinos and Asians, joined by the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund (LDF) and many others, convinced the NAACP to revisit the question. Then NAACP Director Benjamin Hooks successfully urged his membership to reverse its position. The Leadership Conference eventually came around, but only after Latino groups publicly voiced their consideration of withdrawing membership.

Racism has dominated and continues to dominate immigration policies in the United States and other Western nations.

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Immigration-Bashing = Racism

Racism has dominated and continues to dominate immigration policies in the United States and other Western nations. As recently as 1993, in response to a World Bank report that over 100 million people have left their home countries and to a related report by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the G-7 countries (United States, Germany, France, Italy, Canada, Japan and Great Britain) adopted policies to restrict immigration and deny quick access to asylum. These efforts were designed to stem immigration from Africa, Latin America and Asia. The racial component of these policies was vividly illustrated as immigrants from Turkey, the Middle East, Africa and Asia were victims of racial violence throughout Western Europe in the early 90s.

In the United States, these policies translated into proposed curbs on the political asylum process, rapid deportation, increased border enforcement (without provisions for oversight) and efforts to deny undocumented immigrants public services, a la Prop. 187. In 1993, California Governor Pete Wilson proposed denial of citizenship to U.S.-born children whose parents were undocumented. Wilson chose to turn back the clock to an era when U.S.-born African-Americans and Native Americans were denied citizenship by law. While this effort was unsuccessful, Wilson touched an extremely hot button and realized that fanning the flames of xenophobia was not only popular but provided the key element for his re-election.

The recently introduced Personal Responsibility Act sponsored by Republicans would deny legal permanent residents over 40 social services and benefits, including SSI, AFDC, Medicaid and representation by Legal Aid lawyers funded by the Legal Services Corporation.

The Task for Civil Rights Groups

What should the civil rights movement do amidst this cacophony of hate, racism and nativism? Foremost, the movement must draw out the commonalities among the communities it seeks to represent and on whose behalf it is advocating. Allowing to go unchallenged the pattern of blaming similarly situated victims of racism for one's plight would be a striking setback. If

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anything, the current heightened racialized climate serves as a painful reminder that many of us are in the same boat and need not blame each other for being there. Even perceptions that nonwhite but nonblack minorities who may or may not be citizens should not be at the table of civil rights debate do an injustice to the vision of civil rights leaders like Dr. Martin Luther King, Malcolm X and others who approached the issue of civil and human rights with a global and internationalist perspective.

While the history of the movement has been inconsistent on the issue of immigrants' rights, there have been proud moments. The ACLU was formed out of challenges to the roundups and deportations of immigrant labor activists during the Palmer Raids of 1919-1920 and continues to represent immigrants in civil rights matters. In 1915, the NAACP successfully defeated a Senate amendment to deny admission to persons of African descent, and in 1952 argued for defeat of the dangerous McCarran-Walter Act, which maintained the racist national origins quotas in our immigration laws. During the Proposition 187 campaign, the Urban League, NAACP LDF, Mexican American Legal Defense & Educational Fund, and Asian organizations vociferously opposed the measure. These experiences lay the foundation for a more concerted effort to protect the rights of immigrants and beat back the racism that underlies anti-immigrant measures. More important, that joint practice serves to build a common vision about who is responsible for this climate of hate and racism, and leads to a decrease in interethnic hostilities.

Civil rights groups have an important mission in this period. They must be able to more forcefully articulate the issues of the immigrant population, including the undocumented, and assert that this community is part of the civil rights community. They must assert that working together and drawing the lessons are the main ways in which we can survive this period of vitriolic scapegoating and "racialized patriotism" in which nonwhites and noncitizens are being jointly demonized without mercy.

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(INTERNATIONAL: Continued from page 4)

The tendency of countries to build higher walls in an attempt to block immigration in no way addresses the complexities of migration, but is a simplistic response to heightening ignorance, racial intolerance and xenophobia. Migration—not just immigration into any one country—is an international issue, a manifestation of uneven social, political and economic development and conflict that requires cooperation and collective action among countries and regions.

Cathi Tactuaun, a PRRAC Board member, is Senior Research Associate at the Applied Research Center, 25 Embarcadero Cove, Oakland, CA 94606 (150/534-1799). She is also a member of the International Migrant Rights Watch Committee, headquartered in Geneva. She attended last September's UN Cairo Conference on Population & Development.
What follows is a somewhat shortened version (and without charts or footnotes) of a study of the same title, published by the Alta California Policy Research Center (535 Flower St., Los Angeles, CA 90021, 213/629-2471). Contact them to obtain the complete report.

Reasoned analysis of authoritative data sources has been in short supply in recent debates over immigration. Skewed estimates and dubious extrapolations have been bandied about in a discourse that has become, at times, increasingly illogical. While this country has every reason to consider its immigration policies carefully, the current climate of blame, fear and hyperbole has not afforded the issue of immigration the proper consideration it deserves.

Recently released data from the 1990 Census, the Public Use Microdata Samples (PUMS), finally allow for a comprehensive analysis of Latino immigrants... While Census PUMS data are not flawless, because of the sheer volume of people enumerated (over 440,000 respondents in Los Angeles County alone) and the attempts at completeness, these data form the "gold standard" in population matters.

Latino Immigrants:
How Many?

The 1990 Census counted a total of 3,306,116 Latinos in Los Angeles County. Of these, 1,511,744 were Latinos born in the US. Thus, the US Born Latinos were slightly under half (45.7%) the total Latino population. 1,794,372 Immigrant Latinos in the County in 1990 are predominantly of Mexican origin, although there are 315,798 Central Americans included in that figure.

Estimating the Undocumented: The PUMS data offer a new opportunity to estimate the size of the undocumented population, in that they are based on an actual enumeration of people residing in the county, with information about birthplace and date of arrival to the US included. By a process of elimination, in which those Latinos who are not likely to be undocumented are eliminated from the total Census figure, we can approximate the size of the undocumented population.

Of the total number of Latino immigrants in the County, 1,072,825 had arrived prior to 1982. Thus, they would have either arrived with full documentation, or should have applied for the amnesty provision of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986; there is no reason why any significant portion of this pre-1982 group should, by 1990, still have been undocumented.

Of the remaining number, data from the Immigration and Naturalization Service provide a basis for refining the Census data. Between 1982 and 1990, the INS reported 273,282 Latinos admitted to the US with documents who indicated their intention to ultimately reside in the Los Angeles-Long Beach metropolitan region. In addition, the INS reported a total of 190,983 Special Agricultural Worker (SAW) applicants (a post-1982 amnesty program for agricultural workers) from the Los Angeles-Long Beach region.

Of the total 3,306,116 Latinos enumerated in the Census of 1990, a total of 257,280 cannot be accounted for as US Born or presumably documented immigrants, hence may be assumed to be undocumented. This figure indicates that approximately 7% of the total Latino population might be undocumented in 1990. Because the PUMS data do not distinguish between documented and undocumented immigrants, the rest of this report will present data on all Immigrant Latinos.

Labor Force Participation

High Labor Force Participation: Latino male immigrants are the most active participants in the Los Angeles work force: their labor force participation rate far exceeds that of Anglo, Black, Asian or US Born Latino males. Fully 86% of Immigrant Latino males age 16 and older participate in the labor force, compared to 77.8% for Anglo, 76.2% for US Born Latino, 69.7% for Black and 75.3% for Asian males of the same age.

Low Rates of Not in Labor Force: Latino Immigrant males are the least likely to leave the labor force: only 14% occupied the status of Not in Labor Force for 1990, much lower than the 22.2% of Anglo, 23.8% of US Born Latino, 30.8% of Black and 24.7% of Asian males age 16 and older.

Hours Worked: Labor force activity is also measured in hours worked per week. A higher percent of Immigrant Latino males worked 35 or more hours per week than did males of any other group: 67.5% of such males worked 35 or more hours per week, compared to 62.5% of Anglo males, 56.8% of US Born Latino, 50.2% of Black males and 60.5% of Asian males.

Private Sector: The private sector of the economy is the engine of economic growth. Immigrant Latino males are, by far, much more likely to be employed in the private sector than any other group: 76.8% worked in the private sector, compared to 59% of Anglo, 64.2% of US Born Latinos, 51.7% of Black males and 66.2% of Asian males.

Public Sector: Immigrant Latino males were, by far, the least likely to work in public sector jobs, at the federal, state, county, city or special district level. Only 3.2% of Latino Immigrant males worked in govern-

(Please turn to page 8)
The foundation of post-world war II system was laid with civic money for Black and $49,042 for Asian households (living alone). Only 19.5% of Immigrant Latino adults had the highest educational attainment rates than males. While the rates for such adults in poverty; Black adults were by far the least likely to receive Public Assistance represented 50.4% of US Born Latinos receiving Public Assistance were 64.6% of this age group. Immigrant Latinos have lower labor force participation Public Assistance represented 50.4% of US Born Latinos receiving Public Assistance were 64.6% of this age group. Immigrant Latinos have lower labor force participation. Females of all groups, especially Immigrant Latina females, presented 41.7% of Anglo adults in poverty. By contrast, Anglo adults receiving Public Assistance were 64.6% of this age group. Immigrant Latinos have lower labor force participation. Females of all groups, especially Immigrant Latina females, presented 41.7% of Anglo adults in poverty. By contrast, Anglo adults receiving Public Assistance were 64.6% of this age group. Immigrant Latinos have lower labor force participation. Females of all groups, especially Immigrant Latina females, presented 41.7% of Anglo adults in poverty. By contrast, Anglo adults receiving Public Assistance were 64.6% of this age group. Immigrant Latinos have lower labor force participation. Females of all groups, especially Immigrant Latina females, presented 41.7% of Anglo adults in poverty. By contrast, Anglo adults receiving Public Assistance were 64.6% of this age group. Immigrant Latinos have lower labor force participation. Females of all groups, especially Immigrant Latina females, presented 41.7% of Anglo adults in poverty. By contrast, Anglo adults receiving Public Assistance were 64.6% of this age group. Immigrant Latinos have lower labor force participation. Females of all groups, especially Immigrant Latina females, presented 41.7% of Anglo adults in poverty. By contrast, Anglo adults receiving Public Assistance were 64.6% of this age group.
Job Competition Between Immigrants & African Americans

by Paul Ong and Abel Valenzuela, Jr.

