

Poverty & Race

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This issue of P&R will be arriving right before or after Election Day – which, everyone predicts, will set a new record for low voter turnout. Lowest of all are voting rates for those at the intersection of race and poverty, for all sorts of understandable reasons, but a phenomenon that represents a real failure of the political system, one that makes fundamental change next to impossible. Our “winner-take-all” voting system (plus how political campaigns are financed) needs massive reform if this reality is to change. The lead article below speaks convincingly to that issue.

Our other major article provides an important perspective on the increasingly controversial issue of immigration and the need to create multiracial coalitions and integrate the civil rights and immigrant rights movements.

We’re delighted to report that our new “best of P&R” volume, Challenges to Equality: Poverty & Race in America, with a Foreword by Rep. John Lewis, will be out in December (published by M.E. Sharpe, as was our first such collection, Double Exposure: Poverty & Race in America). Its huge and impressive Table of Contents is included following page 12. The quality and range of our new book is illustrated by the two major articles in this issue of P&R, both of which are included in the volume. We hope you will order your copy right away, so we can send it to you as soon as it comes off the press. See page 23 for special discount offers to P&R readers. – CH

New Means for Political Empowerment: Proportional Voting

by Douglas Amy, Frederick McBride and Robert Richie

In May 2000, the citizens of Amarillo, Texas, filled four seats on its school board by cumulative voting. No black or Latino candidate had been elected to Amarillo’s seven-member school board in more than two decades, despite Latinos and African-Americans making up more than 20% of the city’s population and an even larger share of the student population. Instituted to settle a voting rights lawsuit, cumulative voting had an immediate impact: a black candidate and Latino candidate won seats with strong support in their communities; voter turnout increased four times over the most recent school board election; and all parties in the voting rights settlement expressed satisfaction with the

new system.

That a generally conservative city like Amarillo would adopt cumulative voting is only one example of how proportional and semi-proportional voting systems in recent years have moved from being “controversial” to credible alternatives for political empowerment. On their own merits and as a strategic response to Supreme Court rulings that hinder creation of district boundaries to provide for increased representation of racial minorities, these voting methods—specifically, choice voting, cumulative voting and limited voting (see accompanying box)—are increasingly recognized as a means to increase minority representation in local, state and even

federal elections.

Proportional representation (PR) creates new avenues of political power

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for people of color and the poor, two groups traditionally denied fair access to power in this country. Despite making up a quarter of the U.S. population, African-Americans and Latinos hold less than 10% of the country's elected offices and not a single governorship or U.S. Senate seat. Imagine for a moment how different it would be if the Senate had 25 African-Americans and Latinos instead of none. They would make up an important voting bloc, and their very presence on committees and as colleagues on the Senate floor would be a powerful reminder of the political concerns of people of color. No longer would it be easy to put these issues on the back-burner, as so often happens today.

Adopting PR to elect the U.S. Senate would require constitutional change, but all other legislative bodies in the United States—including the House of Representatives—could be elected by PR without touching the Constitution. What prevents such fantasies of fair representation from more often becoming a reality is our continued adherence to an election principle—winner-take-all—that is inherently unjust and undemocratic. Winner-take-all elections, whether in single-member districts or for at-large positions, require winning candidates

to attract a majority or substantial plurality of the vote. By definition, candidates representing political minorities have great difficulty amassing this large a share of votes, and so stand little chance of being elected. Thus, under our current system, racial minorities and the poor have the right to vote, but are often denied the equally fundamental right to representation. This systematic disempowerment of minorities and the poor is an inevitable result of winner-take-all systems.

Proportional representation is designed to remedy these electoral injustices. It ensures that any grouping of like-minded people—minorities and majorities—gets a fair share of power and representation in our legislative bodies, whereas our current winner-take-all principle can award 100% of the representation to a 50.1% majority. If black voters comprise 20% of the vote in a racially polarized county,

Imagine how different it would be if the Senate had 25 African-Americans and Latinos instead of none.

they can elect at least one of the five seats—rather than be shut out, as they would be in a traditional at-large election or in a single-member district plan that dispersed their vote across several districts.

Versions of proportional representation are used in most well-established democracies. In 1999, there were 36 democracies with a high Freedom House human rights rating and a population over two million. Of these, only two—the U.S. and Canada—used exclusively winner-take-all elections for national elections; most used proportional representation for their most powerful legislative body. In 1999, South Africa held its second elections using proportional representation; once again, voter turnout and voter respect for the outcome were high, all racial and political groupings elected a fair share of seats, and women won more

than twice the share of seats held by women in the U.S. Congress.

Various proportional and semi-proportional systems exist in both partisan and non-partisan forms. More than 200 localities in the United States use one of three non-partisan systems: cumulative voting, limited voting, or choice voting. The many forms of PR embody the same goals: (1) assuring that all eligible voters have an effective vote; (2) assuring that as many voters as possible have someone to represent them in policy-making bodies; (3) enabling both majorities and minorities to have fair representation; and (4) creating legislatures that truly represent the wide diversity of the electorate's political opinions and interests. Not all PR elections achieve these goals, particularly for very small groupings of voters, but they have a proven record of achieving these goals more effectively than winner-take-all systems.

Proportional representation allows for the emergence of a pluralistic multi-party system that could include parties speaking strongly for racial and ethnic minorities and people of all incomes and across the political spectrum. If PR were adopted in the U.S., the electoral prospects of lower-income Americans likely would be improved by the first successful organization of leftist or labor parties, as exist in virtually all Western democracies with PR. Under winner-take-all rules, it is essentially futile to organize such parties. A third party stands little chance of electoral victory and in fact has the perverse impact of helping the party its supporters most oppose by splitting the vote of the established party it would otherwise support.

In a PR system, a labor party or other low-income party could create a viable electoral presence without splitting the vote. Knowing that each new vote could help gain more seats, a low-income party would have more incentive to inform, cultivate and mobilize its supporters. By creating a viable electoral presence, the party would give low-income Americans a powerful, urgently needed reason to vote.

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Race, Poverty, and Immigration

by Arnaldo García

A specter haunts the world and it is the specter of migration,” declare Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri in *Empire*, their analysis on the state of global capitalism, stressing by analogy the potential of immigrants as agents of social change. Our struggles for economic and racial justice have no alternative than to include immigrant rights.

Migration reflects the deep transformations and restructuring of national economies and civil society. The displacement of entire communities and segments of social classes is unprecedented in human history: 1 in every 50 persons worldwide is an economic migrant or political refugee. Migration sunders home communities and creates demographic revolution on receiving ones. However, migration has been a natural, if not a defining, aspect of human history and development.

In the Americas, since the arrival of Europeans in 1492, the migration of peoples has been repeatedly forced: from the enslavement and violent displacement of Indians from their lands, first into laborers for systems of private property and economic development for individual profit; to the trans-Atlantic African slave trade and importation of “free” labor from Europe; and the “modern” transnational labor mobility, including agricultural workers and computer engineers. They all have one thing in common: people are forcibly displaced and restructured to meet the labor needs of capital.

Immigrant Rights/ Civil Rights

The specter of immigrants is a fundamental issue all U.S. movements for social justice and equality must grapple with in order to develop a new, inclusive, anti-racist, internationalist, progressive agenda. Our movements need to progress from targeting and even

scapegoating immigrants as obstacles to, or weakening, civil rights. They must see immigrants as central to the leadership and goals of extending and strengthening democracy and attaining social and economic justice in the United States.

Immigration in the United States is simultaneously a system of coerced labor pool creation, propelling new forms of racial stratification, and a cornerstone of the new international

Migration reflects the deep transformations and restructuring of national economies and civil society.

economy that has created greater subordination of the South countries by the North. According to the Census Bureau, 6 out of every 10 Asian Pacific Islanders and 4 out of 10 Latinos in the U.S. are foreign-born. In 1999, there were about 2 million foreign-born Blacks, 8% of all foreign-born. Some 85% of immigrants are considered “people of color.” Recent increasing immigration into the South, where the majority of African Americans reside, means that the demographic impacts already experienced in California and Texas, where half of all immigrants live, could significantly alter the U.S. political landscape. While the potential for Black-immigrant polarization exists, it is up to the leadership of progressives and people of color from all communities to creatively hone common ground for a different political outcome.

In the post-Cold war setting, migration has become a condition of unprecedented growth as well as a global security issue, giving rise to xenophobia without borders. In the United States, immigrants are scapegoated for a variety of social ills, including environmental degradation, sprawl, un-

employment, poverty, and even for the cultural decay of the country.

Set against the backdrop of an increasingly politically conservative climate, these intertwined processes pose historic challenges for communities of color still struggling for social and racial justice. The demand and fight for immigrant rights is not primarily about “legalization” or labor protections — although these are very important and must be fought for. It is not about getting rights at the expense of the right of U.S. citizens or people of color. Immigrant rights are about transforming how our country develops, about how political power and representation is achieved and shared, and, above all, how all humans, regardless of immigration status, have the same rights to person, community, place and culture.

The issues of migration and immigrants have forced open a debate and, in some quarters, a dialogue about who we are as communities of color, as workers, as citizens, and how our country should interact with the rest of the world. Ultimately, the issue of immigrant rights raises the question of how we define civil rights as a global issue, too.

Some Key Issues

Against this backdrop, we are faced with some key issues. First, the demands for equality and civil rights in the context of “free” trade and globalization have to include a burgeoning sector of U.S. society that is non-white, nonblack and perceived to be noncitizen. U.S. immigration policies affect civil and labor rights at home and abroad, disrupting our communities without consultation. These demands must propose alternative to U.S. foreign investment and development policies that are displacing millions across borders.

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Second, the main U.S. political and economic arenas have been steadily constricting the space for progressive and anti-racist politics since the Reagan Administration. Anti-quoted class frameworks and racial analyses rooted in previous eras of racial and class struggles still hold sway, hindering the political vision and organizational initiatives of the traditional civil rights movement.

