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PRRAC

Poverty & Race

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Proportional Representation: A Tool for Empowering Minorities and the Poor

by Douglas J. Amy

Adoption of proportional representation elections (PR) in the U.S. is a political reform that should be of great interest to activists and scholars concerned with issues of race and poverty. Thanks to Lani Guinier and others, this long neglected reform is now beginning to get the attention it deserves. Proportional representation would create new avenues of political power for minorities and the poor, two groups traditionally denied fair access to the halls of power in this country.

Denying Fair Representation

Much of the political frustration and alienation that afflict poor and minority communities can be traced to their lack of political power. One important reason for this lack of power is the inability of these groups to elect their fair share of representatives on the local, state, and national level. For instance, despite making up over 12% of the U.S. population, African-Americans occupy only about 5% of the elected offices in the U.S., and have only 1% of the seats in the U.S. Senate.

Imagine for a moment how different it would be if the Senate had twelve African-Americans instead of one. They would make up a small but important voting bloc. Additionally, their very presence on committees and on the floor would be powerful reminders of the political concerns of African-Americans;

no longer would it be easy to put these issues on the back-burner, as so often happens today.

What prevents such fantasies of fair representation from becoming a reality is our continued adherence to an election system—the single-member district—that is inherently unjust and undemocratic. This system is explicitly designed to make it very difficult for racial, economic, and political minorities to elect representatives. Single-member district elections require the winning candidate to attract a majority or plurality of the vote. By definition, candidates representing electoral minorities have great difficulty amassing this large number of votes and so they stand little realistic chance of being elected. In most districts, racial minorities are outvoted by white majorities and the poor are outvoted by middle-class majorities. Thus, under our current system, minorities and the poor have the right to vote, but they often are denied the equally fundamental right to representation. This systematic disempowerment of minorities and the poor is an inevitable result of a winner-take-all, single-member district system.

The PR Solution

Proportional representation is designed to remedy these electoral injustices. It ensures that all groups—minorities and majorities get their fair share

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PRRAC Network Directory Now Ready!

The PRRAC Network Directory (listing the 6500+ race and poverty activists and researchers on our db as of August 1, 1994) is complete and is enclosed in the mailing of the September/October issue of P&R.

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of power and representation in our legislative bodies. These goals are achieved by a simple electoral mechanism: all legislators are elected in large multi-member districts, with the various seats allocated according to the proportion of votes won by a party or group of voters. For example: in a ten-member district used to elect members to a state legislature, if the Democrats win 50% of the vote, they would win five of the ten seats; if an African-American party wins 20% of the vote, it would win two of the ten seats—and so on.

PR systems take many forms (see box, page 10), but they all embody the same goals: (1) assuring that all citizens have an effective vote; (2) assuring that all citizens 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 political opinions and interests in the electorate. The ability to achieve these goals and to produce fair representation for all has made PR the most common and popular form of elections for Western industrialized democracies. Only Great Britain, Canada and the United States continue to cling to single-member district elections. Even the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, while rushing to embrace an American-style economic system, have explicitly rejected American-style elections and (with one exception, Ukraine) have adopted various forms of PR.

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PR has become the predominant form of elections worldwide because it creates a more open, more inclusive, more democratic political system. But what specific advantages would it have for minority and low-income Americans?

PR and Minorities

If proportional representation were adopted in the U.S., it would immediately and dramatically increase the representation of racial and ethnic minorities. Not only would minority candidates be consistently elected, but PR would also allow for the first time the organization of viable minority-oriented parties, such as a Latino party or an African-American party. Currently, it makes little sense to organize such parties, for, like all minor parties in a single-member district system, they would stand little chance of electoral victory. But PR allows for the emergence of a truly pluralistic multi-party system which could include parties representing racial and ethnic minorities.

The single-member district is inherently unjust and undemocratic.

Importantly, using proportional representation to increase minority representation would eliminate the need to create "majority-minority districts"—districts where minorities are the majority. Currently, this is the most effective solution to minority underrepresentation sought under the Voting Rights Act, and it has met with some success. But it also has some important drawbacks and is increasingly embroiled in controversy and court challenges.

One major drawback is that majority-minority districts require the continuation of housing segregation to concentrate minority populations within easily drawn boundaries. When minorities become dispersed throughout a city or region, it becomes much more difficult (sometimes impossible) to create such districts. Also, at times, efforts to create majority-minority districts result in the drawing of oddly-shaped districts, such

as North Carolina's much criticized snake-shaped 12th congressional district. A second problem is that minority dominated districts often deny representation to the whites contained in them. And 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.

Because of these problems, majority-minority districts are a second-best solution: better than the old white-dominated districts, but not as good as proportional representation. PR is a simple and elegant way to ensure fair representation for minorities without any of the complications of trying to create special districts for them.

PR and the Poor

The emergence of new candidates and new parties under proportional representation could also brighten the political prospects of lower-income Americans. For example, in cities where lower-income residents make up more than 10-15% of the electorate, they could mobilize enough votes to elect their own representatives. More importantly, PR would encourage the formation of a true leftist or labor party in the U.S.—as exists in virtually all Western democracies with PR. Such parties would be much more likely to address the problems of economic inequality and the needs of lower-income Americans than do our current major parties.

