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## Is Integration Possible?

*This arguably is the biggest dilemma facing America's democracy. Recently, Leonard Steinhorn and Barbara Diggs-Brown, professors at American University's School of Communication – one African-American, one white, believing that "integration is an ideal both of us would prefer to see realized in our lifetimes" – produced a book laying out, in telling-it-like-it-is fashion, why real integration (as opposed to desegregation) just ain't gonna happen (By the Color of Our Skin: The Illusion of Integration and the Reality of Race, Dutton 1999). We recommend reading their entire, well documented case. We've excerpted key sections (footnotes deleted) and asked a number of thinkers and activists (the two terms are not necessarily mutually exclusive) to provide comments. We will publish additional commentaries in our January/February issue, and encourage P&R readers to submit their thoughts as well. For those in the Washington area, Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown will appear at the Project South Book Forum on Tuesday, November 16, at the American University School of International Studies. — CH*

### By the Color of Our Skin: The Illusion of Integration and the Reality of Race

by Leonard Steinhorn and Barbara Diggs-Brown

There is a conventional wisdom about the 1960s that most writers and commentators follow. The story line is this: we came close, very close, to solving America's racial dilemma completely in the mid-sixties, until a number of factors stalled our progress and undermined the consensus. Great strides were made toward integration, according to this view, but unfortunately we now live with a bitter aftertaste. This version fits with the popular tendency to look at the early 1960s through the romance and nostalgia of Camelot and King, an innocent time when the great civil rights struggles united the black and white majority in America. We had a teachable moment for racial harmony, the story goes, and we squandered it. To liberals, blame for our current problems falls squarely on President Nixon's parochial and cynical strategy to build a silent ma-

jority from racial resentment and to draw discontented George Wallace voters into the Republican party - the southern strategy. It was a strategy that, liberals say, Ronald Reagan turned into a fine art. To conservatives, the villains include the black nationalists who fueled racial discontent and the liberal social engineers who rationalized violent crime and foisted divisive policies like busing, affirmative action, and group rights on well-meaning middle-class whites, deeply embittering them. To be sure, this type of finger-pointing is as much about present agendas as past events, but this fact should not obscure the similarity between the liberal and conservative points of view: that we had a chance to put this racial thing behind us if people had only put the national interest ahead of their special interest.

The trouble is, this view is not

wholly accurate. The fact that some of us dreamed of integrating does not mean it was ever close to happening.

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The civil rights movement ended legal segregation in America. It created unprecedented opportunities for black political power and economic mobility. It established a social norm that no longer tolerated or condoned overt discrimination and bigotry. It was no doubt a crowning moment in American history, justifiably embraced and celebrated today by people of every political stripe. But it simply couldn't build an integrated America. As much as we like to blame the southern strategy, the silent majority, affirmative action, busing, race riots, multiculturalism, black power, or the precipitous rise of inner-city violent crime for poisoning the "beloved community," the evidence shows that the infrastructure of a separated America had already been established by the time any of these factors even entered the realm of race relations. The racially divided urban and suburban housing patterns of today were set in place in the early sixties. So were the dynamics around desegregated schooling. Even the way we now interact and perceive each other was foreshadowed then. In November 1964, only four months after Congress passed the 1964 Civil Rights Act outlawing discrimination in employment, government programs, and public accommodations — a law whose

purpose, as President Johnson stated, "is not to divide, but to end divisions" — the people of California, by a resounding two-to-one margin, approved a constitutional amendment for their state that overturned an open housing law and effectively allowed racial discrimination in housing. We may get misty-eyed when we think back to Martin Luther King's remarkable speech at the 1963 March on Washington, but barely two months later, Bower Hawthorne, the editor of two Minneapolis papers, the *Star* and *Tribune*, said, "We're getting increasing complaints from our readers that we are overplaying the integration story. Some of our white readers are getting tired of reading so much about it." We can accuse Nixon, Reagan, limousine liberals, black leaders, urban ethnics, or the social engineers of sowing discord, but they were merely acting out roles that in many ways already had been written for them in the early sixties. To those who decry what they see as the balkanization of America by racial preferences today, the truth is that the boundary lines of today's balkanization were shaped long before racial preferences even became an issue. To those who fret over what they see as resegregation today, the sad truth is that there was never an integration from which to resegregate....

Many of these same [white backslashers] voted against real integration with their feet as early as the 1950s, and there was no shortage of overt backlash among self-proclaimed moderates even during the halcyon days of the civil rights era — before affirmative action, race riots, black power, and busing supposedly alienated them. Praise for the bedrock fairness of America's middle class is a staple of political rhetoric these days, but the bottom-line is this: from the very beginning of the civil rights movement, from the moment desegregation became the law of the land, most whites were willing to accept and indeed applaud a degree of public interaction with blacks, but drew the line when it came to family, home, social life, school, and work — the linchpins of real integration. Whenever and

wherever blacks threatened to cross that line, whites first tried to flee and then, tired of running, resisted and fought....

In October 1964, one of America's greatest political journalists looked into the crystal ball and wrote a prophetic, searing essay for *Life* magazine on white middle-class resistance to integration. Backlash, observed Theodore H. White, is "as invisible, yet as real, as air pollution." It would probably not show up in the 1964 presidential election results, he wrote, but it "is an unease whose impact will be felt not as much now as over the long range," particularly as whites see increasing black encroachment on their holy trinity of home, school, and work. For the Democrats, the long-term peril of a divided party is clear, he noted. The Republican party, "born in racial strife, [must] choose whether it abandons its tradition and becomes the white man's party or refreshes its tradition by designing a program of social harmony." And so he concluded: "Only one political certainty can be stated now which will outlast next month's election: If, at this time when the nation is so rich and strong, both parties ignore the need for constructive answers to the question 'What Do They Want?,' then disaster lies ahead — and backlash — the politics of chaos — will carry over, its snap growing in violence from 1964 to 1968 and all the elections beyond, until the question is answered...."

Consider the many survey findings that herald the good news of white America's tolerance. A significant majority of whites say they would prefer to live in a mixed neighborhood, perhaps as mixed as half black, half white. But almost everywhere you look in every part of the country where more than a token number of blacks live, whites begin to flee from their communities the minute the first black family moves in. Often these are suburban communities where the new homeowners are middle-class or even affluent blacks. It is a classic case of the domino effect: each black family that moves in increases the likelihood that the remaining white families will leave. Integration exists only in the

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time span between the first black family moving in and the last white family moving out.

The very era that we applaud for racial progress tells a different story in communities like Sherman Park near Milwaukee, which lost 61 percent of its whites between 1970 and 1990; or Palmer Park, near Washington, D.C., which went from being virtually all white in the 1960s to virtually all black today; or the middle-class Philadelphia suburb of Yeadon, which doubled its black population in the 1980s, going from one-third to two-thirds black, and saw a corresponding decline among whites. Real estate agents will tell you that prospective white buyers show no interest in moving to these neighborhoods....

The story is no different when it comes to schools. A majority of whites support mixed public schools, but apparently not for their own children. A 1993 survey of whites from the Minneapolis suburbs found that two thirds favored sending white suburban children to the predominantly black Minneapolis public schools as a way to increase integration, but only seven percent said they would send their own child....

In Baltimore, every one of the nine all-white schools that were required to integrate in 1954 had become all-black just seven years later. Roosevelt High School in northwest Washington, D.C., had 747 whites and no blacks in 1953, the year before desegregation; 634 whites and 518 blacks in 1955, the second year of desegregation; and 19 whites and 1,319 blacks in 1963, the tenth year of desegregation. White parents in Milwaukee even protested when some black children were transferred temporarily to white schools in 1963 while schools in predominantly black neighborhoods were being rebuilt. Years before busing roiled the educational waters, the pattern of school separation had been set.... In community after community, the story is the same: blacks make up a significantly larger proportion of schoolchildren than their percentage of the school-age population, which means that large numbers of whites begin to

flee the system for private schools when the black student population inches above the token.... As of 1998, there were fewer than 4,000 white children left in Atlanta's public schools. Nor should we be misled if the numbers for an entire school district make it appear integrated; the actual schools themselves are often segregated by race. In Illinois, Michigan, New York, and New Jersey, almost three in five black public school students attend schools that have fewer than 10 percent whites....

The dissonance between professed racial attitudes and actual racial reality should come as no surprise. Ever since the 1960s, as society began to shun overt bigotry and applaud gestures of racial tolerance, social scientists have found whites to exaggerate their contact with and support for blacks. As with any norm, people understandably want to be seen as conforming to it — in this case, they are evincing society's antiracist and tolerant attitudes. In exit polls after elections, for example, more whites say they vote for black candidates than actually do. One study compared the different responses offered when the phone survey interviewer could be clearly identified as white or black. On topics such as racially mixed schools, friendships with blacks, and who's to blame for current black problems, white survey respondents who were interviewed by blacks consistently provided a more liberal or integrationist response than whites who were interviewed by whites....

The point here is not to deny the credibility of all polls, many of which can be useful in comparing black and white attitudes, but merely to show how powerfully the integration illusion defines our perceptions and self-image. Call it racial civility, decorous integration, or the politeness conspiracy — the bottom line is that our professed attitudes, symbols, and public expressions masquerade as integrated when our lives clearly are not. And what people say is less important than what they do....

Whites are not blind to black anger and see it on or just below the sur-

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face. Part of white fear of black crime is the idea that black-on-white crime is not really random, that black rage toward whites actually leads to violence against whites. Whites describe how they consciously bite their tongues and refrain from obscene gestures when irritated with a black driver, but wouldn't show the same restraint if the other driver were white. Blacks know their anger frightens whites and pushes them even further away. That is why middle-class blacks work so hard to contain it when they are around white colleagues and employers. Other blacks take advantage of white fears by channeling their anger to arouse white guilt and perhaps obtain some short-term political benefit. Still others take silent pleasure in finally having a way to put white people on edge. Some young blacks even have fun with the anger, using it to intimidate whites in a nonverbal mind-game that seems momentarily satisfying when they are walking on the sidewalk or crossing the street — put on an attitude and see how they run....

To be sure, let us not overlook an important area of consensus: blacks and whites share a nearly unanimous distaste for overt expressions of bigotry and blatant acts of discrimination. Considering the state of our nation just four decades ago, we should not underrate this accomplishment. We should be proud of establishing the norm and knowing it will not change. Beyond this, however, there is little consensus.

Most compelling are the different ways whites and blacks view the problem of discrimination. According to surveys on race conducted over the

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years, a substantial proportion of whites say that the civil rights gains of the 1960s largely ended the problem of discrimination in America. Whites see themselves as well meaning and concerned about racial equality. They believe themselves to be fair, if not color-blind, and they cannot imagine themselves as blatantly discriminating. With Jim Crow gone and outright bigotry diminishing, most whites just don't see discrimination as a major barrier for blacks any longer. They think Dr. King's integration dream is within reach. "Large majorities think blacks now have the same opportunities as whites in their communities in terms of obtaining jobs, housing and education," the Gallup Poll News Service reported in 1989. "Many whites are unable to name even one type of discrimination that affects blacks in their area." As columnist William Raspberry observed in 1995, "Younger whites know the cruder facts: that America once had slavery and Jim Crow and now has Colin Powell. Their sense... is of a problem confronted and mostly resolved." The problem is so resolved, most whites believe, that society has gone too far to accommodate blacks. Significant majorities of whites tell pollsters that prejudice harms blacks much less than affirmative action harms whites. Whites are not oblivious to the problems discrimination can cause blacks, but if anyone is to blame for black problems today, whites point the finger at blacks. They simply don't have the willpower or motivation to improve their lot, whites believe. All of these views are not of recent mint...they actually began to form during the early civil rights days in the 1960s,

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before affirmative action and welfare became national issues. So it is safe to say that whites have a fairly static and consistent view of black life, which has developed over the past three decades: discrimination no longer unduly hobbles blacks, government has helped blacks at the expense of whites, and blacks have only themselves to blame for their problems. Given these assumptions, white opposition to affirmative action and other government programs seems logical....