...On the question of whether immigrants are taking jobs away from African Americans, one is tempted to deny the existence of this competition, based on findings from studies done in the 1980s on the effects of immigration during the 1970s, which show very little or no adverse impacts. However, the validity of these studies has been called into question on methodological grounds, and furthermore, there is no reason to believe that the impacts during the 1980s were identical to those in the 1970s.

Our analysis focuses on the impact of immigration on the joblessness and earnings among black males between the ages of 18 and 24, and those between the ages of 18 and 64 with no more than a high school education. These populations were chosen because they are the most susceptible to job competition, primarily due to their concentration in the low-pay and high-turn-over secondary sector. The analysis of joblessness and earnings is based on a comparison of outcomes in Los Angeles County to those in 55 other metropolitan areas (MSAs). Through the use of multivariate techniques, we attempt to estimate how immigration has disadvantaged blacks in Los Angeles relative to their counterparts in other metropolitan areas, after taking into account both individual and regional factors. Our findings indicate that immigration increases joblessness among African Americans, with a larger net impact coming from the presence of Latino immigrants with limited education. On the other hand, there is no detectable net impact on earnings.

While Los Angeles has a relatively small percent of the African American labor force, it has a very large percent of the immigrant labor force. Immigrant-black ratios are very high in Los Angeles, and in the case of Latino immigrants, the ratios here are about ten times higher than the average for the other 55 MSAs. Consequently, whatever immigrant impacts are found for Los Angeles should be higher than in other parts of the U.S.

We estimate that there is a small positive impact of Latino immigration on earnings, which is produced by two offsetting effects. The presence of immigrants appears to have a direct complementary effect in increasing the earnings of African Americans who are employed, but on the other hand, the larger flow of immigrants works indirectly through joblessness to depress earnings.

The impact of Latino immigrants on African Americans should be placed in the context of racism in the labor market.

We argue that immigrants have a complementary effect for African Americans in public sector employment due to the increased demand in public services and agencies as a result of the growth of legal and illegal immigration. ... As the demand for public services, programs and personnel has grown due to the population growth, a large part of which comes from immigration, African American employment in this sector has increased.

While the above findings indicate measurable impacts in Los Angeles of Latino immigration, this is not the same as saying that all aspects of immigration are bad for African Americans. There are at least three other factors at work here. First, our own analysis indicates that other immigrants appear to have a positive, or net complementary, effect on African Americans. The presence of Asian and other (non-Hispanic and non-Asian) immigrants is not related to higher black joblessness, but is positively related to higher black earnings. Second, other native minority populations are likely to be affected by immigration. And finally, immigrants generate benefits for many segments of society by providing cheap goods and services. For many professionals and better paid workers, Latino immigrants are a major source of nannies and other domestic support work.

Moreover, the impact of Latino immigrants on African Americans should be placed in the context of racism in the labor market. Indeed, we find sizable racial effects on joblessness and earnings. These disparities hold for both 1970, which was prior to the massive influx of immigrants, and 1990.

The analyses of Latino immigrant impact and racism show that both factors play significant roles in disadvantaging African Americans in terms of joblessness and earnings. The estimates suggest that racial discrimination and segmentation is relatively more important in both areas. The additional joblessness associated with racial disparity is three to four times greater than that associated with immigration, and all of the adverse impacts on earnings comes from racial disparity. However, the impacts of racism and immigration are not unrelated. The differences [we report] between young adults and less-educated adults support our contention. The higher concentration of blacks in the secondary labor market, where the bulk of low-skilled Latino immigrants have been incorporated, exposes blacks to greater job competition and perhaps contributes to their increased joblessness rates and to their lack of progress in earnings relative to non-Hispanic whites. Last, in an issue we did not analyze, the interaction between racism.

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(COMPETITION: Continued from page 9)

(discriminatory practices and segmentation) and immigration may be further compounded by also interacting with imports. George Borjas argues that immigration and imports are highly correlated, and may produce the same impacts on native workers. Consequently, some of the substitution effect associated with immigration is also caused by growing imports. Moreover, immigrant workers are most likely to be incorporated into the domestic sectors that are under import pressures. In other words, these jobs would have been lost if there had been no immigrants.

Policy Implications & Conclusion

... The finding of a persistent black-white differential is consistent with a national pattern of higher joblessness and lower earnings for African Americans than for non-Hispanic whites, even after controlling for schooling and age. In this regard, African Americans in Los Angeles are no different from African Americans in other regions of the country, many of whom live in areas with very little immigration. The explanation for our findings is complex. African Americans start off being disadvantaged by having less education, a product of a biased and ineffective educational system. This racial bias is magnified in the labor market, which concentrates African Americans in the secondary sector. Consequently, our findings suggest that being African American increases the likelihood of being confined to jobs in the secondary sector. Our study shows that increased joblessness for African Americans is connected to increases in Latino immigration, but it also shows that endemic racism plays a central role.

Our findings present a serious challenge to the simultaneous pursuit of civil rights for African Americans and upholding our heritage as a nation of immigration. The existence of job competition between Latino immigrants and African Americans (and possibly other U.S.-born minorities and more established immigrants) has been seized by some as a rationale for stopping immigration.... This position—that immigrants butt blacks and the poor—is at best incomplete. In part, there is evidence that some types of immigration can be beneficial. To generalize about all immigration is an exercise in misleading polemics. Furthermore, to truly fight for black equality in this country, a sound policy must include efforts to eradicate endemic racism. To focus only on immigrants as the source disadvantaging African Americans would, in our opinion, constitute scapegoating of an already vulnerable group and miss the point of our paper—that other factors such as labor market discrimination and segmentation are more important in explaining African American inequality. Even worse, focusing solely on immigration brings out a form of nativism that ultimately reinforces racially based prejudices.

Rhetorical anti-immigrant arguments may be easily dismissed, but the political movements of minority rights can also fall into an ideological trap. Some political activists would dismiss this form of conflict (e.g., job competition) as a strategy of divide-and-conquer perpetuated by those in power or one based on cultural misunderstandings. One could argue that, with experience and education, those at the bottom would come to see their shared plight and unite in a common struggle. This position, however, flies against the material reality and an emerging political nationalist sentiment within minority communities. It would be unfair to insist on “Third World solidarity” while ignoring a real cost of immigration for African Americans.

There is a fundamental problem of racism, which not only seriously disadvantages minorities but also magnifies the impact of immigration on some communities, but this retort does little to address the immediate harsh reality. Indeed, there is a rising anti-immigrant sentiment among native-born minorities. Much of this has taken the form of growing resentment towards undocumented aliens, who are almost always seen as Latinos. This resentment became vividly clear in a pre-and-post election poll on minority voter support for the 1994 California Proposition 187. Indeed, statewide exit polls showed that 47 percent of African American and Asian voters and 23 percent of Latino voters supported passage of this proposition. Other polls showed strong minority support, including Latinos, for more stringent immigration laws. But, as stated earlier, anti-immigrant politics is not easily confined to attacks on illegal immigration, for it easily spills over as a nativist attack on all immigrants.

Xenophobic reactions, which are heavily tinged with racial overtones, have the potential of muting the struggle for civil rights and racial justice. As California has changed from a mostly white population to a mostly Latino, Asian and African American population, the politics of fear and uncertainty have resurfaced. Anti-immigrant political rhetoric, unconstitutional propositions and increased violence are as much targeted against undocumented and legal immigrants as they are against dissatisfaction with California’s deteriorated lifestyle and poor economic status. Indeed, placing the blame for California’s fallen economy on immigrants and, by extension, minority communities, distracts attention from the meptitude of current and former state and local government officials and bad public policy.

We must engage in a conscious effort to formulate a new civil rights agenda if we are to attack racial inequality and the scapegoating of immigrants. We should start by recognizing the uniqueness of Los Angeles. Based on our analysis, the impact of Latino immi-

(Please turn to page 12)
Fighting the Contract on America: A Roundup

Listed here are a number of activities, organizations and publications aimed at fighting the various elements of the reactionary legislation embodied in the Republican "Contract With America." We welcome additional information, which we will run in our May/June issue.

Activities/Organizations

- The International Brotherhood of Teamsters has launched a "Campaign for an America That Works." Contact Bob Nicklas, 25 Louisiana Ave. NW, Wash., 20001, 202/624-8741.

- The "Welfare Reform With a Heart Campaign" has been organized by the Natl. General Assistance Working Group, Natl. Law Ctr. on Homelessness & Poverty, and the Natl. Coal. for the Homeless. Contact Michael Stoops at NCH, 1612 K St. NW #1004, Wash., DC 20006, 202/775-1322, e-mail: HN0055@handsnet.org; or NLCHP, 202/638-2535; or NGAWG, 213/746-6511.

- "Break the Contract on America" is an effort to mobilize the progressive legal community to develop litigation as proposed legislation becomes law. Contact the Ctr. for Constitutional Rights, 666 Broadway, NYC, NY 10012, 212/614-6422.

- The Inst. for Policy Studies has published a draft "Call to Progressive Action" and is organizing teach-ins, a Washington Summer, and is preparing educational materials. Contact John Cavanagh of IPS, 1601 Conn. Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20009, 202/234-9382.

- The Coalition on Human Needs (1000 Wisconsin Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20007, 202/342-0726) provides a general forum for anti-Contract work.