Such parties would, for the first time, give poor Americans a reason to vote. Currently, lower-income Americans earning under \$15,000 a year have a 44% turnout rate, compared to 74% for those earning over \$40,000. If the poor knew that their vote would actually elect someone to represent their interests, they would have a much greater incentive to vote. Also, truly progressive parties would actively organize and mobilize poor voters, in contrast to the Republicans and Democrats, who largely ignore poor voters in their pursuit of the larger

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Reparations: A Symposium

Our July/August issue had, as the lead article, an interview with economist Richard America, who has written about and advocated widely for reparations to the Black community for the historical injustice and long-term disadvantaging effects of slavery. A supportive commentary by Congressman John Conyers (whose bill, H.R. 40, calls for a study of slavery's legacy and recommendation of remedies) and a "friendly dissent" by Temple Univ. sociologist Howard Winant accompanied the interview.

We asked a number of social scientists and activists to comment on the issues raised in these contributions, and also indicated we would consider unsolicited responses from readers. Seven such commentaries appear below. We hope to print a second round of this symposium in the November/December issue of P&R. If you are receiving P&R for the first time and want a copy of the reparations articles from the July/August issue, send us a SASE.

Let Us Not Accept Either Victimology or Blaming-the-Victimology

by Wilson Riles, Jr.

As has happened so often in the past, when it comes to real money and assets folks get squeamish: it's no longer about "doing the right thing," it's about "you can't be serious." H.R. 40 does not ask for money. It asks for an acknowledgement of "the fundamental injustice, cruelty, brutality, and inhumanity of slavery in the United States and the 13 American colonies between 1619 and 1865." It establishes a commission to examine the institution of slavery, subsequent *de jure* and *de facto* racial and economic discrimination against African-Americans, and the impact of these forces on living African-Americans. The commission will make recommendations to the Congress on appropriate remedies. That is all: a consideration of the appropriateness of a formal U.S. government apology for governmental involvement in the institution of slavery and discrimination, and the undertaking of a reasoned analysis of the value of what was stolen from African-Americans. Any proposed reparations would flow from that analysis as a recommendation to Congress.

Too many Americans of all hues still look at the condition of the African-American community and do not see the legacy of slavery and discrimination presently manifesting itself. The deficit of resources (institutional and capital) that are more available to European-Americans is not a result of differences in the gene pool. No one wants to talk about the fact that this deficit results from what was immorally and viciously stolen from African-Americans and that many bene-

fits from that theft still flow disproportionately to European-Americans.

Even some African-Americans do not want to talk about racism any more—as if they might be asked to struggle for something bigger than their own individual pay checks. Jewish people refuse to let the world forget anti-Semitism and the Holocaust. In spite of responses of irritation and antagonism, they persist in reminding us all what was done to Jews. They have no problem talking about the material aspects of that tragedy. Their persistence has resulted in the creation of the State of Israel.

Although it may be unpleasant, America still needs to discuss slavery, discrimination, racism, and the aftermath and consequences. As Richard America points out, the whole country's "competitiveness and productivity at a macro level" is being damaged by the avoidance of this problem. Our ability to compete economically as a nation is being hampered by the energy and resources being dedicated to keeping racial conflicts under "control."

Let us not indirectly address it or avoid the discussion by hiding under an effort to create a "Marshall Plan for the Cities." That Plan is needed and may be more politically palatable than reparations. However, if what was stolen from African-Americans is not directly spoken of in the Plan, a likely result would include propelling low-income African-Americans out of the urban core. Cities would be successfully rehabilitated, but the conditions of the African-American community would not change. It has

happened before.

Americans respond to forthrightness. Unfortunately, many of our more recent warriors against racism have lacked passion, boldness, and clarity; they have been mealy-mouthed. Yes, there is much that the African-American community can and should do without outside help, but that does not absolve anyone (past or present) or any institution of their participation in the crime. Neither is there any reason that a precise "weighing" of the material consequences of slavery and discrimination would cause hostility from other racially defined minorities nor strengthen any assumption about the necessity of white aid to bring about prosperity in the African-American community. What we need to do is one thing, what happened and is happening to our community is another thing. Let us not accept either victimology or blaming-the-victimology.

The fact that an analysis of reparations owed will establish "a benchmark for the achievement of equality" adds materially to a discussion that has been principally limited to the moral plane. Speaking in such precise terms will not increase racial polarization and antagonism above the level they are at already.