The discrimination may be more subtle today, but blacks feel it just as deeply. It is expressed not in the blatant fifties style — "blacks need not apply" — but in the subtle cues and decisions that are made on a daily basis. Blacks also see how whites hear about jobs and opportunities — through their church, union, sports club, community group, or fraternity network — and they know they will never be part of that. So as blacks see it, they have made progress in spite of these obstacles, with little help from whites. Their dream of the integration of truly color-blind equals remains precisely that, a dream. Blacks don't deny they are partly at fault for their problems, but they see society changing much less than whites think it has changed, and they see whites growing indifferent to racial problems altogether....

These different views of discrimination spill over into the larger perception gap about life and politics in America. Generally speaking, whites believe that our nation's problems with racism and civil rights were solved three decades ago, while blacks see racial discrimination as an ongoing and daily obstacle to opportunity and equality. When blacks see discrimination, whites see equal opportunity. When blacks say civil rights, whites say special interests. When blacks support affirmative action, whites label it quotas, preferential treatment, and reverse discrimination. And where blacks see racism, whites respond that they are being overly sensitive....

[M]ost politicians, especially most

affirmative-action opponents, are unable to cite anything of King's other than his famous line in the "I Have a Dream" speech, that his four little children "one day will live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character." In their zeal to use these words for their own purposes, our politicians have reduced King's message to one line taken completely out of context. They have turned his vision of an ideal future into a prescription for color-blindness that should apply to the present. "I think the best means to achieve the ends of a color-blind society," conservative politician William Bennett said in 1986, "is to proceed as if we are indeed a color-blind society." The King who called for "discrimination in reverse...a sort of national atonement for the sins of the past" is nowhere to be found. Nor is the King who called for "radical changes in the structure of society," or for "a Bill of Rights for the Disadvantaged," or for "a policy of preferential treatment to rehabilitate the traditionally disadvantaged Negro." King wrote in his 1964 book *Why We Can't Wait*, "It is obvious that if a man is entered at the starting line in a race three hundred years after another man, the first would have to perform some impossible feat in order to catch up with his fellow runner." He realized that preferential treatment might make "some of our friends recoil in horror," but he also knew that "equal opportunity" without "the practical, realistic aid" to balance the equation was little more than a charade. "Giving a pair of shoes to a man who has not learned to walk is a cruel jest," he wrote. These were the very color-conscious ideas and policies that King thought might lead us to his promised, color-blind land. But they are too threatening to the integration illusion, too incompatible with what the largely white audience wants to hear, and too inconsistent with what the politicians want to say. So white politicians feed a denatured, neutralized King to their constituents, who want to see themselves — and their opposition to affirmative action — as truly color-blind and fair. It is rhetorical integration at its

very best....

If there is any doubt that the integration of blacks and whites is not working and may never work, it is instructive to compare blacks with the two other most prominent ethnic groups who also share the "minority" label, Hispanics and Asians. Because of comparable levels of poverty and disadvantage today, the plight of Asians and especially Hispanics is often equated with that of blacks. Government equal-opportunity laws make few distinctions among these groups, and they are often compared in terms of their educational, economic, and political achievements. But to lump them together based on a snapshot of today's economic circumstances is to overlook the more compelling evidence that these two recent immigrant groups are assimilating in ways that blacks have never been able to integrate. Indeed, it is a grievous error to lump blacks indiscriminately with Hispanics and Asians because it ignores the profoundly different relationships each has with the current American majority. Blacks are not immigrants and never have been, and the black experience is fundamentally at odds with the immigrant experience in America.

A hundred fifty years ago the unmeltable ethnics, besides blacks, were the Irish and the Germans, and a century ago they were the Italian, Jews, Poles, and Russians. All were vilified, excluded, abused, and discriminated against and were portrayed at times as less than human, and always as less desirable than the Anglo-Saxon majority. All have assimilated, except for blacks. If the current assimilation patterns of Hispanics and Asians continue, it will be no different today....

It has been the case throughout American history that a second-generation immigrant becomes an American while an eighth-generation black is still a black. Comedian Richard Pryor used to joke that the first citizenship lesson taught to new immigrants was the correct pronunciation of the word "nigger." Ethnic boundaries remain porous for immigrants but

virtually impermeable for blacks. "As to this country being a melting pot," wrote Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall in 1978, "either the Negro did not get in the pot or he did not get melted down."

[R]eal integration depends on social engineering, constant vigilance, government authority, official attention to racial behavior, and a willingness by citizens to relinquish at least some personal choice for the greater good. And so we arrive at a fundamental dilemma of racial integration in America. The same factors that appear essential to successful integration run directly counter to some of our deepest beliefs about self-determination, authority, and individual rights. More than two centuries ago our nation was founded on a suspicion of vested power and an affirmation of individual liberty. The Declaration of Independence is as much about a king who abused his sovereignty as about the inalienable rights of humankind. This legacy remains as powerful today as ever. Most of us distrust authority, reject even a scent of social engineering, and must be dragged kicking and screaming to accept any

limit on our personal freedoms. The reason ~~better~~ be good, very good, and it must produce unimpeachable results. Even then most Americans resist. Therefore, we cannot but conclude that what it takes even to break the integration ice in our country is largely unpalatable to most of our citizens....

Integration is an ideal both of us would prefer to see realized in our lifetimes. A truly color-blind, integrated America is a vision we share. We believe it is in the best interest of all Americans, black and white. Part of us wants to buy in to the integration illusion, to praise the emperor's clothes, to embrace the hope of the dreamers that yes, it can work. We want a happy ending. But try as we might, the facts simply fail to accommodate our desires, and the racial reality stubbornly refuses to change. We must conclude, regrettably, that integration is an illusion borne of hope and desire, that our very devotion to the ideal ironically helps us avoid a real reckoning on race, and that for our nation to move beyond today's racial endgame we must relinquish the hope of ever reaching the racial Promised Land.... □

## The Politics of Equality

by Jerome Scott and Walda Katz-Fishman

Race and racial discrimination institutionalized within the structures and practices of American society since their beginning are surely not declining in significance as we enter the new millennium. On the other hand, social class — or the growing gap between rich and poor — is clearly increasing within all racial groups in the United States at a time when there is a vast abundance of goods and services to satisfy the basic human needs of people throughout the world.

We find persuasive the case made by Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown that race remains a reality and that the comprehensive integration of blacks into American society is an illusion. Our difference lies in the lessons we draw

from American social history, and our vision and strategy for the future.

The enduring reality of race coupled with the deepening polarization of wealth and poverty suggests that the civil rights reforms of the 1950s-70s did not transform the fundamental economic and political structures of American society. The economic expansion of the post-World War II period was the context for the limited integration of blacks (along with other peoples of color and women) into the American class system. But blacks were always at the lower end of their respective classes and remain, as a whole, disproportionately at the bottom of the class structure.

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In today's high-tech global economy computers and automation are eliminating millions of good jobs and replacing millions of remaining jobs with contingent work (contract and part-time jobs, and jobs with few or no benefits). Americans of all races compete in a global labor force with over a billion un/underemployed workers. In the United States more and more whites, along with their sisters and brothers of color, are excluded from good jobs and swell the ranks of the poor and near poor.

The reactionary policies of neo-liberalism have come home with the 1996 law eliminating welfare "as we knew it"; reversal of the civil rights gains of the reform era; the mushrooming prison-industrial complex; anti-immigrant legislation; and attacks on

job security, public education and public housing, health care and the environment.

All of this makes possible a new politics of equality that challenges the hierarchies of capitalist domination comprehensively and that has at its core the black radical tradition for our times. Such a politics challenges not only racism (and sexism), but the system of global capitalism in which they are embedded and which makes the condition of poverty for the many a condition for the creation of wealth for the few.

We in Project South are optimistic about such a bottom-up political movement growing and succeeding. In the Southeast U.S. we are part of a movement for racial and economic justice that is gaining strength daily and that is connected to struggles throughout the country, hemisphere

and world. The global economic human rights movement led by poor people and their allies (e.g., the March of the Americas spearheaded by the Kensington Welfare Rights Union in October 1999, the anti-WTO movement planned for Seattle in November-December 1999) is on the move. This multiracial and multinational movement for structural equality is destined to fundamentally transform global corporate hegemony and to end its patterns of racial — and class and gender — inequality.

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## An Integration Scenario OR Ending the Illusion

by Herbert J. Gans

I agree with virtually all of Steinhorn's and Diggs-Brown's analysis, but do not share their disappointment, since few of us who were around in the actual (rather than the now imagined) '60s had any illusions or expected any miracles. Moreover, racial, and particularly residential, integration was then a priority mainly of affluent blacks and equally affluent liberal whites, for most blacks could not even afford to buy houses in white areas. One of the sensible points made by the early Black Power movement, which at times did speak for the mass of poor blacks, was that racial equality had priority over integration.

Not only does racial equality remain prior for many blacks, but it should be so even for white advocates of integration. Until blacks obtain the opportunity to be more equal with whites economically, socially and politically, most whites will not risk their property and status values to live with blacks. In fact, it may turn out that until the vast proportion of blacks is securely middle-

class, white homeowners may continue to treat current middle-class blacks as surrogates for the poor ones that might move in right behind them. This is one reason why white flight continues.

Since blacks are a political as well as a numerical minority, universal policies that benefit all races will be needed. Greater economic equality should be the first priority, and one way to achieve it is aiming for full employment at decent incomes. The minimum and moderate wage income jobs that have fuelled the current economic boom are unequal jobs; their pay scales should be raised as much as economically and politically possible — and workfare turned into legitimate jobs. More economic equality is, after all, one way by which the unmeltable and swarthy ethnics of the early 20th century became today's lily-white Americans.

I wish the white-ethnic process could be repeated for blacks, but it cannot, since even swarthy ethnics were whites. Blacks, especially African Americans, are not only darkskinned, but they also

suffer from modern forms of the hatreds and fears, the accusations of cultural or genetic inferiority, and the economic exploitation that originated in slavery. Why else, for example, are the blacks who were forced to compete for low-wage jobs with immigrants over a century ago expected to do so again with a new set of immigrants today? No one knows now how these after-effects of slavery can be eliminated, but it is high time to ask, both here and in other countries that permitted slavery.

One possible source of forward progress may turn out to be the rising level of intermarriage. Asians-Americans, Hispanics, Native Americans and other "non-black" Americans are marrying whites at rapid rates. Even now the constantly increasing variety of ethnic and racial mixtures among young people, while still numerically small, suggests that finally, America may slowly be heading in the direction of a literal melting pot.

In the process, the hoary racial skin color scheme of white, yellow, red and

brown, as well as other differences in visible physical features, become less and less relevant in every generation until they finally fade into invisibility. Blacks will not immediately be part of that process, for although black-white intermarriage is also on the rise, it is only now approaching double-digit figures, as compared to 50% and more for some Asian-Americans.