Three broad, intertwined political trends have created this situation: The cutbacks in and privatization of public services; the rolling back and institutionalization of attacks on social, political, civil and human rights — including the severe curtailing of labor and environmental protections — resulting in the expansion of property rights and the market; and third, the de-regulation and/or re-regulation of investments, capital, goods, industries, services and labor across national borders and economic regions, subordinating labor mobility to globalization or capitalist restructuring.

This threefold political program, rising in the early 1960s, took full power with the ascendancy of Ronald Reagan, and has become the framework for the majority of social and fiscal policies that are facing all communities of color, immigrants, labor and the working poor. For example, Proposition 187 (approved by Cali-

fornia voters in 1994 but constitutionally checked from implementation), which would have denied health, social and educational services to immigrants, is a corollary of U.S. immigration and trade policies. Although formally directed to immigrants, Prop. 187 was a plebiscite on the rights of citizens to public services and was essentially a “free trade” policy, aimed at privatizing access to education, health and social services. The combination of welfare reform and the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act essentially installed Prop. 187 nationally.

The lines between the rights of immigrants — especially between legal and undocumented immigrants —

Immigrants are scapegoated for a variety of social ills, including environmental degradation, sprawl, unemployment, poverty, and even for the cultural decay of the country.

and low-income people of color now are increasingly blurred. This is one of the results of the national debate on the costs and burdens of immigration and who pays. Now the scapegoating of immigrants, by many citizen and legal resident people of color, for the mounting cutbacks of services and curtailment of rights is the natural order of business. This in spite of the fact that immigrants and people of color occupy similar socioeconomic space: in 1997-1998, the poverty rate for Latinos was 27.1%; for African Americans, 26.1%; for Asian Pacific Islanders, 12.5%.

“Immigrant” has become a full-fledged member of the racial lexicon of our country, usually referring only to Latinos and Asians; although immigrants hail from Canada, Europe, Africa and places in between. This is not surprising; passage of the Immi-

gration Act of 1965, ending racial quotas, stressed family reunification and job skills, changing the demographics of immigration into the United States. During the 1950s, more than half of all immigrants were from European countries; by the 1970s that proportion had declined to less than 20%. Some 9 million immigrants came from Asian and Latin American countries. Since 1965, the Latino population increased by 141%, Asian Pacific Islanders by 385%.

A 1990 General Accounting Office study found that the employer sanctions provisions of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) were creating new forms of racism when those seeking employment, primarily Latino and Asian legal residents and U.S. citizens who “looked or sounded like” immigrants, were unlawfully asked for documentation or denied work.

How does immigration impact people of color? Various studies, both pro- and anti-immigrant, conclude that immigrants have little or no real economic impact, especially on African Americans and other people of color; their impact is bigger on other, less recent immigrants. But however real or imaginary the burdens of immigration, immigrants are being scapegoated by people of color and whites directly and indirectly. Stephen Steinberg, in his 1995 book *Turning Back: The Retreat from Racial Justice in American Thought and Policy*, asserts: “The economic fortunes of African Americans have always been linked to immigration.” Steinberg argues that, historically, African American economic and social progress has coincided with ebbs in immigration. Immigrants take jobs that otherwise would have gone to African Americans, and immigration policy is a form of disinvestment in U.S. workers that has especially severe consequences for African Americans and other marginalized communities.

In a different vein, William Julius Wilson, in his 1999 book *The Bridge Over the Racial Divide: Rising Inequality and Coalition Politics*, shows how immigration is one of several factors contributing to the growing racial inequalities. Immigrants are mainly con-

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centrated in several states (California, Texas, New York, Florida, Illinois, New Jersey), and while inequality deepened in these states, it also rose in other areas where there are few immigrants. However, Steinberg correctly demands, “[W]hy is policy not directed at addressing the scandalously high rates of black unemployment?” and points out a glaring contradiction: “Although immigration has produced a more racially diverse population, paradoxically this new diversity has reinforced the pre-existing structure of occupational apartheid.”

If the economic lot of African Americans is bound up with immigration, as Steinberg argues, then the political demands of people of color must include immigrant rights. Otherwise, how do we dismantle the racial stratification of labor? By excluding and ultimately deporting immigrants, especially the undocumented and legal residents who have broken U.S. laws, so that opportunities are opened to people of color who occupy the same social and economic segment? Or do we include all immigrants, regardless of status and occupation, as part of the fight to expand the franchise so that all members of communities of color, including immigrants, have equal rights and protections and self-representation?

Addressing the Main Arguments

In summary, the immigrant rights struggle faces several monumental challenges to build a cross-class and multiracial/multinational coalition that advocates for equality, civil rights and labor protections of all communities, regardless of immigration status. These include addressing:

- *Racial arguments against immigration and immigrant rights.* Under this scenario, immigrants are perceived to worsen the conditions and opportunities of legal resident and citizen people of color, especially African Americans. This argument lets whites off the hook and ignores the pattern of economic development, where jobs,

services, housing and investment have fled the urban centers into the suburbs and overseas. Furthermore, it pits the rights of people of color against marginalized communities which are perceived to have no rights under U.S. law. Nobel Laureate novelist Toni Morrison, addressing the complexity that immigration adds to the black-white paradigm, points out, “Although U.S. history is awash in labor battles, political fights, and property wars among all religious and ethnic groups, their struggles are persistently

US immigration policies affect civil and labor rights at home and abroad.

framed as struggles between recent arrivals and blacks.”

- *Cultural arguments against immigration and immigrant communities.* Anti-immigrant forces allege that immigrants pollute and mongrelize “American” culture. This argument disdains the multicultural/multiracial/multinational nature of the U.S., exaggerates the role of whites, and diminishes the contributions of African Americans, Indians, Asians and Latinos to the development of our country and the significance of multiracial community to forging a political agenda that integrates citizens and non-citizens on the basis of equality. María Jiménez, director of American Friends Service Committee’s Immigration Law Enforcement Monitoring Project, asserts in this regard, “[I]t is important for various cultures to interact and engage in political projects together because these become laboratories for breaking down barriers and finding strategic unity. . . . The disparate experiences of immigrant and refugee communities must be integrated to craft a long-term strategy based on this analysis.”

- *Labor arguments against immigration and the rights of immigrant workers.* Immigrant workers are characterized as low-skilled, unorganizable

and driving down wages of U.S. workers. This argument ignores the public subsidies and benefits given to corporations and certain sectors of industry that depend on immigrant labor. Also, special anti-immigrant labor laws and enforcement — especially employer sanctions and the use of the Border Patrol, a special anti-immigrant labor police force — are in effect, which make immigrants more vulnerable to exploitative wage and labor conditions, isolating them from their natural allies in communities of color and the social justice and labor movements. While immigrants are perceived to have few or no rights, they are seen — especially the undocumented — as undermining labor and other social rights, depriving citizens of jobs, especially low-income and people of color communities. In truth, working-class immigrants, documented and undocumented, are revitalizing the labor movement. Immigrants are made to appear invisible, and their role and contributions beyond the economy are ignored and/or minimalized. For example, Mae M. Ngai writes, in *Audacious Democracy: Labor, Intellectuals, and the Social Reconstruction of America*, edited by Steven Fraser and Joshua B. Freeman: “Historically and today, Asian immigrants have carried the twin burdens of race and foreign birth, both barriers to being considered ‘American workers’ in the fullest meaning of that concept.” According to racist and anti-immigrant logic, American (i.e., white) workers unquestioningly have full rights and powers; immigrants (i.e., people of color) do not. Only by recognizing that immigrants are part of and not the cause of the racial stratification of labor and its accompanying wealth and income gaps can our historical demands for civil and labor rights and social justice address migration with dignity and integrity.

We are again at the ending and beginning of a new cycle of development, where labor needs in a booming economy demand a re-ordering of rights and responsibilities. The AFL-CIO in February 2000, recognizing the

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Several months ago, The New York Times ran an extraordinary six-week series (June 4-July 16) of 16 articles, “How Race Is Lived in America.” (They are available online at www.nytimes.com, using the series title.) While it represented a massive and unusual allocation of resources by “the newspaper of record,” and told some fascinating and revealing stories, it failed in basic ways to probe the historic and structural roots of “the American dilemma.” The following critique comments on that failure; we’d be happy to hear from other readers on the subject.

Relatedly, the Institute on Race & Poverty at the Univ. of Minn. Law School, headed by PRRAC Board member John Powell, is planning to hold a national conference on “Transforming Public Discourse on Race & Poverty” next year. Further inf. from the Inst., 415 Law Ctr., 229 19th Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN 55455, 612/822-8471, nelso355@tc.umn.edu.

How Race Is Lived in the Media: The New York Times’ Muddled Series Misses the Mark

by Makani N. Themba

When the *New York Times* launched its yearlong project, “How Race Is Lived in America,” there was great fanfare. After all, how often does the country’s “paper of record” take on the thorny, complex subject of race? Six weeks and more than a dozen front-page articles later, the series ended as a major disappointment. Abandoning investigative journalism for storytelling, the *Times*’ race coverage was only skin deep. And as a result, it often trivialized racism as nothing more than personal relations.

Once the *Times* defined the terrain as personal and not political (as if we haven’t learned anything from the women’s movement), they missed an opportunity to become reporters on race and instead became ethnographers. By ignoring institutions, laws and systems that provide the context for race relations, they let these structures off the hook and relegated any evidence of racism to the subjective space between quotation marks.

To some, that was the most powerful aspect of the series: the way it afforded people of color the space to speak for themselves. An entire *Sunday Magazine* of personal memoirs. Editorial pages open to some of the “best and brightest” people of color in the nation. Black media mogul Robert L. Johnson got to wax poetic about being mistaken for a working-class black man — one time he was taken for a stable hand on his own ranch and another time as a chauffeur at a Four Seasons Hotel. Pieces by

Beverly Daniel Tatum and Loretta Sanchez stood out for their important points on institutional racism and its impact. And, of course, corporate media’s favorite race man, Ward Connerly, got to assert his claim to Irishness.