Wilson Riles, Jr., a former Oakland, California, City Councillor, is Pacific Mountain Regional Director for the American Friends Service Committee (1611 Telegraph Ave., #1501, Oakland, CA 94612). While the AFSC has taken a position supporting H.R. 40 in principle, Mr. Riles' views are his own. □

Reparations for Catastrophic Human Waste

by Joe R. Feagin and Hernan Vera

Reparations for African Americans is an idea whose time has come. Not long ago, the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA) was organized to work aggressively for monetary compensation for slavery and other racial oppression. Several black plaintiffs in Oakland, California, have filed suit in federal court asking for nearly \$400 million in reparations for themselves and for black communities. Other individuals are considering similar court suits. Richard America's \$3-5 trillion estimate of the reparations cost seems reasonable, given the huge amount of labor stolen from African Americans over 375 years. The logical payer is the U.S. government.

Many, especially whites, will oppose paying trillions of dollars in governmental reparations as "radical." Yet paying compensation for individual and collective damages is now a well-established principle. We have the principle of reparations for damages done by individual and government action in laws providing for the compensation of victims of crime, including the 1984 Victims of Crime Act. Over the last two decades, the U.S. government has taken action to provide some monetary compensation to Native Americans for the theft of lands by Euro-Americans. The federal government has paid hundreds of millions of dollars in reparations to a number of Native American groups for lands taken in violation of treaties. It should be noted that none of those who stole the lands or who lost the lands are still alive. Given this background, the idea of compensation for black labor stolen and for other damages done to African Americans seems reasonable and in line with recent U.S. government practice.

One barrier is the fact that the magnitude of the oppression of African Americans by white Americans has yet to be understood by whites. Most whites need to be educated to the past and present costs of racism for African Americans, as well as the costs to them-

selves and for society generally. White racist practices represent socially sanctioned ways of dissipating massive amounts of human talent and energy. White Americans must be taught to view racism for what it is: a tremendously wasteful set of practices, legitimated by ancient myths, that deprives its victims, its perpetrators, and U.S. society as a whole of much valuable human talent and energy and many social, economic and political resources. Transforming white opinions and attitudes is no easy matter, but short of revolution no

changes will come until whites give up their ancient prejudices and stereotypes, what Pierre Bourdieu in another context has called the "sincere fictions" around which people organize their lives.

Joe R. Feagin is Graduate Research Professor of Sociology and Hernan Vera is Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Florida (Gainesville, FL 32611). Their book amplifying these ideas, White Racism: The Basics, will be published in December 1994 by Routledge. □

H.R. 40 Misses the Point

by Sharon Parker

Racism is embedded in the dominant American culture so deeply, we (some of us) fail to see it. Most important, we fail to see that it continues to affect all of us: every person, male or female; every immigrant, every refugee; every race, every age group, and every religious, social, legal, artistic, business, educational, governmental institution in the country. Many Americans want to believe that racism has been overcome and that White Americans have no responsibility for slavery because it ended 129 years ago. Such an attitude is consistent with American historical perspective: we are short-sighted, unilateral, and vainglorious. As rugged individualists, we are conditioned to believe that we can fix any problem and overcome any challenge that tarnishes the idealist image of America. But we have not yet "fixed" the problem of racism, and we cannot even hope to do so until we, as a nation, are willing to look beyond the utopian image to the root causes. The legacy of slavery is definitely a root cause of the persistence of racism in today's society.

I use the pronoun "we" because, regardless of our race, ethnicity, color or culture, as Americans we are all respon-

sible for this legacy. It is not just the problem of African Americans to raise again and again. It is not just a problem of relations between African Americans and White Americans. Nor is it simply a matter of oppressor vs. oppressed, or perpetrator vs. victim. We have all been victimized by racism; but worse still, we continue to be victimized by it... today! That is why I am so distraught at the notion of a national commission to study "the damage racism did to African Americans."

Rep. John Conyers' advocacy for federal legislation to establish a national commission is troublesome to me because it only looks at one part of the problem. Once again, the root cause may be ignored and an opportunity for real change will be missed. Rep. Conyers says "My contention is that African Americans are still victims of slavery as surely as those who lived under its confinement." I do not deny the truth of that statement, but it is only a partial truth. A national commission that only focuses on part of the issue is like trying to build a national health care program by only focusing on physicians, or deterring crime only by building more prisons.

The cost to all of us is demonstrated in the local, state, and federal budget priorities on funds for security and punishment rather than education and employment; education systems which cannot address their purpose because of overcrowding, understaffing, inadequate facilities and supplies; health care systems responding to the crisis needs of assaults and drug-related accidents rather than disease prevention and treatment; sub-standard services and goods because workers are not literate, are under great stress, or are malnourished and weak. Incalculable is the loss of human dignity and potential.

Slavery is one of the foulest, most despicable eras of our society. Racism, however, is not the result of that terrible history; it was perpetuated by it. It was racism, fueled by the superstitions and ignorance of the Dark Ages and justified by economic greed and power mania of the European monarchies and churches, that allowed Europeans to classify Africans as sub-human and, hence, legitimize slavery. To most slave dealers, this occupation merely involved the exploitation of another resource in a land full of promise but devoid of ready laborers.

So, with the importation of slaves and the sanctioning of the slave trade, raw, stark racism took hold in the colonies. As with everything else that has grown to become uniquely American in the intervening centuries, racism too evolved to suit the unique blend of peoples and activities carried out in the New World. It mutated and survives today.