Still, it is possible to hope that if blacks are integrated economically, black-white intermarriage will also rise more quickly, and blacks would be admitted to the melting pot. In that case, eventually — and it is a very far off eventuality — race may no longer be used by Americans to classify each other, and then racial discrimination will end as well.

Nonetheless, today's political struggle for racial integration has to continue. Concurrently, however, so must the pressure for more equality of all kinds, particularly that of income and wealth. In their wake, more political, educational, social and, yes, racial equality, can be achieved as well — and in the long run, more equality will also smooth the path toward racial integration.

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PRRAC is initiating a project on school mobility: high classroom turnover (especially among low-income, minority and farm-worker students) that negatively affects the learning environment for the mobile students, the entire classroom and teachers. We plan a small working conference and production of a handbook on how to reduce such mobility (most of which is a function of housing instability) and how best to deal with it. If you have relevant information or want to learn more about this project, contact Sandy Paik at our office (spaik@prrac.org).

## Viable Integration Must Reject the Ideology of "Assimilationism"

by John O. Calmore

While I think integration is possible, I nevertheless agree with Leonard Steinhorn and Barbara Diggs-Brown that "what it takes even to break the integration ice in our country is largely unpalatable to most of our citizens." They make an important point in observing that "our professed attitudes, symbols, and public expressions masquerade as integrated when our lives clearly are not." Even the masquerade, however, is fading, as whites become more comfortable with the segregated status quo.

Thirty years ago the Kerner Report characterized aspirations of African Americans as two-fold: "to share in both the material resources of our system and enjoy its intangible benefits—*dignity, respect and acceptance.*" What I am calling "viable integration" would at least entail reaching both of these aspirations. Viable integration must provide both the material and the intangible benefits. Beyond population mix and sharing space, integration — to be viable — must fundamentally address issues of equity, where each group is significantly represented, genuinely respected, broadly distributed, and sharing power and equality. Without incorporating these features, as Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown conclude, integration will remain an illusion, and our continued quest for this ideal will continue to cause us to "avoid a real reckoning" with race/ism.

A fundamental impediment to viable integration is the inability to define its operational features outside of the bounded ideology of "assimilationism." According to Christopher Newfield and Avery Gordon, assimilationism is not the benign road map used by immigrants to obtain the benefits of the economic, social and political mainstream. Rather, assimilationism refers to "a specific ideology that sets the fundamental conditions for full economic and social citizenship in the United States." Any

insurgent or critical multiculturalism must challenge this. The ideological dictates of assimilationism are at war with what I am calling viable integration. First, it demands that we adhere to core principles and behaviors, marginalizing those who do not. Second, it opposes race consciousness. Finally, it repudiates the distinctively cultural equity of diverse groups.

A viable integration will require people of color — all of our groups — to reject an identity that Elaine Kim characterizes as "the nonchoice between being either different and inferior or the same and invisible, between eternal alien and assimilated mascot." Thus, proponents of viable integration will have to struggle to renegotiate core principles that narrowly define America's common ground, shared values and rules of the game. The dominant principles establish a conventional wisdom that is biased toward masking and reinforcing white supremacy and privilege. Color-blindness works hand-in-glove with these principles.

The challenge to whited-in core principles and colorblind integration raises significant questions for all of us. What does a constructive concept of race consciousness mean? What does it mean not only for African Americans, but also for Latinos, Asians, Native Americans and whites? How will people of color fight the new forms of racism that operate within partially integrated settings? What will motivate good-intentioned whites to move away from their presumed innocence and aversive racism? Can whites refocus their attention beyond the negative consequences of racism experienced by people of color, and consider the advantages that accrue to whites from living within a system of racial inequalities?

Because people of color are almost forced to integrate, at least strategically  
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cally, whites must become more involved in the integration project. Aside from hostile backlash, if good-intentioned whites remain so little concerned and inactive, the integration project cannot advance. White involvement must mean more than merely acknowledging white privilege, although this acknowledgment may be a first step toward reawakened accountability. Real integration is a two-way street. Whites must somehow come to see themselves not merely as the gracious hosts of integration, but, rather, as the hard-working, risk-taking joint agents of integration. They must push for it more, assume some of the risks and carry a heavier load. They, too, will have to go through some changes.

Whites must stop demanding, or quietly supporting the demand, that

people of color adapt to so-called universal expectations of what is proper behavior and presentment, when these race-neutral expectations really turn out to be white. Beyond the level of embracing token mascots, whites must admit that they are unwilling to incorporate people of color as people of color into their work places, seats of government, media, schools, neighborhoods and social relations. This admission must lead whites to feel uncomfortable enough with their complicity in a segregated status quo that they seek not only a new way of relating to people of color, but also a different culture, a different set of institutional arrangements, and a different societal organization. A lot needs changing, because the segregated status quo has been so bad for so long.

We must come to realize that the presence of blacks and whites, properly mixed, may still fall short of con-

stituting viable integration if Asians, Latinos and Native Americans are missing. Similarly, people of color must look around not only for more of their particular groups, but also for the broader mix of all. Most importantly, colored people, we must not be used against each other. Honorary whiteness is not worth it — not in the long haul.

If we all will not do these things, then we should simply admit that we do not support an integration that operates free of fear, division, individual self-interest and the dictates of assimilationism. At least, then, we would stop waiting for (integration as) Godot.

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## Setting the Record Straight

by Eric Mann

The Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown book could easily be renamed *The Illusions of Liberalism*. It argues that there never was a honeymoon period in which a white majority supported civil rights, and it advocates renewed government intervention to protect black civil rights, an analysis and proposals that any civil rights moderate could embrace. But, in its refusal to engage the structural relationship between capitalism and black oppression, its evasion of the historical struggle within the civil rights movement between the pro-imperialist civil rights establishment and the anti-imperialist black liberation movement, and in its

counterposing of demands for black liberation against those of Latino and Asian immigrants, their book is calculated and dangerous. It directs our attention to the racism of white voters while it deflects our attention from the racist policies of Clinton/Gore.

In the 1960s, the antiracist organizers of the New Left came to understand liberalism as the governing strategy of a wing of the capitalist class. Kennedy's Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and his obsession with forcing Martin Luther King to purge his communist advisor Stanley Levinson; the suppression by Bayard Rustin, Walter Reuther and Hubert Humphrey and many black elected officials of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party challenge; and Lyndon Johnson and the Democrats' war crimes in Vietnam radicalized an entire generation. Today, growing and overt racism and xenophobia demands a newly constituted antiracist united front. But because today's civil rights establishment

is even more corporate and pro-imperialist than its predecessors, the struggle to rebuild a militant and radical antiracist movement will require a re-examination of the programmatic contributions of the anti-imperialist Black Liberation Movement (BLM) — reflected in many organizations, including the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Congress of Racial Equality, Black Panther Party, League of Revolutionary Black Workers and the Black Workers Congress.

1) *The struggle for full democratic rights.* The BLM demanded the most stringent enforcement of the 14th amendment, reflected in the Civil Rights Act, the Voting Rights Act, affirmative action, open housing and a full network of effective anti-discrimination laws. While these demands were aimed at dismantling Jim Crow and Northern de facto segregation, the black Left never believed that, after centuries of the most degrading and brutal slavery, "equality of opportu-

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nity" could possibly lead to equality of outcomes. Rather, these "constitutional" and "reform" demands set the legal stage for far more structural ones.

2) *The radical expansion of the social welfare state.* The BLM demanded social welfare programs at a level never considered by U.S. capitalism, to address the specific conditions of black national oppression. Demands to redress capitalism's structural poverty, unemployment and women's oppression included permanent AFDC payments and unemployment insurance, Head Start and day care centers, massive funding for inner-city education, and first class public housing, and were qualitative breaks with the "emergency" welfare measures that the New Deal had designed with the white worker in mind.

3) *The radical dismantling of the police and prison system.* The Black Panthers in particular argued that the prisons and police were colonial instruments, and thus bourgeois concepts of "crime" or "innocence and guilt" could not be used to justify the military occupation of an oppressed community. The demands to free all political prisoners including all black men and women were based on the assumption that the greatest danger to the black community was not black-on-black crime, but police-on-black crime. Armed self-defense groups, community patrols to monitor police behavior and the demands for the most stringent police review boards were efforts to structurally reduce police brutality by placing the police under black civilian authority.

4) *The radical definition of self-determination.* While the black Left sought to extricate itself from white-dominated racist institutions, it also viewed the black bourgeoisie, especially pro-capitalist Democratic party operatives, as the primary internal obstacle to any real possibility of self-determination. Radical black student groups demanded black studies programs based on the needs of the entire black community, especially the poor and working class, and tried to construct curricula to challenge the imperialism of the universities in which they

## MONEY MATTERS

• Our thanks to the **George Gund Foundation** for a grant to support our School Mobility Project (see box on p. 7).

• PRRAC is now a participant in the new **eGrants.org** — "a pioneering online foundation designed to catalyze social change," administered by the Tides Foundation, "redefining philanthropy by creating an immediate technological link between prospective donors and progressive nonprofits." Relatedly, Working Assets is collaborating by launching a new website, **GiveForChange.com**, through which donors will be able to search for progressive nonprofits, get additional information about them, and then, if they choose, give them money through an easy-to-use system. Further, Working Assets is going to match, with its own funds, \$1 million of contributions made through GiveforChange.com. This latter feature, however, is a time-limited opportunity that works as follows: for each of the next two months, Nov. & Dec., Working Assets will match the first \$25 per month given by any donor. So, if you donate \$25 or \$50 (over the next 2 months), it will turn into double that amount for us. Here's what to do: go to **www.giveforchange.com** and type Poverty & Race Research Action Council in the search box and click on "search." Next, click on "Poverty & Race Research Action Council," which will yield a full description of PRRAC. Scroll to the bottom and click on "make a donation." Insert the amount and then click on "submit donation" to insert information needed to complete the transaction. The contributions of course are tax-deductible (and neither eGrants nor Working Assets will use, rent or lease your name for any purpose other than to collect and pass on your contribution, and that credit card information is secure). Please consider doing this in November, and again in December. Thanks much.

• We especially encourage readers with large stock market gains (and we hope there are lots of you out there) to consider an end-of-year gift of appreciated stock to PRRAC (which provides you with a charitable deduction, avoids the capital gains tax, and removes that money from the assets subject to estate tax). Contact us for details.

were located. In New York, black parents at IS 201 in Harlem and Ocean Hill Brownsville in Brooklyn fought for community control of schools, including great attention to curriculum development and theories of pedagogy. The concept of a radical black community was an expansive one; self-determination was a mechanism by which an oppressed black community could develop its own independent institutions, creating a liberated zone from which to impact and revolutionize the broader society. Discussions of a black homeland in the South and an all-black people's plebiscite as to their relationship to the United States addressed the independence of black people as an oppressed people within the U.S.