Yet, what’s most telling about the series is what it didn’t cover. The *Times* did not turn up much on white privilege, very little on hate crimes,

Race cannot be captured in a series of portraits; it must be painted as a landscape so we can understand how we fit within it.

and even less on historical factors that contribute to present day race relations. In fact, in 11 of 14 articles (not counting the memoir pieces in the *New York Times Magazine*), whites were portrayed as victims of racism. And by “portrayed” I mean the story took place outside of the quotation marks. It was relayed as fact.

And whites weren’t just portrayed as victims of personal bias but of rules, policies or practices implemented by people of color in bureaucratic roles. Stories on advancement in the armed services, a Houston mayoral race, a white quarterback at a historically black university, and conflict over the legacy of a Louisiana plantation were

among the articles that portrayed whites having to overcome challenges due to unfair or insensitive practices on the part of African Americans in power.

Racism directed at people of color was, by contrast, cast as problems of personal attitudes and bias. In more than a dozen vignettes on race relations and their impact, little attention was paid to the larger factors that shaped the lives of people of color as they “lived race.” The July 16th edition of the *New York Times Sunday Magazine* that ended the series was chock full of personal vignettes, touching stories and moving testimonies from friends who maintain their love “across the divide.” In nearly every piece, racism was a mere obstacle, an inconvenience to be transcended by the colored strong and good. Those who paid attention to race were “racists,” stuck in a dysfunctional past. Those who claimed to ignore race were cast as high minded, colorblind. It all fit neatly within the *Times*’ “race is personal” framework.

In this odd *Times*’ parallel world, only African Americans hurt others because of their race; and a white man, Werner Sollors, is considered racially “outnumbered” as a professor at Harvard (he teaches in the Afro-American Studies Department). A gawking, wide-eyed q&a with former Urban League President Vernon Jordan found 14 ways to ask him “how does it feel to be black and hang out with a bunch of rich white guys?” Per-

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haps this, the most telling piece of the series, speaks volumes about how race and class are conceptualized — at least at the *Times*.

The focus on individual stories also meant that not a single advocacy organization, independent piece of data, or researcher was quoted in the series. As it has been the trend with the *Times* and other mainstream media outlets, those that have studied and tracked these issues for decades were simply ignored. As a result, “How Race Is Lived In America” managed, in some cases, to reinforce old racial stereotypes and avoid presenting anything new.

A particularly disturbing piece, “Why Harlem Drug Cops Don’t Discuss Race,” featured plenty of Dominican bashing. One lone Dominican-born officer was quoted fending for his country of birth. Another article on the racial dynamics of a Southern slaughterhouse played up fears of immigration in a vignette of a white man losing out on a roofing job when a contractor chose to hire “cheaper” Mexican immigrants. In each case, the *Times* missed the opportunity to provide a deeper analysis of the real trends unfolding — an analysis a paper with its considerable research and data resources could’ve certainly mustered.

“In the very tangle of experiences — rendered in these individual voices — lies the most naked picture of ourselves,” write the series editors in its closing segment. “How Race Is Lived In America” was indeed both a tangled and poignant portrait of race, one that left us little hope and even less understanding. That may be because race cannot be captured as a series of portraits. It must be painted as a landscape so we can begin to understand how we fit within it.

Imagine if the *Times*, instead, looked at race and public education. Instead of asking students why they don’t party together, investigate tracking and discipline policies in an effort to uncover why they don’t graduate together. Racial disparities in health care (done ably by its competitor

Newsday), race and urban sprawl, racial bias in immigration policies, and even equal access to services are among the many “stories” about race crying out to be investigated. Surely the paper that went through more than 30,000 documents to bring down a corporate titan like Columbia HCA could do a better job investigating this even more pressing social issue.

Now the series is over and folk are already betting on it for a Pulitzer Prize. Given the Pulitzer’s bias toward big papers and sappy, emotional reporting, the bet is (unfortunately) likely to pay off. For all those report-

The series often trivialized racism as nothing more than personal relations.

ers at ethnic papers, alternative papers and a few mainstream ones that really cover race — the papers that the Pulitzer committees almost never see — it must seem like a real slap in the face.

And it will likely get worse. If the prestigious *New York Times* perched in the multicultural Big Apple missed the story, what can we expect from the dozens of copycat pieces sure to follow? We can only hope they find their own way. That they drop the typical approach to race as opinion and personal testimony and be reporters. Really reporting on race requires that we ask questions, step out of the white box of privilege and dig beyond the obvious.

Perhaps our best hope for now is that the *Times* series will inspire others — to show them how it’s done.

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capacity among US organizers to address structural racism. Her latest book is Making Policy, Making Change: How Communities Are Taking Law Into Their Own Hands (Chardon Press, 1999).

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revitalizing force of immigrants to union organizing, changed its long-held positions and called for repeal of employer sanctions and demanded amnesty for all undocumented workers. In addition to racial stratification, immigration status creates a two-tiered workforce that undermines labor organizing. This deepens the impoverishment of immigrant workers, denying them living wages, job security and benefits. The last legalization under IRCA granted some 3 million undocumented residents legal status. This time, however, the demand for amnesty must be accompanied by the demand for full rights for the undocumented. Short of this, amnesty or legalization will only lead to creation of a new form of apartheid, where immigrant workers will increasingly be subject to indentured servitude. Take away the “immigrant” classification and you have another worker of color, exploited, many times marginalized, but one with dignity and capacity to transform the nation and the people in a multicultural, socially just direction.

Immigrant rights are key to racial and social justice. Misunderstood and under-appreciated, the fight for immigrant rights is also a fight against racism and deepens the substance of racial equality in the United States.

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Data from the U.S. Census show a direct correlation between voter turnout and income that is only becoming more pronounced. In the 1996 presidential race, under the current system, voter turnout was only 44% among the 17 million American citizens earning less than \$15,000 a year, in stark contrast to the 76% turnout among the 23 million citizens earning more than \$75,000. Under PR, the poor would have much greater incentive to vote because they would know that their votes would actually elect someone to represent their interests.

Proportional Voting in Practice

- Texas provides a good example of the increasing use of proportional voting systems. In addition to Amarillo, more than 50 Texas jurisdictions adopted cumulative voting in the 1990s; in 1995, Texas Governor George W. Bush signed legislation that allows school districts to adopt cumulative voting and limited voting.

- Cumulative voting and limited voting have been used in nearly two dozen Alabama localities for a decade in the wake of a sweeping win in a voting rights case. Studies of these Alabama elections demonstrate that they have boosted turnout and increased black representation as much as or more than would have occurred if single-member districts had been used. In Chilton County, black candidate Bobby Agee in 1988 led the field in the first elections using cumulative voting for a seven-seat county commission, even though blacks were barely 10% of the population and he was heavily outspent. Most of his supporters, overwhelmingly black, took advantage of their opportunity to allocate all seven of their votes for him rather than spread their votes among other candidates. The first black commissioner in Chilton County's history, Agee has twice been re-elected and has served as chair of the commission.

- Choice voting has been used for

decades to elect the city council in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and the local school boards in New York City. These bodies have reflected the diversity of the cities far better than other elected bodies in the same cities. This was also typically true when choice voting was used to elect city councils in New York City, Cincinnati and other major cities before its Cold War-era repeal.

- Starting in 1995 with Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney's Voters' Choice Act, bills to allow states to use

Winner-take-all elections are inherently unjust and undemocratic.

proportional systems for U.S. House elections were introduced in every session. North Carolina Congressman Melvin Watt's 1999 States' Choice of Voting Systems Act drew bipartisan support and was the subject of a hearing; those testifying in favor of the bill and proportional systems included the Department of Justice and Republican Congressman Tom Campbell.

- Nearly 100 jurisdictions have adopted proportional systems to settle voting rights challenges, and federal judges several times have sought to impose them directly as remedies in voting rights cases. Very familiar with redistricting as a result of having presided over a challenge to Illinois's congressional districts in which majority-minority districts were upheld, Federal Judge David Coar in 1998 ordered the city of Chicago Heights to adopt cumulative voting to elect its city council and park board. Cumulative voting has a rich history in Illinois, being specifically permitted in state law, used currently in Peoria, and used for more than a century to elect the state's House of Representatives, during which time representatives like Harold Washington and Carol Moseley-Braun were elected.

- The U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) has taken important positions involving proportional systems. The DOJ has pre-cleared use of cumula-

tive voting and limited voting in numerous states covered by Section Five of the Voting Rights Act; as of 2000, every jurisdiction seeking to convert from a winner-take-all system to one of these systems ultimately was permitted to do so. In 1999, the DOJ wrote an amicus brief for the Chicago Heights case, backing Judge Coar's order of cumulative voting. Also in 1999, the DOJ denied pre-clearance to New York City after the legislature voted to replace choice voting (a fully proportional voting system) with limited voting (a less proportional system) for electing the city's local school boards; choice voting had elected a significantly higher percentage of racial minorities to school boards than had been elected to the city's other legislative bodies.

- Significant organizations support education about proportional voting methods. In 1998, a National Black Caucus of State Legislators task force found strong interest among black legislators in learning more about proportional and semi-proportional systems, particularly in how they might assist redistricting negotiations. The League of United Latin American Citizens, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund joined with local plaintiffs to win the adoption of cumulative voting in Amarillo, the largest city now using cumulative voting; the NAACP has asked the Center for Voting and Democracy to help educate its chapters about proportional systems. The National Conference of Black Political Scientists endorsed proportional systems in 1999. In 2000, the Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy pursued ambitious educational outreach to black elected of-

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PRRAC seeks interns, summer and throughout the year.

(NEW MEANS: Continued from page 9)

ficials and historically black colleges and universities, while the Southern Regional Council produced a booklet on Alabama's history with proportional systems. National and state affiliates of U.S. Public Interest Research Group, Common Cause, the National Organization for Women and the League of Women Voters adopted positions in favor of proportional representation.