It survives as such a fundamental part of the fabric of society that we stoutly deny its existence except in individual incidences we call "hate crimes." But those who manage to step outside societal confines and look closely enough see an entire culture predicated upon the oppositional natures of White and Black; a legacy of the times when Africa was considered a dark and mysterious continent and its peoples savages, devoid of soul and culture. In his book *Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal*, Andrew Hacker noted that White, like Black, is not a simple reference to a homogenous race of humans. It is a symbol of acceptable/unacceptable status in the societal order developed in the U.S. White privilege is only measured in terms of Black penalty and exploitation. Black people and the

concept of Black identity are essential to maintain the power and authority of Whites. This is both an abstract concept and a daily reality. This reality means that people who are defined as "Black" can never fully become a part of society as a people because of the way society is constructed.

I would happily support a commission to study the impact of slavery, or racism, on Americans today. But if Rep. Conyers' advocacy for reparations for the descendants of African slaves is successful, the best I could hope for would be that such action would have the effect of propelling Americans to thoroughly examine the legacy of slavery and provoke critical awareness. Trying to remove only one piece of the cancer of racism will not result in a healthy people. It will only prolong the suffering.

Sharon Parker is Director of Social Responsibility Programs for the Union Institute (1731 Connecticut Ave. NW, #300, Washington, DC 20009). Prior to that recent appointment, she was Director of Stanford University's Office of Multicultural Development. □

Atonement and Self-Determination

by Kalonji Olusegun

Both Chester Hartman's interview with Richard America and Howard Winant's "Friendly Dissent" lack the essence of the demand for reparations as seen by the grassroot Africans, 88% of whom, during a recent survey circulated by N'COBRA, indicated they believed that the United States should pay Black people reparations today. That essence has to do with changing the relationship between the American government and Africans in America, the relationship between Europe and its former African colonies (mainland or islands), and between Europeans and the non-white World. Reparations is a conceptual framework that offers an African perspective for resolving much more than just the economic inequity and social injustice issues that plague this

country. It represents a shifting of priorities from the money machines' exploitation and immediate gratification to a moral, sane, humane, conservation of this earth's human, animal and mineral resources.

We didn't come here to be part of a New World or a New World Order. We lost a war of enslavement and, unlike those European families who came so willingly to America, members of African families were captured, kidnapped, inhumanly crated in sailing tombs and then the surviving brother and mother dropped in Brazil, a sister and maybe father dropped off in the Caribbean for rum and the remaining family members brought to the high bidding settlers of the U.S. to work until they were just dropped off. Upon manumission, this country

abandoned the freed Africans left destitute on the land of our incarceration, abandoned us without food, clothing, shelter, or the means to get back home. As refugees of a War of Enslavement, we were left defenseless to survive the terror of hostile communities, while those who enslaved and brutally forced us to labor from sun-up to sun-down were paid for the loss of "their chattel property," now freed. We had full employment during enslavement and as "property" never got paid! Why should we settle for just full employment, now, at subhuman wages for the trans-national corporate machine for whom America works, that now terrorizes the world with its "free market" oppression? The real economic question may well be the diverted stream of income

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from the masses of poor people that a "Marshall Plan for the Cities" can remedy, but that deals with this country's concern about *all* of its residents and can never be considered reparations for the enslavement of and discrimination against Africans in America.

Africans have learned that we can't trust this country's moral conscience, honesty or justice when it comes to Africans at home or abroad. The master-slave relationships that are recorded throughout European history and which were imposed on us since 1441, as a consequence of losing the war against their invasion of our homeland, still exist at the very essence of European culture. The darkening clouds of the Haitian persecution, the Cuban blockade, the tragedy of Rwanda, the passage of a criminally conceived anti-crime bill and, last but not least, the refusal to even hold a hearing on H.R. 40, are all seen as repulsive attempts at dehumanizing Africans and covering up America's racist role in causing those disasters.

Why is it that H.R. 40, a bill that would only investigate the effects of slavery, only study the impact of slavery, as is the federal government's moral responsibility, cannot even get out of subcommittee in three sessions of Congress? Is the fear of finally facing the truth of one's past so threatening, are the lies so ingrained, the denial so strong that America can't accept the challenge of a "racist free" society?

Reparations is not simply about "the enslavement of blacks a century ago," but about finally terminating the illegal and oppressive slave-master relationship perpetuated against them and their descendants, us; about recognition of the injury inflicted on generations of Africans in America; about respect and restoration of our basic human rights; about obtaining the complete and unconditional control of our resources, those resources stolen from us, deprived to us; and last but not least, about ending the continuing oppression in the form of political and economic subjugation, illegal taxation and the cold-spirited impending terror of mass imprisonment. Reparations are needed to elevate the

pain, suffering and rage, so that our people won't be dependent on the whims and racism of a hostile, mechanized system. This is not just a demand for money, this is a matter of fairness, justice, human rights, morality, equality, atonement, trust, and the God-given right to pursue their own destiny, unmolested. Reparations can provide some of the resources needed to accomplish the healing and strengthening of our self-determination.