5) *Transformative attitudes towards*

*anti-racist whites.* Whether arguing for multi-racial forms of organization or "national in form" black organizations, the black Left recruited, trained and inspired thousands of anti-racist white organizers and worked with them in close organizational proximity and leadership. For the first time in U.S. history there was a massive and qualitative break within the white majority between the racists and antiracists. From 1964, the leadership of the black liberation movement passed from the civil rights establishment to its most militant and radical organizational forces for almost a decade. The BLM, bolstered by powerful international allies in the socialist, communist and Third World nations,

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and in large sectors of Western capitalist nations as well, was able to create a political and moral challenge to U.S. imperialism. Through militant confrontations with small shop owners and multinational corporations, trade unions, universities and the U.S. Army, the BLM created historical events in which whites were forced to take a stand and often make sacrifices in order to advance the struggle and confront racist forces themselves. During this period, the BLM enjoyed enormous political influence — its radical internationalism and its structural demands that benefited blacks but also every oppressed group provided leadership to the U.S. Left.

6) *An anti-colonial, anti-imperialist black liberation movement.* SNCC, black and white draft resisters groups, and the Black Panthers encouraged and effectively mobilized black men to refuse to serve or mutiny in the U.S. armed forces. It took the U.S. Left a full decade, and the Vietnamese people most of the 20th century, but the defeat of the U.S. military and the successful national liberation struggle in Vietnam was one of the greatest achievements of the anti-war movement and the black liberation movement in all of U.S. history. In those struggles, black radicals worked with Puerto Rican, Chicano, Asian Pacific Islander and Native American activists who talked about bringing the war home — from the Chicano Moratorium to Wounded Knee.

Today, many of the most heroic leaders of black radicalism are unable to shape the present debate. Many were murdered, executed, others have died, others are still in prison for acts of resistance. Others are here in body but no longer embody their past contributions — alone, dispirited or even rejecting their former views. Walk the streets of any black community in the U.S. today: Regardless of the acknowledged weak state of the existing movement, a structural revolution of the most profound nature is clearly required. In this context, the crimes of the Clinton/Gore administration

require the most fundamental challenge — as the president calls for a national dialogue on race but not racism while ending welfare as we know it and bombing civilians in Kosovo, while whitewashing white racist violence with the carefully crafted, race-neutral slogan, “hate crimes.” Meanwhile, the civil rights establishment and the Congressional Black Caucus stand mute — content with presidential appointments and entry into the riches of the new world order.

Fortunately, in Chicago last June, more than 2,000 participants at the newly constituted Black Radical Congress asserted that the revolutionary

legacy of the black Left is alive. Learning from the achievements and complex social practice of the Black Liberation Movement in its life-and-death struggle with corporate liberalism will be critical to reconstructing an effective antiracist united front.

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## A Wake-Up Call for Liberals

by Richard D. Kahlenberg

Leonard Steinhorn and Barbara Diggs-Brown make a compelling case that integration remains an illusion, and for that reason, the book is a powerful antidote to the happy talk of conservatives who tend to emphasize only the progress that we have made. But the authors' sobering evidence on the state of race relations might also be taken as a wake up call to liberals. The policies we progressives have been pursuing for a generation haven't worked nearly as well as we've hoped and it's time to try alternatives.

While there is an undeniable logic to relying on race-sensitive policies (affirmative action, school desegregation) to remedy racial wrongs, there is also an undeniable downside to the explicit use of race: further balkanization and the reinforcement of race as a salient category. By *The Color of Our Skin* poignantly raises the question: what new policies might better promote the integrated society that so many of us desire?

Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown's discussion of Dr. Martin Luther King is instructive. They correctly point out that King was unsatisfied with merely passing antidiscrimination laws and calling it a day. In *Why We Can't Wait*, King wrote that he wanted a

positive program to remedy “three hundred years” of discrimination. But the authors quickly glance over the significance of his actual proposal: a “Bill of Rights for the Disadvantaged.” This is quite different than a Bill of Rights for People of Color. Indeed, King wrote, “While Negroes form the vast majority of America's disadvantaged, there are millions of white poor who would also benefit from such a bill... It is a simple matter of justice that America, in dealing creatively with the task of raising the Negro from backwardness, should also be rescuing a large stratum of the forgotten white poor.”

Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown properly note that race-based programs, like affirmative action and school desegregation, didn't create the white backlash, which predates those efforts. But these programs may well have kept the backlash going in a way that economic programs would not have. One of King's key advisors, Bayard Rustin, noted back in 1971 that poor and working-class whites often hold the swing vote in American elections, and that “The question is not whether this group is conservative or liberal, for it is both, and how it acts will depend upon the way the issues are defined.”

Where racial efforts emphasize difference, class-based efforts — better schools, better health care, a leg up in college admission to poor and working-class students, expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit — will all disproportionately benefit African Americans, helping to bring them into the economic mainstream, and at the same time will reinforce the notion that

we are all in it together. Racial inequality is, of course, distinct as an issue from economic inequality, and anti-discrimination efforts will always be important in housing, education and employment. But if the goal is greater fairness and integration, the programs that arouse the most opposition today — preferences and school desegregation — will work best if they apply to

disadvantaged people of all races. The sooner that the public disentangles race and class, the more likely we are to have a truly integrated society.

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## **“Now We Are Engaged in a Great Civil War, Testing Whether That Nation, Or Any Nation So Conceived and So Dedicated, Can Long Endure”**

by Howard Winant

If Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown are correct that the elimination of Jim Crow did not really occur, then what *did* happen in the Civil Rights and post-Civil Rights era?

*By the Color of Our Skin* sounds quite familiar, perhaps because there isn't anything really new here. Many academics and activists have made essentially the same points: critical race theorists such as Kim Crenshaw and Gary Peller, sociologists and historians such as Stephen Steinberg, Joe Feagin, Frances Piven and Richard Cloward, George Lipsitz, Robin Kelley, Manning Marable and others too numerous to mention have all travelled this road before. Indeed Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown's lament about the failure of integration may not be dolorous enough, for as many have pointed out, white racial intransigence is a virtual death-sentence for democracy in the US.

So let us stipulate to the fact that, with certain real exceptions (for example voting rights), segregation and discrimination, prejudice and privilege, and white supremacy in general, lived on after the high-water mark of the movement flood had been reached. Employment discrimination, educational discrimination, environmental discrimination, discriminatory immigration, taxation, health, welfare and transportation policies (to name but the

main dimensions of this issue) all continue in the present, at times ameliorated as a consequence of civil rights reform, but by no means uprooted or fundamentally altered from their pre-civil rights era configurations. The most egregious case of discrimination, that of *residential segregation*, was barely affected by civil rights reforms.

What *did* happen? A tremendous incorporation of political opposition, that's what. An adjustment of the previously dangerous imbalance between those with real, exercisable citizenship rights (whites) and those without such rights (particularly blacks, but also other "others": Native Americans, Latinos and Asian Americans). This adjustment could not have been as successful as it was — speaking from the standpoint of the "power structure," the "establishment" — if it had been merely symbolic. It required real concessions, the redistribution of political and economic resources, to win acceptance, to readjust "racial hegemony," to defuse the radical potential of the black movement and its allies. Notably too, the concessions made to the movement by means of the civil rights reforms were crucial maneuvers in the *international* political sphere, not just the domestic one. They were vital in the "twilight struggle" of the Cold War.

So there we have the real dilemma: not so much integration v. segregation, though of course I do not mean to disparage the importance of those issues. The more central questions that the black movement and its allies posed involved the readjustment of the balance of power in the US. Put in starker terms, the movement called into question the national/state commitment to racial democracy vs. racial dictatorship; it tested whether the "unstable equilibrium" of racial hegemony that had lasted for 350 years or so could be maintained. Perhaps most centrally, the movement tested the North American people. It questioned their commitments to democracy, equality and social justice; they were asked to weigh these against the comforts and privileges the majority of them derived from the racism on which the country had been founded. Would they accept substantial, let us call it social-democratic, redistribution of income and wealth? Would they agree to the wage cuts, the increased job competition, the increased taxation and the massive cultural reorientation needed, at least in the short run, to achieve significant anti-racist reform?

Most black people, significant numbers of other racially-defined minorities, and an important but relatively small number of white people too were

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willing to accept such radical changes, and were even poised to endure the upheavals that such a political program would have demanded. But most white people, significant numbers of other racially-defined minorities, and an important but relatively small number of black people were unwilling to take the risks or make the sacrifices

required. Hence the new "unstable equilibrium," or racial stalemate, of the post-civil rights era. Hence the continuation of Duboisian "racial dualism," though obviously not on the same terms as in the heyday of Jim Crow. This "dualism" cuts through the sensibilities of us all now, through the minds and hearts of North Americans of every color. Because the situation remains unstable, it can only re-

sult in further social struggle. *A luta continua!*

Howard Winant ([hwinant@nimbus.temple.edu](mailto:hwinant@nimbus.temple.edu)) is professor of sociology at Temple University and co-author (with Michael Omi) of *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1950s to the 1990s*. □

## The Morally Lazy White Middle Class

by Robert Jensen

The invitation to write this commentary asked for reaction to the "sadly dour view" on integration of Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown. Yet I don't find the authors' view sad or dour; their conclusion that racial integration is an illusion is honest and hopeful. Like the authors, it seems to me that the only hope of progress toward racial justice in this country requires this kind of realistic assessment of the situation we find ourselves in. Painful as it sometimes was, as I read I could see not only the lives of my fellow Americans in their book, but my own life as well.

So, I could pick nits on a couple of points (most noticeably, I found their final suggestion about an advertising campaign against racism to be strangely off the mark). My most important reaction to the book, however, is not so much to the authors' claims as to an underlying reality that struck me. As I read, I realized that the U.S. middle class, particularly the white middle class, is probably the single biggest impediment to justice the world has ever known. While Steinhorn and Diggs Brown, noting how quickly they abandoned the dream of integration, do suggest the magnanimity of the middle class is overestimated, I think the point needs to be stated even more bluntly.

In both domestic and international policy, it is the self-interested behavior or the inattention to injustice on the part of the middle class that makes possible the oppressive policies of the United States — the attack on labor

unions and working people, the coddling of big business that produces obscene gaps in wealth and privilege, the abandonment of the poor, and the assault for five decades on any third world movement that dared to strike out on an independent course.

While it is a much more elite class that plans, executes and primarily benefits from those policies, it is a materially affluent, politically quiescent and morally lazy middle class that allows the elite strata to get away with it. In a nominal democracy in which the use of direct coercion and violence against the middle class is virtually unheard of, the complicity of the middle class has to be faced honestly.

As Steinhorn and Diggs Brown point out, that complicity on domestic race relations is clear: The white middle class has turned its back on residential and school integration, the linchpins of any true integration of racial groups. But I would go further, to highlight how racism and complacency allow other U.S. crimes to go unpunished. As I write this, for example, the United States continues to demand that the most comprehensive regime of economic sanctions continue to be imposed on Iraq, while also conducting a low-level bombing campaign. The predictable result of this starve-and-bomb strategy is that as many as 1 million Iraqi civilians, at least half of them children under the age of 5, have died as a direct result of U.S. policy in the past nine years,

according to United Nations studies.

While one can argue about the underlying rationale for the policy, at the very least decent people should be able to see that making innocent civilians suffer and die at near-genocidal levels to achieve the policy is a crime against humanity. Yet when I have confronted my middle-class cohort on this issue, I most often get a half-hearted shrug and a "that's the way the world works" comment. Usually unspoken, but often intimated, of course, is, "What's the big deal? They're just Arabs."