An Alternative to Majority-Minority Districts

This rising interest in proportional representation obviously is not occurring in a vacuum. Voting Rights Act

provisions on redistricting divided and preoccupied the Supreme Court more than any other issue in the 1990s. The Court heard arguments in cases involving voting rights and redistricting every year in the wake of its 1993 *Shaw v. Reno* ruling, often producing bitterly contested 5-4 decisions that had the general — if poorly defined — impact of limiting states' use of race in drawing legislative district lines.

Proportional representation can increase minority representation without requiring the creation of "majority-minority districts"—districts where a racial minority is the majority. Drawing such districts has been the most effective solution to minority underrepresentation, but can have significant drawbacks. For example, majority-minority districts require the

continuation of some degree of housing segregation that concentrates minority populations within easily drawn boundaries. Another problem is that minority-dominated districts still deny representation to many voters — even if candidates they might like can win in some districts, many people will be left as "filler people" in a district in which they are the minority. A third difficulty is that the process of concentrating predominantly Democratic minorities into one district can create surrounding districts that are more Republican, resulting in the election of more conservatives who are less likely to support the interests of minorities. Majority-minority districts are fairer than the old white-dominated districts, but not always as good as proportional representation.

Proportional Voting Systems

● Limited Voting

In limited voting, voters either cast fewer votes than the number of seats or political parties nominate fewer candidates than there are seats. The greater the difference between the number of seats and the number for which one can vote, the greater the opportunities for minority representation. Versions of limited voting are used in Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, Hartford and numerous other local jurisdictions. It has been adopted to resolve at least 30 voting rights cases in Alabama and North Carolina since 1987.

Example: In a race to elect five candidates, voters might be limited to two votes. Winning candidates are determined by a simple plurality: the five candidates with the most votes.

● Cumulative Voting

In cumulative voting, voters cast as many votes as there are seats to be elected. But unlike winner-take-all systems, voters are not restricted to giving only one vote to a candidate. Instead, they can cast multiple votes for one or more candidates.

Cumulative voting was used to elect the Illinois state legislature from 1870 to 1980. In recent years it has been used to resolve voting rights cases for city council and county commission elections in Alabama, Illinois and New Mexico and for school board elections in Alabama, South Dakota and Texas.

Example: In a race to elect five candidates, voters can cast one vote for five candidates, five votes for one candidate, or any combination in between. The five highest vote-getters win.

● Choice voting

Also known as "single transferable vote" and "preference voting," choice voting is the most common candidate-based proportional system used in other nations. Each voter has one vote, but can rank candidates in order of choice (1, 2, 3, 4, etc.). Candidates win by reaching a "victory threshold" roughly equal to the number of votes divided by the number of seats. If a candidate has too little first-choice support to win, votes for that candidate are transferred to those voters' next choices. This transfer of votes facilitates coalition-building and allows a candidate to run without fear of being a "spoiler" splitting the vote.

Choice voting has been used for city council and school board elections in Cambridge, Massachusetts, since 1941 and is used for New York City local school board elections. Ireland and Australia use choice voting for national elections. The city council in Cambridge (where blacks are 13% of the population) has had black representatives since the 1950s. Choice voting in other cities, including for five New York City Council elections from 1937 to 1945, also resulted in fair racial, ethnic and partisan representation.

Example: In a race to elect five candidates, voters can rank in order of choice as many candidates as they wish. Candidates win by gaining the support of about one-fifth of the voters. A ballot counts towards the election of that voter's top-ranked candidate who needs that vote to win.

Apart from legal battles over *Shaw* and philosophical concerns, civil rights attorneys have discovered, in states like Texas, Alabama and North Carolina, that alternative systems can simply be a good fit with local conditions. Perhaps a minority community is more geographically dispersed than necessary for a single-member district plan. Perhaps a jurisdiction may want to avoid redistricting every decade. Perhaps there is frustration that most voters in a minority community are still left out of a chance to elect a candidate of choice even with a district plan that provides for enhanced minority representation. Perhaps in a multi-racial community, a citywide proportional plan is the easiest way for different racial minorities to elect representation.

Local government is an obvious

Versions of proportional representation are used in most well-established democracies.

place for stressing the utility of a proportional plan, as the mathematics of what it takes to win representation are quite straightforward. But higher election levels such as state legislatures are also now being considered. As for Congress, it would take a version of Representative Watt's legislation to give states the sensible option to consider some degree of proportional voting in seeking to fairly represent our increasingly complex diversity.

The goal of proportional systems is simple: providing means to allow fair and realistic opportunities for citizens to elect individuals of their own choosing. While no cure-all, they are a necessary step toward creation of a more inclusive, responsive political system, and will finally give badly needed representation to poor and minority Americans who have been systematically denied access to power by our flawed winner-take-all election rules.

PRRAC'S CLASSROOM MOBILITY PROJECT

Following our successful June working conference, "High Student Mobility/Classroom Turnover: How to Address It? How to Reduce It?," we are following up with a series of steps to advance research and advocacy in the education community on this important, largely neglected defect in the education system. Director of Education Programs Sandra Paik visited programs and met with service providers who work with homeless families, migrant families and highly mobile urban school populations in Minneapolis, Texas and rural Maryland. We have presented and are planning to present the issue at conferences and meetings of The Natl. Assn. for the Education of Homeless Children & Youth, Natl. Coal. For Parent Involvement in Education, The

Education Trust and Public Education Network. We will be producing a handbook that will synthesize research and identify salient mobility issues. We are also developing a "toolbox" of existing program materials and policies that have been used to address mobility issues; it will be available on our website early next year.

An op-ed on the subject, by Sandy and Chester Hartman, distributed through the Progressive Media Project, appeared in several newspapers around the country. Write us for a copy — perhaps you can convince your local paper to run it.

If you have materials for our handbook and toolbox, or want to learn more about the project, contact Sandy at sandra@prrac.org.

Douglas J. Amy (damy@mtholyoke.edu) is a professor at Mount Holyoke College Department of Politics. His latest book is Beyond the Ballot Box: A Citizen's Guide to Voting Systems (Praeger Publishing, 2000). Fred McBride (cvdmcbride@aol.com) is the Southern Regional Director for the Center For Voting and Democracy. Robert Richie (fairvote@compuserve.com) is founder and executive director of the Center For Voting and Democracy (6930 Carroll Ave., #901, Takoma Park, MD 20912, 301/270-4616), a non-profit organization that researches and distributes information on election reforms promoting voter participation, accountable government and fair representation. □

PRRAC Annual Report

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page 12
on our new
"Best of P&R"
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and circulate it
to colleagues)**

Board Member Report

William L. Taylor

Working as a civil rights advocate means that when you wake up on most days you have a good fight to go to. Here are a couple that are currently occupying my time and adrenaline:

As Jack Boger reported in the September/October issue of *Poverty and Race*, several recent court decisions, particularly in the Fourth Circuit, prohibited local school boards from pursuing policies that use race in an effort to promote diversity in their schools and classrooms. One such decision by a panel of the Fourth Circuit barred the Montgomery County, Maryland school system from denying transfers in circumstances where granting the application would upset the racial stability of the sending or receiving school. See *Eisenberg v. Montgomery County Public Schools*, 197 F. 3d 123 (1999). After the Supreme Court refused discretionary review of the decision this year, the Montgomery County Superintendent of Schools asked me for advice on how to maintain a policy favoring diversity without incurring a strong risk of another adverse legal decision.

Along with colleagues at my law firm, I spent a good part of the late spring and summer studying the question and recently submitted a report to the Superintendent. While the report is not public, there are a few observations I can make about our research. The two largest U.S. studies of student achievement ever undertaken were the Coleman Report in 1966 and the Prospects Report in 1994. Those reports concluded that the socioeconomic composition of the classroom influenced student outcomes and that economically disadvantaged students attending schools with high concentrations of poverty did far worse than similar students attending middle-class schools. Since only two groups — African Americans and Hispanic Americans — live and attend schools

in concentrated poverty, the two reports may provide at least part of the explanation for the racial achievement gap. In addition, the two reports provide strong reinforcement for studies that show educational benefits flowing from desegregation

All of this suggests that policies to promote diversity by assigning students in ways that avoid concentrated poverty would have a strong educational rationale and would also accomplish a measure of racial and ethnic desegregation as well. Wake County, North Carolina and Omaha, Nebraska are two school districts that have recently undertaken policies of the kind I have described, and both are hopeful about the results.

There is of course more than a little irony in the course that some courts have taken. In the 1954 *Brown* decision and for many years thereafter, the federal courts told local school boards that they must desegregate their school no matter how unpopular such a step would be. In the 70s, as the Supreme Court began to close the door on remedies for minorities and the poor, the majority justices invoked “local control” as a mantra that overrode any other consideration. Now, as many local educators have come to understand the educational and societal value of desegregation, the Fourth Circuit and some other courts are saying that local control counts for nothing and can be overridden by the courts at will. In effect, these courts are saying that what they once told local educators they *must* do is now something they are *forbidden* to do.

While the negative trends in the courts are discouraging, the evolution in the views of local educators is heartening. Many have known for years that racially and socioeconomically isolated schools made for poor education, but it only recently that they have had the courage and political will to

act on this knowledge. The anti-diversity decisions of some courts also run counter to the emerging understanding of opinion leaders at all levels that in a growingly diverse society, policies that foster isolation are harmful to the social fabric of the nation.