- REAP (Research, Education & Advocacy on Poverty) is organizing a "100-Day Campaign to Awaken the Conscience of America": PO Box 50832, Wash., DC 20001, 202/371-0025.

- A "Contract with America's Children" counterdocument is being organized by a coalition of children's groups, including Children Now. 1212 Broadway #530, Oakland, CA 94612, 510/763-2444 or 800/CHILD44.

- "The Foundation for a Responsible Housing & Human Needs Agenda," endorsed by 40 national organizations, has been organized by the Natl. Low Income Housing Coalition, 1012 14th St. NW #1200, Wash., DC 20005, 202/662-1530.

- JEDI Women (347 Crossroads Urban Ctr., 347 S. 400 E., Salt Lake City, UT 84111, 801/364-7765) is organizing effectively on welfare issues.

Documents

- "Contract with Disaster: The Impact on States of the Personal Responsibility Act," by Mark Greenberg (26 pp., no price listed), from the Ctr. for Law & Social Policy, 1616 P St. NW #150, Wash., DC 20036, 202/328-5140.


- The education implications of The Contract are outlined in a 5-page memo (likely free), from the Ctr. on Law & Educ., 197 Friend St., 9th flr., Boston, MA 02114, 617/371-1166.

- The Ctr. on Budget & Policy Priorities (777 N. Capitol St. NE #705, Wash., DC 20002, 202/342-0490) has a number of useful, up-to-date publications.

- Copies of all 10 Contract bills, as originally submitted, are available (free) from the Republican Conference, US House of Representatives, Wash., DC 20515-6544.

- A 10-part Dec. Wash. Post series (one article per Contract provision) is available from PRRAC with a 9"x12" SASE (78¢ postage).

- "Statement on Key Welfare Reform Issues: The Empirical Evidence" (36 pp., no price listed), from the Ctr. on Hunger, Poverty & Nutrition Policy, Tufts Univ., Medford, MA 02155, 617/627-3956.


tionality quotas into laws governing immigration. Immigration laws have legitimacy from a civil rights perspective only when they are non-discriminatory.

We should be equally concerned about attacking the underlying racism that unfairly concentrates African Americans into the very sector that is being adversely affected by immigration. Civil rights policy needs to continue to amend past and present injustices in the educational, political and economic areas with an explicit realization that immigrants also belong to America and, by extension, the civil rights family.

The above article is excerpted (tables, footnotes and bibliographic citations omitted) from a chapter titled "The Political Economy of Job Competition Between Immigrants and African Americans." to appear in the forthcoming collection, Ethnic Los Angeles, Roger Waldinger & Mehdi Bozorgmehr, eds. (Russell Sage Press).

Paul Öng, a member of PRRAC's Social Science Advisory Board, is Associate Professor of Urban Planning at UCLA. Abel Valenzuela, Jr. is Assistant Professor at UCLA's Cesar Chavez Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction in Chicano/a Studies. Prof. Valenzuela also has a related study, "Compatriots or Competitors? A Study of Job Competition Between the Foreign-born and U.S.-born in Los Angeles, 1970-1980," scheduled to appear in the Winter 1995 issue of the New England Journal of Public Policy.

(LOS ANGELES: Continued from page 8)

The Anglo population was, at the start of World War II, very similar to the Immigrant Latino population of 1990 in its income, education, work ethic and family structure. Some comparison may be instructive. The Anglo data are taken from the 1940 Census Public Use Microdata Samples (PUMS) for the state of California.

Recent Arrivals: California has long had a very mobile population. Since its incorporation as a state in 1850, California growth has been largely a product of people moving into the state from other areas. This is true for the Anglo population as well as for the Latino. In 1940, 64.9% of the Anglo population had moved into the state from another area. In 1990, a similar percent of Latinos were also immigrants: 54.3% moved in, this time from another country.

High Labor Force Participation: The Anglo male in 1940 had a high rate of participation in the labor force. 81.5% were active in the work force. In 1990, Immigrant Latino males had a similar, and slightly higher, rate of participation, 86%.

High Poverty: Poverty data were not available for 1940, but even in 1950, with the Post World War II economic boom well under way, 25.5% of the Anglo population lived in poverty. Forty years later, in 1990, a nearly identical, but slightly lower, percent of Immigrant Latinos live in poverty: 24.2%.

Strong Families: In 1990, 32.9% of Anglo households were composed of Couples with Children. Immigrant Latino households in 1990 are more likely to be composed of Couples with Children: 49.6% of Immigrant Latino households are so composed.

High School Non-Completion: A fact often forgotten is that in 1940, 61.5% of Anglo adults did not graduate from high school. While the rate for Immigrant Latinos in 1990 is higher, at 70.5%, the two rates surprisingly close.

A Final Word

Today's Immigrant Latinos are, in their values and behaviors, very much like the earlier generation of in-migrating Anglos who benefited from an exuberant civic spirit. Investing in a youthful, hard-working, forward-looking population was a wise decision in the 1940s and 1950s, and is still the wisest approach to a more prosperous future for all.
We continue the Symposium begun in our last issue, commenting on the lead article in our November/December issue, “Racial/Ethnic Categories: Do They Matter?” (an edited version of a July 25, 1994, New Yorker feature by Lawrence Wright, titled “One Drop of Blood”). In the last issue, we presented comments by Raúl Yzaguirre/ Sonia Pérèz, Juanita Tamayo Lott, Libero Della Piana, John Powell, Samuel Myers, Jr., and Reynolds Farley. This final segment offers contributions by Ibrahim K. Sundiata, Carol Korenbrot, Nathan Glazer and Chris Hansen. To repeat our editorial practice: we go with whatever terminology, punctuation, capitalization our contributors use with respect to racial and ethnic designations.

New readers can obtain a copy of Part 1 of the Symposium, as well as the initial article in the November/December issue, by sending a SASE with 55¢ postage. The February 13, 1995, issue of Newsweek had a 9-page special section, “What Color Is Black? Science, Politics & Racial Identity,” which we’ll also be glad to send with a SASE (55¢ postage).

At the Races: the Multicultural Proposal

by Ibrahim K. Sundiata

For more than two years, the federal government has been considering revising race in America. Among the most controversial proposals is one calling for creation of a mixed-race “multiracial” category. The debate on this subject promises to establish the context for race relations for the next century and beyond.

The Office of Management and Budget, which oversees establishment of official race categories, has several options. It could urge abolition of all racial data gathering. Conversely, it could multiply the number of new ethnolinguistic categories. Neither approach would solve any long-range problems. Abolition of race is not feasible. The collection of racial data is essential for anti-discrimination measures—for instance, the 1965 Voting Rights Act. At the same time, creation of ever greater numbers of categories meets political demands, but also creates confusion as categories overlap. This would be the chief problem if the proposed multiracial category were to become law.

It must be directly faced that any multiracial proposal would “deconstruct” the historic Black category, due to undercounting and reclassification. Legally enumerated Black populations have all but disappeared in several countries, most notably Brazil, Argentina and Costa Rica. Significantly, the United States Census has been ac-

claimed because it did not, for a large part of the 20th Century, have a mixed-race category. In 1972, Carl Degler, in his Pulitzer Prize-winning book, Neither Black Nor White, argued that the United States’ race relations were better than those in Latin America because the U.S. Census made no distinction between Blacks and people of mixed Black descent. According to Degler’s thesis, racial segregation, antimiscegenation laws and legalized Jim Crow led to intense group solidarity. The Civil Rights Movement was one outcome of this unity, a unity that contrasted with the fragmented nature of racial identity in Brazil, for instance. There, he argued, the “Mulatto Escape Hatch” siphoned off much of the potential “Black” leadership. Civil rights legislation and affirmative action could emerge in the United States because of the very fixity of racial boundaries.

Creation of a mixed-race category for the year 2000 Census would answer the demands of many individuals—especially the offspring of Whites and Blacks—who are not included in any of the present “racial” categories. It would also serve to limit the number of Blacks. Degler observed: “All offspring of Whites and Negros are Negros. Therefore, if intermarriage did become widespread, the result would be a Negro majority—or a change in the definition of a Negro.” We have reached the latter point with the proposal now before the government.

Conceptually, the multiracial proposal presents several problems. For one: who would be counted? The African American population already has varying amounts of European ancestry. In addition, many persons are of partially Native American ancestry. Frederick Douglass, Booker T Washington, W.E.B Dubois, Walter White, Adam Clayton Powell, Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, Thurgood Marshall and Lani Guinier were, or are, all “multiracial.” If the new category lacked widespread public support, it would tell us very little. Because membership would be on the basis of self-declaration, Census numbers would still not reflect the actual number of “mixed-race” persons within the general population. Also, would the category be retroactive or would it apply to offspring conceived after the prescribed date? Very importantly, how would the new category affect implementation of existing civil rights legislation?

Advocates of the “multiracial” proposal insist that it recognizes biology. What they fail to realize is that the term itself posits the existence of two or more “pure” races, a situation that is chimerical. The proposal accepts antiquated notions of ideal racial essences and then proposes to rectify racism by multiplying categories. What has been labelled “race” in the United States represents...
on-going "ethnic" communities that have a shared history and often a common experience of legalized discrimination. The supposed problem of what to do with the offspring of mixed marriages presents, at bottom, a problem no greater or smaller than that presented by other types of interethnic marriages—for instance, Hispanic/non-Hispanic. The individual, under the policy of self-selection that has been operative since 1960, is free to choose the category of primary identification—or none at all. If "multiracial" were to be anything more than a euphemism for the old "mulatto" category, abolished after 1910, it would have to be defined in such a way as to include large numbers of people from the present Hispanic and Asian groups. What would be the effect of change on Asians, Hispanics and Native Americans? Asian/Pacific Islanders and American Indians have comparatively high rates of out-marry. There is little evidence that these groups wish to place interracial offspring in a new "multiracial" designation. Indeed, the proposed category is opposed by La Raza and the Asian American Legal Defense Fund.