If anything, Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown may not be dour enough. The shameful moral and political performance of the middle class does not inspire confidence in the future for progressive politics. But, perhaps paradoxically, in the United States it may be that the middle class is our best hope for a progressive future. As hard as it is to imagine the middle class exhibiting the political will necessary for that future, it is even harder to imagine that future without the middle class taking an active role. Let us all commit to the self-reflection, dialogue and activism necessary for that transformation.

Robert Jensen is a professor in the Department of Journalism at the University of Texas at Austin and member of several peace-and-justice groups. For copies of his essays on white privilege, contact him at [rjensen@uts.cc.utexas.edu](mailto:rjensen@uts.cc.utexas.edu). □

# Board Member Reports

## The Advocacy Institute

by David Cohen

Around the world the passion for advocacy intensifies. People everywhere recognize the value and necessity of having their own voices amplified so that they are heard against the din of globalized and powerful interests.

PRRAC works effectively at supporting progressive solutions to the problems at the intersection of race and poverty. PRRAC's primary focus is on the United States. It has a converging interest with the Advocacy Institute (AI). AI works to strengthen social movements that concentrate on justice and equality issues in the United States and outside of it. Our experience outside of the U.S. has made us aware of the creativity that exists in southern hemispheric countries around questions of participation, learning from experience and creating information. In turn that helps create new understandings of democracy and new angles on how to address immediate public issues.

AI's vision, mission and programs all flow from a core set of values.

These values embrace equity, inclusivity, respect, hope and pragmatism. Our working definition of advocacy attempts to reflect our values and, most importantly, comes from the diverse issue advocates we work with. The issue advocates we work with in the USA cover a variety of issues: civil rights, rural poverty, urban poverty, environmental justice, gender, public health, immigrant rights, public education, children's issues. The prime focus is working with organizations that have few financial resources but have an abundance of spirit, creativity and ingenuity. The AI constituents, those we feel accountable to, played a major part in shaping the definition of advocacy that follows:

*Advocacy is a process in pursuit of influencing outcomes — including public policy and resource allocation decisions within political, economic, social and policy systems and institutions — that directly affect people's lives. Advocacy consists of organized efforts and actions that influence public attitudes to enact and implement laws and policies that will create a just and equitable society centered on the dignity of the individual. These efforts draw their strength from the people to whom advocates and organizations are accountable.*

Advocacy has purposeful results: to enable social justice advocates to gain access and voice in the decision-making of relevant institutions; to change the power relationships within and among these institutions, thereby changing the institutions themselves; and to bring a clear improvement in people's lives.

The U.S. social justice advocacy world can be divided into three necessary parts:

1. It defends worthy and established ideas, policies and programs that are under attack from Yahoos and rock-ribbed conservatives;
2. It works with progressive elected and appointed officials to create policy and program advances;
3. It organizes and builds public and political acceptance for long-term systemic change.

Each of these efforts is to be valued. The AI emphasis is on long-term change. For us, advocacy navigates with the reality of what is, too often a harsh one, to that vision of justice and equity which is the world of what should be.

For an insight into the greater acceptance of social change, recall the crowds that cheered the U.S. Women's

Soccer Team. The excitement and enthusiasm of record crowds in major stadiums across the U.S. highlighted the historic nature of what happened. The successes of women's professional team sports, such as basketball and soccer, meant that for the first time in U.S. history girls and women of all ages and classes, all across the country, saw people who looked like them on the courts and fields, and realized that women could be outstanding professional team athletes. The men and boys who became fans witnessed that women could play as hard as they do. This marked one major shift in gender equality.

Think back. The Title IX legislation that equalized funding for girls' sports in schools was passed in 1972. The story is a familiar one but too often forgotten. Years of consciousness-raising and the building of the second wave of the U.S. women's movement preceded the proposed legislative remedy. Passage of the legislation — no easy task — required enforcement efforts and persuading school administrators and coaches that giving girls an equal opportunity to play sports is a worthy idea. The battle continues to this day.

Significant and systemic change takes a long time. Ask advocates in southern hemispheric countries that we have worked with. They have a deep appreciation of issue campaigns and the value of gaining incremental changes. They do not delude themselves into thinking that incrementalism accomplishes the completion of their vision, although they celebrate the limited gains that are made.

Working with diverse groups of advocates, and bringing them together across issue lines, AI learns why trans-

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formative long-term advocacy is essential to sustain the work of social justice advocacy. Just as good governance is important, so are good organizational skills. But even more is necessary.

Advocates are more than the organizations they represent. They are part of a community of advocates working for social change that advances equality and equity. They need to be able to have safe spaces, develop relationships and exchange with peers within their institution and outside of it. These are the necessary ingredients for creating change that initiates and sets public agendas and gets beyond merely reacting to them.

PRRAC research provides important documentation to various policy efforts that protect gains and initiate policies. That must continue. What would be helpful in the longer term is to have a research strategy that captures the stuff of advocacy in initiating policies, in getting beyond the incremental and in understanding how leadership is exercised in ways that are part of social change advocacy. Such an effort would only work if the relationship between the research and the subject studied operationally recognizes that participants have much to offer researchers and, most important, command respect for the work they do. What so often drives academic research is that the groups, and people in them, are treated as objects of the research and researchers. That relationship has to be changed.

PRRAC, by helping advance a changed relationship, built on its experience, could create a valuable design in three parts:

1. It could find ways of testing how patterns of leadership (including shared leadership) work in social change settings. Safe space enables leadership to reflect on what works well and dealing with mistakes made.

2. Such an approach would help design practical approaches that capture the advocacy resources (other than money) used to wage campaigns.

3. It would design an approach that enables others to examine what organizational and systemic obstacles advocates face.

The Advocacy Institute welcomes finding ways of working with PRRAC to advance an understanding of strategic advocacy where race and pov-

erty intersect. That is a journey worth attempting.

*David Cohen (dcohen@advocacy.org) is Co-Director of the Advocacy Institute (1707 L St. NW, # 400, Washington, DC 20036, 202/659-8475). □*

## PRRAC Update

- Our website finally is up and running. Check it out: [www.prrac.org](http://www.prrac.org). Let others know about it, and let us know of any other sites we should be linked to.

- We say good-bye and thanks to three PRRAC Board members, who rotated off at our Fall meeting: **David Cohen, Jane Perkins and Esmeralda Simmons**. We welcome suggestions from readers regarding additions to our Board.

- We're happy to welcome a new staff member, **Sandra Paik**, as our Education Specialist. She is a recent graduate of the Stanford School of Education, where she specialized in evaluation work. Prior to that, she

worked at the Skadden Fellowship Foundation, the Mass. Commission Against Discrimination and the Quincy (MA) School Community Council.

- Former PRRAC Board member **Bill Fletcher** has been appointed Assistant to AFL-CIO President John Sweeney.

- PRRAC is co-sponsoring (with the Network of Educators on the Americas and the Howard Univ. History Dept.), on Oct. 30, a day-long Institute, "Putting the 'Movement' Back Into Civil Rights Teaching," at Howard Univ. Speakers include Bob Moses, Howard Zinn and Taylor Branch; a report will appear in our next issue.

### Here we are . . . The PRRAC Staff



Photo: Diana Morris

*Left to right: Denise Rivera Portis (Office Mgr.), Chester Hartman (Exec. Dir.), Sandy Paik (Educ. Specialist), Elizabeth Ellis (Administrative Asst.).*

# The National Health Law Program and PRRAC's Shared Goals

by Jane Perkins

- *A pregnant woman enters a hospital in South Carolina, ready to deliver. During the course of her labor, she seeks an epidural to reduce the pain. The epidural is refused because the woman does not speak English.*
- *A home health agency in the Northeast refuses to provide home care services to an African-American child. The agency says it is too dangerous for its home care workers to venture into the child's neighborhood, a public housing complex. However, the home health agency is providing services to persons who live nearby.*
- *A county in California plans to rebuild its public hospital in the central county area, despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of poor African Americans, Asians and Latinos live in the east and west county areas. The population of the central county area is 80% white, and numerous hospitals and HMOs already serve the area. Transportation from the east and west county areas to the proposed central county facility is not good.*

These scenarios clearly illustrate that race profoundly affects the delivery of health care in the United States. While the foregoing examples are more subtle than the WHITES ONLY signs of a previous era, they are no less potent in their consequences. Moreover, these are not isolated occurrences. To a great extent, health care delivery in America remains segregated according to race and class.

The National Health Law Program (NHeLP) is working with the advocacy and research communities to monitor discrimination in health care and address the many barriers that exist.

## Monitoring disparities in health status and health care

One area of central focus for NHeLP is keeping the advocacy community aware of the racial disparities in health status and of the growing body of research which documents racial disparities in the delivery of health care services. These issues are highlighted at the Program's web site, [www.healthlaw.org](http://www.healthlaw.org). The Racial and Cultural Issues "corner" of the web site includes information about immigrant and minority health and cultural and linguistic access to health care. We have created a number of links to other advocacy organizations and to research projects studying the interactions of race and health. The web site also includes references to and reviews of noted literature and books, such as David Barton Smith's excellent recent book *Health Care Divided: Race and Healing a Nation*.

NHeLP also discusses race and culture as a regular feature in its quarterly publication, *Health Advocate*. The Summer 1999 edition, for example, contains an article which discusses three separate reports demonstrating that minorities continually come up short when it comes to health status and health care. Minorities are at much greater risk of dying of AIDS, substance abuse and during childbirth. Since that publication, we have linked our web site to two additional very recent studies: The John Hopkins School of Public Health released findings that, in comparison with white patients, racial and ethnic minority patients receive inferior primary care. They have more trouble setting up appointments, and they wait longer to see a physician than white patients do. And the *New England Journal of Medicine* published a study that found 12.7% more white patients receive surgery when diagnosed with early

stage lung cancer than black patients with the same diagnosis.

## Advocacy to improve linguistic access

Through its Language Access Project, NHeLP also is working with researchers, interpreters, and community-based advocates to ensure linguistic access in health care settings. About 32 million people in the United States, 13.8% of the population, speak a language other than English at home. However, despite this large constituency, and laws that require recipients of government funds to provide appropriate language access to health care services, the current state of linguistic access to health care leaves much to be desired. Immigrants with limited English proficiency (LEP) often face substantial communication problems at almost every level of the health care delivery system. At the administrative level, simply scheduling an appointment can be an ordeal for LEP patients. At the clinical level, when communication barriers prevent health care providers from understanding their patients' symptoms, proper medical care can be a near impossibility. The absence of a trained interpreter not only may lead to improper diagnoses and care, but also may call into question the doctor's ability to obtain a patient's informed consent. In communities throughout the country, providers continue to muddle through their contacts with LEP patients, relying upon their own rudimentary skills, patients' family members, hospital service employees and other untrained interpreters.

In a national survey of key informants, the National Health Law Program identified three factors that contribute to language access problems. First, the number of different lan-

(Please turn to page 16)

guages spoken in the United States has increased dramatically over the last 30 years. The current health care system is not equipped to operate in an environment where numerous languages are spoken. Second, current funding levels often are inadequate to meet the rising short-term cost demands for interpretive services. Unfortunately, the current situation is exacerbated by federal cutbacks on public benefits for immigrants. And third, while both federal and state laws require access to linguistically appropriate health care, these laws are little known and rarely enforced.