Let me repeat, reparations has to do

with the relationship between America and Africans in America. Reparations is our demand for an *apology*, and the self-determination necessary for us to pursue our *own* destiny, make our *own contribution* to the progress of this planet.

Kalonji Olusegun is Co-Chair of N'COBRA, the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America, a grassroots membership organization formed in 1989 (PO Box 62622, Washington, DC 20029). □

Morally Powerful, But Divisive

by David McReynolds

The issue of reparations is valid, it has its own logic, it has the force of certain moral power—but in the real world within which these matters must be worked out I think it will prove divisive.

If one takes a classic Marxist view that a small minority controls the wealth created by the vast majority, and that a transformative shift in how society is run would lead that majority to having control and power over the resources, then there is some hope of winning support (though thus far the United States has proven immune to the appeal). Yet here one should note that only what I would term "punitive socialists"—a minority within the broader socialist movement—see socialism as a way of distributing the wealth. If we took *all* the wealth held by the 10% of the highest part of society (including the relatively few blacks in this category) and simply passed out their funds evenly to the other 90%, the actual shift of wealth would be relatively minor, and fail of the objective, which is not the punishment of the rich, but rather the empowerment of the majority.

Reparations has, of course, certain logical problems—does the funding go to *all* African-Americans, including those who came here from the West Indies after my own ancestors? And how do you separate out the issue of funding owed to the Chinese who were brought here as virtual slaves to build our railroads and then left on their own? Does the reparations movement separate itself

from the Native American community, which in some serious ways has a prior claim to the whole shebang?

The most serious problem is, I think, that we will see a sharp racist cast to the debate, a "Black vs. White" debate rather than a transformative debate about how we empower the poor, whatever their color (and keeping in mind that more of the poor are white than black).

As long as a capitalist structure remains in place, political power will flow from that structure and "solutions" will always fall upon the lower and middle classes. *If* reparations were voted, the taxation would not begin at the top, where it should.

The result would be something similar to the problems encountered with busing where, years after the event, I am inclined to think this was not the right approach to desegregation. The well-to-do were never involved—their kids went to private schools. The kids were pawns in the game and instead of the logic of neighborhood schools, integrated through a serious program of publicly subsidized housing for low- and moderate-income families, which would have brought racial minorities into the white areas, we have seen the continued flight of whites from the inner cities.

When I see on the campus the voluntary resegregation of the races, I am stunned. Something very clearly went wrong and is still going wrong when we see the campuses *creating* Jim Crow as

a result of pressures from the very groups we had hoped to see liberated from that structure.

The reparations program can easily become popular within the Black community—as I said, it has a moral logic to it. But I see a powerful backlash from whites, at all economic levels. I don't exempt myself from feeling an irritation that the burdens of the dead are suddenly on my shoulders.

In my own case, half the family history goes back to the Mayflower in one form or another, never rich, hardworking, lower to middle class. But one-half of the family came from Ireland at the turn of the century to work as a house servant, married, died soon after her children were born.

The issue of the Japanese is instructive—how little was finally granted after how long a battle—and this for a crime that occurred within living memory. But here there were records, living witnesses. The shame is that Congress took so long to move at all.

When Howard Winant talks of the Marshall Plan for the cities, I think he is pushing something that makes much more sense, which embraces the poor of all colors and backgrounds, and can unite them in a common struggle. The reparations issue will prove divisive, and I do not see it leading us toward the grander and broader coalitions we need to build.

David McReynolds is a staff member of the War Resisters League (339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012). The comments are his and not those of the WRL. □

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Focus on Self-interest, Not Shame

by Billy J. Tidwell

I want to avoid oversimplifying a matter as complex as the reparations question. Further, I am not inclined to repudiate categorically Dr. America's positions. However, a few brief points should be made, by way of elucidating key areas of agreement and equally important disagreements between our views.

African-Americans are at another strategic juncture in their development. Actions taken now could be as consequential to their well-being in the next century as was the renege promise of land and mules to their experience in this century. These actions must be based on a judicious assessment of the challenges and prospects facing both the African-American community and the nation as a whole. Both have vital stakes in the outcomes, and neither can afford to be fanciful or facile in pursuing these mutual interests.

Let me begin with the major convergence in thinking, which centers on Dr. America's assertion that "the country will not have a bright future if the problems stemming from past economic injustice and inequity aren't solved." He goes on to emphasize the need to "invest heavily" in those who have been excluded and exploited, suggesting that the nation's economic strength and social stability depend upon it.

Amen! Given the new requirements for economic competitiveness, brought on by dramatic changes in the global marketplace; given the shortsighted domestic policies of recent decades, which have eschewed such investment in human and physical capital as are necessary to maintain a robust, pace-setting economy and high standard of living; given the retrenchments from equal opportunity principles and the related neglect of the inner cities, which have sparked new urban explosions so painfully reminiscent of the 1960s, I could not agree more with Dr. America's assessment.