I am also engaged in another endeavor to restore rights that have been stripped away by an unfathomable 5-4 decision of the Supreme Court. Earlier this year the Court ruled in *Kimel v. Florida Board of Regents*, 120 S.Ct. 631, that the Eleventh Amendment, which deals with the sovereign immunity of states, prohibits state employees who have suffered discrimination because of age from seeking a damage remedy against their employers. The text of the Eleventh Amendment says that the judicial power of the United States does not extend to suits commenced against one of the states “by citizens of another state.” So one might think that a strict constructionist would not apply the Amendment to a suit by a citizen of Florida against the State of Florida. Beyond this picky point, it had been widely assumed that as to discrimination suits against a state, the Fourteenth Amendment, having been enacted later to prohibit discriminatory state practices, superseded the sovereign immunity provisions of the Eleventh Amendment. Five members of the Court thought otherwise, inventing a new doctrine that said that for the Eleventh Amendment not to apply, a federal statute enacted under the Fourteenth Amendment must provide remedies that are “congruent and proportional” to the discrimination sought to be prohibited. In their view, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act did not meet that test.

I have been working with a group of lawyers affiliated with the Leader-

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Challenges To Equality

Poverty and Race in America

Chester Hartman, Editor
Foreword by Congressman John Lewis

The best articles and symposia from *Poverty & Race*, the bimonthly publication of the Poverty & Race Research Action Council, on the country's two most important, and seemingly intractable, social problems – and the added impact when they intersect.

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William Ayers, Rep. Cynthia McKinney, Carl Anthony, Angela Oh, George Galster, Paul Wachtel, Arnaldo Garcia, Jonathan Kozol, Marcus Raskin, Frances Fox Piven, Frank Wu, David Shipler, Benjamin DeMott, Peter Edelman, Hugh Price, Manning Marable, Howard Zinn, Bill Ong Hing, James Early and others 99 articles in all!

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ship Conference on Civil Rights to find an appropriate avenue to restore the relief that the 5-4 majority struck down in *Kimel*. Since the federal government has long been held by the courts to have authority under the Spending Clause to attach reasonable conditions to government grants, that is the approach we have taken. In early September, Senators Jeffords, Kennedy and Feingold introduced the Older Workers Restoration Act (S 3008) to reinstate a damages remedy against state departments and agencies that receive federal funds when they engage in age discrimination. This legislation will be reintroduced in the next Congress, and the stakes may be raised if the Supreme Court reaches a *Kimel* result in a case involving discrimination by states on the basis of disability that was argued in October.

The Court these days is very reminiscent of the Court of the late 1920s and early 30s in which five justices struck down state and New Deal social welfare laws that did not conform to the views of the prevailing justices

about the limits of federal power. In their zeal to impose their own views, they do not hesitate to override states, the Congress and the Executive branch, and in their activism they would hardly meet a definition of strict constructionist. The old Court eventually bowed to the needs of a changing Nation. I believe that ultimately the same fate awaits the current conservative majority.

of the Natl. Senior Citizens Educ. & Research Ctr.

+ PRRAC recently received a grant from the Ford Foundation to complete work on our project, *Housing & School Segregation: Government Culpability, Government Remedies.* More on this in our next issue.

PRRAC Update

+ **Denise Rivera Portis** of our staff has taken on a new function/title as our Latino Outreach Coordinator, in addition to her role as Office Manager.

+ PRRAC Board member **Tony Sarmiento** has taken a new temporary assigned for AFL-CIO (through next February) as Acting Exec. Dir.

William L. Taylor (2000 M St. NW, #400, Washington, DC 20036, williamtaylor@wltlaw.com) is a civil rights lawyer representing the interests of poor and minority children. He is Acting Chair of the Citizens Commission on Civil Rights, Vice Chair of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, and formerly was Staff Director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. □

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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.

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Race/Racism

• **"Armed Forces Equal Opportunity Survey,"** by Jacquelyn Scarville, Scott B. Button, Jack E. Edwards, Anita R. Lancaster & Timothy W. Elig, a 15-page, Dec. 1999 Exec. Summary of a DOD Defense Manpower Data Ctr. study, is available from the Ctr., 1600 Wilson Blvd., #400, Arlington, VA 22209-2593, downloadable from www.defenselink.mil.

• **Equity Impact Statements** (analogous to environmental impact reports): The GRIPP

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.

website (www.arc.org/gripp) contains tools to help local governments develop such reports.

• **"Race, Racism & the Law"** is a website (www.udayton.edu/-race/) maintained by Prof.

Vernellia R. Randall of the Univ. of Dayton School of Law (300 College Park, Dayton, OH 45469-2772, 937/229-3325).

• **Racial Discrimination in the US:** The US

government recently filed its report to the UN committee that monitors the Internatl. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. It's online at www.state.gov/www/global/human_rights/cerd_report_toc.html. A shadow report on US compliance with the Convention, compiled by the World Organization Against Torture USA, is at www.udayton.edu/race/06internat/hrights02a.htm.

- **“Puerto Ricans in the USA 1898-1999**, a CD Rom, is available (\$79 insts., \$59 indivs., \$39 students) from the Ctr. for Puerto Rican Studies, Hunter College, 695 Park Ave., NYC, NY 10021, 212/772-5686, jubilla@hejira.hunter.cuny.edu.

- ***Civil Rights Since 1787: A Reader on the Black Struggle***, eds. Jonathan Birnbaum & Clarence Taylor (936 pp., 2000), is available (\$29.95) from NYU Press, 800/996-NYUP.

- ***Sprawl City: Race, Politics & Planning in Atlanta***, by Robert D. Bullard, Glenn S. Johnson & Angel O. Torres, has been published by Island Press (2000): www.islandpress.org/books/bookdata/sprawlcity.html.

- ***The State of Black America: Blacks in the New Millennium***, the Natl. Urban League's annual report, is available on their website: www.nul.org/soba/.

- ***The Civil Rights Monitor*** is the quarterly publication of the Leadership Conf. Educ. Fund. PRRAC Board member William L.

Taylor is Senior Editor. Inf. from LCEF, 1629 K St. NW, #1010, Wash., DC 20006.

- **“The Future of Asian American History: A Dialogue on Learning & Teaching Asian American History for the 21st Century”** is a Nov. 4th conf. (possibly earlier than this issue is arriving - sorry) by and at the UCLA Asian Amer. Studies Ctr. (headed by PRRAC Board member Don Nakanishi). Inf. from 310/825-2974, dtm@ucla.edu.

Poverty/ Welfare

- **“Reforming Welfare & Rewarding Work: A Summary of the Final Report on the Minnesota Family Investment Program,”** by Virginia Knox, Cynthia Miller & Lisa A. Gennetian (31 pp., Sept. 2000), is available (possibly free) from the Manpower Demonstration Research Corp., 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016-4326, 212/532-3200.

- ***Legacy***, a 90-minute, 2000 video study of inner-city poverty, written/produced by Todd S. Lending, is available (\$195 colleges/univs., \$49.95 h.s., public libs., comm. orgs.) from Calif. Newsreel, 149 9th St., #420, SF, CA 94103, 415/621-6196, contact@newsreel.org. Catalog also available from them: African American Perspectives 2000 - A Century of Life, Literature & History on Video.

- **“Any Way You Cut It: Income Inequality on the Rise Regardless of How It's Measured,”** by

Jared Bernstein, Larry Mishel & Chauna Brocht, is a 22-page, Sept. 2000 Briefing Paper, available from the Econ. Policy Inst., 1660 L St. NW, #1200, Wash., DC 20036, 202/775-8810; also on their website: www.epinet.org.

- **A Ready-to-Use Model TANF Plan** for state governments is available on the GRIPP website (www.arc.org/gripp).

- **“Welfare Reform: Next Steps Offer New Opportunities - A Role for Philanthropy in Preparing for the Reauthorization of TANF in 2002,”** by Mark Greenberg & Michael C. Laracy (30 pp., June 2000), is available (no price listed) from the Neighborhood Funders Gp., 6862 Elm St., #320, McLean, VA 22101, 703/448-1777, NFG@NFG.ORG. Also on their website: www.nfg.org.

- **“Families Hardest Hit: Effects of Welfare Reform on Homeless Families”** is a 9-page, Sept. 2000 Summary Report, available (possibly free) from the Chi. Coal. for the Homeless, 1325 S. Wabash, #205, Chicago, IL 60605, 312/435-4548.

- **“Rural America & Welfare Reform: An Overview Assessment”** is a 26-page, Feb. 1999 paper, available from the Rural Policy Research Inst., Univ. Missouri, 200 Mumford Hall, Columbia, MO 65211, 573/882-0316, office@rupri.org.

- **“Welfare & Food Stamp Caseloads in 3 States [MS, OR, SC]: Rural-Urban Contrasts,”** by Lynn Reinschmiedt, Mary Henry, Bruce A.

Weber, Elizabeth E. Davis & Willis Lewis (28 pp., Dec. 1999), is available from the Rural Policy Research Inst., Univ. Missouri, 200 Mumford Hall, Columbia, MO 65211, 573/882-0316, office@rupri.org.

- **“The New Federalism & State Tax Policies toward the Working Poor,”** by Elaine Maag & Diane Lim Rogers (30 pp., Sept. 2000), is available (likely free) from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/833-7200, paffairs@ui.urban.org.

- **“Welfare & the Rise of Female-Headed Families,”** a 32-page study from the July 1997 *Amer. J. Soc.*, by Daniel T. Lichter, Diane K. McLaughlin & David C. Ribar, is available from Prof. Lichter, Dept. Soc., 300 Bricker Hall, Ohio St. U., Columbus, OH 43210, Lichter.5@osu.edu. Prof. Lichter also has a 6-page article (source ?), co-authored with Erica L. Gardner, titled “Welfare Reform & the Poor Children of Working Parents.”

- **“Welfare Reform & Food Assistance in Rural America,”** by Bruce Weber & Greg Duncan, a 16-page, June 2000, report, is available from Prof. Weber, 541/737-1432, bruce.a.weber@orst.edu.

- **“Welfare & Housing: How Can the Housing Assistance Programs Help Welfare Recipients?,”** by David B. Bryson (42 pp., 2000), is available (\$3) from the Natl. Housing Law Proj., 614 Grand Ave., #320, Oakland, CA 94610, 510/251-9400.