The National Health Law Program's Language Access Project has worked to focus attention on these issues. In January 1998, the program published *Ensuring Linguistic Access to Health Care: Legal Rights and Responsibilities*. Distributed by the Kaiser Family Foundation, this manual is being used widely by attorneys, researchers, providers and policymakers. NHeLP works with community-based organizations and individuals to monitor language access and, where needed, to file complaints with the Office for Civil Rights or court actions. NHeLP also has served as a contractor to the U.S. Department of Health and Human

Services Office for Civil Rights, providing training on managed care and language access to OCR investigators from around the country.

Jim Crow is alive and well in America's health care system. The problems of health status and access have deep roots. Working with the advocacy and research communities, the National Health Law Program strives to address and stop the inequality.

Jane Perkins (perkins@healthlaw.org) is the Director of Legal Affairs at the National Health Law Program (2639 La Cienega Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90034, 310/204-6010). □

## Resources

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 when this information is provided to PRRAC. "No price listed" items often are free.

When ordering items from PRRAC: SASE = self-addressed stamped envelope (33¢ unless otherwise indicated). If using meter tape, it must be undated, otherwise Post Office will not accept it. Orders may not be placed by telephone or fax. Please indicate which issue of P&R you are ordering from.

### Race/Racism

- *Korematsu v. United States* was a landmark 1944 Supreme Court case, upholding the constitutionality of the decision to remove and

imprison Japanese American US citizens during World War II. In 1983, Fred Korematsu filed a writ of *coram nobis*, based on National Archives material showing that government prosecutors suppressed, altered and destroyed evidence during the trial, and the petition was granted. The litigation documents now are part of the UCLA Japanese American Research Project Collection and will be available online at the UCLA Asian American Studies Ctr. website: [www.sscnet.ucla.edu.aasc](http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu.aasc).

- "Tracing Hate in Georgia: Sustaining a Civil Society" is a 9-page + Apps., Aug. 1999 report, available (no price listed) from the Ctr. for Democratic Renewal, PO Box 50469, Atlanta, GA 30302, 404/221-0025.

- *Race, Gender & Class: An Interdisciplinary & Multicultural*

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

*Journal*. There's also a *Race, Gender & Class Newsletter*. Contact Jean Ait Belkhir, Dept. Sociology, Univ. New Orleans, New Orleans, LA 70148-2345, 504/280-5468, [rgcso@uno.edu](mailto:rgcso@uno.edu).

- "The Persistence of Racial Isolation" is a 16-page chapter, by Yale Rabin, appearing in *Urban Planning & the African-American Community: In the Shadows*, eds. June Manning & Marsha Ritzdorf (Sage Pubs., 1997). Reprints available from Rabin, 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, MA 02138; enclose a SASE.

- *Achieving the Impossible Dream: How Japanese Americans Obtained Redress*, by Mitchell Maki, Harry Kitano & S. Megan Berthold (352 pp., 1999), is available from Univ. of Illinois Press. Also, *The Americas of Asian American Literature: Fictions of Nation & Transnation*, by Rachel Lee (208 pp., 1999), from Princeton Univ. Press. Further inf. from the UCLA Asian Amer. Studies Ctr. (headed by PRRAC Board member Don Nakanishi), 3230 Campbell Hall, LA, CA 90095-1546, [dtn@ucla.edu](mailto:dtn@ucla.edu).

• **All Our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life**, by Winona LaDuke (256 pp., 1999, \$16), has been published by South End Press, 800/533-8478.

• **"African American Perspectives 2000" & "Library of African Cinema 2000"** are 2 film/video catalogs, available from Calif. Newsreel, 149 9th St., SF, CA 94103, 800/621-6196, [contact@newsreel.org](mailto:contact@newsreel.org).

• **Racial Composition of the Legal Profession: Incoming Amer. Bar Assn. Pres. William G. Paul**, in his inaugural speech, noted that "right now, society is about 30% persons of color, and it is moving quickly toward 50%. The legal profession is 92% white. If the connecting link is not reflective of all of society, people will lose respect for the rule of law and it will just not work." Putting his money where his mouth is, Paul and his firm contributed \$100,000 toward a new ABA Legal Opportunity Scholarship Fund to enable young persons of color to attend law school; the goal is to raise at least \$1 million by the end of the first year of the Fund.

• **"The State of Race & Poverty in the Met. Area of Chicago: Chaos or Community?"** is a 12-page, 1998 report prepared by the Comm. Renewal Society. Possibly free, from the Society, 332 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, IL 60604-4306, 312/427-4830.

• **The Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy**, an annual founded in 1985, in its upcoming Volume 11, "A Decade in Review," contains, among

other articles, "Hispanic Poverty, Is It an Immigrant Problem?," by Abel Valenzuela, Jr.; "Discovering Latina Women in Boston Politics," by Carol Hardy-Fanta; "Family Employment Status & Labor Market Outcomes for Teens & Young Adults," by Janis Barry Figueroa. Vol. 12 will be devoted to Latino health issues. \$20/yr. for indivs., \$50 orgs., from HJHP, 79 John F. Kennedy St., Cambridge, MA 02138, 617/495-1311.

• **"Seconding the Second Generation"** is the new, 260-page issue of *Amerasia Journal*, published by the UCLA Asian American Studies Ctr. (headed by PRRAC Board member Don Nakanishi). 5 of the 8 articles examine 2nd gen. Asian Americans' ethnic identity, using personal interviews with young adults: Chinese, Filipino, Korean, Indian & Vietnamese. The single issue is \$16; subs. to the 3x/yr. publication are \$35 (\$55 insts.): 3230 Campbell Hall, PO Box 951546, LA, CA 90095-1546, 310/825-2968, [ku@ucla.edu](mailto:ku@ucla.edu).

• **"Losing the Initiative on Race?: Perspectives on the President's Race Initiative"** is a symposium in the Summer 1999 issue of *Souls*, the new quarterly journal edited by Manning Marable. Included is "A Conversation with John Hope Franklin" (chair of the Initiative's Advisory Board). Single issues, \$12; subs. \$35 indivs., \$75 insts. C/o Westview Press, 5500 Central Ave., Boulder, CO 80301-2877, 303/444-3541.

• **Asian Americans: From Racial Category to**

**Multiple Identities**, by Juanita Tamayo Lott (110 pp., 1998, \$17.86); *Glass Ceilings & Asian Americans: The New Face of Workplace Barriers*, by Deborah Wu (264 pp., 1999, \$21.06); *Impacts of Affirmative Action: Policies & Consequences in California*, ed. Paul Ong, a member of PRRAC's Social Sci. Adv. Bd. (\$23.46), are available from AltaMira Press, 1630 N. Main St., #367, Walnut Creek, CA 94596, 805/499-9774.

• **"Rethinking the Teaching of Slavery"** is a Nov. 5-7 conf. at Columbia Univ. Teachers College, sponsored by the Natl. Coal. of Education Activists, 212/678-3987, [www.columbia.edu-rn93](http://www.columbia.edu-rn93).

• **"African Americans: Research & Policy Perspectives at the Turn of the Century"** is a Stanford Univ. conf., Nov. 11-13. Inf. from 650/725-3859, [scor@leland.stanford.edu](mailto:scor@leland.stanford.edu).

• **"Teaching & Learning Asian American Studies in the 21st Century: Challenges & Possibilities"** is a Nov. 13 conf. at UCLA co-sponsored by the UCLA Asian Amer. Studies Ctr. (headed by PRRAC Board member Don Nakanishi). Phone 310/825-2974, [isoriano@ucla.edu](mailto:isoriano@ucla.edu).

## Poverty/ Welfare

• **"New Hope for People with Low Incomes: 2-Year Results of a Program to Reduce Poverty & Reform Welfare,"** by Johannes Bos, Aletha Huston, Robert Granger, Greg Duncan, Thomas Brock & Vonnie McLoyd, is a 38-

page, Aug. 1999 Exec. Summary of a Milwaukee program, available (likely free) the Manpower Demonstration Research Corp., 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016-4326, 212/532-3200.

• **"State & Local Approaches to Poverty in Washington, DC,"** by Joyce Malombe, is a 15-page, 1999 paper, available, free, from the Woodrow Wilson Internatl. Ctr. for Scholars, 1 Woodrow Wilson Plaza, 1300 Penn. Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20004-3027, 202/691-4235, [cusp@wwics.si.edu](mailto:cusp@wwics.si.edu).

• **"Concentrated Poverty: Causes, Effects & Solutions"** is a 46-page, Sept. 1999 document, available (possibly free) from the Univ. of MN Inst. on Race & Poverty (headed by PRRAC Board member John Powell), 415 Law Ctr., 229 19th Ave. S., Mpls., MN 55455, 612/625-8071, [irp@tc.umn.edu](mailto:irp@tc.umn.edu).

• **The Canadian Self-Sufficiency Project** is the subject of two May 1999 studies available (likely free) from The Manpower Demonstration Research Corp. (16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016-4326, 212/532-3200): "When Financial Work Incentives Pay for Themselves," by Charles Michaelopoulos, Philip Robins & David Card (11 pp.) and "Does SSP Plus Increase Employment?," by Gail Quets, Philip Robins, Elsie Pan, Charles Michaelopoulos & David Card.

• **"A Shrinking Portion of the Safety Net: General Assistance from 1989 to 1998,"** by L. Jerome Gallagher, is a 7-page, Sept. 1999 report,

available (free) from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/261-5687.

- **Upon Whom We Depend: The American Poverty System,** by J. Gordon Chamberlain (190 pp., 1999), has been published by Peter Lang. \$21 from the Poverty Coalition, PO Box 19532, Greensboro, NC 27419.

- **"Extreme Child Poverty Rises Sharply in 1997"** is a new analysis of Census data by the Children's Defense Fund. Available at [www.childrensdefense.org](http://www.childrensdefense.org).

- **"The Initial Impacts of Welfare Reform on the Incomes of Single-Mother Families,"** by Wendell Primus, Lynette Rawlings, Kathy Larin & Kathryn Porter, is a 70-page, Aug. 1999 report, available (by subscription) from the Ctr. on Budget & Policy Priorities, 820 First St. NE, #520, Wash., DC 20002, 202/408-1080, [center@cbpp.org](mailto:center@cbpp.org)

- **"Welfare Reform: Assessing the Effectiveness of Various Welfare-to-Work Approaches"** is a Sept. 1999 GAO report. Free copies from USGAO, PO Box 37050, Wash., DC 20013, 202/512-6000; can be downloaded at [www.gao.gov/new.items/newtitle.htm](http://www.gao.gov/new.items/newtitle.htm).

- **"Work Activity & Obstacles to Work among TANF Recipients,"** by Sheila Zedlewski, is a 5-page, Sept. 1999 document, available (free) from the Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/261-5687, [paffairs@ui.urban.org](mailto:paffairs@ui.urban.org).

- **"Poverty Ain't What It Used to Be: The Case**

**For & Consequences of Redefining Poverty"** is available (no price listed) from the Johns Hopkins Inst. for Policy Studies, 410/516-7169.

- **"To Promote the General Welfare"** is a March 6-7 conf., sponsored by the NOW Legal Defense & Educ. Fund. Inf. from 212/925-6635, [aloewenstein@nowldef.Org](mailto:aloewenstein@nowldef.Org)

## Community Organizing

- **Community-Based Research:** An effort is under way to develop and promulgate a set of protocols governing community-based research so that communities receive maximum benefit from such work. The Loka Inst., PRRAC and other groups/individuals are involved, and a meeting is planned for January in Washington. For more information, or if you think you might want to attend, contact Douglas Taylor at the Loka Inst., PO Box 355, Amherst, MA 01004, 413/559-5860, [Loka@Loka.org](mailto:Loka@Loka.org).