One of the most deleterious effects of a "multiracial" category would be that it would disaggregate one group while others were in the process of government-managed aggregation. The Asian/Pacific Islander category includes individuals from Pakistan to Fiji who have no common racial, religious or linguistic link. The Hispanic category, created in 1980, has been defined very broadly for political reasons. It now stretches to include Mayas in Guatemala and the children of German immigrants in Argentina. This administrative creation is not the ethnic label chosen by most people within the group (e.g., Chicanos and Puerto Ricans) and has served chiefly as a means of transcultural mobilization in an era of civil rights legislation.

The disaggregation of Blacks would drive a wedge into the community that would not only increase the isolation of its most disadvantaged members. The flight of the Black middle class from inner-city neighborhoods has already been noted by numerous scholars. Some have also found a relationship between skin color and socioeconomic status within the African American community. Creating a North American version of the "Mulatto Escape Hatch" would have the effect of legally hastening the proliferation of caste boundaries in a society that is already a "pigmentocracy." In a recent review of Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray's The Bell Curve in the conservative National Review, historian Eugene Genovese predicted a "caste war between mulattoes and Blacks." Without a doubt, any split in the community will be acted on by those inimical to its interests. The manipulation of the "Coloured" (Mixed Race) category by South Africa's former apartheid regime should stand as a caveat to those who would advocate its introduction here.

Ibrahim K. Standiata is a government professor of African and Afro-American Studies at Brandeis University and Chair of the Department (Waltham, MA 02254-9110). His latest book is Between Slaving and Neoslavery (University of Wisconsin, 1995). His current work is on the creation of race and ethnicity in 20th Century America.

Racial/Ethnic Categories: Do They Matter to Health?
by Carol C. Korenbrot

Race and ethnic data play an important role in national, state and some local health policies. A number of public databases document differences in health status and services among different racial and ethnic groups, and many of the differences indicate a need to prioritize policies for different ethnic groups:

- African-Americans have shorter life expectancies than white Americans.
- The excess mortality of black males has become progressively greater for almost all major chronic diseases during the last 40 years.
- Homicide is the leading cause of death for African-American women ages 15-34.
- African American women ages 25-55 are three to four times more likely to die of heart disease, stroke and complications of pregnancy than white women.
- African American and Hispanic women have higher rates of diabetes, hypertension and cardiovascular disease than white women.
- African American and Hispanic women (one-fifth of all women) account for three-fourths of all US women who are reported to have AIDS.
- Whites have more contacts with physicians, and most are by telephone or office visit; blacks have had more physician contacts in a hospital, clinic or emergency room.
- More Hispanics (27%) and blacks (19%) have no health insurance than whites (12%).

At the same time, these government data reveal dangers of the double-edged sword of race-categorized health data that can both help and hurt racial and ethnic minorities. Data that document higher rates of poor health status or higher use of public health services in a particular group can be used to
stigmatize all members of the group. In addition, confounding social, demographic, economic or political factors that contribute to disease are rarely factored out of published ethnic differences in health. Either of two problems can develop as a result:

- Health policies are changed with no impact on health status, because far more sweeping policy changes in housing, employment or general assistance are needed; or
- Health policies are not changed because the health differences are ascribed to the underclass characteristics that explain the differences and are considered beyond the scope of health care policy.

The definition and use of racial categories in health data were largely unquestioned until recently because of the tacitly accepted role of genetically transmitted physical characteristics in defining racial groups (such as skin colors), as well as the role of genetically transmitted physical characteristics in health status differences (such as skin cancers). When race is used in health data, there is a tendency to assume that a genetic reason may explain differences. But often there is no known potential genetic explanation for differences that are documented. Until recently, there has been little research dedicated to how well or how poorly the racial categories of health data used for public policy actually meet scientific criteria of mutually exhaustive and exclusive groupings of people by any definable characteristics. A recent multiracial Public Health Service workshop concluded, “Current concepts of race and ethnicity in public health surveillance data lack clarity, precision and consensus.” It is important to note, however, that the group recommended not to abolish racial/ethnic categories but to “Establish definitions for race and ethnicity tailored for specific purposes in public health. . . .”

In our paper on health data for the PRRAC Federal Data Reconnaissance Project, we documented the usefulness of racial group-specific data in monitoring the progress of the country towards equity in health status and health services. It would be a shame to allow the recent burgeoning progress in understanding of ethnic differences in health to be threatened by political attempts to reduce ethnic categorization. Clearly, more categories are necessary, not fewer. At the same time, continued action is needed to avoid biased attitudes, conscious and subconscious, not just in the categorization of racial groups, but in the interpretation and use of the data.

Carol C. Korenbrot is associate adjunct professor at the Institute for Health Policy Studies, School of Medicine, University of California, San Francisco (1388 Sutter St., 11th flr., San Francisco, CA 94109). With Ayesha Gill and Dana Hughes, also of the Institute, she researched and wrote Healthy People 2000 Objectives for People of Color and Low Income: A Health Data Reconnaissance Project. That 37-page report, produced as part of PRRAC’s Federal Data Reconnaissance Project, was issued in June 1994 and is available from PRRAC with a 9 x 12” self-addressed stamped envelope with $1.24 postage plus $3.00 for reproduction costs.

On the Census Race and Ethnic Categories

by Nathan Glazer

The first round of responses on the question of whether and how the racial/ethnic categories in the Census and other government statistics should be modified shows the enormous problems involved in getting agreement on any set of categories. We have moved from the first Census of 1790, and a situation in which we distinguished only between whites and blacks—easy enough then, as the two categories were defined in law so that the line between the two races was absolutely clear—to one in which endless confusion prevails. More than 40% of the short Census form, which every person must respond to, now consists of complicated questions on race and Hispanic origin, as if the chief business of government was to pigeonhole people by these categories. Why are they more important than

questions on education, place of birth, citizenship, housing, income, occupation and a host of other valuable items of information? This alone should embarrass us, and should lead us to consider seriously not only how we can improve these questions (whatever improvement means, which will be rather different depending on whom you ask) but also how we can reduce the prominence of racial-ethnic assignment in our Census. Do we want our Census, whose origin was simply to permit the proper representation of the people in Congress, to be a document whose primary purpose is to assign the population to race and ethnic groups? Also, the development of public policies judged increasingly by their differential impact on various ethnic and racial groups makes this development almost inevitable.

The categories we use should serve two purposes. One is to accurately reflect categories that are in fact socially significant—for politics, for social life, for culture, for personal identity—since one purpose of the Census is to give a picture of the American people. The second is to serve public policy, by providing the numbers that politicians and people insist upon to judge our progress in fairness and equality. There are inevitable contradictions between the two objectives, as is clear in the rise of groups insisting on their mixed-race character, something which public policy does not recognize. People insist on defining themselves properly, from their personal point of view, but it is a point of view that does not cohere with

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the categories public policy has defined. In the Census to take into account all the categories that are meaningful to people in defining themselves is of course impossible: the picture of the American people derived from the Census and official statistics will always be crude, drawn in broad brush strokes, and will have to be supplemented by nonofficial social research based on small samples. The Wall Street Journal for February 2 describes the explosion of politically relevant categories in the local politics of tolerant San Francisco, where a black male official challenges the appointment of a black female lesbian to some post on the ground that she will be more sympathetic to lesbians than to blacks, while the appointment is defended by a Hispanic lesbian. All the identities are relevant to San Francisco, only some should be relevant for the Census.

Clearly, the key division in American society, from its origins, and from the first Census, has been between black and other. It is still the basic division, and its centrality is indicated by the relatively low rates of intermarriage between blacks and others, and the relatively high residential concentration of blacks, as compared to all other groups the Census defines as "races." But when it comes to almost all other groups, intermarriage leads to an abundance of multiple ethnic ancestries, and to a declining significance for many individuals of ethnic ancestry. This means that nonblack groups are less sharply defined, less significant for American history, and for the individuals identified with them, than are blacks. The Voting Rights Act and other legislation tries (quite wrongly) to assume an equivalence in the deprived status of all nonwhite racial groups and all Hispanic groups. The economic success of many Asian groups undermines this purely political assumption, the success of Cubans, politically and economically, and the differences in economic and educational achievement among Hispanic groups, also undermines it. Asians were once subject to a fierce legal discrimination, Mexican Americans were subject to political and social (and to some extent legal) discrimination, but there is no comparison between the status of Asian-American and Hispanic groups and blacks.

To have a line-up of races in the Census that lists white, black, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Asian Indian, etc., is false both to the limited scientific validity of racial difference and to the social significance of the var"ed groups.

To distinguish specific Asian groups, considered separate "races" in the Census, from European ethnic groups, considered all of one "race," makes no sense, except that for no good reason the voting rights of the former are given specific protection while those of the latter are not. The children of Greek or Irish immigrants on the one hand, and Korean and Asian Indian immigrants on the other, are equally likely to intermarry, to go to college, and to get good jobs—except that the Asians will probably do better than the Europeans.

The key categories, to my mind, should be, first, black and other, second, foreign-born, by country, and native. One virtue of these two key distinctions is that they are less ambiguous and muddy than most others. The category of children of foreign-born is also a useful one. The effort by the new ancestry question to form a category of all persons of a specific ethnic ancestry, including those of the third generation and beyond, is for the most part a failure, as Stanley Lieberson and Mary Waters have shown in their book From Many Strands. It is true that among the nonblack groups some are more insular and have sharper boundaries than others. Jews were once such, but with intermarriage rates today of 50%, the degree to which they can be separated out from the white group in general is declining—part-Jews will in a generation be relatively as numerous as part-Italians, and what the significance of this "partnership" will be is something that should be left to social scientists, rather than something that should bother the Census.

