

Race, Poverty and Incarceration

by Donald Braman

Londa and her three children live in a small row house that is part of a Section 8 housing project in central Washington, DC. Inside her home, surrounded by the debris of family life—toys, a few empty kid-sized boxes of juice, dishes on the table from a lunch just finished, bottles and baby blankets strewn over the couch—she is apologetic for the mess. “But,” she says, “I’ve got three kids, a broken leg and a husband who’s locked up.” She’s been struggling against her husband’s crack addiction and struggling to keep her family together for 15 years. Gesturing out the window, she says: “I don’t want to end up like everyone else. I guess I’m halfway there. But my kids need a father. I look around here and none of these kids have fathers. It’s a mess what’s happened.”

What has happened—to her family, to her community, to our criminal justice system and to our society as a whole—truly is a mess. If the massive expansion of the criminal justice system is intended to make people safer,

why can a person buy crack cocaine on any corner in Londa’s neighborhood at any time of the day or night? Why can’t she walk alone to or from public transportation after dark? Like most inner-city residents living in areas where incarceration rates are highest, just about no one feels safe or protected. We spend over \$40 billion a year on incarceration, locking up over 2 million Americans on any given day and far more than that over the course of any given year. And, while incarceration does temporarily incapacitate some criminal offenders, something is clearly going wrong. The more researchers find out about the rapid and massive expansion of the criminal justice system over the last three decades, the more troubling our public policies appear. It turns out that mass incarceration is not only a bad way to go about protecting the public, it goes a fair distance towards draining low-income communities of wealth, trust and intact families.

How can incarceration, our principal response to crime and ostensibly a boon to public safety, be so destructive? To understand this, one has to understand the social nature of incarceration. Incarceration, as a growing body of research details, doesn’t just affect those who break the law. Most inmates, like Londa’s husband Derrick, are fathers, and most incarcerated fathers, like Derrick, lived with their children prior to incarceration and remain in contact with them during their

incarceration. Most who spend time behind bars were also gainfully employed prior to being incarcerated, but earn close to nothing while in prison and, when released, face significantly diminished earning potential. The vast majority are also nonviolent offenders. And most drug offenders, like Derrick, are not required to complete a drug treatment program.

Indeed, far from holding them accountable in any meaningful way, incarceration effectively holds offenders *unaccountable* to everyone who matters: their victims, their families and their communities. Forcibly removed from their social networks, they are excused from all meaningful social obligations for extended periods of time, then dumped back into their families and communities with lower job prospects and damaged relationships. The cumulative effect on family life, local economies and social

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norms regarding responsible behavior are, these studies show, a policy disaster. By holding offenders unaccountable to their families and communities, incarceration—at least as it is currently practiced—is creating the kind of concentrated intergenerational poverty in historically disadvantaged communities that we spend billions of public dollars trying to combat. Indeed, of all the social institutions that contribute to racial disparities in the United States today, it may well be our criminal justice system that is making the most significant contribution.

The lack of attention to the families and communities affected by incarceration can help to explain the historical willingness of states to accept mass incarceration as a default response to social disorder. Thankfully, policymakers are beginning to take note. Congress recently held hearings on the costs, both social and material, associated with mass incarceration, and most states are in the process of reviewing and revising their criminal codes with an eye to reducing the number of offenders sentenced to prison. It's a wake-up call that is long overdue.

A Typical Cycle

To grasp the basic problem, consider the story that Londa tells about

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the cycle of incarceration followed by relapse and re-incarceration—one that is all too familiar to those living in disadvantaged communities. Perhaps the most obvious effects of current criminal practices are material. Reviewing Londa's income and expenses, it becomes clear that her financial problems are directly related to the loss of Derrick's income and the additional costs that accompany his incarceration. She lives on a fixed income of \$463 a month from the welfare system. After \$100 for rent and another \$300 for groceries (which works out to less than \$3 for food per day, per person), there isn't enough to pay for electricity, the phone and transportation. She is far from lazy, but with two children and one infant,

Criminal sanctions act like a hidden tax.

she doesn't have the resources to care for them herself. "Oh, I can't stand to ask anybody to help me with anything. So I really hate asking my mother now, but I can't walk, I can't get around. So it's just really, really hard right now."

Londa's mother helps care for the children, buys groceries and even pays Londa's rent when things are tight. But her assistance is limited to what she herself can afford, and that is not much. Already, Londa feels she has asked for far too much far too often from her mother. "I know that she doesn't have a lot, too, so that's something I have to think about." Derrick's sisters also try to help when they can, but they have families of their own and are struggling just to get by. Derrick's sister, Brenda, describes her surprise at how "it just all adds up." "The phone bills — the phone bill is something else!" One of the more unpleasant surprises to many families is the high cost of phone calls from prison. Inmates can only call collect, and additional charges for monitoring and recording by the prison phone company add up quickly; indeed, many families have their phones disconnected within two months of an incar-

ceration.

Indeed, the most costly regular expense for many families are prison phone charges. Most correctional facilities contract out phone services and actually receive money from the phone company for doing so. Phone companies thus compete with each other for the service, but not by providing lower prices: The key issue phone companies compete on is how much revenue the service will return to the Department of Corrections in each state. Because phone conversations are often time-limited, many families are required to accept several calls to complete a single conversation, with connection charges applying to each call. As a result, collect calls from prisons can be as much as 20 times as expensive as standard collect calls. Families with loved ones incarcerated out of state have shown me years of phone records that average well over \$200 a month. Many families in this study, including Londa's, have had their phone or electricity cut off for lack of payment.

After having her phone cut off for high unpaid bills the last time Derrick was incarcerated, Londa realized she had trouble refusing calls she couldn't afford and had a "block" placed on her phone, preventing collect calls. In an arrangement that is not unusual, Derrick's sisters now serve as a conduit to his extended family; because no one else will accept the expense of collect calls from prison, they try to patch him through to whomever he needs to talk to, using three-way calling. While it further increases the overall price of the call, it is another way for Derrick's family to spread the cost of his incarceration.

While Londa is fortunate to have family willing to help her in Derrick's absence, her family doesn't have much to help her with. By spreading the costs of raising Derrick's children and maintaining ties with him, Londa and Derrick's families have enabled Londa to keep and care for her children. While this is undoubtedly desirable, the cost has simply been spread to other low-income households with few re-

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The Missing Class: The Near Poor

by Victor Tan Chen and Katherine S. Newman

Wearing an ankle-length black skirt and a matching jacket with gold trim, her hair wrapped tightly in a bun beneath her black scarf, Danielle shuttles over to her desk at the New York City Human Resources Administration office. She trades pleasantries with her boss, helps a co-worker complete a claim form and joins another office mate in complaining about all the “crazy” people who work there. It’s a typical day for Danielle—a typical day for any other administrative assistant in America—but just a few years ago, it was more than Danielle Wayne would have dreamed possible.

Back then, Danielle was sitting on the other side of her desk: an African-American single mother of three young children, unemployed and unskilled, a recipient of welfare checks for more years than she cared to remember. Her job experience was limited to stints packing food trays for airlines and cleaning bed pans in a mental hospital. The father of her children had physically and emotionally abused her during their tumultuous years together, and though he was now gone, she still suffered from clinical depression and a stifling lack of self-esteem.

But then President Clinton signed a bill to “end welfare as we know it,” and Danielle was pushed—like hun-

dreds of thousands of other women—into the workforce. Fortunately, the late 1990s were a time of booming stock markets, quiescent inflation and surging wages, when employers were so desperate for help that they were turning to neglected groups—the poorly educated and chronically unemployed among them—to staff their stores and agencies and offices. Danielle was fortunate enough to be drafted into the city’s welfare bureaucracy as a clerical assistant. It was her first office job, and she immediately impressed the higher-ups with her dedication. Learning she could play the part of a professional—and play it convincingly—gave Danielle a much-needed boost of self-confidence. She

actually enjoyed getting up every morning, dressing for work and joining the throngs of commuters on the subway—it made her proud to be part of working America, all those hurried masses yearning to make a buck.

Unfortunately, Danielle’s gain was in some ways her children’s loss. Before she started working, she was volunteering most days at her children’s elementary school, where she clocked in countless hours as a hall monitor and PTA officer. Spending so much time at the school meant she got ample face time with her kids’ teachers. “There ain’t nobody here that don’t know me,” she boasted. But since she began her new job, Danielle has been

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Carolyn Goodman, Vernon Bellecourt, and Oliver Hill

We dedicate this issue of *P&R* to three greats:

Carolyn Goodman, mother of Andy Goodman, assassinated in Neshoba County, MS, June 1964, along with companion civil rights workers James Chaney and Michael Schwerner, who up until her death in August kept the Movement legacy alive in many ways, establishing the Andrew Goodman Foundation in 1996 and even testifying in the 2005 trial of Edgar Ray Killen, convicted in the death of the three men and sentenced to three consecutive 20-year prison terms.

Vernon Bellecourt, an Ojibwa Indian and long-time campaigner for native rights, battling particularly the insensitive use of Indian nicknames (Redskins, Chiefs, Indians) for sports teams and their mascots (the Cleveland Indians’ Chief Wahoo), who died in October. In 1972, he was principal spokesman for the American Indian Movement, which organized a cross-country Trail of Broken Treaties Caravan to Washington, where members occupied the offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. And in 1974 he helped organize, under UN auspices, an international conference of native peoples to proclaim their rights. In 2005, the NCAA barred Indian mascots from its post-season tournaments.

Oliver Hill, the Virginia lawyer who helped overturn legal segregation in his native state, the Prince Edward County case subsequently incorporated into the Supreme Court’s 1954 *Brown* decision, died in August at age 100. At one point, he had 75 civil rights cases pending and is estimated over the course of his career to have won \$50 million in better pay and infrastructure needs for Virginia’s black teachers and students. Pres. Clinton in 1999 awarded him the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

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They are co-authors of The Missing Class: Portraits of the Near Poor in America (Beacon Press, 2007). The names used in this article and in the book have been changed to protect the families’ privacy.