- “Clipping Our Wings’ - The Impact of Welfare Reform on the College Aspirations of Low Income Women” will appear in a Temple Univ. Press book, Spring 2001: *Out of the Academic Closet: Poor Women, Welfare & the Promise of Education*, eds. Vivyan Adair & Nesce Belkan. Inf. from the Ctr. for Women Policy Studies, 1211 Conn. Ave. NW, #312, Wash., DC 20036, 202/872-1770, cwps@centerwomenpolicy.org.

- **Women & Poverty** is the theme of the 255-page Summer 2000 issue of the *Georgetown J. on Poverty Law & Policy*. \$15 from the Journal, Georgetown Univ. Law Ctr., 600 NJ Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20001.

- “Welfare Reform — four years later,” by Douglas J. Besharov & Peter Germanis, is an 18-page article from the Summer 2000 issue of *The Public Interest*. We’ll send a copy with a SASE.

- “The New World of Welfare: Shaping a Post-TANF Agenda for Policy” is a Feb. 1-2 conf. in DC, hosted by the Univ. of Mich. School of Public Policy. Inf. from 734/764-3490, conf-info@umich.edu.

Criminal Justice

- “Justice on Trial: Racial Disparities in the Amer. Criminal Justice System,” by Ronald H. Weich & Carlos T. Angulo (61 pp., 2000), is available (no price listed) from the Leadership Conf. on Civil Rights, 1629 K St. NW, #1010, Wash., DC 20006, 202/

466-3311.

- **Racial/Geographic Disparities in the Death Penalty:** A massive Sept. 2000 Justice Dept. report is available on their website: www.usdoj.gov/dag/pubdoc.html.

- “Diminishing Returns: Crime & Incarceration in the 1990s,” by Jenni Gainsborough & Marc Mauer (26 pp. + Apps.), is available (no price listed) from The Sentencing Proj., 514 10th St. NW, #1000, Wash., DC 20004, 202/628-0871, staff@sentencingproject.org

- “Police Practices & Civil Rights in NYC” is a 198-page, Aug. 2000 report of the US Commn. on Civil Rights. Available (likely free) from the Commn., Wash., DC 20425, 202/376-8110.

- “Is It Time to Close the Prisons?” is the theme of the Fall 2000 issue of *Yes! A journal of positive futures*. Contact them at 284 Madrona Way NE, #116, Bainbridge Is., WA 98110-2870, 800/937-4451.

- “Racial Disparities in Official Assessments of Juvenile Offenders: Attributional Stereotypes as Mediating Mechanisms,” by George S. Bridges & Sara Steen, appeared in the Aug. 1998 *Amer. Soc. R.* Reprint is available from Prof. Bridges, Dept. Soc., Univ. Wash., 220 Mary Gates Hall, Box 352800, Seattle, WA 98195-2800, 206/616-7175, bridges@u.washington.edu

Economic/Community Development

- “Smart Growth, Better Neighborhoods” is a 234-page, 2000 report, with 15 complete case studies, 11 short articles, available (\$25) from the Natl. Nbrhd. Coal., 1875 Conn. Ave. NW, #410, Wash., DC 20009, 202/986-2096, nncnnc@erols.com

Education

- “Teaching for Change” is the Fall/Winter 2000 catalog of Multicultural Education Resources, available from the Network of Educators on the Americas, PO Box 73038, Wash., DC 20056-3038.

- *A Notion at Risk: Preserving Public Education as an Engine for Social Mobility*, ed. Richard D. Kahlenberg (356 pp., 2000), has been published by the Century Fdn. Among the authors of the book’s 8 chapters are Richard Rothstein, Linda Darling-Hammond, Amy Stuart Wells & Ruy Teixeira. Ordering inf. from 800/552-5450, 202/797-6258.

- *The Way We Were? The Myths & Realities of America’s Student Achievement*, by Richard Rothstein (140 pp., 1998), is a Century Foundation report, available (no price listed) from the Fdn., 41 E. 70 St., NYC, NY 10021, 800/552-5450.

- “Teaching the Teachers: Different Settings, Different Results,” an Educ. Testing Service study, is available at www.ets.org/

research/pic.

- “Kids Who Pick the Wrong Parents & Other Victims of Voucher Schemes,” by Gordon MacInnes (54 pp., 1999), is available (no price given) from The Century Foundation, 41 E. 70 St., NYC, NY 10021, 212/535-4441.

- “Early Implementation of the Comprehensive School Reform Demonstration Program,” a new US Dept. of Educ. study, is available at www.ed.gov/offices/OUS/eval/elem.html#Misc.

- “Education for Disadvantaged Children: Research Purpose & Design Features Affect Conclusions Drawn from Key Studies” is a 19-page, Aug. 2000 GAO report (GAO/HEHS-00-168), available, free, from USGAO, PO Box 37050, Wash., DC 20013, 202/512-6000.

- *Policy Entrepreneurs & School Choice*, by Michael Mintrom (336 pp., 2000, \$24.95 minus 20%), has been published by Georgetown Univ. Press, 3700 O St. NW, Wash., DC 20057, 800/246-9606.

- “Why Rural Matters: The Need for Every State to Take Action on Rural Education,” by Elizabeth Beeson & Marty Strange (86 pp., Aug. 2000), is available (possibly free) from the Rural School & Comm. Trust, PO Box 68, Randolph, VT 05060, 802/728-5899. It contains rural educ. data for each state.

- *The Case Against Standardized Testing: Raising the Scores, Ruining the Schools*, by

Alfie Kohn (104 pp., 2000), is available (\$14) from Heinemann, 88 Post Rd. W., PO Box 5007, Westport, CT 06881, 800/793-2154. It's also available in a 180-min., 2-cassette audio tape for \$16.

- **“Creating the Will: Hispanics Achieving Educational Excellence,”** the report of the President's Advisory Commn. on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans, is available, free, from 202/401-1411.

- **“Building Successful Partnerships: A Guide for Developing Parent & Family Involvement Programs”** is available (\$21.95) from Natl. Educ. Service, 1252 Loesch Rd., Bloomington, IN 47404, 800/336-6786, nes@nesonline.com

- **High Classroom Turnover:** An op-ed on the subject, by PRRAC's Chester Hartman & Sandra Paik, appeared in several newspapers around the country, distributed by the Progressive Media Project. Copy available from us with a SASE (you might try to see if your local paper will publish it). PMP is a highly effective outfit that places op-eds, helps you draft/edit them; if you have drafts, ideas, contact them at 608/257-4626.

- **African American Educ. Data Books:** 3 vols. (Exec. Summaries avail.) Contact www.fdpri.patterson-uncf.org/dsbook.html.

- **“The High Schools of the Millennium Report”** (49 pp., 2000), from the Amer. Youth Policy Forum, “argues for a new vision of high

school, one that uses all the resources of the community to create smaller learning environments, to engage youth in their striving for high academic achievement, to support them with adult mentors & role models, and to provide them with opportunities to develop their civic, social & career skills.” www.aypf.org to download or order hard copies.

- **“So I Made Up My Mind: Introducing a Study of Adult Learner Persistence in Library Literacy Programs,”** by John T. Comings & Sondra Cuban (15 pp., Aug. 2000), is available (possibly free) from Manpower Demonstration Research Corp., 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016-4326, 212/532-3200, www.mdrc.org.

- **Data on the 100 Largest School Districts** can be found at <http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2000/100largest/>.

- **“High Stakes Testing & High School Completion”** can be found at <http://nbtpp.bc.edu/reports/html>.

- **“Standards in Public Schools: A Policy Statement of the Rural School & Community Trust”** is available (likely free) from the Trust, 2 S. Main St., PO Box 68, Randolph, VT 05060, 802/728-5899.

- **“Beyond the Rhetoric of Charter School Reform: A Study of 10 Calif. School Districts,”** by Amy Stuart Wells (Dec. 1998), is available from the UCLA Grad. School of Educ. & Inf. Studies, Moore Hall, Box 951521, LA, CA 90095-1521, charter@gseis.ucla.edu.

- **“When Schools Compete: A Cautionary Tale,”** by Edward B. Fiske & Helen F. Ladd (320 pp., 2000, \$22.95), a case study of reform efforts in New Zealand, has been published by Brookings, Dept. 029, Wash., DC 20042-0029, 800/275-1447.

- **“Curriculum & Instruction: Communities Raising Educational Expectations”** is the annual conf. of the Public Educ. Network, Nov. 12-14 in DC. Inf. from PEN, 601 13th St. NW, #900N, Wash., DC 20005, 202/628-7460, HSchaffer@PublicEducation.org.

Employment/ Jobs Policy

- **“Steady Work & Better Jobs: How to Help Low-Income Parents Sustain Employment & Advance in the Workforce,”** by Julie Strawn & Karin Martinson, is a 165-page, June 2000 How-to Guide, available (possibly free) from the Manpower Demonstration Research Corp., 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016-4326, 212/532-3200.

- **“The Los Angeles Jobs-First GAIN Evaluation: Final Report on a Work First Program in a Major Urban Center,”** by Stephen Freedman, Jena Tansey Knab, Lisa A. Gennetian & David Narvarro (38 pp., June 2000), is available (possibly free) from the Manpower Demonstration Research Corp., 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016-4326, 212/532-3200.

- **“Sweatshops in Chicago: A Survey of Working Conds. in Low-Income & Immigrant**

Communities” is available from the Ctr. for Labor & Comm. Research, 3411 Diversey Ave., Chicago, IL 60647, 773/278-5418, clcr@mindspring.com.

- **“Can Labor Change the World?”** is the April 20-22 Labor Notes Conf., Detroit. Inf. from 313/842-6262, www.labornotes.org.

Families/ Children/ Women

- **“Child Care Patterns for School-Age Children with Employed Mothers,”** by Jeffrey Capizzano, Kathryn Tout & Gina Adams (41 pp., Sept. 2000), is available (likely free) from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/833-7200, paffairs@ui.urban.org. Also on their website: newfederalism.urban.org/html/op41/occa41/html.