What then happens to various Hispanic groups, the Asian groups? The two questions—black and other, foreign-born and other—will tell us who is foreign-born from various Latin American and Asian countries, just as we know who is foreign-born from various European countries. We will know the numbers of those who are the children of the foreign-born, who are generally married to the foreign-born of the same origin. For further generations, we will assume they are all Americans, of varied ethnic and racial backgrounds, which is increasingly the reality. This approach would abandon the Hispanic category and its variants (although presumably it is politically impossible to do so). Native Americans (American Indians) have a legal definition: it is not necessary to get their numbers from the Census. It should be possible for them to distinguish them-

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A California Replication of PRRAC's Data Reconnaissance Project

PRRAC's Federal Data Reconnaissance Project (see the lead article in the January/February Poverty & Race) is about to be replicated in California. With a grant from The Irvine Foundation, we will be undertaking a reconnaissance of data on state-level education, housing, income support and health programs as they impact poor and minority beneficiaries. We intend this to be model for other state versions of the research we have undertaken on the federal level, as well as for the advocacy work this research leads into.

If you are interested in learning more about this project, have information or information sources to suggest, or want to discuss participating in it, please contact Chester Hartman at PRRAC right away.
Race/Ethnicity and Data Collection

by Chris Hansen

Buried in the debate begun by Lawrence Wright's provocative New Yorker article and continued in the January/February issue of Poverty & Race are two extremely important and related, but nevertheless distinct, questions about the central domestic issue of our time—race. First, should we continue to collect data on the race/ethnicity of people living in the United States? Second, if we are to continue to collect that data, how should the categories be structured? The answer to the first question is easy; the second, less so.

Of course we should continue to collect data on race/ethnicity. The ACLU's Voting Rights Project uses race data every day in analyzing the impact of changes in voting rules on minority voters. Surely we can all agree that the data are needed to determine if proposed changes will have a discriminatory effect. The ACLU has used race data in school desegregation cases, most notably Brown vs. Board of Education. Topeka kept no race data from 1956-1966. If it hadn't started keeping those data in the 60s, we would never have been able to establish that the schools there are still not desegregated. Even more recently, as Samuel Myers suggested in his commentary, federal data on mortgage lending supplied by the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) have firmly established the existence of race discrimination in lending and helped identify those most culpable, many of whom are now being more intensively investigated for possible litigation. Because of the value of the HMDA data, the ACLU and other civil rights groups have recently urged the federal government to collect and make public additional race/ethnicity data concerning community lending and secondary market lending. Continued collection of race/ethnicity data is essential.

If we do continue to gather data on race/ethnicity, Wright raises several legitimate questions about the categories. The "one drop" rule does have a troubling racist tinge to it. In addition, civil libertarians should be concerned when the government forces an individual to accept a racial classification that individual finds inaccurate. These problems arise because, for lawyers, the question is not whether there is any objective component to race but rather whether people are treated differently based on certain characteristics, and if so, how the law should react to that different treatment. As many of the articles in the last Poverty & Race indicate, race/ethnicity is often not one-dimensional. As noted, Hispanics can be from many different races. Identity also has aspects of self-definition (do I consider myself Black?), perception (am I considered Black by others?) and treatment (am I treated as if I were Black?). These different aspects are not always congruent. (By contrast, sometimes race/ethnicity isn't even one-dimensional. A few years ago, I was probing definitions of race/ethnicity in a deposition in a case charging the New York City foster care system with racial and religious discrimination. After describing my background to the deponent—white, northern European, Protestant—I asked what ethnic group she would assign me to. She testified I didn't have an ethnicity.)

At the same time, existing civil rights laws are dependent on the ability to define limited, discrete categories of people who have been subject to prejudice and are therefore protected from further discrimination. Discrimination is not merely an act against an individual; it is also usually an act against a discrete category of individuals. That is why civil rights lawyers do not limit themselves to individual cases, but also bring class actions seeking redress for all in the protected category. If the categories become too numerous or too ill defined, they will become meaningless.

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Perhaps one solution would be to borrow from disability law. People are protected against discrimination on the basis of disability if they are disabled or, even when they are not, if they are perceived as disabled. Perhaps people would be protected if they self-identify as Black, or if they self-identify as multi-racial or other but are perceived/treated as Black. In any case, the difficulties of categorization should not prevent us from continuing to collect the data.

Chris Hansen is a Senior Staff Counsel with the National Office of the American Civil Liberties Union (132 W. 43rd St., New York, NY 10036). The views expressed do not necessarily represent the views of the ACLU.

More Anti-Murrayiana

In the January/February Poverty & Race we listed nearly three dozen reviews, op-eds, letters to the editor, etc. critical of the Murray-Herrnstein Bell Curve tract, with an offer to send the packet to those interested in using these materials. We received lots of responses, we're happy to report, and many of you sent in additional items, for which we are grateful. (Anne Wheelock, in a note accompanying some additional materials, asks: "Do you think readers of the PRRAC newsletter can make the next connection—to oppose The Bell Curve should lead to opposition to [school] tracking, but my experiences in progressive communities suggests the contrary?") The supplementary items are listed below (and were included in the packet we sent out to all who requested it). New readers who want to see the list we printed in the last issue can get one from us with a SASE. Those of you who want to have the entire enlarged packet (now some 50 items, totalling over 200 pages) should send us a 9" x 12" self-addressed envelope with $3.00 postage and $15 to cover our copying costs (now, with the additional materials, higher than the $12 we charged for the original packet).

- Beth Maschinot, "Behind the Curve," Feb. 6, 1995 In These Times.
- Not included in the packet, but an important and relevant work one of our readers cited, is A. Chase, The Social Costs of the New Scientific Racism (Knopf, 1977).
PRRAC Researchers Report

No Homeless People Allowed
by Maria Foscarinis and Rick Herz

The National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty's latest report, *No Homeless People Allowed*, provides a sense of the breadth of the emerging trend toward the criminalization of homelessness and of that trend's varied manifestations. The report analyzes local government actions directed at homeless people in 49 cities across the country, focusing on ordinances passed and enforcement activities undertaken in 1994.

The Center acquired the information from a variety of sources. We initially learned about relevant city actions through a computer database search, culled from news reports and Handsnet (a computer information network for the human services and public interest community), and unsolicited phone calls and letters. This information was augmented by telephone interviews, primarily with service providers and attorneys representing homeless people (Seattle Displacement Coalition, ACLU of Georgia, Miami Coalition for the Homeless, etc.). Background information was obtained from government documents and telephone interviews with service providers and city employees. Copies of local statutes and court documents were obtained either from those interviewed or from city or court clerks' offices.

Actions taken against homeless people over the past year fall into five major categories:
- Restrictions on begging;
- Restrictions on homeless persons' use of public places;
- Police "sweeps" designed to remove homeless people from specific areas;
- Selective enforcement of general laws against homeless people;
- Restrictions on providers of services to homeless people.

Many cities employed combinations of those actions. Overall, the report found that the cities surveyed that engaged in anti-homeless activities:
- 62% enacted or enforced anti-panhandling ordinances
- 26% enacted or enforced public place restrictions
- 24% conducted police sweeps
- 24% selectively enforced laws
- 21% enacted or enforced restrictions on service providers

Although no precise statistics are available, the Center's monitoring of local anti-homeless activities over the past three years indicates that such activities have risen sharply in that period, and in the past year as well.

We found that at the same time cities cracked down on their homeless residents, resources to help homeless people out of homelessness—or simply off the streets—remained woefully inadequate. By the city's own counts, in virtually no instance were emergency shelter spaces sufficient to meet the need. Moreover, in no city was there sufficient affordable housing to meet the need: using federal affordability guidelines, in no city could a person living on income from a job at federal minimum wage or SSI, or a one-parent family of three living on AFDC, afford fair market rents.

The report notes that in the absence of sufficient shelter space, homeless people literally have nowhere else to go—or be—than the streets and other public places. In the absence of sufficient jobs or income, homeless people may have no means to meet basic survival needs other than begging.

In this context, penalizing such activities amounts to criminalizing homelessness; in addition, it suggests a new, extreme response to homelessness: banishment of homeless people.

The report found that among the cities analyzed, some stand out particularly for having the "meaanest streets," either for their clear intention simply to expel homeless residents from their city limits or for the concerted, focused, often highly publicized efforts undertaken against their homeless residents:
- Santa Monica's ordinances, which ensure that there is no public place where homeless people can sleep, have had their intended effect of forcing homeless people to leave. The city has also passed laws to prevent private individuals from distributing food to hungry people, while capping city spending on services to homeless people.
- Santa Ana continues to try to rid the city of homeless people—its official policy since 1988—despite having paid damages to settle two lawsuits and having lost two other legal challenges to its anti-homeless policies (one of which is now on appeal).
- Cleveland police officers pursued a policy of driving homeless people from downtown areas to remote industrial areas and leaving them there.
- San Francisco conducted a campaign of harassment against its homeless citizens through a combination of neighborhood sweeps, anti-homeless laws and selective enforcement, resulting in between 11,000 and 22,500 citations in a little over a year.
- Seattle vigorously enforced its laws which prevent homeless people from even sitting down to rest in public downtown areas in an effort to keep homeless people away from downtown businesses.

In response to cities' actions, lawsuits (Please turn to page 20)
have been filed around the country, and a number of important decisions have been handed down over the past year. The report details those decisions and notes that, while the law is still developing, and a number of rulings are now on appeal, some trends are emerging. In general, penalizing homeless people for sleeping in public in the absence of sufficient shelter space is likely to violate the Constitution’s prohibition against cruel and unusual punishment. Similarly, broad bans on panhandling are likely to be struck down.