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too busy to volunteer. What's more, she can't afford private daycare, so she has to put her youngest child under the care of her mother-in-law, who lives in a housing project where drug addicts routinely walk in and out. It's no surprise that, growing up under these less-than-enriching conditions, Safiya is more reluctant to engage adults than most other two-year-olds. She has a vocabulary of only two words—"NO! SHUDDUP!"—shouted with the kind of vehemence that makes you wonder whom she might be imitating.

Who Are the Near Poor?

Danielle Wayne is no longer poor, but she is not truly middle-class. She is part of a group that is often invisible in our national debates—ignored by social scientists and social policy, which focus on those living below the poverty line, but neglected by politicians, who, at the very least, heap adulation upon the middle class in their speeches and campaign platforms. In our new book, *The Missing Class: Portraits of the Near Poor in America*, we describe in detail the challenges faced by people like Danielle. These hard-working Americans struggle to support their families with little help from the government, even while their incomes fail to pay for adequate childcare, healthcare, housing and other foundations of a middle-class lifestyle.

As we define it, the "Missing Class"—also known as the "near poor"—live on incomes between one and two times the poverty line. A household of four that brings in \$20,000- \$40,000 a year falls into this category.

The near poor are a much larger group than the poor. More than 50 million Americans fall into this category, compared to 37 million who are poor. That means that nearly *one out of three* Americans is poor or near-poor.

As we know, America's poor

households are disproportionately comprised of racial and ethnic minorities, and for the near poor, these ratios are fairly similar. The near poor are 54% non-Hispanic white, 15% non-Hispanic black, 4% Asian and 24% Hispanic, according to 2006 Census data. (Among poor households, the proportions are 46% white, 23% black, 4% Asian and 24% Hispanic.)

Race complicates the situation of near-poor households in predictable ways. For example, many Missing Class families live in urban areas or inner-ring suburbs segregated along racial, ethnic and socioeconomic lines, the product of the exodus of middle-class families and raging epidemics of crime and drug use. When the economy soared in the late 1990s, employment trickled back into these neighborhoods. Improved policing tactics helped clean the corners and offered hope for neighborhood change. Meanwhile, high real estate prices elsewhere in the city sent young white professionals in search of more affordable rents—eventually lur-

Nearly one out of three Americans is poor or near-poor.

ing them into near-poor neighborhoods.

For the families who were already living there, the results are mixed. On the one hand, gentrification means a higher quality of life for all, thanks to reduced crime, better schools, and greater investment in transportation and other services. On the other hand, it raises the rents for near-poor families already struggling to make do, and likewise pushes out the low-margin pharmacies and stores and eateries that catered to their needs. Those old-timers who don't leave may wonder if their newly integrated, newly Yuppified neighborhood is still home.

Of course, upwardly mobile workers like Danielle who previously knew poverty may have more difficulty dealing with this sort of neighborhood upheaval than another segment of the Missing Class: once middle-class households that have fallen *down* the economic ladder. The latter group in-

cludes people like Rita Gervais, a single mother who supports herself, her mother and her young daughter on a \$20,000 annual income, the profits of a daycare business housed in her northern Manhattan apartment. Rita found herself instantly in the Missing Class after her husband divorced her several years ago. Suddenly, she was toiling nonstop to stay a month ahead of the bill collectors, racking up huge credit card debts and drafting her mother to help keep her fledgling business alive.

Shifts in the Economy

Unfortunately, the situation of the Gervais family is becoming all too familiar to many American households. The economy's shifting center of gravity—from the manufacturing sector to the service sector—has meant a sharp reduction in union power (with its wage-lifting pressures) and a dearth of high-paying jobs (with benefits) for those without education. Meanwhile, the broad-based integration of markets that goes under the name of globalization—most noticeable in offshoring and outsourcing trends—has led to an intense international competition that keeps wages low.

The result is that a growing economy has not translated into significant wage increases for middle-class workers. (For racial and ethnic minorities, who suffer from higher rates of unemployment than their white counterparts, the situation is even more grim.) Median household income went up in the past year, but this was largely because people were working more, rather than being paid more. A recent report sponsored by the Pew Charitable Trusts, for instance, noted that men in their 30s now make 12% less than their fathers did at their age; the main reason family incomes are rising is because more women are going to work.

The trade-off of relying on more hours than higher wages, of course, is that middle-class incomes have become increasingly precarious. When a household loses a worker for whatever reason—in Rita's case, divorce—the result can be a quick descent into

PRRAC needs your support!

Later this month, we will be mailing you our annual fundraising request. Even if you don't receive a letter, we hope you will consider making a tax-deductible contribution to the Poverty & Race Research Action Council this year. We are grateful for the foundation support we receive, but for almost 20 years we have also depended on the support of individuals to keep our work going.

In addition to our regular publication of *Poverty & Race*, PRRAC has been pursuing important project work in housing, education and health. Some of the highlights of our work in 2007 include:

- We provided timely civil rights analysis of federal housing policy proposals – including the Section 8 Voucher Reform Act, the HOPE VI public housing program reauthorization and the Low Income Housing Tax Credit Program. These programs have huge civil rights implications that are often overlooked by policymakers.
- We played an important role in developing two “shadow reports” to the U.N., on health disparities and housing segregation, as part of the U.N.’s review of U.S. compliance with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (see March/April 2007 *Poverty & Race*).
- We hosted three forums highlighting recent research on housing mobility, with a goal of more effectively connecting families who move to better opportunity in education, employment and health (see www.prrac.org/projects/housingmobility.php).
- We have continued to provide technical assistance to coalitions working to support regional desegregation efforts in Baltimore and Hartford. In both cities, innovative community-based coalitions have formed to support and expand the reach of housing and school desegregation lawsuits filed by the ACLU and the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. This type of litigation and community coalition partnership (involving both city and suburban constituencies) is a promising model for supporting change in segregated regions.

All of this work—and much more—is accessible on our website (along with archives of all past issues of *Poverty & Race*). We hope that you will consider a generous donation this year. Please send your tax-deductible donation to PRRAC, 1015 15th St. NW, #400, Washington, DC 20005.

Thank you for your support!



Philip Tegeler, Executive Director

poverty or near poverty.

As for the rest of the Missing Class, their financial situation may be stable or even improving. Like Danielle Wayne, many used to be poor and lived off welfare. Looking back, they are grateful for the progress they have made, which means not having to submit to invasive questions from case-workers about their lifestyle, not having to plow through bewildering government paperwork and not being as concerned about when the next paycheck will come.

Loss of Government Benefits

At the same time, their more-than-minimum wages place them above the

government thresholds for many important benefits. For example, Medicaid covers poor households; the State Children's Health Insurance Program (SCHIP) does cover near-poor children, but currently in the vast majority of states adults—childless or not—are left uninsured.

Family incomes are rising because more women are going to work.

The lack of public insurance may account for the disproportionate number of poor and near-poor families who go without insurance: The ratio is 25% among people in households that make less than \$25,000 a year, and 21%

among those in households just one income bracket above. That means that 29 million of the 47 million Americans who are uninsured have household incomes of less than \$50,000 a year, which includes the poor and near poor.

In terms of income support, too, the near poor are neglected. The Earned Income Tax Credit, a government subsidy for low-wage workers, pays out its maximum benefit of \$4,500 when a family with two or more children makes between roughly \$11,000 and \$15,000 a year (\$17,000 for married couples filing jointly); the benefit lessens with more income and phases out completely at a household income of a little more than \$36,000 (\$38,000 for married couples). That

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means that many near-poor households get no or little help from this crucial income-support program.

This situation is even worse for workers without dependent kids. Take Tomas Linares. A divorced father of two adult children, Tomas works two jobs at centers for people with disabilities. He makes \$20,000 a year by toiling seven days a week. Officially, he no longer has dependents (tell that to his daughters, though, who keep hounding him for cash), so he does not qualify for the Earned Income Tax Credit, which for childless workers phases out at an annual income of

\$12,000 (\$14,000 for married couples).

Lack of Health Coverage

When they lack health coverage or high wages, just one crisis—a divorce,

Their more-than-minimum wages place them above government thresholds for many important benefits.

lay-off or illness—can send Missing Class families hurtling into poverty.

Gloria Hall, a divorced mother of two young children, worked in law enforcement and enjoyed a decent salary with benefits. But then she was diagnosed with a rare cancer, which quickly spread from a gland behind her breastbone to her diaphragm, requiring the removal of part of her lungs.

Gloria believes that the cancer would have been detected earlier if her HMO had been willing to pay for a test her doctor had recommended. Then, when Gloria's situation became dire, the HMO refused to cover treatment at Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center, a world-class cancer treatment and research facility just a borough away from Gloria's Brooklyn home. In any case, once Gloria stopped working, she was able to apply for Medicaid, which did cover her treatment.

In Gloria's case, the problem was not being uninsured, but *underinsured*: She didn't have the kind of extensive, no-nonsense coverage that wealthier families, paying higher premiums, can obtain. In this, she is hardly alone. The Kaiser Family Foundation estimates that a fifth of insured Americans are underinsured, making do with sharply limited coverage or significant out-of-pocket medical expenses when faced with illness.

Education Impacts

If our government gives short shrift to the near poor in regards to health insurance and income support, it has intervened quite intensively—but not always for the better—in the domain of education. The No Child Left Behind Act demands that today's children pass a battery of standardized tests in order to progress, but with teachers and school administrators already overburdened in our public schools, the responsibility for meeting the new requirements has largely fallen on parents, who are expected to supply their kids with the extra help in reading and math that they need to prevail.