I disagree with Dr. America, however, in calling for a "reparations" solution.

The efficacy of his proposal hinges on the display of moral rectitude by "massa's" progeny, whereas behavior motivated by enlightened self-interest is more reliable. Further, from a political standpoint, it is more propitious to address self-interest arguments to the larger mass of white Americans rather than to Dr. America's privileged 30 percent.

If African-American progress is contingent upon the conscience-driven relinquishment of "unjust enrichments" by privileged whites, the prospects do not look good at all. People simply don't behave that way. Therefore, to frame remediation appeals in such terms is at best naive and at worst a fruitless diversion of intellectual energy. Effective political mobilization around the question of investment is less likely to be determined by whites who have benefited the most from the exploitation of African Americans than by those who have suffered the most.

The reparations concept is counterproductive in this context. The white masses must be shown how it is in their material interest to combat the residua of racism, not shamed into supporting repayment for past societal injustices over which they had no control.

Use of the reparations concept might also be counterproductive within the African-American community itself. It is important that the present generation of African Americans not become stagnated by the illusion of reparations. Rather, they must more aggressively and creatively strategize, organize, and mobilize their own resourcefulness toward the self-development of the African-American community. And their collective resources are substantial indeed.

Of course, there are limits to what self-development initiatives can accomplish relative to what is needed. However, I am convinced that these limits have not even been approached. Promulgating "reparations" could be a serious

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psychological hindrance to collective action. Unfortunately, few proponents of the concept, including Dr. America, acknowledge this insidious down-side.

The National Urban League's "Marshall Plan" strategy is grounded in the wisdom of mutual interests. It is *not* a reparations proposal. Instead, the strategy is based on the political and economic realities of the 1990s and the uncertainties all Americans face in the

coming decades. Eliminating the persisting disadvantages African Americans experience is a prerequisite for securing the general welfare.

Similarly, the League's promotion of self-development around issues that will decide the future well-being of the African-American community is responsive to today's exigencies. The reparations thesis obfuscates and potentially undermines the individual and group responsibility of African Americans themselves to influence their own destiny. □

Billy Tidwell is Director of Research and Evaluation for the National Urban League (1111 14th St. NW, Washington, DC 20005) and Editor of its annual report, The State of Black America, the current edition of which is devoted to African-American self-development. Dr. Tidwell is also author of two reports that address the subject matter of this commentary, The Price: A Study of the Costs of Racism in America and Playing to Win: A Marshall Plan for America. □

Reparations Versus Economic Integration

by Herbert J. Gans

I agree with Mr. America that the United States is "a large complex multi-racial society that's competing internationally less than optimally," and that to "improve overall performance . . . we need to provide more than palliatives." However, I do not see how reparations will solve these or related problems. I believe that America is now in the process of excluding from, and driving out of, the labor force all of its surplus labor. By subsequently labeling that surplus labor as an underclass—today's word for the undeserving poor—the people so labeled are then declared to be no longer deserving of political or other help.

If reparations were a politically viable way of reversing this process, I would be in Mr. America's corner. However, until he describes how he can sell reparations to whites who are not only themselves scared of losing their jobs, but scared of, and angry at, blacks for a variety of class, racial and racist reasons, I am not persuaded.

In fact, a call for reparations would only divert attention from the fundamental economic and racial issues, and would further polarize blacks and whites on a variety of real and fake political issues. For example, I can already see endless debates on whether all Americans should pay reparations or only the descendants of slave holders—or whether the bill should really be sent to the descendants of the African slave

owners and merchants who sold the ancestors of today's Americans into slavery in the first place. And who will pay reparations to the newest black Americans, the West Indian immigrants who were also once slaves?

Usually, but not always, race-neutral and universalistic policies that benefit as large a number of people, of all colors, as possible do best in the polity. Conversely, the political history of black-only demands and the numerical minority status of blacks would suggest that any proposal that calls for redistribution of income and wealth solely to blacks could not be won. The best financial outcome I could see is a mid-21st century Supreme Court decision approving a token and minuscule payment to blacks, which would, however, trivialize the horrors of slavery and the slave experience in the process.

Reintegrating the present and still growing labor surplus into the economy may no longer be possible. However, it

has to be tried, and the only way to begin is to reorganize the economy to create as many jobs as possible. Raising, promoting, debating, and then pressing for this policy should be undertaken by a coalition of all interested parties, of all skin colors, and even of all classes. A Constitutional amendment to the Bill of Rights to add economic rights would not hurt either!

Herbert J. Gans is the Robert S. Lynd Professor of Sociology at Columbia University (New York, NY 10027). His most recent book is a paperback edition of People, Plans and Policies: Essays on Poverty, Racism and Other National Urban Problems (Columbia University Press, 1994). He has just finished a new book tentatively titled Ending the War Against the Poor: The Underclass, the Undeserving Poor and Antipoverty Policy, which goes further into some of the above points. □

Want to Present Your Work to a Washington Audience?