The report also found that news accounts often erroneously attribute the increased prevalence of anti-homeless city actions to declining public “sympathy” for homeless people. Actually, opinion polls consistently reveal that the public supports increased government aid to help homeless people out of homelessness. A spring 1994 poll, by Wayne State University, designed to test public opinion on homelessness, found that 65% of the public would pay higher taxes to fund such aid, a number that has changed little over the past ten years.

In fact, at the same time that cities are engaged in anti-homeless actions, there is also some good news. The report found that over the past year a significant number of cities adopted alternative responses. Some of these alternatives are more constructive than others; and in some cases cities adopted alternative responses while pursuing anti-homeless actions. These included:

- Dade County’s adoption of a 1% tax on restaurant meals in order to fund facilities and services for homeless people.
- Nashville’s rejection of an anti-panhandling ordinance and increased cooperation between merchants and outreach workers.
- Pasadena’s provision of shelter and services to residents of an encampment rather than simply sweeping them away.

Some concerns about the use of public space are legitimate, but criminalizing homelessness is not the solution. Actions suggested by the report, both immediate and long-term, include:

- Adopting laws designed to assist rather than harass homeless people and service providers.
- Addressing legitimate concerns, such as sanitation, through constructive rather than criminal responses, such as providing more public rest rooms.
- Fostering dialogue and outreach among city agencies, advocates, business people and homeless people to find long-term solutions that address the underlying causes of homelessness.
- Finding the necessary funds to implement such long-term solutions, perhaps through innovative methods such as Dade County’s meal tax.

The report supports a four-pronged advocacy strategy: public education, litigation, executive initiatives and legislation.

- **Public education:** The Center released the report to the national press and worked with local groups that agreed to release it to their local media. This approach generated national and local press coverage. We plan to continue to disseminate the report widely, through the media as well as other vehicles, in order to reach policymakers and the general public.

- **Litigation:** The Center plans to use the report to strengthen litigation responses to anti-homeless laws and practices. We are currently participating in an *amicus curiae* in four major constitutional challenges to such laws and practices and are now preparing to file a fifth *amicus* brief in support of homeless litigants. The Center will rely on the report in this and future briefs. We plan to continue to respond to requests for litigation support as well as to reach out to local groups to offer assistance.

- **Executive initiatives:** The Law Center plans to continue to work to involve the Department of Justice in such cases. In September 1993, the Department agreed to designate a senior civil rights attorney to investigate appropriate cases for possible prosecution. In November 1994, DOJ filed an *amicus* brief in *Tobe v. Santa Ana*, the first such brief filed by the Department.

**Legislation:** The Law Center plans to explore amendments to current federal law to require that communities receiving federal funds not violate the civil rights of their homeless residents. Building on the information and attention generated by the report, the Law Center will work for further action.

*Maria Foscarinis is Executive Director and Rick Herz is a Civil Rights Monitor at the National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty (918 F St NW, #412, Washington, DC 20004; 202/638-2535). Copies of the full report (120 pp., Dec. 1994) can be obtained ($25, $18 for small nonprofits) from the Center.*
Thank$ to Our Contributors!!

As you all know, over the past half year we have been attempting to broaden PRRAC's base of financial support in a variety of ways: direct contributions, voluntary "subscriptions" to Poverty & Race, bequests, reaching out to other foundation sources, etc. We really appreciate those of you who have responded so generously. Listed below are those whose financial support has been received from the end of 1993 through February 23, 1995. If you have made a contribution between those dates but your name does not appear on the list below, either under your individual or organization name, we apologize for the inadvertent omission. Needless to say, we still need your help. Please send a (tax-deductible) contribution if you can, no matter how small.

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STAFF CHANGES: We welcome as PRRAC's new Assistant Director Steven White, who joins us after 3+ years with The Children's Defense Fund, where he directed their Black Student Leadership Network. Prior to CDF, Steve was in New Haven, Connecticut, first as manager of John Daniels' successful campaign to become city's first African-American mayor, then as Mayor Daniels' legislative liaison. Steve replaces Joe Lucero, who has joined Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in Philanthropy in New York City as their Program Associate. We also welcome Kerlyn Paul, a Howard University junior, as our part-time clerical assistant. Her hard work makes it possible for PRRAC to respond more quickly to your many requests for information.

THANK YOU: Extra-big thanks to Malanita Hilliard, a Brown University senior, who spent part of January with us (as she did last summer), this time creating PRRAC's library (of the materials we list in P&R's Resources section).

Resources

With this issue, we are creating a new category under Resources, "Employment/ Jobs Policy." Most such materials formerly were included under "Economic/ Community Development," a category we are retaining. To avoid confusion with the new category, the category formerly labeled "Jobs/Foundation Grants" now is "Job Opportunities/Foundation Grants."

When ordering items from the Resources section, please note that most listings direct you to contact an organization other than PRRAC. Prices include the shipping/handling (s/h) charge only when this information is provided to PRRAC. "No price listed" items often are free.

When ordering items from PRRAC: SASE = self-addressed stamped envelope (3¢ unless otherwise indicated). Orders may not be placed by telephone or fax.

When we fill SASE orders, we enclose a contribution envelope; please—especially if you are a frequent user of our service—try to send us some needed operating funds. Thank you.

Race/Racism

- New Challenges: The Civil Rights Record of the Clinton Administration, 1993-1994, Corrine Yu & (PRRAC Board member) William L. Taylor, eds (302 pp., 1995), is the biannual report of the Citizens' Commission on Civil Rights. Included are the recommendations of the Commission (a bipartisan group of former federal officials in positions of responsibility for equal opportunity) and 26 working papers, including "Minority Poverty" (by George Galster) "Health" (by Maya Wiley), "Environmental Justice" (by Alice L. Brown), and "Housing" (by John Reiman). $23.75 ($34.95 for DC residents) from the Commission, 2000 M St. NW #400, Wash., DC 20036, 202/699-5565.
- "Blacks in America-1992" is a 2-page, May 1994 Census Bureau Statistical Brief. Contact: Claudette Bennett, 301/763-2607.
- "Building Bridges: Creating And Sustaining Visible Multicultural Communities" is a compilation from a convening of the Hitachi Foundation grantees (76 pp., 1994), available (likely free) from the Foundation, 1509 22 St. NW, Wash., DC 20037-1073, 202/457-0988.
- "Discrimination Over the Life Course: A Synthesis of the Cohort Analysis of Earnings Differences Between Black & White Males, 1940-92," by Melvin Thomas, Cedric Herring & Hayward Hutton, from the Nov 1994 Social Problems, is available ($15) from Prof. Herring, Dept. Sociology (M/C 312), University of Illinois, 1007 W. Harrison, Chicago, IL 60607.
- Final Dreams: The Politics & Economics of Race in America, by Stanford Univ. economist Martin Carnoy, has just been published by Cambridge Univ. Press. $15: Although we hate to add to the O.J. Simpson frenzy, Phyllis Eckhaus of Girls Inc sent in "What the Simpson Case Really Means," by Judith Mahoney Pasternak & Chris Seymour, from the Sept.-Oct. issue of Tikkun, which she characterizes as making "really profound points about the interplay of race and gender issues." We'll send a copy of the 3-pager with a SASE.
- "Race: From Inclusion to Transformation," by PRRAC Board member S.M. Miller (6 pp., Oct. 1994), his presentation at a Univ. of MN Roy Wilkins Ctr. conf., is available from us with a SASE.
- A National Opinion Poll on "The State of Black America" will be undertaken by Columbia University's Inst. for Research in African American Studies. Contact Inst. Director Manning Marable (see above item).

e "Racism in the Lives of Women: Testimony, Theory & Guides to Anti-Racist Practice," Jeanne Adlaman & Gloria Enguigueño, eds. (326 pp., 1994), is available ($22.70) from Hawthorn Press, 10 Alice St., Binghamton, NY 13904-1580, 900/342-9678. They also publish the quarterly Journal of Multicultural Social Work, subs: $40 indivs., $60 insts., $75 libraries, and have a catalogue of publications on "ethnic, multicultural & cross-cultural perspectives on health & mental health."

• "Street by Street, Block by Block: How Urban Renewal Uprooted Black Roanoke," by Mary Bishop, is an extraordinary 12-page supplement to the Jan. 29, 1995 Roanoke Times & World-News, detailing, with many personal accounts, the impact of the city's urban renewal program. Reprints are available (probably free) from Bishop at the Times, PO Box 2491, Roanoke, VA 24010.

• "The Critical Choice Between Racism & Poverty in Present-Day America," by Clarence Wood (35 pp., May 1992), is available (no price listed) from the Human Relations Fdn. of Chicago, 222 N. LaSalle St. #1450, Chicago, IL 60601, 312/456-7745. They also have available a publications list.

• The Journal of African American Men, the refereed journal of the Natl. Council of African American Men, will switch (starting May 1995) from being a semi-annual to a quarterly publication, and now is being published by Transaction. Editorial board includes Alvin Poussaint and Harry Edwards. Subs are $40 indivs., $96 insts. from Transaction, Dept. 94BJAAM, Rutgers, New Brunswick, NJ 08903. Info. on the council is available from Richard Majors, Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/857-8758. Info. on ms. submission from journal editor Courtland Lee, 169 Ruffner Hall, Univ. of VA, Charlottesville, VA 22903, 804/924-3119.

• Challenge: A Journal of African-American Men has, in its Dec. 1994 issue, articles on "50 Years After Myrdal: Blacks' Racial Policy Attitudes in the 1990s" (by Steven Tuch, Lee Sigelman & Jack Martin), "Economics of Life & Death: Mortality & Survival Rates for African-Americans" (by S.V. Char), and "A Historical Description of Black Homicide & Suicide Differences in the US" (by Philip Secret & Obie Clayton). Challenge is published by the Morehouse Research Inst., 830 Westview Dr. SW, Atlanta, GA 30314. Subs. for this semi-annual are $10 indivs., $25 libraries. Despite the confusing similarity of titles, this and the journal mentioned in the above item are distinct publications.