High-stakes testing in effect requires an auxiliary teaching force of parents, but in near-poor households,

2007 Edith Witt Internship Grant

PRRAC is proud to announce the winner of its 2007 Edith Witt Internship Grant: The Manilatown Heritage Foundation and its intern, José Toledo.

The award is particularly appropriate, given Edith Witt's role, as housing mediator/investigator for the San Francisco Human Rights Commission, in the huge late 70s International Hotel controversy. Edith helped defuse tensions between the tenants and the building's owners, and negotiated a pact with the owners that gave the tenants the time to build a massive citywide movement. The "hotel"—in actuality, long-time home for some 150 elderly primarily Filipino men—located between the city's financial district and Chinatown, was threatened with takeover and demolition by developers, and became the focus of massive demonstrations by housing activists (whose pressure was so great that SF Sheriff Richard Hongisto at first refused to carry out the court-ordered eviction and went to jail for 5 days). The August, 1977 midnight eviction, by 200 police and sheriff's deputies pushing and clubbing their way through 3,000 defenders forming a human barricade, was traumatic for the city. (For the full, up-to-date story, see the just-published book by Estella Habal, *San Francisco's International Hotel: Mobilizing the Filipino-American Community in the Anti-Eviction Movement* [Temple Univ. Press].)

Although the tenants were evicted and the building demolished, during the next two-and-a-half decades the struggle continued over what would be built on this valuable land. Happily, the result was a 104-unit, beautifully designed 15-story high-rise, which opened in 2006. And on the ground floor is The Manilatown Heritage Center, documenting the role of Filipino immigrants in the city's and state's history—created by a group of original activists in the anti-eviction struggle, headed by Emil DeGuzman, now President of the Foundation. Their selected intern, José Toledo, a San Francisco State graduate with ten years' experience as a tenant organizer, has been working for the Foundation as an Affirmative Action Coordinator (assisting applicants to the new IH Senior Housing Bldg.) and Special Education Assistant (he is now completing work for his teaching credential).

Congratulations to the Foundation, Emil and José!

the parents are working too hard to be of any use, and can't afford to pay for professional tutoring. For the Guerras, another family profiled in our book, the fact that the two parents were always away working contributed to some very unfortunate outcomes for their sons. The middle son—once praised by his teacher as one of the two “most brilliant kids” in the class—started receiving reprimands for subpar performance in his third-grade subjects. The oldest son skipped classes regularly, failed his classes and eventually got arrested for sexual assault.

The children's decline occurred around the time that the mother, Tamar, started working at a New Jersey factory an hour away. Before, Tamar had been a regular presence at home, but she needed a job to pay off the family's growing pile of unpaid bills.

Lack of Financial Knowledge

Another major problem facing the near poor is their lack of basic financial knowledge—how credit cards work, how to get a home mortgage, how to spot predatory lenders. Poor households are also vulnerable, but because they have less money they often won't contemplate getting a credit card or home mortgage to begin with. For example, six out of ten near-poor households own credit cards, about double the rate among the poor.

Missing Class families are cash cows for the credit card industry because they tend to use their credit cards less judiciously than their wealthier counterparts. Rather than paying off their balances every month, they are more likely to drag out their payments, subjecting themselves to exorbitant interest rates. Julia Coronado, one of the near-poor workers profiled in our book, has found herself caught in this limbo of revolving balances and crushing debt. At one point she had 17 credit cards and had accumulated \$9,000 in unpaid charges. The minimum payments alone amounted to \$300 a month.

Julia is the first to blame herself, and clearly she is responsible for the wanton spending sprees that in large part brought about her financial crisis. At the same time, it's also obvious that Julia was woefully ignorant of how credit cards worked. While the credit card companies tacked on finance charge after finance charge onto her unpaid balance, Julia was actually putting away money every week into an informal savings arrangement run by members of the Dominican community—money that could have gone to paying off her high-interest debt. Especially for immigrants like Julia, who often do not have much exposure to banks and other financial institutions in their home countries, the ways of credit can be arcane.

29 million of the 47 million Americans who are uninsured live in families that make less than \$50,000 a year.

On the other hand, native-born Americans show a worrisome lack of financial literacy, too. John and Sondra Floyd—a near-poor couple who are raising seven grandchildren—used to be the proud owners of their own home. But then an unscrupulous contractor convinced them that they needed to have repairs done. They signed paperwork they didn't understand, and when the contractor came back with a bill for \$92,000—almost twice what the work was supposed to cost—the Floyds suddenly found themselves in a legal struggle over ownership of their one asset, their home. They eventually lost their fight, and since then they have sorely missed the financial stability provided by homeownership, which would have allowed them to borrow money and build savings for retirement.

What Can Be Done?

What can be done to help the Missing Class? In our book, we offer some proposals. The first is expanding edu-

Remember to send us items for our Resources Section.

cational opportunities. It can take many years for adults in this class to complete their education, in part because our financial-aid system was never designed to support the kind of intermittent learning that fits their schedules and needs. We could do more to help these workers get the training and credentials they need. Supporting community colleges and expanding financial aid for low-income students are sensible first steps. For the nearly one out of six Americans over 25 without a high-school degree, we also need to promote so-called second-chance high schools that offer intensive tutoring and flexible scheduling.

For young children, we need to establish a comprehensive, public-supported network of daycare and kindergarten, so that working parents like Danielle Wayne don't have to worry about what happens to their kids during the workday. For the older children, we need to improve public schools through not only higher teacher pay and smaller class sizes, but also a greater degree of public-school choice, including charter schools that receive greater control over teacher hiring and curriculum in exchange for more accountability and oftentimes less funding. Though evaluations of the performance of charter schools vis-à-vis traditional public schools have so far been mixed, greater competition and choice will spur needed reforms across all schools while preserving the public character of the system.

Beyond education, we need a serious attempt to establish universal health coverage in this country, so that families are not at risk of falling into poverty or near poverty because of preventable or treatable illnesses. We also should do more to make work pay, by making it easier for workers to form unions and raising subsidies for low-wage work.

In the neighborhoods where near-poor families live, we need to establish
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lish public-private partnerships to entice stores with affordable prices to stay or locate there. In particular, near-poor workers would benefit from having more banks nearby; major banks have shunned these neighborhoods in recent years, meaning that these families have to resort to check-cashing outlets, loan sharks and other unsavory financial options.

Helping the near poor to save would also make a huge difference, given that they—unlike the truly poor—are in a position to sock away some money every month. We can provide them with incentives to do this—and thus make it less likely they'll have to turn to public support when times get tough—by expanding programs that provide matching government contributions to low-income families who save toward retirement, education and other long-term goals.

A major problem facing the near poor is their lack of basic financial knowledge.

Finally, we need to do more to help near-poor families get—and keep—title to their own homes. The possibilities here include stiffer penalties and tougher enforcement of laws against predatory lending; housing vouchers that cover not just rent but also home purchases; and property-tax rebates for low-income families as well as homeowners who make improvements on their properties. We also need to support initiatives to assist first-time home buyers with mortgage financing.

Are these proposals feasible? They entail more spending, but the kind of spending that is a long-term investment in our country's future—an investment that will eventually pay huge dividends. For example, an Economic Policy Institute study finds that the benefits of universal early-childhood education would outweigh the costs by \$31 billion by 2030 if we factor in the expected returns on lifetime earnings and decreased criminal behavior alone.

As we consider the prospects of the near poor, we might find it helpful to look back to another group in American history that also struggled, at times in obscurity: the generation who survived the Great Depression and fought in World War II. Intelligent investments in the form of the G.I. Bill and related legislation sent these veterans to college and provided them with low-

interest home loans.

From that foundation of equal opportunity, this country created a strong middle class. Today, facing as we are an uncertain economy that has eroded the gains won by past generations, we would be wise to make similar investments in the promise of the hardest-working Americans among us, our modern Missing Class. □

New PRRAC Grants

The following seven awards were recently made under PRRAC's Small Grants Program, using funds made available to us from the Annie E. Casey Foundation. All, per our requirements, are tied to a planned advocacy agenda. Future issues of *P&R* will feature results of these research efforts and the advocacy work that research supports. (There is a possibility some additional grants will be made.)

“The Current State of Union Organizing at the Turn of the Millennium: Unionization as an Anti-Poverty Strategy and Successful Strategies for Organizing Workers of Color”

Asst. Prof. Dorian T. Warren, Columbia Univ. Political Science & Public Affairs & Kate Bronfenbrenner, Director of Labor Education Research, Cornell Univ. School of Industrial & Labor Relations.

“Indicators of School Re-Segregation in Response to United States Supreme Court Decisions Concerning Consideration of Race in School Assignment”

Cedar Grove Inst. for Sustainable Communities, Mebane, North Carolina.

“Resisting the Raids: A Community Documentation, Action Research and Advocacy Project”

Community Writing & Research Project, PRAIRIE Group, College of Education, Univ. of Illinois-Chicago & The Telpochcalli Community Education Project-Chicago.

“Technology of Mobilization Project”

Work with Bronx-based Sistas and Brothas United (SBU) - National Center for Schools and Communities, Fordham Univ.

“Zoning Barriers to Fair Housing & Educational Equity in Metropolitan Boston”

Fair Housing Center of Greater Boston.

“Moving Forward: Supporting Voucher Portability in Illinois”

John Bouman, Sargent Shriver Center on Poverty Law & Housing Action Illinois.

“Empowering Poverty Advocates: Support for Hands-On Training for Legal Services Advocates in GIS Race Mapping”

Legal Services of Northern California.

sources, lessening the impact on any one person, but creating a steady drain on the extended family.