We'll be glad to host and help you publicize a presentation of your research and/or advocacy work on race and poverty issues. Let us know well in advance when you'll be in Washington, give us guidance on whom or what kinds of people to invite, and we'll send out the notices and sponsor your talk (usually best held during lunchtime).

PRRAC Researchers Report

Human and Civil Rights Abuses by Immigration Authorities at the U.S.-Mexico Border

by Robert E. Koulish

Over the past several years, numerous human and immigrant rights organizations have issued reports critical of the U.S. immigration authorities' activities at the U.S.-Mexico border. These reports have directed much needed public attention to the issue of how inhabitants of border communities are treated by immigration authorities.

To date, however, there has been no systematic research into the treatment of Latinos by U.S. immigration authorities. Instead, they have tended to rely on data collected from individuals who took grievances to governmental or non-governmental organizations.

The present study attempts to examine empirically the treatment of Latinos by US immigration authorities in the Lower Rio Grande Valley in South Texas. With financial support from PRRAC, and the assistance of PRRAC Board member Maria Jimenez, Director of the American Friends Service Committee's Immigration Law Enforcement Monitoring Project (ILEMP), a survey questionnaire was devised to measure the types of mistreatment and its pervasiveness.

Methodology

A sample of 185 randomly selected households was drawn from the population of the Lower Rio Grande Valley. Each household selected one person to be interviewed, and this person provided information for the entire household.

The two-person interview teams were bilingual college students and workers from local NGOs. Many interviewers were from the localities being studied. The interviewers were instructed to ask questions in the first language of the persons interviewed and to explain to the respondents that this was an academic

project, not an activity of a government agency.

The survey instrument was a 45-question survey. The questions were designed to capture three categories of information: general attitudes toward immigration authorities; details about specific

"The officers pulled out shotguns, pointed them at us and threatened that we would be shot."

encounters with immigration authorities; and demographic characteristics of the persons being interviewed.

Survey Results

The results of the survey confirmed the findings of previous anecdotal studies regarding the types of mistreatment committed. The U.S. Border Patrol commits the largest number of reported abuses, followed by the U.S. Customs Office. One account of Border Patrol mistreatment of a naturalized U.S. citizen is as follows:

I was taking two relatives of mine who were undocumented to do some migrant work. My car was stopped by Border Patrol. I was removed from the car, handcuffed, and my vehicle was taken from me. After I was released, I was walking back towards the Valley and met some other workers along the way. It was night and we started to walk together. The Border Patrol approached and I was arrested again. The officers pulled out shotguns and pointed them at us and we were threatened that we would be

shot. They called us "hungry dogs." The officer placed a shotgun at my neck. We were not allowed to talk. I was ordered to lay flat in the Border Patrol van, and eventually I was released.

The most common types of mistreatment by immigration authorities are verbal and legal: harassment, racial slurs, abusive language, and denial of legal rights. A second example, from another U.S. citizen, is as follows:

I was walking home at about 3:40 in the morning when I was stopped by the Border Patrol. The officer started flashing a flashlight up and down. I asked him what he wanted and he told me he wanted to know where I lived. I told him I lived 2 1/2 houses away from where we stood. He shoved me into the Border Patrol van and searched me, I guess for weapons. After the search, he told me to stop walking around because this might happen again. He got in his van and drove off.

In all, we found a surprisingly high percentage of persons mistreated by immigration officials, 10.2%. Further, most of these victims of INS mistreatment are citizens or legal residents of the United States. No single characteristic strongly predicts mistreatment among Hispanics. Rather, all Hispanics are at risk of experiencing mistreatment, regardless of their gender, age, income, language ability, country of birth, or legal status. Finally, official avenues of complaint and redress are not utilized by citizens or legal residents who are mistreated by immigration authorities. The lack of redress suggests that immigration officers are not ac-

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middle-class electorate. It is no accident that democracies that have proportional representation see significantly higher voter turnout rates for their lower-income citizens.

Making our legislatures more representatives of all income groups could also help to change the terms of political debate over poverty. Today, conservatives have succeeded in transforming the issue of poverty into the issue of welfare. Even the Democrats talk about "ending welfare as we know it," not "ending poverty as we know it." Few elected officials focus on the plight of the working and non-working poor. Instead, most court middle-class votes by "bashing" welfare recipients.

Under PR, however, legislators representing the interests of the poor could provide an important counter-balance to this anti-poor rhetoric. By speaking out in the media and in our legislatures, they could begin to focus public attention on the real causes of poverty—such as the lack of decent paying jobs—and attack those politicians who merely attempt to blame the victims.

Current Activism Around PR

The movement to bring proportional representation to the United States is small but gaining political momentum. A national organization, the Center for Voting and Democracy in Washington, DC, has been created to educate Americans about alternative election systems and to coordinate local organizing efforts. Several political organizations, including the National Organization for Women and Americans for Democratic Action, have endorsed PR elections for the U.S. However, many other progressive political groups need to make PR part of their political agenda if this reform is to become a reality.