• "The New Political Landscape" is the Times Mirror study of voter values and attitudes. Among its conclusions: "Voter attitudes are punctuated by increased indifference to the problems of blacks and poor people. And resentment toward imigrants is widespread. The 183-page, Oct. 1994 report is available (no price listed) from the Times Mirror Ctr. for the People & The Press, 1875 Eye St. NW, #1110, Wash., DC 20006, 202/293-4650.

• Viable, Diverse, Stable Neighborhoods: The Policy Research Action Group (featured in the January 1993 issue of P&R) and the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities have begun a research effort to identify and document factors that create and sustain diverse neighborhoods in US central cities. They are seeking information and contacts in order to develop their database. Contact Michael Maly at PRAI, Dept. Soc. & Anthropol., Loyola Univ., 2646 Granada Centre, 6225 N. Sheridan Rd., Chicago, IL 60666, 312/308-3488; e-mail: mmaly@luc.edu.


• "Keeping Freedom Free—Our Heritage of Self-Help, Community Involvement & Responsibility" is the 16th Annual Black Experience Workshop, March 16-17 at the UNC School of Social Work. Info. from Audrey Johnson. UNC CB#3550, 223 E. Franklin St. #150A, Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3550, 919/962-1225.

• "Coming Together: A National Conference of Allies to Defend Diversity & Democracy," sponsored by the Ctr. for Democratic Renewal, a PRRAI grantee (with a huge gaffe of co-conveners), will be held March 24-26 in Atlanta. Info. from CDR, PO Box 50469, Atlanta, GA 30302, 404/221-0025.

• A Beloved Community Network will hold a charette on the April 1-2 weekend in Providence. Contact Rev. Virgil Wood, PO Box 19729, Providence, RI 02919, 401/942-8834.

• "Changing California: Exploring New Challenges for Race & Race Relations" is a conf., sponsored by the Applied Research Ctr., with the support of the Inst. for the Study of Social Change, to be held May 12-13 at UC-Berkeley. They've issued a Call for Papers (suggested topics: immigration, "multiculturalism," diversity, identity, organizing, the media, The Right, criminal justice, neighborhoods, youth, environmental justice, education, religion, electoral representation), due by March 31 to (PRRAI Board member) CATHI TACTAQUIN, ARC, 25 Embarcadero Cove, Oakland, CA 94606, 510/334-1769.

• "African Americans, Societal Issues & the Pardoxes of Public Policy" is the theme of the Aug. 17-19 Assn. of Black Sociologists meeting in Wash., DC. A Call for Papers has been issued, with a (possibly extended) March 15 deadline for papers & abstracts, to Dr. Robert Davis, Dept. Sociology, NC A&T St. Univ., Greensboro, NC 27411, 910/334-7006; e-mail: DAvsBob@Athena.NCAtEdu.

Poverty/Welfare

• "A Welfare Reform Based on Help for Working Parents" is a 4-page, Jan. 1995 proposal from the Economists' Policy Group for Women's Issues, co-chaired by Barbara Bergmann of American Univ. & Heidi Hartmann of the Inst. for Women's Policy Studies (and a member of PRRAI's Social Science Advisory Board). For a copy and a list of the 60+ signers, contact IWPR, 1400 20th St. NW #104, Wash., DC 20036, 202/785-5100.

• A Welfare Reform Briefing Book is available (no price listed) from the Children's Defense Fund, 25 E St. NW, Wash., DC 20001, 202/628-8787.

• America's New War on Poverty, the 250 page guidebook produced to accompany the recent 5-part TV PBS series by Blackside Productions, is available at a deep discount (55%, or $5.83/book, for 50-100 books, $18 for 100+ cc.) from KQED, 2601 Mariposa St., SF, CA 94110-1400, 415/864-2000. PRRAI Exec. Dir. Chester Hartman was an advisor for the book project, and among the authors are Henry Hampton, Daniel Schorr, Robert Reich, Isabel...
Education

- **Activist Education:** The Social Action & Leadership School for Activists (SALSA) of the Inst. for Policy Studies hosts a range of Spring semester classes (some of which already have begun). The usual one- or two-day Spring semester courses include "Inispective Reporting" (by John Dingel), "Op-Ed Writing" (by Saul Landau), "Government Research/Using the FOIA" (by Sanho Tree & Dawn Nakano), "Human Rights" (by Holly Burkhalter), "Fundraising for Communities of Color" (by Phil Nash), "Researching Corporations" (by Sara Anderson & John Cavanagh), and many others. Catalog from SALSA, P.O. Box 531, Durham, NC 27702, 919/419-8311.

- **Charter Schools New Model for Public Schools:** "School Violence in America's Cities: NLC Survey Overview" (153 pp. + maps, Dec. 1994) is available (no price listed) from the Natl. League of Cities, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave. NW, 20036, 202/626-3138.

- **Student Achievement & the Changing American Family:** "AAA" (131 pp., 1994), is available (no price listed) from the RAND Inst. on Educ. & Training. A 25-page Executive Summary is also available: 1700 Main St., PO Box 2138, Santa Monica, CA 90407-2138, 310/451-7302.

- **The National Study of Inclusive Education** (165 pp. + state by state listings, June 1994) is available (no price listed) from the Natl. Ctr. on Educ. Restructuring & Inclusion, CUNY Grad. Ctr., 33 W. 42 St., NY, NY 10036, 212/642-2656. The Center also publishes a periodic bulletin.

- **Women of Color and the Multicultural Curriculum: Transforming the College Classroom** is a new publication from the Natl. Council for Research on Women, an overview of 13 curriculum-transformation projects on mainstreaming minority women's studies. $22 from the Council, 530 Broadway, 10th fl., NY, NY 10012, 212/274-0730. They also have available a publications list.


- **The Legacy of Benjamin E. Mays: The Education of African Americans** is a national research symposium examining the history of African American education, April 5-6, sponsored by the Morehouse Research Inst. from the Inst., 830 Westview Dr. SW, Atlanta, GA 30314, 404/215-2676.

Employment/ Jobs Policy

- **Disaggregating Rates, Unemployment Spells & Reemployment Rates by Race** (32 pp., Sept. 1994) is a GAO report (GAO/HEHS-94-229FS). Available, free, from USGPO, PO Box 6015, Gauthersburg, MD 20884-6015.

- **Four Years and Still Falling: The Decline in the Value of the Minimum Wage**, by Isaac Shapiro (14 pp., Jan. 1985), is available from the Ctr. on Budget & Policy Priorities, 777 N. Capitol St. #705, Wash., DC 20002, 202/406-1080.


- **The Jobs for All Coalition now publishes an Action Newsletter. Contact them c/o Council on Internat. & Public Affairs, 777 UN Plaza, NYC, NY 10017, 212/677-4334 (Gertrude Goldberg).**

- **Stress & Struggle in the Changing Workplace** is a Labor Notes conf., April 28-30 in Detroit. Info. from Labor Notes, 7435 Michigan Ave., Detroit, MI 48210, 313/842-6262.

Environment

- "A Bill to Provide Environmental Equity in the Siting, Operation or Expansion of Any Hazardous, Solid or Other Waste Facility" and a parallel Executive Order have been prepared by BC Law student Carol Tate. For copies, contact her at 109 Myrtle St. #2, Waltham, MA 02154, 617/891-8184.

- **An Environmental Justice Computer Network has been established at BC Law School.** For submissions and info., contact Charlie Lord, 885 Centre St., Newton, MA 02159, 617/552-0928.

- **Beyond Pesticides is a new coalition formed to unite groups to work on pesticide issues that involve environment, labor, children, health, women, consumers & social justice.** For a copy of their Statement of Principles (and to endorse it), contact them at 701 F. St. SE, Wash., DC 20003, 202/543-5450.

- "Gold & Greens," by Bob Hall, is a study disproving the "jobs vs. environment" myth, showing that states with the best environmental records also offer the best job opportunities and climate for long-term economic development. The 24-page, Oct. 1994 study is available (no price listed) from the Inst. for Southern Studies, PO Box 531, Durham, NC 27702, 919/419-8311.

- **"Istal Inside New Mexico" is a 60-page, May 1994 report available ($7) from the Southwest Organizing Project, 211 10th St. SW, Albuquerque, NM 87102, 505/247-8832.**

- **Jobs and the Environment: The Myth of a National Trade-Off," by Eban Goodstein (43 pp., 1994), is available ($12) from the Econ. Policy Inst., through Public Interest Publs., 800/537-9359.**

- **Legislating Justice: An Examination of State Environmental Justice Laws," by Ron Nixon (28 pp., Aug. 1994), is available ($10) from the Inst. for Southern Studies, PO Box 531, Durham, NC 27702, 919/419-8311.**

- **The Environmental Justice Resource Center of Clark Atlanta Univ. has been established, with Robert Bullard as its Director. The Center's target population is the 11 state service areas of the Historically Black Colleges & Universities/Minority Institutions Environmental Technology Consortium. The 17-member Consortium institutions cover most of the...**
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from the Child Welfare League of America, 440 First St. NW, #310, Wash., DC 20001, 202/638-2952.

“Child Care: Promoting Quality in Family Child Care” (GAO/HEHS-95-28) and “Child Care: Child Care Subsidies Increase Likelihood That Low-Income Mothers Will Work” (GAO/HEHS-95-36) are Dec. 1994 reports, available, free, from GAO, PO Box 6015, Gaithersburg, MD 20884-6015.