Londa, for example, can no longer afford her own car—an issue that became quite serious when her mother’s car broke down and, largely as a result of helping Londa, her mother was unable to afford the repair costs. Derrick’s sister, Brenda, has also struggled with the sacrifices that she makes to keep her brother in touch with his family:

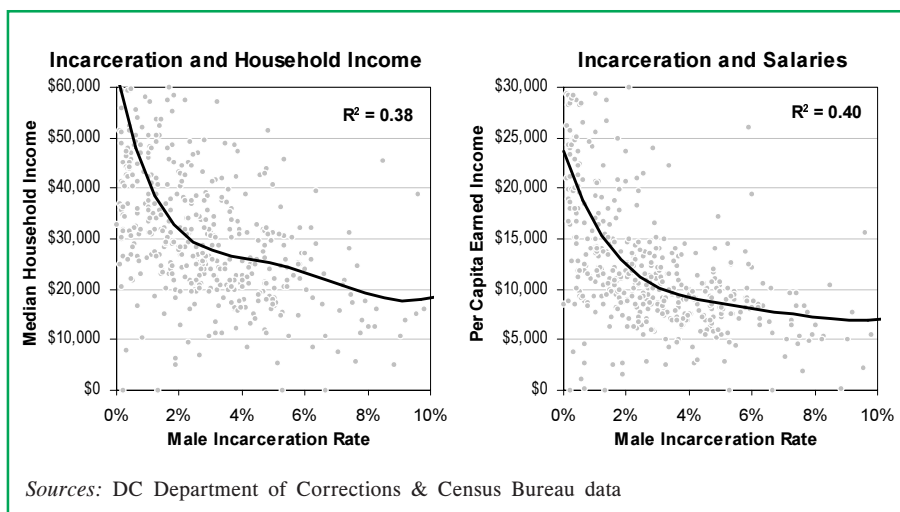
I’m gonna be there regardless of what. And his wife, well, she’s having it rough, her and her kids, because she don’t have anything, which I don’t have anything either, but a lot of times I [still help out]. My kids don’t like it, because I try to give to [Derrick’s family], because, you know... I...I feel for them and for him in that jail. [And] when school comes it’s like, do my kids, do they get new shoes or does he get to talk to his kids. And, you know, I just think he needs to talk to them.

Families can be tremendous resources, but they are not limitless funds of wealth and generosity. The costs of Derrick’s repeated incarcerations have been dear in both material and emotional terms.

Indeed, despite the emphasis on accountability when policymakers talk about the criminal justice system, Londa’s story shows us how, in an attempt to punish criminality, policymakers have effectively held offenders like Derrick almost entirely *not* accountable in ways that matter a great deal. His enforced withdrawal from the economic responsibilities of family life has pushed both his and Londa’s extended family more deeply into poverty. Given that they started with little, that loss has been all the more keenly felt.

Race and Poverty

While most accounts relating poverty and crime generally describe poverty as driving criminal activity and



thus involvement in the criminal justice system, the relationship runs both ways and is arguably cyclical. Many inner-city families not only experience incarceration because they are poor, they are also poor because they experience incarceration. In light of their experiences, standard correlations, such as those shown above, take on a very different meaning.

One way—the traditional way—of

Incarceration effectively holds offenders unaccountable to everyone who matters.

interpreting these data would be to infer that people who are unemployed or have less money are more likely to engage in criminal activity. This is one of the main findings of William Julius Wilson’s book, *When Work Disappears*: “As many studies have revealed, the decline in legitimate employment opportunities among inner-city residents has increased incentives to sell drugs.” But the experiences of families like Londa’s tell us that the reverse is also true: Incarceration can significantly lower the income and increase the expenses of prisoners’ families.

Like Derrick, over two-thirds of the incarcerated population was gainfully employed prior to arrest. Even though family members sent to prison make, on average, poverty wages, the me-

dian household income is still lowered by the elimination of these wages. And, because many prisoners are often a source of income in households prior to their arrest, the per-capita income in that household, including unemployed, children and elderly, is also lowered when they are removed. Further, many ex-offenders find it difficult to obtain employment after release and, when they do, their earning potential is significantly lowered compared with that of non-offenders. The decreased family income is thus due not only to the removal of a wage-earning family member to prison, but also to the lowered lifetime earning potential of that family member after return from prison.

The effects of this tax are profound. A recent study by Mark Joseph (in Waldo Johnson, Jr., ed., *Social Work and Social Welfare Responses to African American Males*) estimated the effects of incarceration on the lifetime earnings of offenders at over \$300 billion—and that is limited to the age cohort that is 16 years old today. The full impact across the generations, while far larger, is also far harder to estimate. These are costs not borne solely, or even predominantly, by offenders themselves. We know, for example, that, as noted above, phone companies and departments of corrections draw hundreds of millions of dollars each year from prisoners’ families. We also know that a broad

(Please turn to page 10)

(INCARCERATION: Cont. from page 9)

array of other costs—from childcare and eldercare, to services to replace household help, to travel and legal expenses—are borne by families. But because these costs are more diffuse and difficult to estimate, they are rarely discussed.

Impact on Wealth Accumulation

More subtle than the immediate and direct material effects of incarceration on these families, but perhaps more serious, is the cumulative impact they can have on familial wealth across generations. By depleting the savings of offenders' families, incarceration inhibits capital accumulation and reduces the ability of parents to pass wealth on to their children and grandchildren through inheritance and gifts. Indeed, incarceration's draining of the resources of extended family members in the Joseph study—particularly from older family members—helps explain

why there has been so little capital accumulation and inheritance among inner-city families in general and minority families in particular.

This becomes apparent when we see Derrick's family struggling to save enough to buy their children school supplies, let alone provide for their inheritance. The disproportionate incarceration of men like Derrick helps to explain why black families are less

It may be that the criminal justice system is making the most significant contribution to racial disparities.

able to save money and why each successive generation inherits less wealth than their white counterparts. Criminal sanctions—at least in their current form—act like a hidden tax, one that is visited disproportionately on poor and minority families and communities, and while the costs are most directly felt by the adults closest to the incarcerated family member, the full

effect is eventually felt by the next generation as well.

Viewed in this light, the racial disparities in arrests, sentencing and parole described by many researchers take on a broader significance. For example, Census data show that blacks typically possess only one-third the assets of whites with similar incomes. While this pattern is generally attributed to lower savings and inheritance, this explanation begs the question of why savings and inheritance are lower—something that the concentration of incarceration in minority communities and its effect on capital accumulation help to explain.

Finally, it is worth noting that familial costs can also decrease investments in what is often called “human capital,” as moving to a better school district, purchasing an up-to-date computer and attending college all become less affordable. Educational attainment is one of the best predictors we have for avoiding the criminal justice system; but the benefits of investing in (and the costs of neglecting) human capital extend well beyond crime rates. As the stock of resources that a family possesses diminishes, and as members are prevented from caring for one another, more than money and objects are lost. Indeed, the material losses these families face may, in the end, be the least significant concern.

Impact on Father Absence

An examination of the relationship between incarceration and father absence in different income groups, shown as three lines in the graph on page 11, illustrates the extent to which income may mediate the impact of incarceration on family organization.

For all three income groups, where incarceration rates are at their lowest, father absence is fairly similar, occurring in fewer than 25% of households with children. As the incarceration rate increases among lower-income families, father absence increases at a far greater rate than it does among middle-income families, among whom father absence increases at a greater

The Geography of Opportunity wins Davidoff Award

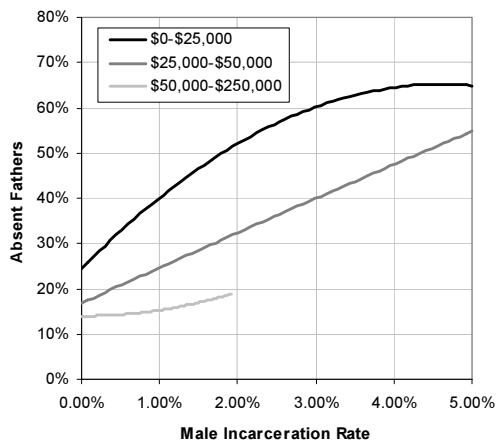
The Geography of Opportunity: Race and Housing Choice in Metropolitan America, edited by MIT professor Xavier de Souza Briggs (a member of PRRAC's Social Science Advisory Board), has won the prestigious Paul Davidoff award from the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning (ACSP). The volume includes – in addition to superb introductory and concluding essays by Briggs – contributions by PRRAC Social Science Advisory Board members Camille Charles, Margery Austin Turner and John Goering, and PRRAC Executive Director Philip Tegeler.

The Paul Davidoff award, awarded biennially, was established in 1981 by ACSP to recognize an outstanding book publication promoting participatory planning and positive social change, opposing poverty and racism as factors in society, and seeking ways to reduce disparities between rich and poor, white and black, men and women.

Paul Davidoff was a theoretician and practitioner of justice and equity in planning. His theory of “advocacy planning” challenged academics and professionals alike to find ways to promote participatory planning and positive social change. Before his untimely death in 1984, he implemented major contributions to the field as an educator, practitioner and intellectual. His influence in planning extends to this day.

The Geography of Opportunity is published by the Brookings Institution Press and is available at www.brookings.edu/press/bookstore.htm

Incarceration and Household Composition by Income



Sources: DC Department of Corrections and US Census Bureau data

rate than among upper-income families. So, as the incarceration rate increases to 2%, the percentage of families absent fathers in upper-income neighborhoods climbs about 5%; in middle-income neighborhoods, it climbs about 15%; and, in lower-income neighborhoods, it climbs over 25%. The common-sense implication of this is that poor families are not only exposed to incarceration more often, they are far more likely to be broken by it.

A Problem and an Opportunity

While it is commonly assumed that the rise of incarceration reflects a peculiarly punitive attitude among Americans, in fact just about no one is happy with the status quo. Indeed, when asked to rank their satisfaction with the various parts of the criminal justice system, Americans put prisons at the bottom of the list. Rather than more incarceration, most Americans favor a thoughtful and socially constructive response to crime. For example, by a margin of nearly two-to-one, Americans favor fighting crime through reforms that feature spending money on “social and economic problems” over spending money on “police, prisons and judges.”