## Criminal Justice

- **"Drug Policy & the Criminal Justice System"** is a 7-page, Aug. 1999 briefing paper, available (likely free) from The Sentencing Proj., 1516 P St. NW, Wash., DC 20005, 202/628-0871, [staff@sentencingproject.org](mailto:staff@sentencingproject.org).

- **Bad Kids: Race & The Transformation of the Juvenile Court,** by Barry C. Feld (374 pp., 1997, \$19.95), has been published by Oxford Univ. Press, 198 Madison

Ave., NYC, NY 10016, 212/726-6000.

## Economic/Community Development

- **"Women Creating Social Capital & Social Change"** is a new research study, led by Marilyn Gittell, of community development efforts in Boston, Chicago, the Delta (MS, LA, AR), El Paso, Houston, NC, Oakland, Portland (OR), DC. It's available in 3 versions: the "plain vanilla" 171-page full report (\$6); and Spanish and English versions of a fancier 56-page summary, with photos (\$9 each). Available from the McAuley Inst., 8300 Colesville Rd., #310, Silver Spring, MD 20910, 301/588-8110, [kallen@mcauley.org](mailto:kallen@mcauley.org)

- **"The Federal Reserve & Local Economic Development"** is a 50-page, 1999 study, available, free, from the Financial Markets Ctr., PO Box 334, Philomont, VA 20131, 540/338-7754, [info@fmcenter.org](mailto:info@fmcenter.org).

## Education

- **"Teaching for Change"** is the Fall 1999/Winter 2000 Multicultural Education Resources catalog of the Network of Educators on the Americas, PO Box 73038, Wash., DC 20056-3038, 202/588-7204, [necadc@aol.com](mailto:necadc@aol.com).

- **"Title I in Alabama: The Struggle to Meet Basic Needs"** is a 81-page, Summer 1999 report, available from the Citizens Commn. on Civil Rights (whose Vice-Chair is PRRAC Board Member

## Bulk Orders of Poverty & Race

Several organizations have arrangements with PRRAC to receive bulk orders (at a steep discount), which they then distribute to their affiliates, board members, staff. Contact our office to discuss such an arrangement.

William L. Taylor), 2000 M St. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20036, 202/659-5565, [citizens@cccr.org](mailto:citizens@cccr.org). Single copies free.

- **The Education Testing Service Policy Inf. Ctr.** has a publications catalog: PO Box 6736, Princeton, NJ 08541-6736, 609/734-5694, [pic@ets.org](mailto:pic@ets.org).

- **"Testing, Teaching & Learning: A Guide for States & School Districts,"** eds. Richard Elmore & Robert Rothman, is a 114-page, 1999 report from the Comm. on Title I Testing & Assessment. Available (no price listed) from the Natl. Academy Press, 2101 Constitution Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20418. Available also online: [www.nap.edu](http://www.nap.edu).

- **"Defending Public Education: An Activist Resource Kit"** (ca. 150 pp., revised Sept. 1999) is available (\$20 orgs., \$15 indivs., \$10 low-income) from Political Research Associates, 120 Beacon St., #202, Somerville, MA 02143-4304, 617/661-9313, [publiceye@igc.apc.org](mailto:publiceye@igc.apc.org). They also have available a catalog: "Resources for Understanding & Challenging the Political Right."



- **Reaching Out: Best Practices for Educating Mexican-Origin Children & Youth**, by Harriet Romo (231 pp., 1999), is available (\$24) from ERIC/CRESS, PO Box 1348, Charleston, WV 25325-1348, 800/624-9120.

- **Can Public Schools Learn from Private Schools?: Case Studies in the Public & Private Nonprofit Sectors**, by Richard Rothstein, Martin Carnoy & Luis Benveniste (86 pp., 1999), is available (\$13.95 + s/h) from the Econ. Policy Inst., 800/EPI-4844. It's also online at [www.epinet.org](http://www.epinet.org).

- **"Reforming the D.C. Board of Education: A Building Block for Better Public Schools"** is a 54-page, Sept. 1999 report, available (no price listed) from the DC Appleseed Ctr., 733 15th St. NW, #330, Wash., DC 20005, 202/393-1158.

- **"No Excuses: Lessons from 25 High-Performing, High-Poverty Schools"** is a Nov. 19 DC conf., sponsored by the right-wing Heritage Fdn. Inf. from the Fdn., 214 Mass. Ave. NE, Wash., DC 20002, 202/608-6175.

## Employment/ Jobs Policy

- **Job Creation Prospects & Strategies**, eds. Wilhelmina Leigh & Margaret Simms of the Jt. Ctr. for Political & Econ. Studies, can be ordered through their website: [www.jointctr.org](http://www.jointctr.org).

- **"Overcoming Roadblocks on the Way to Work"** is a study by

Public/Private Ventures, examining challenges faced by the 5 orgs. participating in Bridges to Work, a reverse commuting demonstration. \$10 from PPV, 2005 Market St., #900, Phila., PA 19103.

- **"The Minimum Wage Increase: A Working Woman's Issue,"** by Jared Bernstein, (PRRAC Soc. Sci. Adv. Bd. member) Heidi Hartmann & John Schmitt, is a 5-page, Sept. 1999 EPI Issue Brief, available (likely free) from the Econ. Policy Inst., 1660 L St. NW, #1200, Wash., DC 20036, 202/775-8810; it can be downloaded from [www.epinet.org](http://www.epinet.org).

- **"Soft Skills Training: An Annotated Guide to Selected Programs" & "Soft Skills & the Minority Work Force: A Guide for Informed Discussion"** are publications available from the Joint Ctr. for Political & Economic Studies, 202/789-3500. \$20.50 and \$13, respectively.

- **"The Legal Rights & Resources Available to G-5 & A-3 Domestic Workers"** is a new self-help booklet prepared by the Inst. for Policy Studies' Campaign for Migrant Domestic Workers Rights; it will eventually be translated into Spanish, Tagalog and possibly Amharic and Arabic. Contact the campaign, 202/234-9382, x232.

- **"Women in the Labor Market, Part 2 - Welfare Mothers"** is a series of 10 short articles from the Spring 1999 issue of *Focus*, available, free, from the Univ. of Wisc. Inst. for Research on Poverty, 1180 Obser-

vatory Dr., 3412 Soc. Sci. Bldg., Madison, WI 53706, 608/262-6358.

- **"Nontraditional Employment for Low-Income Women: A Guide for Advocates"** is available (no price listed) from NOW Legal Defense & Educ. Fund, 212/925-6635; it can be downloaded from [www.nowdef.org](http://www.nowdef.org).

- **New Labor Forum** is a semi-annual publication of the Queens College Labor Resource Ctr. (CUNY, 25 W. 43 St., 19th flr., NYC, NY 10036, 212/827-0200). The 152-page Spring/Summer 1999 issue features sections on Sweatshops and Privatization. Single issues, \$8; subs. \$14 indivs., \$25 insts.

## Families/ Children/ Women

- **"Why Don't We Vote?"** is an essay contest, co-sponsored by the Ctr. for Voting & Democracy and the Midwest Democracy Ctr., challenging America's youth to answer that vexing question. 1000 words, \$1000 prize. Judges include John Anderson, Abner Mikva, Jane Bryant Quinn, Hendrik Hertzberg & Arianna Huffington. Essays due in February. For details, phone 312/587-7060 or [www.fairvote.org](http://www.fairvote.org).

- **"Out-of-School Time Activities: Can Families Help Programs & Can Programs Help Families?"** is a 16-page document with highlights of a May 1999 seminar. Likely free, from the DC Family Policy Seminar,

2000 15th St., #701, Arlington, VA 22201-2617, 703/524-7802.

- **"Work in Progress: A Natl. Survey of Young Women's Work Experience"** is a 24-page, 1999 report produced by the Young Women's Work Project. Available (no price listed) from the Project, 995 Market St., #1418, SF, CA 94103, 415/974-6296, [YWWP@aol.com](mailto:YWWP@aol.com).

- **"Helping Families Achieve Self-Sufficiency"** is a guide to funding services for children & families through TANF. A free copy is available by calling 202/401-5139; it can be downloaded from [www.acf.dhhs.gov/programs/ofa/funds2.htm](http://www.acf.dhhs.gov/programs/ofa/funds2.htm)

- **Lives on the Line: American Families & the Struggle to Make Ends Meet**, by Martha Shirk, Neil Bennett & J. Lawrence Aber, has just been published by Westview Press. \$24 from the Natl. Ctr. for Children in Poverty, 212/304-7195.

- **"Access to Child Care for Low-Income Working Families"** is a new HHS report, prepared by The Urban Inst. It contains state-by-state inf. on availability of child care, and on affordability. On the web: [www.acf.dhhs.gov/news/ccreport.htm](http://www.acf.dhhs.gov/news/ccreport.htm).

## Health

- **Children's Health Insurance Program: the Natl. Healthy Mothers, Health Babies Coal.** has developed a resource book for CHIP to assist advocates and service providers. Free by calling 703/836-6110.

- **"Children's Health Under Medicaid: A Natl. Review of Early & Periodic Screening, Diagnosis & Treatment"** (126 pp., Sept. 1998) is available (\$35) from the Natl. Health Law Prog., 2639 S. La Cienega Blvd., I.A., CA 90034, 310/204-6010. They also have a Sept. 1999 Publications List & an award-winning website: [www.health.org](http://www.health.org).

- **"Rural Neglect: Medicare HMOs Ignore Rural Communities"** is a 19-page, Sept. 1999 report, available (no price listed) from Families USA, 1334 G St. NW, Wash., DC 20005, 202/628-3030. County-by-county data are available on their website: [www.familiesusa.org/rurmap.htm](http://www.familiesusa.org/rurmap.htm).

- **"CHIP: A Look at Emerging State Programs,"** by Frank Ullman, Ian Hill & Ruth Almeida, is a 5-page, Sept. 1999 report, available (free) from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/833-7200, [paffairs@ui.urban.org](mailto:paffairs@ui.urban.org).

- **"Health Action 2000: A Natl. Grassroots Meeting,"** sponsored by Families USA, will take place Jan. 20-22 in DC. Inf. from Families USA, 1334 G St. NW, Wash., DC 20005, 202/628-3030, [info@families.usa.org](mailto:info@families.usa.org).

## Homelessness

- **"Legacy of Neglect: The Impact of Welfare Reform on New York's Homeless"** is a 71-page, Aug. 1999 report, available (possibly free) from the Coal. for the Homeless, 25 Elk St., Lower Level, Albany, NY

12207, 518/436-5612.

## Housing

- **"One Step Forward, Two Steps Back: An Analysis of Racial Disparities in Home Purchase & Refinance Mortgage Lending in 41 Cities from 1995 to 1998"** is a 19-page, Sept. 1999 report available (no price listed) from ACORN, 739 8th St. SE, Wash., DC 20003, 202/547-2500.

- **"Fair Housing Index - Rental Insurance"** is a new report, using the paired tester methodology, showing high levels of discrimination experienced by Latino and African American tenants seeking apt. insurance in the DC met. area. Can be downloaded in Adobe Acrobat format at [www.fairhousing.org](http://www.fairhousing.org) in the Gateways Pubs. Fair Housing Index site; hard copies can be purchased at cost from Virginia Rivas, 202/289-5360.