- **“State Policies for Assessing & Supporting Kinship Foster Parents,”** by Jacob Leos-Urbel, Roseana Ness & Rob Green (July 2000), is available (likely free) from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/833-7200, paffairs@ui.urban.org. Also on their website: newfederalism.urban.org/html/discussion00-05.html

- **“America's Children: Key Natl. Indicators of Well-Being 2000”** is a 118-page, 2000 publication of the Fed. Inter-agency Forum on Child & Family Statistics, available (likely free) from the Natl. Maternal & Child Health Clearinghouse, 2070 Chain Bridge Rd., #450, Vienna, VA

22182, 703/456-1964,
nmchc@circsol.com.
Also on web: childstats.
gov.

- **“For the Children? Privatization of Child Support in Mississippi,”** by Keith Ernst (44 pp., Feb. 2000), is available (\$25) from the Inst. for Southern Studies, PO Box 531, Durham, NC 27702-0531, 919/419-8311, info@i4south.org.

Food/ Nutrition/ Hunger

- **“Household Food Security in the US, 1999,”** by Margaret Andrews, Mark Nord, Gary Bickel & Steven Carlson (18 pp., Fall 2000), a USDA Food Asst. & Nutrition Research Prog. report, is available (likely free) from 800/999-6779.

- **“Food Stamps in Rural America: Special Issues & Common Themes,”** by Sheena McConnell & James Ohls, is a 19-page (+ separate 10 pp. of tables), May 2000 paper, available from Mathematica Policy Research, PO Box 2393, Princeton, NJ 08643-2393, 609/799-3535.

- **Food Security Statistics for 1999:** A new USDA Econ. Research Service study is available via 800/999-6779 or www.ers.usda.gov/epubs/pdf/fanrr8. The Food Research & Action Ctr. has on its website a summary of the study & analysis in the context of food stamp participation trends: www.frac.org/html/news/foodsecurity99.html.

Health

- **“Healthy People 2010: Understanding & Improving Health”** (2 vols., Jan. 2000) is available from 800/367-4725.

- **The Initiative to Eliminate Racial & Ethnic Health Disparities** is a new effort, led by the Amer. Public Health Assn. and HHS. Inf. from 202/777-2444, ray.thomas@apha.org.

- **“Do Welfare Caseload Declines Make the Medicaid Population Sicker?,”** by Bowen Garrett & John Holahan (Sept. 2000), is available (likely free) from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/833-7200, paffairs@ui.urban.org. Also on their website: newfederalism.urban.org/html/discussion00-06.html.

- **“Race, Health Care & the Law”** is a website (www.udayton.edu/-health/) maintained by Prof. Vernellia R. Randall of the Univ. of Dayton School of Law (300 College Park, Dayton, OH 45469-2772, 937/229-3325).

- **“Evaluating Outcomes: Paving the Road to a Healthier Tomorrow”** is the annual meeting of the Assn. of Maternal & Child Health Progs., **March 24-28**, Wash., DC. Inf. from AMCHP, 1220 19th St. NW, #801, Wash., DC 20036, 202/775-0436. Prpsl. abstracts were due Sept. 15 (contact: Stephanie McDaniel).

Homelessness

- **“Homeless in America: A Children’s Story, Part One”** (64 pp., 1999) is available (no price listed) from the Inst. for Children & Poverty, 36 Cooper Sq., 6th fl., NYC, NY 10003, 212/529-5252, hn4061@handsnet.org.

- **“Natl. Symposium on Transportation for Homeless Children & Youth,”** the 50-page proceedings of a Feb. 2000 conf. of the same title, is available (no price listed) from the Natl. Ctr. for Homeless Educ. at SERVE, 915 Northridge St., Greensboro, NC 27403-2112, 800/755-3277, homeless@serve.org.

- **“Rethinking Homelessness: A Framework for Change,”** a natl. conf. on family homelessness & welfare reform, sponsored by the Columbia U. Inst. for Children & Poverty & the Acad. of Political Sci., will be held **April 6-7** in NYC. Inf. from the Inst., 36 Cooper Sq., 6th fl., NYC, NY 10003, 212/529-5252, hn4061@handsnet.org.

Housing

- **“\$160,000,00 and Counting”** is a 100-page, 2000 report on financial recovery from fair housing suits in the 1990-99 period. \$6 from Fair Housing Ctr. of Met. Detroit, 1249 Wash. Blvd., #1312, Detroit, MI 48226, 313/963-1274.

- **“The Decision to Own: The Impact of Race, Ethnicity & Immigrant Status,”** by Gary Painter, Stuart Gabriel & Dowell Myers

(35 pp., June 2000), is available (likely free) from the Research Inst. for Housing America, 1919 Pennsylvania Ave. NW, #775, Wash., DC 20006-3438, 202/557-2838, steven_hornburg@housingamerica.org.

- **“Home Equity & Inequity: An Analysis of Racial & Econ. Disparities in Home Purchase Mortgage Lending in 50 Metropolitan Areas”** (156 pp., Sept. 2000) is available from ACORN, 739 8th St. SE, Wash., DC 20003, 202/547-2500; it’s also on their website: www.acorn.org

- **“Abundant Fields, Meager Shelter: Findings from a Survey of Farmworker Housing in the Eastern Migrant Stream”** is an Oct. 2000 Housing Assistance Council study. \$7 from HAC, 1025 Vermont Ave. NW, #606, Wash., DC 20005, 202/842-8600, leslie@ruralhome.org. Exec. summary is free on their website: www.ruralhome.org, and the full report will be posted there shortly.

- **“Out of Reach 2000: The Growing Gap Between Housing Costs & Income of Poor People in the US”** is the annual rental housing affordability study from the Natl. Low Income Housing Coal. \$35 from the Coal., 1012 14th St. NW, #610, Wash., DC 20005, 202/662-1530. It’s also on their website: www.nlihc.org, where users can search for data by state and county.

- **“Situation Critical: Meeting the Housing Needs of Lower-Income Mass. Residents,”** by Michael E. Stone, Elaine Werby & Donna Haig Friedman (27 pp., Sept.

2000), is available (possibly free) from the McCormack Inst. of Public Affairs, Univ. Mass., 100 Morrissey Blvd., Boston, MA 02125-3393, 617/287-5550. Also available, with tables of shelter poverty & conventional affordability burdens, at www.mccormack.umb.edu/Centers/SocPol

- **“Unlocking the Door - Keys to Women’s Housing”** is a compendium of recent research, statistics & policy recommendations, available (no price given) from The McAuley Inst., 301/588-8110, mharris@mcauley.org. It’s also on their website: www.mcauley.org.

- **“Scarcity & Success: Perspectives on Assisted Housing,”** by Sheila Crowley & Brian Maney of the Natl. Low Inc. Housing Coal., appeared in the Summer 2000 issue of *The J. of Affordable Housing & Comm. Dev. Law*. The issue is available from the Amer. Bar Assn., 312/988-6067, wjsmith@staff.abanet.org, and is on the NLIHC website: www.nlihc.org/bookshelf/scarcity/index.htm; also purchasable from the Coal., 1012 14th St. NW, #610, Wash., DC 20005, 202/662-1530.

- **“The Big Blue Book of Affordable Housing Case Studies”** is available (\$75, with a money-back guarantee) from

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Alexander & Edwards, 220 Sansome St., #1100, SF, CA 94104, 800/989-7255.

- **“What ‘Fair Housing’ Means for People with Disabilities”** is a 48-page, May 1999 guide for consumers, advocates & landlords, available (\$6) from the Bazelon Ctr. for Mental Health Law, 1101 15th St. NW, #1212, Wash., DC 20005-5002, pubs@bazelon.org.

Immigration

- **“The Promise of Legalization”** is the theme of the Summer 2000 issue of *Network News*, the quarterly publication of the Natl. Network for Immigrant & Refugee Rights (headed by PRRAC Board member Cathi Tactaquin). NNIRR is at 310 8th St., #307, Oakland, CA 94607, 510/465-1984, nnirr.org.

- **“Work Without Justice: Low-Wage Immigrant Laborers”** (2000?) is available (\$10) from the Catholic Legal Immigration Network, 415 Mich. Ave. NE, Wash., DC 20017, 202/635-2556.

Rural

- **“Rural America in Transition: Poverty & Welfare at the Turn of the 21st Century,”** by Daniel T. Lichter & Leif Jensen (41 pp. + Figs., May 2000), is available from Prof. Lichter, Dept. Soc., 300 Bricker Hall, Ohio St. U., Columbus, OH 43210, Lichter.5@osu.edu

- *The Fight in the Fields: Cesar Chavez & the Farm Workers’ Struggle* is a 116-min.,

1996 color film by Ray Telles & Rick Tejada-Flores, available for purchase (\$250, \$300 with an educ. package) or rental (\$95) from The Cinema Guild (130 Madison Ave., 2nd fl., NYC, NY 10016-7038, 800/723-5522, TheCinemaG@aol.com). They have a Latino Studies catalog as well.

Miscellaneous

- *Vouchers & the Provision of Public Services*, eds. C. Eugene Steurle, Van Doorn Ooms, George Peterson & Robert D. Reischauer (500 pp., 2000), is available (\$25.95) from Urban Inst. Press, 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 877-UIPRESS.

- **“The State of the Cities 2000: Megaforges Shaping the Future of the Nation’s Cities”** (63 pp., + Apps.) is HUD’s 4th annual report. Available (likely free) from HUD/PDR, Wash., DC 20410-6000.

- **“Planners Network Reader”** is a 60-page, 1999(?) collection of progressive urban planning articles on such topics as sustainability, housing, immigration, natl. urban policy, race, transportation. \$6 from Planners Network, 379 DeKalb Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11205, 718/636-3461.