The question is whether the state can meet the public’s preferred response to crime, help push offenders back into a cooperative, pro-social stance, and thus strengthen the norm of cooperation and responsibility-taking in their families and communities. If the state can do this, a natural outcome will be increased participation in the social networks essential to healthy family and community life. Recall that in Londa’s neighborhood this would not be an effect at the margins; it would alter the behavior of a substantial majority of the young men.

The answer to the question is a resounding yes. The best programs—like New York’s La Bodega de la Familia, for example—aren’t blunt attempts to replace failing social networks with the heavy hand of incarceration, but thoughtful preventative programs that make the most of the social networks already in place in families and communities. By reassuring individuals in a community that

Collect calls from prison can be as much as 20 times as expensive as standard collect calls.

the state will push offenders back into responsible behavior rather than remove them from it, pro-social interventions can help increase the likelihood that others in the community will also behave responsibly—which, in turn, makes it more likely that individuals will enter into and remain in the pro-social relationships that sustain and are sustained by that behavior. These are the networks that truly hold offenders accountable.

We should be encouraged by the increased willingness of state and federal legislators, both liberal and conservative, to take a fresh look at their sentencing laws and correctional programs. Mass incarceration, some are

Closing the Racial Wealth Gap

The Ford Foundation hosted an Oct. 29-30 Convening, organized by Oakland-based Insight: Center for Community Economic Development (new name of the National Economic Development and Law Center), with a diverse group of researchers and activists. Breakout work groups dealt with Housing & Home Lending; Savings & Investments; Debt, Credit & Financial Services; Entrepreneurship; Wages & Employment; Land Acquisition, Retention & Utilization; Social Insurance. A Diverse Voices on Assets Clearinghouse has been established: <http://www.insightccd.org/index.php?page=diverse-voices-assets>.

To get involved, contact Insight, 2201 Broadway, #815, Oakland, CA 94612, 510/251-2600, www.insightccd.org.

coming to see, is far too costly to be sustained in the long run, and works against the values they want to see the law promote.

This renewed interest in sentencing reform is apparent in the substantial interest state legislators, judges and administrators have shown, for example, in the Vera Institute’s State Sentencing and Corrections Program, which brings these parties together to discuss and share ideas about the substantive needs and political realities that often make sentencing and corrections reform difficult to achieve. A number of programs (including the Family Justice Program) are also talking across state borders to help each other better understand what is working and what could use improvement. What is encouraging here is state officials’ increased interest in what community corrections professionals have to offer them in terms of cost savings and public safety—an interest that has brought them into a broader dialogue

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(INCARCERATION: Cont. from page 11)

about healthy families and communities.

While we should be chastened by

the immense cost that our criminal justice system has needlessly imposed on disadvantaged families and communities, it seems the time is ripe for change. It should be inspiring to know that, if

we work hard enough and smart enough, Londa's daughter and the millions of children growing in families and communities like hers, can have a brighter future. □

Resources

Donald Braman, *Doing Time on the Outside: Incarceration and Family Life in Urban America* (Univ. Mich. Press, 2004)

Marc Mauer & Meda Chesney-Lind, eds., *Invisible Punishment: The Collateral Consequences of Mass Imprisonment* (New Press, 2002)

Jeremy Travis & Michelle Waul, eds., *Prisoners Once Removed: The Impact of Incarceration and Reentry on Children, Families, and Communities* (Urban Inst. Press, 2004)

US Congress, Joint Economic Committee, "Mass Incarceration in the United States: At What Cost?" — <http://jec.senate.gov/Hearings/10.04.07EconomicCostofIncarceration.htm>

Bruce Western, *Punishment and Inequality in America* (Russell Sage, 2006)

Websites

Families Against Mandatory Minimums — <http://www.famm.org/>

Family Justice — <http://www.familyjustice.org/>

The Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study, Princeton University — <http://www.fragilefamilies.princeton.edu/>

La Bodega de la Familia — <http://www.labodega.delafamilia.org/>

The Sentencing Project — <http://www.sentencingproject.org/>

Urban Institute, Prisoner Reentry — <http://www.urban.org/Pressroom/prisonerreentry.cfm>

Vera Center on Sentencing and Corrections — http://www.vera.org/section3/section3_1.asp

PRRAC Update

● PRRAC welcomes three new board members:

Sheryll Cashin is Professor of Law at the Georgetown University Law Center and a leading civil rights law scholar. Her well-received 2004 book, *The Failures of Integration: How Race and Class are Undermining the American Dream*, is a powerful statement on the continuing importance of racial and economic integration in American society. She worked in the Clinton White House as an advisor on urban and economic policy and earlier served as a law clerk to Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall. She has worked with PRRAC before as part of the advisory committee on our project "Bringing Gautreaux to Scale," and she was the keynote speaker for the Third National Conference on Housing Mobility, hosted by PRRAC in 2004.

Spence Limbocker recently retired as the Executive Director of the Neigh-

borhood Funders Group in Washington, DC, a national network focused on housing and community development. He has an extensive background in community organizing, community development and philanthropy—including work with the national Campaign for Human Development and the Organize Training Center in San Francisco.

Demetria McCain is Director of Advocacy and Education at the Inclusive Communities Project in Dallas, Texas. She is a graduate of Howard University School of Law and began her career as a Legal Services lawyer in the Southeast neighborhoods of Washington, DC. She also worked with the National Housing Law Project in Oakland before returning home to Dallas. She has been an active advisor to PRRAC in its work on HOPE VI and is on the planning committee for PRRAC's upcoming forum on housing mobility and education.

● PRRAC Executive Director **Philip Tegeler's** chapter, "Connecting Families to Opportunity: The Next Generation of Housing Mobility Policy," has just been published in *All Things Being Equal: Instigating Opportunity in an Inequitable Time*, a collection of essays edited by Brian Smedley and Alan Jenkins of the Opportunity Agenda. Available from The New Press, www.thenewpress.com. Margery Austin Turner (of PRRAC's Social Science Advisory Board) also has a chapter in the book, co-written with Carla Herbig: "Measuring the Extent and Forms of Discrimination in the Marketplace: Lessons from Paired-Testing Research."

**Visit PRRAC's
website at:
www.prrac.org**

Resources

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

When ordering items from PRRAC: SASE = self-addressed stamped envelope (41¢ unless otherwise indicated). Orders may not be placed by telephone or fax. Please indicate from which issue of P&R you are ordering.

Race/Racism

- **Buried in the Bitter Waters: The Hidden History of Racial Cleansing in America**, by Elliot Jaspis (335 pp., 2007), has been published by Basic Books. It documents the forcible expulsion of Blacks from towns and counties in the 19th and early 20th centuries, mainly in the South. [10558]

- **Dawn's Light: The Journey of Gordon Hirabayashi** is a new (2007) play by East-West Players of LA, about the man who in 1942 defied the federal government's wartime curfew and "expulsion" of over 110,000 Japanese Americans to concentration camps. Hirabayashi was tried in Seattle, and the US Supreme Court later (1943) ruled against him, 9-0. In 1986 and 1987,

his convictions were overturned in federal court, along with other *coram nobis* petitions filed on behalf of Fred Korematsu and Minoru Yasui. The UCLA Asian American Studies Center (headed by PRRAC Board member Don Nakanishi) is co-sponsoring the world premiere of the play, which runs through Dec. 2 at the David Henry Hwang Theater in Los Angeles. Inf. from 213/625-7000, <http://www.eastwestplayers.org/> [10573]

- **"Framing Race and Class in the Wake of Hurricane Katrina"** is a Sept. 2007 Equal Justice Society report, available (no price listed) from them at 220 Sansome St., 14th fl., SF, CA 94104; to download the report, contact kkamisugi@equaljusticesociety.org [10578]

- **Banished** is an 87-minute, 2007 documentary, directed by Marco Williams, about the forced expulsion of Black Southerners from their homes in the decades following the Civil War. Very positive review appeared in the Sept. 26, 2007 *NY Times*. [10583]

- **Latinos in New England**, ed. Andres Torres (2007), has been published by Temple University Press, [10592]

- **America's Black Holocaust Museum** was founded in 1998 by the late Dr. James Cameron, America's only known survivor of a lynch mob attack (Marion, IN, 1930), who died in 2006 at the age of 92. Very much worth visiting if

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.

you are in Milwaukee: 2233 North 4th St., 53212, 414/264-2500, info@blackholocaustmuseum.org, <http://www.blackholocaustmuseum.org/> [10604]

- **All Things Being Equal: Instigating Opportunity in an Inequitable Time**, eds. Brian D. Smedley & Alan Jenkins (256 pp., 2007, \$24.95), has been published by The New Press. Among those contributing essays are Jared Bernstein, Linda Darling-Hammond, Marc Mauer, (PRRAC Social Science Advisory Board member) Margery Austin Turner and (PRRAC Executive Director) Philip Tegeler. [10634]

- **"Rupture, Repression, and Uprising: Raced and Gendered Violence Along the Color Line"** will be held by the African American Studies and Research Program at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, **April 3-5, 2008**. Abstract and paper deadlines are due Dec. 1 to aasrp@uiuc.edu, 217/333-7781, www.aasrp.uiuc.edu/Conference08/ [10565]

Poverty/Welfare

- **"Savings for Life: A Pathway to Financial Security for All Americans,"** a 47-page, 2007 report, is available (possibly free) from The Aspen Inst., 271 Madison Ave., #804, NYC, NY 10016, 212/895-8070, ifsadmin@aspeninstitute.org, www.aspeninstitute.org/ifs [10543]