- **"Out of Reach: The Gap Between Housing Costs & Income of Poor People in the US,"** by Cushing Dolbeare, is a 266-page, Sept. 1999 publication, available (\$35) from the Natl. Low Income Housing Coal., 1012 14th St. NW, #610, Wash., DC 20005, 202/662-1530, [info@nlihc.org](mailto:info@nlihc.org). It can be downloaded from [www.nlihc.org/oor99](http://www.nlihc.org/oor99).

- **State & Local Affordable Housing Programs: A Rich Tapestry**, by Michael Stegman, is available (\$49.95) from the Urban Land Inst., 800/321-5011.

- **"Moving to Opportunity for Fair Housing: Current Status & Initial**

**Findings"** is available (\$5) from HUD USER, PO Box 6091, Rockville, MD 20849, [huduser@aspensys.com](mailto:huduser@aspensys.com).

- **The Affordable Housing & Welfare Reform Listserv** is a project of the Ctr. on Budget & Policy Priorities. To subscribe, send an email to [majordom@lists.cbpp.org](mailto:majordom@lists.cbpp.org) that reads "subscribehousingwelfare."

- **"\$115,000,000 and Counting"** is the 5th annual survey of financial recovery for plaintiffs in housing discrimination lawsuits by Natl. Fair Housing Alliance member organizations. \$6 from the Fair Housing Ctr. of Met. Detroit, 1249 Washington Blvd., #1312, Detroit, MI 48226, 313/963-1274.

- **"Housing & Welfare Reform: Strategic Intersections in Place-Based Strategies"** is a compilation of essential resources from the Welfare Information Network: [www.welfareinfo.org](http://www.welfareinfo.org).

- **Redlining:** A new Urban Inst. study reviews and confirms a 1992 Federal Reserve Bank of Boston study which found a significantly higher probability of loan denial in the Boston area for African-American and Latino applicants, compared to whites. On their website: [www.urban.org](http://www.urban.org).

## Immigration

- **"Stop Violence Against Immigrants"** is the 2nd annual conf. of the Third World Social Services, Nov. 8 in Gaithersburg, MD. Inf. from 301/721-9792, [TWSS@aol.com](mailto:TWSS@aol.com).

## Rural

- **"The USDA Investigator's Standard Operating Procedure (SOP) Manual"** — a product of the Farmers Legal Action Group (assisted by a PRRAC grant) — is available (\$82) from FLAG, 46 E. 4th St., #1301, St. Paul, MN 55101, 651/223-5400, [rroth@flaginc.org](mailto:rroth@flaginc.org). The 188-page (+ tabs, charts, appendices) manual describes in detail farmers' rights under the Equal Credit Opportunity Act in the government's farm loan program. Since 1997 it has been the Agriculture Department's official manual for training its contract investigators about what constitutes race discrimination in credit programs. Included is a History of Discrimination in USDA Credit Programs.

- **The Rural Development Leadership Network**, "a multicultural social-change org. estab. in 1983 to support community-based development in poor rural areas through hands-on projects, education leadership development & networking," has introduced a PhD option to supplement its masters degree program. It will be run via the Union Inst. Inf. on both degree prgs. from Starry Kruger, RDLN, PO Box 98, Prince St. Sta., NYC, NY 10012, 212/777-9137, [HN1580@handsnetorg](mailto:HN1580@handsnetorg).

## Miscellaneous

- **America Needs Human Rights**, eds. Anuradha Mittal & Peter Rosset (237 pp., 1999), is a new Food First Book, \$13.95 from 800/243-0138 or [www.foodfirst.org](http://www.foodfirst.org).

org. 16 articles (by William Julius Wilson, CDF, Frances Moore Lappé, et al.), plus an Epilogue, "Building a Movement for Human Rights in America."

\* **The Alliance for Justice**, which "works to advance the cause of justice for all Americans, strengthen the public interest community's ability to influence public policy & foster the next generation of advocates," has a 1999 publications list, covering advocacy, access to justice, youth advocacy & reference works: 2000 P St. NW, Wash., DC 20036, 202/822-6070.

€ **"Findings from the Evaluation of the Natl. Library Power Program"** is a 25-page, 1999 Exec. Summary, available (likely free) from the DeWitt Wallace-Readers Digest Fund, 2 Park Ave., 23rd flr., NYC, NY 10016, 212/251-9700, dwrdd@wallacefunds.org.

\* **Who Counts? The Politics of Census-Taking in Contemporary America**, by Margo Anderson & Stephen Fienberg (256 pp., 1999), is available (\$31.45) from the Russell Sage Fdn., 800/524-6401.

\* **"Falling Through the Net: Defining the Digital Divide - A Report on the Telecommunications & Inf. Technology**

**Gap in America"** (77 pp., July 1999) is a Commerce Dept. report. Can be printed out at [www.ntia.doc.gov](http://www.ntia.doc.gov); or phone Theresa at 202/456-6222.

\* **"Neighborhoods: The Hidden History of San Francisco"** is a series produced by KQED. The most recent documentary is "The Fillmore," on the city's African American neighborhood. The Mission (Latinos), Chinatown, and the Castro (gays) are the subject of earlier videos. Contact Peter Stein, KQED, 2601 Mariposa St., SF, CA 94110-1426, 415/864-2000.

\* **Economic Human Rights Violations: The Poor People's Econ. Human Rights Campaign**, spearheaded by the Kensington Welfare Rights Union, has filed, before the Inter-Americas Commission, the first legal brief in history against the USA for economic human rights violations (per the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Articles 23, 25, 26), due to downsizing, welfare reform & education cuts. Inf. from KWRU, PO Box 50678, Phila., PA 19132, 215/203-1945, kwru@libertynet.org.

\* **"Coordinating Challenges to Corporate Globalization"** is a natl. strategy conf., sponsored by the Preamble Ctr., Nov. 12-14 in Chicago. Inf. from the Ctr., 1737 21 St. NW, Wash., DC 20009, 202/265-3263, wep@preamble.org.

## Job Opportunities/ Fellowships/ Grants

\* **The Ctr. on Juvenile & Criminal Justice** is hiring an **Office Mgr./ Adm. Asst.** Resume/ names + phone #s of 3 supervisory refs. to the Ctr., 2208 Martin Luther King, Jr. Ave. SE, Wash., DC 20020.

\* **Asian Americans United** is seeking a **South Philadelphia Organizer** (\$2328,000). Resume/ltr. (by 11/15) to AAU, 913 Arch St., Phila., PA 19107, 215/925-1538.

\* **Bannerman Fellowships - Sabbaticals for Long-time Activists of Color** carry a \$15,000 stipend for sabbaticals of 3 mos. or more. Applications (due Dec. 1) from the Bannerman Prog., 1627 Lancaster St., Baltimore, MD 21231, 410/327-6220.

\* **SEIU** is looking to hire **Union Researchers-Campaigners** for DC-based jobs. Resume/ writing samples/refs. to Researchers, PO Box 34104, Wash., DC 20043 or fax to 202/898-3407.

\* **The Natl. Housing Trust** is hiring a (p.t.) **Clerical Asst.** (\$12-15/hr.). Resume/ltr. to the Trust, 1101 30th St. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20007, fax: 202/833-1031.

\* **Audre Lorde Fellowship for Women of Color Writer/Activists** is awarded by The Union Inst. It is a month-long residency retreat + \$1000 stipend. The Institute's Ctr. for Women also makes an annual \$3000 award to an org. or indiv. recognizing

exceptional work in building coals. between scholars and activists. Dec. 23 deadline for both. Applys. from the Inst., 1710 Rhode Island Ave. NW, #1100, Wash., DC 20036-3007, dcampbell@tui.edu.

\* **Asian American/ Ethnic Studies Postdoctoral & Visiting Scholar Fellowships** are being offered by the UCLA Asian American Studies Ctr. (headed by PRRAC Board member Don Nakanishi). Applications (due Dec. 30) from Dr. Enrique DeLa Cruz at the Ctr., 3230 Campbell Hall, PO Box 95146, LA, CA 90095-1546, 310/825-2974, tulisan@ucla.edu or download (Adobe Acrobat file) from [www.gdnet.ucla.edu/iacweb/pstweber.htm](http://www.gdnet.ucla.edu/iacweb/pstweber.htm).

\* **The Amer. Immigration Lawyers Assn.** is seeking an **Advocacy Associate** (law degree not necessary). Ltr./resume/3 refs. to the Assn., 1400 Eye St. NW, #1200, Wash., DC 20005.

\* **The Natl. Housing Law Project** is seeking an experienced **Attorney** (5+ yrs. working on housing & related issues) & a **Staff. Atty./Director of Govt. Rels.** (latter position for its DC office). Ltr./resume/3 prof. refs. to the Project, 614 Grand Ave., #320, Oakland, CA 94610.

\* **The Ctr. for Comm. Change** is seeking a **Co-Director of Public Policy & a Director of Planning & Ops./Deputy to the Exec. Dir.** For former position, resume/ltr. to CCC, 1000 Wisconsin Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20007, 202/342-0567. For latter position, resume/ltr. to Adams & Assoc. 2931 Mozart Dr.,

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• **HUD's Office of Fair Housing & Equal Opportunity** has three senior positions open. Job descriptions are posted at [www.usajobs.opm.gov](http://www.usajobs.opm.gov).

• **The Social Action & Leadership School for Activists (SALSA)**, a project of the Inst. for Policy Studies, is looking for a **Director** (\$30-35,000). Resume/ltr. (right away) to Scott Williams, IPS, 733 15th St. NW, #1020, Wash., DC 20005, 202/234-9382, x229.

• **The Amer. Friends Service Comm.** has 3 openings: **Director of Donor Marketing** (Phila.); **Development Officer** (NY); **Development Officer** (Pasadena). Ltr./resume to Willa Brown, AFSC, 1501 Cherry St., Phila., PA 19102-1479, 215/241-7167, [Wbrown@afsc.org](mailto:Wbrown@afsc.org).

• **The Soros Advocacy Fellowship for Physicians** has been established to enable physicians to develop or strengthen advocacy skills through collaboration with advocacy orgs. during a 6-12 month fellowship period. Up to 10 Fellows

a year will be selected, and awards range from \$4080,000, plus fringe. Round 1 had a Nov. 2 deadline (most likely this newsletter is arriving after that); Round 2 has a March 21 deadline. Contact Julie McCrady, Open Society Inst., 400 W. 59 St., NYC, NY 10019, [www.soros.org/medicine](http://www.soros.org/medicine).

• **The Financial Markets Ctr.** is seeking a **Research Assoc.** (\$40,000+). FMC is a nonprofit, headed by Tom Schlesinger, that provides research & educ. resources to grassroots orgs., policymakers,

journalists, etc. interested in the Federal Reserve System & the financial sector. Resume/3 refs./ltr./writing sample to FMC, PO Box 334, Philomont, VA 20131, [info@fmcenter.org](mailto:info@fmcenter.org). FMC also has paid **Internships**.

• **The Ford Foundation** is seeking a **Program Officer** for its Asset Building & Comm. Dev. Program. Resume/ltr./brief writing sample to Hamilton, Rabinovitz & Alschuler, 1790 Broadway, #800, NYC, NY 10019, attn: Paul Torres; fax: 212/977-6202, [ptorres@hra-inc.com](mailto:ptorres@hra-inc.com).

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