- **“Online Content for Low-Income & Underserved Americans: The Digital Divide’s New Frontier”** (47 pp., 2000) is available (\$10) from The Children’s Partnership, 1351 3rd St. Promenade, #206, Santa Monica, CA 90401, 310/260-1220. Available online: www.

childrenspartnership.org.

- **Nonprofit Research:** The Aspen Inst. Nonprofit Research Fund website has lots of useful inf. on this subject: www.nonprofitresearch.org.

Job Opportunities/ Fellowships/ Grants

- **Postdoctoral & Visiting Scholar Fellowships in Asian Amer. Studies & Ethnic Studies at UCLA:** Applic. deadline: Dec. 30. Inf from Dennis Arguelles, 3230 Campbell Hall, UCLA, PO Box 951546, LA, CA 90095-1546, 310/825-2974, dennisa@ucla.edu. Postdoctoral fellowships in African Amer. Studies (310/206-8267), American Indian Studies (310/825-7315) and Chicano Studies (310/825-2363) are also available.

- **Woodstock Institute** is looking for a **Research/Project Associate**. Resume/writing sample/refs. to Patricia Woods at the Institute, 407 Dearborn, #550, Chicago, IL 60605, 312/427-4007 (fax).

- **The Springfield Project** seeks an **Executive Director**. Ltr./resume/3 refs. to Search Comm., P.O. Box 961, Springfield, IL 62705.

- **The Becca Shephard Project South** seeks an **Admin. Director**. Ltr./resume to Jerome Scott at the Project, 9 Gammon Ave., Atlanta, GA 30315, 404/622-7992 (fax).

- **The Center for Third World Organizing** is looking for an **Executive**

Assistant. \$22-26,000. Resume/writing sample/2-3 page political bio to Julie Quiroz-Martinez, CTWO, 1218 E. 21st St., Oakland, CA 94606, jquiroz@ctwo.org.

● **The ERASE (Expose Racism & Advance School Excellence)**

Initiative is seeking a **Program Associate.** Resume/ltr./sample/3 refs. to Tammy Johnson, ARC, 3781 Broadway, Oakland, CA 94611 or tjohnson@arc.org.

● **The International Working Group of the Nat'l Network of Grantmakers**

is seeking a **National Coordinator.** \$17-22/hr. Ltr./resume/3 refs. to Christine Sartor, c/o Children's Haven, 203 S. 6th St., Kenyon, MN 55946, haven@cannon.net.

● **Good Jobs First** is seeking a **Research Analyst.** Resume to GJF, 1311 L St. NW, Wash., DC 20005, 202/638-3486 (fax).

● **The Puerto Rican Legal Defense & Education Fund** is looking for a **Policy Analyst/NYC**

Bilingual Educ. Project. \$28-40,000. Ltr./resume/writing sample to Fannie Martinez, 99 Hudson St., 14th Fl., NYC, NY 10013, 212/431-4276 (fax), fannie_martinez@prldef.org.

● **United for a Fair Economy** seeks an **Executive Director.** \$60-70,000. Resume to UFE, 37 Temple Place, 2nd fl., Boston, MA 02111, 617/423-2148, 617/423-0191 (fax), info@ufenet.org.

● **The Housing Assistance Council** seeks a **Research Associate.** Ltr./resume/unedited writing sample to Mary Stover, HAC, 1025 Vermont Ave. NW, #606 Wash., DC 20005.

● **The Applied Research Center** seeks a **Research Director.** \$43-47,000. Resume/writing sample to Jan Adams, ARC, 3781 Broadway, Oakland, CA 94611, jadams@arc.org.

● **The Center on Budget & Policy Priorities** is seeking a **Senior Policy Analyst, Communications Asst.,** and a **Housing Policy Analyst.**

Ltr./resume to the Center, 820 First St. NE, #510 (#520 for Housing Policy position), Wash., DC 20002, 202/408-1080, center@cbpp.org.

● **The Bauman Foundation** seeks an **Office Assistant** (p.t.). Ltr./resume to the Foundation, 2040 S St., #100, Wash., DC 20009, 202/328-2040, magnert@rtknet.org.

● **The Rural School & Community Trust** is seeking a **Field Organizer & State Policy Monitor.** Visit www.ruraledu.org, call 802/728-5899 for applic. guidelines.

● **The Bannerman Fellowship Program: Sabbaticals for Long-time Activists of Color** has a Dec. 1 application deadline. Inf./applic. from them at 1627 Lancaster St., Baltimore, MD 21231, 410/327-6220, info@bannermanfellowship.

● **The ACLU of the Natl. Capital Area** is seeking a new **Executive Director.** Resume/ltr. (w/ salary reqs.)/name, title, phone # of 3 refs. right

away to Geoffrey Aronow, Arnold & Porter, 555 12th St. NW, Wash., DC 20004, 202/942-5999 (fax), aclunca@hotmail.com.

● **The Institute on Race & Poverty** (headed by PRRAC board member john powell) seeks 1-3 **Research Fellows.** Ltr./resume/2 writing samples/2 ltrs. of recommendation/transcripts/ 2 refs. to The Institute, 415 Law Ctr., 229-19th Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN, 55455, 612/625-5344,

● **The National Women's Law Center** (co-directed by PRRAC board member Nancy Duff Campbell) is seeking a **Senior Counsel** for their Employment and Family Econ. Security Progs. Resume to NWLC, 11 Dupont Circle NW, #800, Wash., DC 20036, 202/588-5180, 202/588-5185 (fax).

● **The Ctr. on Budget & Policy Priorities** is hiring a **Housing Analyst.** Applic. instructions at www.cbpp.org/10-5-00housjob.htm, or phone 202/408-1080.

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Poverty & Race Index (2000)

This Index includes the major articles in the six 2000 issues of Poverty & Race (Vol. 9). The categories used frequently overlap, so a careful look at the entire Index is recommended. Each issue also contains an extensive Resources Section, not in the Index below, but available shortly in database form that can be ordered from us. We are happy to make available photocopies of any of the articles listed in the Index. We also can send an Index for any or all of the first eight volumes of P&R (1992-1999). Please order by number and article name and include a self-addressed, stamped envelope.

Race/Racism

317. Is Integration Possible? – Round II, Jan./Feb.
 - Today's Integration Challenge, Angela E. Oh
 - Half Full? Half Empty?, James W. Loewen
 - Needed: An Antiwhite Movement, Noel Ignatiev
 - Is Integration Possible? Of Course..., Florence Wagman Roisman
 - What is the Question: Integration or Defeat of Racism?, James Early
 - Education and Incentives to Actualize Integration, Don DeMarco
 - Should Racial Integration Be Pursued As the Only Goal?, Joe Feagin & Yvonne Combs
 - Progress in Integration HAS Been Made, George C. Galster
 - Unillusioned, S.M. Miller
 - Keeping the Dream, William L. Taylor
 - No One Even Knows What Integration Is, John Woodford
 - The Gautreaux Experience, James E. Rosenbaum
 - We Aspire to Integration and Practice Pluralism, Frank H. Wu
 - Do We Still Have a Dream?, Paul L. Wachtel
318. Putting the 'Movement' Back Into Civil Rights Teaching, Jan./Feb.
319. USDA's Discrimination Against African-American Farmers, Randi Roth (PRRAC Researcher's Report), Jan./Feb.
320. Farmers Legal Action Group Update, March/April
321. Race, Poverty & Transportation, Rich Stolz, March/April
322. Race, Poverty & Corporate Welfare, Greg LeRoy, March/April
323. Is Integration Possible? – Leonard Steinhorn's Response, March/April
324. Letter, Herbert Aptheker, March/April
325. Letter, Dorothy Remy, March/April
326. Race, Poverty & Globalization, John A. Powell & S.P. Udayakumar, May/June
327. Race, Poverty and Social Security: Racing the Social Security Debate, John A. Powell, Sept./Oct.
328. How Race Is Lived in the Media, Makani N. Themba, Nov./Dec.

Poverty/Welfare

329. Why Should We Care About the Fed?, Tom Schlesinger, May/June
330. The Outcomes of Welfare Reform for Women, Barbara Gault & Annisah Um'rani, July/Aug.
331. Welfare Reform and Racial/Ethnic Minorities: The Questions to Ask, Steve Savner, July/Aug.

Education

332. High Student Mobility/Classroom Turnover: How to Address It? How to Reduce It?, May/June
333. High Student Mobility/Classroom Turnover: How to Address It? How to Reduce It? (PRRAC Conference Report), July/Aug.
334. Graduation and Promotion Testing: Potential Benefits and Risks for Minority Students, English-Language Learners and Students with Disabilities, Jay P. Heubert, Sept./Oct.
335. If You Think the MCAS History Test is Relevant, Try This Exam, Derrick Z. Jackson, Sept./Oct.

Immigration

336. Race, Poverty & Immigration, Arnoldo Garcia, Nov./Dec.

Miscellaneous

337. The FDR Memorial, March/April
338. Improving Census 2000 Enumeration of Farmworkers (PRRAC Advocacy Update), Ed Kissam, July/Aug.
339. National Campaign for Jobs & Income Support (Activism Report), July/Aug.
340. Economic Human Rights Bus Tour (Activism Report), Sept./Oct.
341. New Means for Political Empowerment: Proportional Voting, Douglas Amy, Frederick McBride & Robert Richie, Nov./Dec.

PRRAC Activities & News

342. The American Indian Law Alliance – Towards a New Millennium, Kent Lebsack & Tonya Gonnella Frichner (Board Member Report), Jan./Feb.
343. New PRRAC Education Grants, May/June
344. The National Women's Law Center, Nancy Duff Campbell (Board Member Report), July/Aug.
345. AFL-CIO Working for America Institute: Linking Workforce and Economic Development to Benefit the Entire Community, Tony Sarmiento (Board Member Report), July/Aug.
346. Board Member Report, John Charles Boger, Sept./Oct.
347. Board Member Report, William L. Taylor, Nov./Dec.

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