- **"Improving Work Supports: Closing the Financial Gap for Low-Wage Workers and Their Families,"** by Nancy K. Cauthen, is a 32-page, Oct. 2007 Economic Policy Inst. Briefing Paper, available (possibly free) from EPI, 1333 H St. NW, #300 East Tower, Wash., DC 20005, 202/775-8810, <http://www.epi.org/> [10555]

- **"Analysis of Fiscal Year 2006 TANF and MOE Spending by States,"** by Marcie Weadon-Moreno & Elizabeth Lower-Basch (Oct. 2007), is available (free) from the Center for Law and Social Policy (headed by former PRRAC Board member Alan Houseman), 1015 15th St. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20005, 202/

906-8000, <http://www.clasp.org/> [10595]

- **“Ending Poverty in America”** is a special 33-page American Prospect/Demos report prepared for the April 29-May 1, 2007 Annual Council on Foundations Conference in Seattle. Contributors include Mark Greenberg, William E. Spriggs, Alan Jenkins, Marta Tienda, Ernesto Cortes, Jr., Jared Bernstein, (former PRRAC Board member) Kati Haycock, Greg J. Duncan, Melvin L. Oliver/Thomas M. Shapiro, Michael Lipsky/Dianne Stewart, Robert Kuttner et al. Possibly free, from either The American Prospect, 2000 L St. NW, #717, Wash., DC 20036, 202/776-0730, or Demos, 220 Fifth Ave., 5th fl., NYC, NY 10001, 212/633-1405, <http://www.demos.org/> [10625]

- **“The Assets Agenda 2007: Policy Options to Promote Savings and Asset Ownership by Low- and Moderate-Income Americans,”** by Ray Boshara, Reed Cramer & Rouke O’Brien (30 pp., April 2007), is available (possibly free) from New America Foundation, 1630 Connecticut Ave. NW, 7th fl., Wash., DC 20009, 202/986-2700, <http://www.assetbuilding.org/> [10628]

- **“Communicating About Poverty and Low-Wage Work: A New Agenda,”** by Matthew C. Nisbet (27 pp., Oct. 2007), is available (possibly free) from Margy Waller, The Mobility Agenda, 202/730-9372, waller@inclusionist.org; a 3-page Executive Summary is available as well. www.inclusionist.org/mobility [10629]

- **An International Symposium on Poverty** will be held in Istanbul, Turkey, **Feb. 1-3, 2008**. Deadline has passed for submission of abstracts (although it always is worth checking). Inf. at sempozyum@deyam.org, <http://www.denizfeneri.org.tr/> [10557]

Criminal Justice

- **The Youth & Police Initiative: Reducing Violence Through Police/Youth Problem Solving** is a program implemented by police departments in Baltimore, Boston, Yonkers and White Plains (NY). Inf. from Police Commissioner Frank Straub of White Plains, 914/422-6350, fstraub@ci.whiteplains.ny.us. A YPI brochure is downloadable at www.nafi.com/YouthandPoliceInitiativeBrochure.pdf [10562]

- **“A 25-Year Quagmire: The War on Drugs and Its Impact on American Society,”** by Marc Mauer & Ryan S. King (30 pp., Sept. 2007), is available (no price given) from The Sentencing Project, 514 10th St. NW, #1000, Wash., DC 20004, 202/628-0871, <http://www.sentencingproject.org/> [10564]

- **“The Hidden Problem of Time Served in Prison,”** by Marc Mauer, dealing with increasing length of prison sentences, appeared in *Social Research*, Vol. 74 (Summer 2007). Reprints may be available from the author at The Sentencing Project, 514 10th St. NW, #1000, Wash., DC 20004, 202/628-0871 [10593]

- **“Changing Direction? State Sentencing Reforms 2004-2006,”** by Ryan S. King (2007), is available (no price given) from The Sentencing Project, 514 Tenth St. NW, #1000, Wash., DC 20004, 202/628-0871, staff@sentencingproject.org, <http://www.sentencingproject.org/> [10607]

- **“Saving Futures, Saving Dollars: The Impact of Education on Crime Reduction and Earnings”** is available at www.all4ed.org/publications/SavingFutures.pdf [10622]

Economic/Community Development

- *Brooklyn Matters* is a 50-min., 2007 film on how the intense pressure to develop on a large scale threatens many neighborhoods. Available (\$69 community orgs./libraries; \$199 institutions) from New Day Films, 888/367-9154, <http://www.brooklynmatters.com/> [10623]

Education

- **“Becoming Less Separate: School Desegregation, Justice Department Enforcement, and the Pursuit of Unitary Status”** (176 pp., Sept. 2007), a US Comm. on Civil Rights study, is available (likely free) from the Commission, 624 Ninth St. NW, Wash., DC 20425, 202/376-8110; downloadable at <http://www.usccr.gov/> [10542]

- **“Health and Economic Benefits of Reducing the Number of Students per Classroom**

in US Primary Schools,” by Peter Muennig & Steven H. Woolf, an 8-page article, appeared in the Nov. 2007 *American Journal of Public Health*. Reprints available from Dr. Muennig, Mailman School of Public Health, Dept. Health Policy & Management, 600 W. 168 St., NYC, NY 10032, pm124@columbia.edu [10551]

- **“End It, Don’t Mend It: What to Do with No Child Left Behind,”** by Neal McCluskey & Andrew J. Coulson, is a 19-page, Sept. 2007 Policy Analysis, available (likely free) from The Cato Inst., 1000 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20001, 800/767-1241, <http://www.cato.org/> [10554]

- *Tough Liberal: Albert Shanker and the Battles over Schools, Unions, Race and Democracy,* by Richard D. Kahlenberg, has been published by Columbia Univ. Press. [10560]

- **“Fresh Ideas in Teacher Bargaining: How New Agreements Help Kids”** (Sept. 2007) is available (likely free) from the Citizens Commission on Civil Rights (headed by PRRAC Board member William L. Taylor), 2000 M St. NW, #400, Wash., DC 202/659-5565, <http://www.cccr.org/> [10561]

- **“Improving and Expanding Hartford’s Project Choice Program,”** by Erica Frankenberg (Sept. 2007), is available, free, as an 8-page summary from PRRAC (1015 15th St. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20005, 202/906-8023, ptegeler@prrac.org). The full 80+-page document can be downloaded at

www.prrac.org/pdf/
ProjectChoiceCampaign
FinalReport.pdf [10566]

- **Prekinder: Aprendiendo a prender** is a new (2007) Spanish language campaign to help Latino families learn more about early education, sponsored by Pre-K Now, 1025 F St. NW, #900, Wash., DC 20004, 202/862-9861, www.preknow.org [10571]

- **“The Missing Piece of the Proficiency Puzzle,”** a 34-page, June 2007 report with recommendations and rubric for parent involvement, is available from the Prichard Committee for Academic Excellence, 167 W. Main St., #310, Lexington, KY 40507, 859/233-9849, x227, raimondo@prichardcommittee.org [10579]

- **“From No Child Left Behind to Every Child a Graduate”** was an Oct. 4-5, 2007 Alliance for Excellent Education conf., held in DC. Audio and video of the entire conference, a complete list of speakers, and PowerPoint presentations are available at www.all4ed.org/events/fourth_HSpolicyconference [10587]

- **“Education at a Glance,”** the 2007 annual report from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, finds that educational progress in the US is lacking compared to international counterparts. Available at www.oecd.org/edu/eag2007 [10588]

- **“What Matters for Staying On-Track and Graduating in Chicago Public Schools”** (2007), from the Consortium on Chicago School Research

at the University of Chicago, is available at http://ccsr.uchicago.edu/content/publications.php?pub_id=116. [10589]

- **“The Nation’s Report Card,”** the 2007 annual report of scores on the National Assessment of Educational Progress — showing that 4th-graders posted the highest scores ever in math and reading, but middle school students are stagnant in reading, is available at nationalreportcard.gov/ [10590]

- **“Title I and Early Childhood Programs: A Look at Investments in the NCLB Era,”** by Danielle Ewen & Hannah Matthews (28 pp., Oct. 2007), is available (free) from the Center for Law and Social Policy (headed by former PRRAC Board member Alan Houseman), 1015 15th St. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20005, 202/906-8000, <http://www.clasp.org/> [10594]

- **“Policies to Promote Adult Education and Postsecondary Alignment,”** by Julie Strawn (28 pp., Oct. 2007), is available (free) from the Center for Law and Social Policy (headed by former PRRAC Board member Alan Houseman), 1015 15th St. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20005, 202/906-8000, <http://www.clasp.org/> [10596]

- **“High School Teaching for the Twenty-First Century,”** a Sept., 2007 Alliance for Excellent Education Brief, is available from them, 1201 Connecticut Ave. NW, #901, Wash., DC 20036, 202/828-0828, Alliance@all4ed.org, www.all4ed.org/publications/HSTeach21st.pdf [10599]

- **“Achievement Trap: How America is Failing 3.4 Million High-Achieving Students from Lower-Income Families”** is a Sept. 2007 report from the Jack Kent Cooke Foundation and Civic Enterprises; available at civicenterprises.net/pdfs/jkc.pdf [10600]

- **“The Challenge and Importance of Organizing Parents Across School District Lines,”** by (PRRAC Executive Director) Philip Tegeler, appeared in the Fall 2008 issue of *Education Organizing*, a quarterly newsletter published by the Center for Community Change, 1536 U St. NW, Wash., DC 20009, 202/339-9300, Ldingerson@communitychange.org, <http://www.communitychange.org/> [10608]

- **“The Proficiency Illusion,”** a 2007 report from the Thomas B. Fordham Institute and the Northwest Evaluation Association, finds that because of states’ variance in their requirements for what students need to know to score at the proficient level on state tests, such tests are creating a false impression of success, especially in reading and in the early grades. Available at edexcellence.net/institute/publication/publication.cfm?id=376 [10615]