“Going It Alone: A Closer Look at Grandparents, Parenting, Grandchildren” by Deborah Chaskie (12 pp. + app., 1994), is available (likely free) from the AARP Grandparent Info. Ctr., 601 E St. NW, Wash., DC 20049, 202/434-2288. The report shows that grandparents bringing up grandchildren have trouble obtaining help from state welfare agencies even though they clearly are eligible for assistance.

“Government’s Failure to Provide: Five Years Later—A report on the District Attorney’s failure to provide child support services to Los Angeles County residents,” by Laura Fastigh (26 pp., Dec. 1994), is available (no price listed) from the Harriet Buhai Ctr. for Family Law, 431 Leimert Blvd., LA, CA 90008, 213/298-0215. A 7-page Executive Summary also is available.

Labor/Work & Family Database: A computerized db of sample contract language, policies, research, articles, etc. is available at the Labor Project for Working Families, I.R.I., 2521 Channing Way, Berkeley, CA 94720, 510/643-6814. A list of db topics is available with them with a SASE.

“Putting Children First: State-Level Collaboration between Education & Health” (40 pp., 1995), a publication of the Natl. Health & Educ. Consortium, describe efforts in FL, MD, NM and TX. $12 from the Consortium, 1001 Conn. Ave. NW #310, Wash., DC 20036, 202/822-8405. An Executive Summary also is available (possibly free).


“Sexuality, Poverty & the Inner City” is a 81-page, 1994 monograph emanating from a 1993 Kaiser Family Fund- Amer. Enterprise Inst. seminar. It features two papers—“Sex Codes Among Inner-City Youth,” by Eliah Anderson, and “Teen Sexuality Among Inner-City White Youth: Becoming an Adult in Milton [a Phila. neighborhood],” by Patricia Lynn Stern, both of the Univ. of PA Sociology Dept.—and a seminar summary. Copies of the monograph, as well as the first publication in the series, “The Demographics of Sexual Behavior,” are available (likely free) from McCutchan, 1237 Birchwood Dr., Sunnyvale, CA 94089-2206.


The Decline in Marriage Among African American Couples, Communities & Policy Questions, M. Belinda Tucker & Claudia Mitchell-Kernan, eds. (416 pp., 1995), is available ($22.95) from the Russell Sage Foundation, 112 E 64 St., NYC, NY 10021, 800/666-2211. Among the contributors: Sheldon Danziger, William Darity, Jr., Samuel Myers, Jr., Lynn Burbridge, Melvin Oliver & Brenda Stevenson.

The Families for Kids Initiative is a new $42 million Kellogg Foundation grant program designed to support adoption and foster care reform. First-year grants have been made to groups in...
* "Young Children in Poverty: A Statistical Update" is a 6-page, Jan. 1995 publication of the Natl. Ctr. for Children in Poverty, $5 from the Ctr., 154 Haven Ave., NYC, NY 10032, 202/927-8793.


* 1 Speak for This Child: True Stories of a Child Advocate, by Gay Courter, has just been published by Crown Books. She also has co-directed a 1-hour PBS documentary, "Where's My Chance? The Case for Our Children." Further inf. from the Natl. Court Appointed Special Advocate Assn., 2722 Eastlake Ave. E. #220, Seattle, WA 98102, 800/628-3223. The Natl. CASA Assn’s 14th annual conf. is May 20-23 in Scottsdale, AZ.

* "Working With America's Youth" is the July 23-26 Los Angeles conf. of the Natl. Resource Ctr. for Youth Services. Inf. from the Ctr., College of Contin. Educ., Univ. of OK, Tulsa, OK 74119-1419, 918-985-2986. A call for presenters had a (possibly soft) Jan. 31 deadline; call to check.

**Food/Nutrition/Hunger**

* "Hunger Relief Sourcebook" (51 pp., 1994) is a publication of the travel industry of Amer., listing, by various travel industry subgroups (cruise lines, airlines, tour operators, lodging, etc.), companies that participate in programs and projects aimed at combating hunger and its related problems. The document is available (likely free) from TIAA, 1100 NY Ave. NW #450, Wash., DC 20005-3934, 202/408-9422.

* "The Community Food Security Empowerment Act" (11 pp., Jan. 1995) is available (no price listed) from the Comm. Food Security Coalition, c/o HFS, 509 Wethersfield Ave., Hartford, CT 06114, 203/296-9325. Organizational and individual endorsements are being sought.

**Health**


* "Critical Health Issues for Children & Youth" is the Winter 1994 issue of The Future of Children, the (free) tri-annual publication of the Ctr. for the Future of Children, David & Lucile Packard Found., 300 Second St. #102, Los Altos, CA 94022, 415/948-3696. Articles include "The Health of Latino Children in the U.S.," by PRRC Social Science Advisory Board member Fernando Mendoza, and "Child Indicators: Race & Ethnicity—Changes for Children," by Eugene Lewis & Linda Baker, which (relevant to the symposia in this and last issue of P&R) analyzes the ethnic and racial makeup of the US childhood population.

* "Disadvantage in Health was the theme of the June 1994 issue of the Amer. J. of Public Health. Some 17 articles deal with such issues as black life expectancy, behavioral risk factors among Latinos, the resurgence of TB, the reliability of racial classifications in hospital discharge data, black-white differences in health care treatment, etc. While reprints of individual articles are available free from the authors, the contents are too extensive to be listed here. Single copies of the issue are $13 from APHA, 1015 15th St. NW, Wash., DC 20005, 202/789-5800.

* "Health Care Debate, 1994: Movement Agenda" is the summer 1994 issue of Social Policy. The 64-page issue is available for $5 (subs. for the quarterly are $12 for students, $30 institutions, $20 others) from 33 W 42 St. #1212, NYC, NY 10036.


* "Paying for Health Care: Affordability & Equity in Proposals for Health Care Reform," by Edith Resell & Kanan Tang (54 pp., Dec. 1994), is available (no price listed) from the Econ. Policy Inst., 1730 Rhode Island Ave. NW #200, Wash., DC 20036, 202/775-8810.


* "Source of Health Insurance & Characteristics of the Uninsured: Analysis of the March 1994 Current Population Survey" (48 pp., Feb. 1995) is available (no price listed) from the Employee Benefit Research Inst., 221 K St. NW #601, Wash., DC 20037-1896, 202/659-0670. A tabular Appendix also is available. Among the findings is that 43% of noncitizens under the age of 65 have no health insurance (compared with 16.4% of citizens under 65).


* The Minority Youth Health Project is a collaboration of interrelated professionals with a goal of reducing pregnancy, transmission of STDs, violence & substance abuse among at-risk youth between 10 and 14 years old. They are trying to identify and locate sample community mobilization efforts by grassroots groups nationally and grants available to community mobilization groups Contact Jeannine Fosca, MYHP, 105 14th Ave. #2D, Seattle, WA 98122, 206/685-9322.

* "Turing the Corner: New Ways to Integrate Mental Health & Substance Abuse in Health Care Policy" (48 pp., Jan. 1995) is available ($7) from the Bazelon Ctr. for Mental Health Law, 1101 15th St. NW #1212, Wash., DC 20005, 202/467-5730.

**Homelessness**


* "Homelessness in the Bay Area: Transform Basic Courses; Meet Human Needs" (92 pp.,
Housing

- A Guide to HUD's Prepayment Housing Program has been released by the Citizens Research Education Network (a PRRAC grantee). Further info. from Kim McClain, CREN, 32 Elm St., Hartford, CT 06105, 203/249-1416.


- "Facing the Management Challenge: Affordable Housing in the Navajo Nation," by Rachel Bratt, Langely Seyne, Alex Schwartz & Avis Vidal (316 pp., 1994), is a publication of the Comm Dev Research Ctr. at the New School for Social Research. No price listed. Contact them at 66 Fifth Ave., NYC, NY 10011.

- Essays on HUD: HUD's Office of Policy Development & Research has issued a call for brief essays on HUD's role and contributions over the last 30 years, for possible publication in a special fall 1996 issue of the journal Cityscape ($3,00). Commenting on HUD's founding. They're looking for first-person essays (growing up in public housing, owning a home for the first time, implementing HUD programs at the local level, etc.), commentary on HUD achievements & limitations in particular policy areas (fair housing, neighborhood revitalization, affordable housing, urban economic development, special needs housing, etc.) or analysis of HUD's evolving role from 1965-95. Essays should be 750 words max. and there is no compensation. Submit essays to Janice London, Aspen Systems Corp., 1600 Research Blvd., Rockville, MD 20860, 301/251-5444.

- "First Cash for Homeowners: A Study of Mortgage Loans by Consumer Finance Companies in the Richmond, VA Metropolitan Area," by Kevin Byers (39 pp., June 1994), is available (no price listed) from the Telecom Corp., 6964 Forest Hill Ave., Richmond, VA 23225, 804/330-7006.

- HomeWord is the quarterly newsletter of the Idaho Housing Coalition, PO Box 1805, Boise, ID 83701, 208/338-7066.


- The 1995 Shared Housing Conf. will be held March 30-April 1 in Baltimore. Inf. from the Natl. Shared Housing Res. Ctr., 321 E. 25 St., Baltimore, MD 21218, 410/225-4454.

Job Opportunities/ Fellowships/ Grants

- AmeriCorps grants are being given out, for national nonprofits and Indian tribes (May 9 deadline) and states (May 1 deadline). Contact Corp. for Natl. Service, 1201 NY Ave NW, Wash., DC 20525, 202/663-3000 x474 or by Internet (ncp@rcc.nsa.gov.)

- HUD Homeless Assistance Grants: The Feb. 17 Fed. Register announced a Notice of Funding Availability for $900 million in McKinney Homeless Assistance grants, for supportive housing ($600 million), shelter plus care ($150 million), and Section 8 SRO ($150 million). Applications are due April 7; contact local HUD office or call 1-800/998-9999 for date/location of nearest training session.