- **Schools Are Not Preparing Students for the Global Economy** is the conclusion of a 2007 poll from Public Opinion Strategies and Peter D. Hart Research Associates. Poll results are available at www.21stcenturyskills.org/ [10616]

- **“No Child Left Behind: A Closer Look”:** John Merrow (Learning

Matters) has produced a compilation DVD that includes the three 2007 reports for *The NewsHour*, plus 10 extended interviews. The three are “No Child Left Behind ‘Race’” [that last word referring to how schools take advantage of loopholes buried in the law’s fine print]; “End of the Line” [on how two San Diego schools used to the law to turn their schools around]; and “Teachers’ Take on NCLB.” The DVD is \$8.95 from Learning Matters, 6 E. 32 St., 8th fl., NYC, NY 10016, news@merrow.org [10619]

- **“The Economic Losses from High School Dropouts in California”** is a 2007 brief from the California Dropout Research Project. They also have produced a companion brief, “The Return on Investment for Improving California’s High School Graduation Rate.” Both studies are available at www.lmri.ucsb.edu/dropouts/ [10620]

- **“Education and Safety”** is an Aug. 2007 Justice Policy Institute brief — the first of four that will focus on the effects of positive social investments on public safety. Available at www.justicepolicy.org/content/php?hmID=1811&smID=1581&ssmID=61 [10621]

- **“In Need of Improvement: NCLB & High Schools”** (July 2007) is available (possibly free) from the Alliance for Excellent Education, 1201 Connecticut Ave. NW, #901, Wash., DC 20036, 202/828-0828, Alliance@all4ed.org, <http://www.all4ed.org/> [10631]

- **“Federal Support for Adolescent Literacy: A Solid Investment”** is a 2007 report from the National Reading Panel, available at www.all4ed.org/publications/FedAdLit.pdf [10632]

Employment/ Jobs Policy

- **“Connecting Working Families to Economic Opportunities in the Philadelphia Region: The Role of Employers,”** by Sarah Treuhaft, a 13-page, 2007 report, is available (likely free) from PolicyLink, 1438 Webster St., #303, Oakland, CA 94612, 510/663-2333, <http://www.policylink.org/> [10549]
- **“The State of Working Alabama 2007,”** from Arise Citizens’ Policy Project, is available (no price given) from them at PO Box 1188, Montgomery, AL 36101; online at <http://www.arisecitizens.org/> [10563]
- **“Road to Jobs,”** by Todd Swanstrom (2007), is available from <http://www.transportationequity.org/> [10567]
- **The Labor Heritage Foundation** has a 2007 catalogue of labor, music, art, books and film. Free from them, 815 16th St. NW, Wash., DC 20006, 202/639-6204, <http://www.laborheritage.org/> [10568]
- **The Nonprofit Sector Workforce Coalition** has launched a National Campaign to Recruit, Prepare, and Retain a Skilled and Diverse Next-Generation of Nonprofit Sector Leadership.

Contact Stephen Bauer, American Humanics, 1100 Walnut St., #1900, Kansas City, MO 64106, 816/561-6415, x108, sbauer@humanics.org, www.humanics.org/coalition [10611]

- **“The Mobility Agenda: New Ideas and Strategies for Low-Wage Work - National Scan Summary,”** by Margy Waller (2 pp., Oct. 2007), is available (likely free) from the author, 202/730-9372, waller@inclusionist.org, www.inclusionist.org/mobility [10630]

- **“The Labor Day List: Partnerships That Work”** (13 pp., Sept. 2007) “highlights partnerships between employers and their employees’ unions that meet the needs of workers and fulfill business objectives in the global economy.” Available (likely free) from American Rights At Work, 1100 17th St. NW, #950, Wash., DC 20036, 202/822-2127, <http://www.americanrightsatwork.org/> [10633]

- **Labor Notes** will hold a conference, **April 11-13, 2008** in Dearborn, MI. Inf. from conference@labornotes.org, www.labornotes.org/conference [10591]

Environment

- **“Natural Connections: An Illustrated Guide to Green Infrastructure Mapping”** (27 pp., Aug. 2007) is available (likely free) from the Center for Neighborhood Technology, 2125 W. North Ave., Chicago, IL 60647, 773/269-4058, cindy@cnt.org, cnt.org [10605]

Families/ Women/ Children

- **“Life After YouthBuild: 900 YouthBuild Graduates Reflect on Their Lives, Dreams, and Experiences,”** a 4-page, June 2004 Exec. Summary, is available from YouthBuild, 58 Day St., Somerville, MA 02144, 617/623-9900. Full report available at <http://www.youthbuild.org/> [10617]
- **Campaign for Youth: Our Youth, Our Economy, Our Future - A National Investment Strategy for Disconnected Youth** is co-chaired by Linda Harris of the Center for Law and Social Policy. For more information, contact her at lharris@clasp.org [10626]

Health

- **“Separate and Unequal: Medical Apartheid in New York City”** (33 pp., Oct. 2005) is available (possibly free) from Bronx Health Reach, Inst. for Urban Family Health, 16 E. 16th St., NYC, NY 10003, 212/633-0800, x232, bronxreach@institute2000.org, <http://www.institute2000.org/> [10541]
- **“Building on Success: Moving from Health Coverage to Improved Access and Comprehensive Well-Being for Illinois Children and Youth”** (Sept. 2007) has been published by Mid-America Inst. on Poverty of Heartland Alliance for Human Needs & Human Rights, 4411 N. Ravenswood, Chicago, IL

60640, 773/336-6074, arynell@heartlandalliance.org, www.heartlandalliance.org/maip/documents/BuildingonourSuccessesnoembFINAL.pdf [10556]

- **“National Evaluation of the State Children’s Health Insurance Program: A Decade of Expanding Coverage and Improving Access”** (246 pp., Sept. 2007) is available (no price listed) from Mathematica Policy Research, 955 Massachusetts Ave., #801, Cambridge, MA 02139, 617/491-7900. A 5-page Issue Brief is also available. <http://www.mathematica-mpr.com/> [10577]
- **“Fuel for the Future”** is an Oct. 2007 report from the Children’s Sentinel Nutrition Assessment Program, in collaboration with the Citizens Energy Corporation and the National Fuel Funds Network, detailing the impact of rising energy costs on children’s health. Available (no price given) from 617/638-5850, sedc@bu.edu [10606]

Housing

- **“Increasing Access to Low-Poverty Areas by Creating Mixed-Income Housing,”** by Diane L. Houk, Erica Blake & Fred Freiberg (95 pp., June 2007), is available (no price listed) from The Fair Housing Justice Center, 5 Hanover Sq., NYC, NY 10004, 212/400-8201, <http://www.fairhousingjustice.org/> [10544]
- **“The Growth of a Movement for a Human Right to Housing in the United States,”** by Maria Foscarinis, appeared in 20 *Harvard Human Rights*

Journal (2007). Reprints may be available from the author at the National Law Center on Homelessness & Poverty, 1411 K St. NW, #1400, Wash., DC 20005, 202/638-2535, and is downloadable at www.nlchp.org/content/pubs/Growth_HR_Housing_Harvard1.pdf [10574]

- **The Cushing Niles Dolbear Media Award** is given by the National Low Income Housing Coalition (headed by PRRAC Board member Sheila Crowley) to recognize print journalists who did an exemplary job (during calendar 2007) of illuminating the affordable housing crisis in the United States. \$2,500 first prize. Deadline for entries is Jan. 7, 2008, and winners and honorable mentions will be recognized during the Coalition's Feb. 22 annual reception. Inf./rules/entry form at www.nlihc.org/CNDMA [10580]

- **“Post-Katrina Recovery of the Housing Market Along the Mississippi Gulf Coast,”** a 2007 RAND Corp. report, can be found at www.rand.org/pubs/technical_reports/TR511/ [10581]

- **“Two Years After the Storm”** is a Sept. 2007 report from the Texas Low Income Housing Coalition, documenting the pervasive failures, along with suggestions for improvement. Available at www.texashousing.org/txlihis/hurricanehousing/Two_Year_Rita.pdf [10584]

- **“New Housing, Income Inequality, and Distressed Metropolitan**

Areas” is a Sept. 2007 report from The Brookings Institution's Metropolitan Housing Program, concluding that increases in metropolitan area income inequality are associated with growth in neighborhood-level income segregation. Available at www.brookings.edu/metro/pubs/20070921_housing.htm [10586]

- **“The Oak Park Regional Housing Center 2006 Annual Report”** (“35 Years Achieving Meaningful and Lasting Racial Diversity”) is available (likely free) from them, 1041 South Boulevard, Oak Park, IL 60302, 708/848-7150, info@apartmentsoakpark.org, <http://www.liveinoakpark.org/> [10597]

- **“Housing and Land Rights Crisis! 2007: Violations Escalating Around the World,”** from the Housing and Land Rights Network of Habitat International, is available (no price given) from Joseph Schechla, jschechla@hln.org, +20(0)12 347-5203, www.hln.org/documents/Housing%20and%20land%20rights%20Crisis-2007-HIC-HLRN.pdf [10601]

- **“The 2007 State of Metropolitan [Louisville] Housing Report”** (34 pp.) is available (likely free) from the Metropolitan Housing Coalition, PO Box 4533, Louisville, KY 40204, 502/584-6858, www.metropolitanhousing.org [10603]

Immigration

- **“All Our Children? The Health and Education of Children of Immigrants”** (28 pp.,

Oct. 2007) is available (no price listed) from the Foundation for Child Development, 145 E. 32 St., NYC, NY 10016-6055, 212/213-8337, <http://www.fcd-us.org/> [10548]

- **“Immigrant Integration in Low-Income Urban Neighborhoods: Improving Economic Prospects & Strengthening Connections for Vulnerable Families”** (63 pp., 2007), a report to the Annie E. Casey Foundation, is available in draft form from Lynette Rawlings, The Urban Institute, 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037 or from the Foundation, 410/547-6600, <http://www.aecf.org/> [10550]

Miscellaneous

- **“The Northwestern Univ. Inst. for Policy Research Year in Review 2006”** (80 pp.) is available (likely free) from the Inst., 2040 Sheridan Rd., Evanston, IL 60208-4100, ipr@northwestern.edu, www.northwestern.edu/ipr [10546]

- **“Serving America: A National Service Agenda for the Next Decade,”** by Shirley Sagawa (18 pp., Sept. 2007), is available (likely free) from the Center for American Progress, 1333 H St. NW, 10th fl., Wash., DC 20005, 202/682-1611, <http://www.americanprogress.org/> [10552]

- **“Seen but Not Heard: Strengthening Nonprofit Advocacy,”** by Gary Bass, David F. Arons, Kay Guinane & Matthew F. Carter (2007), has been published by The Aspen Inst., 1 Dupont Circle, #700, Wash., DC 20036, <http://www.aspeninstitute.org/> [10553]

- **“Supreme Injustices** is a short film, narrated by Bradley Whitford (Josh on “West Wing”), produced and available (free) from The Alliance for Justice, 11 Dupont Circle, Wash., DC 20036, 866/347-7866. It focuses on the Supreme Court's recent Seattle/Louisville school decision and the *Ledbetter* gender pay discrimination case. In both, Justices Alioto and Roberts are shown at their Senate confirmation hearings stating positions that were directly opposed to their votes and writings when these cases came before them. [10569]

- **The Agenda for Shared Prosperity** is a new program of the Economic Policy Institute, designed “to address the growing gap between America's promises and its problems.” Details from EPI, 1333 H St. NW, #300, East Tower, Wash., DC 20005, 202/775-8810, www.sharedprosperity.org [10598]

- **“Imagining America: Making National Service a National Priority”** is a 33-page, July 2007 report from the American Jewish Committee's Task Force on National Service. Available (possibly free) from AJC, 165 E. 56 St., NYC, NY 10022, <http://www.ajc.org/> [10609]

- **“A Time to Serve,”** by Richard Stengel, is the 7-page cover article (cover title: “The Case for National Service”) in the Sept. 10, 2007 issue of *Time*. [10610]

- **Voices for National Service** is “a coalition of national service programs, state commissions, and supporters committed to expanding opportunities for Americans to

serve,” founded in 2003 in response to major cuts in federal funding. info@voicesforservice.org, www.voicesforservice.org/be_a_voice.htm [10612]

● **The Corps Network** is “the voice of the nation’s 113 Service and Conservation Corps...operating in 41 states and DC.” Contact them at 666 Eleventh St., #1000, Wash., DC 20001, 202/737-6272, sprouty@corpsnetwork.org, http://www.corpsnetwork.org/ [10613]

● **Public Allies’** mission is “Advancing new leaders to strengthen communities, nonprofits, and civic participation.” Main office is in Milwaukee, with program sites in AZ, CA, CO, CT, DE, FL, IL, NM, NY, NC, OH, PA, TX, WI. http://www.publicallies.org/ [10614]

Job Opportunities/ Fellowships/ Grants

● **The National Low Income Housing Coalition** (headed by PRRAC Board member Sheila Crowley) is seeking Spring 2008 **Interns** — one each in Communications, Outreach and Research; small stipend available. Interested students should send a letter and resume to Internship Coordinator at the Coalition, 727 15th St. NW, 6th fl., Wash., DC 20005, 202/662-1530, x228, linda@nlihc.org [10582]

● **The Howard University Center on Race and Wealth** is seeking applicants for its **Research Associates** and **Research Affiliates**—funding available for the former. Applicants should have a PhD in economics or a related field and be employed at a degree-

granting institution. Send, by Nov. 26, c.v./short statement of interest/copy of a recent publication or working paper to Dr. Williams E. Spriggs, Chair, Dept. of Economics, Academic Support Bldg. B, Rm. 302, 2400 Sixth St. NW, Wash., DC 20059, 202/806-6717, wspriggs@howard.edu, cc: mjharris@howard.edu [10624]

● **Justice Matters** is seeking a **Campaign Coordinator** for its multi-racial and bilingual REAL Schools Now! Campaign in the West Contra Costa County (CA) Unified School District. \$43-53,000. Letter/resume to Cathy Rion, Justice Matters, 605 Market St., #1350, SF, CA 94105, 415/442-0994 (fax), info@justicematters.org

● **The Tellin’ Stories Project of Teaching for Change** is looking to hire a **Bilingual Parent**

Organizer to oversee its family-school program and support their citywide initiative. \$40,000. Letter/resume/at least 2 refs. to the Project, PO Box 73038, Wash., DC 20056, dforester@teachingforchange.org, www.teachingforchange.org

● **Oxfam America** is hiring a **Senior Officer for Research and Learning** for its Gulf Coast Recovery Program. Can be based in LA, MS, DC or Boston. Apply to Minor Sinclair, 617/728-2576, msinclair@oxfamamerica.org, www.oxfamamerica.org/whoware/jobs/positions/senior-officer-for-research-and-learning

● **The Greater New Orleans Foundation** is hiring a **Community Revitalization Program Director**. Ltr./resume/salary history/3 refs to the Foundation, 1055 St. Charles Ave., #100, New Orleans, LA 70113.

Poverty & Race Index, Vol. 16 (2007)

This Index includes the major articles in the six 2007 issues of Poverty & Race (Vol. 16). 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 in database form for all 16 volumes. We can provide photocopies of any of the articles in the Index, and can also send an Index for any or all of the first 15 volumes of P&R (1992-2006). Please provide a self-addressed, stamped envelope. Articles on our website, www.prrac.org.

Race/Racism

501. “The Memphis Strike: Martin Luther King’s Last Campaign,” Michael Honey, March/April
502. “The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination - 2007,” Philip Tegeler, March/April
503. “New Paths for Action Against Racism and Poverty in the United States and All Its Territories,” Ann Fagan Ginger, March/April
504. “A Painful but Necessary Revisiting,” Congressman Steve Cohen, March/April
505. “Apologies/Reparations,” March/April
506. “Race, Wealth and the Commons,” Dedrick Muhammad & Chuck Collins, May/June
507. “Structural Racism: Focusing on the Cause,” Cliff Schrupp, May/June

Poverty/Welfare

508. “Ending/Reducing Poverty: A Forum,” July/Aug.
 - “From Poverty to Prosperity: Executive Summary,” Center for American Progress
 - Chris Howard
 - Herbert J. Gans
 - David K. Shipler
 - Mtangulizi Sanyika
 - William E. Spriggs
 - Margy Waller
 - Michael R. Wenger
 - Jill Cunningham
 - “Center for American Progress Response,” Angela Glover Blackwell, Peter Edelman, Cassandra Butts & Mark Greenberg

509. "The Missing Class: The Near Poor," Victor Tan Chen & Katherine Newman, Nov./Dec.

Criminal Justice

510. "Race, Poverty and Incarceration," Donald Braman, Nov./Dec.

Education

511. "The Seattle/Louisville Decision and the Future of Race-Conscious Programs," Philip Tegeler, July/Aug.

512. "The Social Science Evidence on the Effects of Diversity in K-12 Schools," Roslyn Arlin Mickelson, Sept./Oct.

Housing

513. "Here Today, Gone Tomorrow: The Impact of Subprime Foreclosures on African-American and Latino Communities," Delvin Davis, May/June

514. "Affirmative Furthering of Fair Housing: The 21st Century Challenge," Rob Breymaier, May/June

515. "In Search of a Just Public Housing Policy Post-Katrina," Stacy E. Seicshnaydre, Sept./Oct.

Miscellaneous

516. "To the 110th Congress...", Jan./Feb.

- "Social Inclusion," S.M. Miller
- "Strengthening Collective Bargaining," William Kornblum
- "Reauthorize/Improve NCLB," William L. Taylor
- "The Civil Rights Fairness Act," Philip Tegeler
- "Needed Immigration Reforms," Catherine Tactaquin
- "Play the Race Card and Foment Class Warfare - Some Devilish Details," Gregory D. Squires
- "A Housing Package," Sheila Crowley
- "Help to Assure a Transparent, Effective and

Equitable Gulf Coast Recovery," Chester Hartman

- "Using the Low Income Housing Tax Credit to Connect Low-Income Children to High-Quality Schools," John A. Powell
- "Native Hawaiians, Between Race and Sovereignty," Paul Ong
- "Deal with American Indian Poverty," Gary Sandefur
- "Minimum Wage/College Loans/Immigration," Don Nakanishi
- "Reauthorizing No Child Left Behind," Roslyn Arlin Mickelson
- "Renewing TANF's Employment Barriers; Assisting Ex-Offenders," Olati Johnson
- "Re-Orient Existing Federal Programs, Especially for Education," Margaret Weir
- "Housing and Community Development Challenges," Elizabeth Julian
- "Strengthen the Safety Net for Older Persons," Tony Sarmiento
- "Immigration and Low-Wage Work," Maria Blanco
- "Save New Orleans' Public Housing," Florence Roisman
- "Minimum Wage/Child Care/Health Care," Camille Z. Charles
- "Expand and Strengthen Housing Choice Vouchers," Margery Austin Turner
- "Immigrant Integration," Dolores Acevedo-Garcia

517. "Democracy for D.C.?", Jan./Feb.

518. "Transportation: Regional Equity & Environmental Justice," Karyn Rotker, Sept./Oct.

PRRAC Activities & News

519. "Idaho Community Action Network - Report on 2006 Witt Internship," March/April

520. "Payday Lending in Ohio" (PRRAC Researcher Report), May/June

521. "New PRRAC Grants," Nov./Dec.

522. "2007 Witt Internship Award," Nov./Dec.

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