Much of the activism around PR has been taking place on the local level, where proportional representation could be adopted simply by changing city or county charters. (On the federal level, it would take an act of Congress to allow members of the House to be elected by PR, a Constitutional amendment to

elect Senators in this way.) Groups in North Carolina, Ohio, Washington, California and Massachusetts have been organizing around this issue and have already produced some promising results. In Cincinnati, in 1991, a small group of citizens put a referendum on the ballot to change city council elections to proportional representation. Though the group had little time or money to run a campaign, they succeeded in winning 45% of the vote. This close call suggests that once Americans come to understand PR and its essential fairness they will respond very positively.

The nomination of Lani Guinier to head the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division also has given proportional representation greater visibility. She has been able to capitalize on the media attention surrounding her abandoned nomination to promote her ideas about proportional representation and voting rights to a wide audience of Americans. It is also encouraging that the federal courts have approved pro-

portional representation systems as remedies in local voting rights cases in several states.

Of course, PR is not a cure-all for the various political ills that afflict poor and minority communities. But it certainly is a necessary step toward creation of a more inclusive and fairer political system, and it will finally give badly needed representation to poor and minority Americans who have been systematically denied access to power by our current, flawed election rules.

Douglas J. Amy is an associate professor in the Department of Politics at Mount Holyoke College (S. Hadley, MA 01075). He is author of Real Choices/New Voices: The Case for Proportional Representation Elections in the United States (Columbia University Press, 1993). The Center for Voting & Democracy (Rob Richie, Executive Director) is at 6905 Fifth St. NW, #200, Washington, DC 20012, 202/882-7378. □

Forms of PR

Proportional representation elections exist in several forms, two of which are already being used successfully in the United States. The "preference vote" (sometimes also called the "single-transferable vote") is used in Ireland and Australia and also has been used in the past to elect city councilors in two dozen cities in the U.S. Currently it is used to elect the nine-member city council in Cambridge, Massachusetts. There, all council candidates are put on one ballot. Voters number their preferences by putting the numbers 1,2,3,4, and so on, next to candidates' names. All candidates whose first choice votes exceed the threshold of 10% of all votes are elected. A process of transferring votes then takes place to determine who fills the remaining seats. For example, the lowest candidate is dropped out and those votes are transferred to the voters' second choices. Ballots are then recounted and all those now over the 10% threshold are declared elected. This approach ensures that few votes are wasted and that almost everyone contributes to the election of a candidate.

Lani Guinier has been promoting another form of proportional representation called the "cumulative vote," or CV. In this system, voters have the same number of votes as seats in the district and may divide those votes any way they wish. In a five-member district, voters could cast one vote for each of five candidates, two for one and three for another, five for one candidate, etc. When minorities concentrate their votes on minority candidates, they are often able to win some seats.

CV has been used for decades in business to ensure that minority shareholders have the ability to elect some representatives to boards of directors. It is also being used in Peoria, Illinois, Alamogordo, New Mexico, and Chilton County, Alabama. In that Alabama county, the cumulative vote has enabled African-Americans to win their first seats on the county board.

At first glance, these PR systems can appear complicated, but experience here and abroad has shown that they are easily mastered by voters.

PRRAC Grantees' Advocacy Reports

Women's State-Wide Legislative Network

37 Temple Place, Third Floor
Boston, MA 02111
617/426-1878

Contact: Kelly Bates

The Women's State-Wide Legislative Network has undertaken research analyzing barriers to women in the labor market, the reasons behind single mothers' poverty, and poverty's effect on women and poor women of color. The research, funded by PRRAC and conducted by Randy Abelda of the University of Massachusetts - Boston and Chris Tilly of the University of Massachusetts - Lowell, has been published in the report *Glass Ceiling and Bottomless Pits: Women, Income and Poverty in Massachusetts* (available from WSLN, July 1994, 38 pp., \$10). Their findings indicate that two out of three poor adults in Massachusetts are women and that the poverty rates among Latina women and children are among the worst at 46% and 60%, respectively.

WSLN is currently organizing community forums and meetings for policy-makers, service providers, and other individuals in the community. Forums have been held already in Springfield, Framingham, Roxbury, Cape Cod and Amherst. The research has also been disseminated to statewide legislators in an attempt to influence local, state and national efforts at welfare reform. Pending legislation in Massachusetts mirrors similar efforts at the national level in calling for two-year limits on welfare assistance and an emphasis on having a job while further reducing overall benefits. WSLN intends to continue providing the research results to legislators and communities in an attempt to provide greater understanding of women and poverty in Massachusetts.

Michigan League for Human Services
309 N. Washington Square, Suite 401
Lansing, MI 48933
517/487-5436

Contact: Beverley McDonald

In 1993, Michigan League for Human Services published *The Impact on Individuals and Communities of the Reductions in Social Services in Michigan in 1991-1992* (available from MLHS, May 1993, 56 pp., \$10). In 1991, the State of Michigan eliminated its General Assistance program, the state's only safety-net program for single individuals and childless couples who are poor and under 65, many of whom are minorities. The research, supported by a grant from PRRAC, found that elimination of Michigan's GA program further eroded an already decimated economic base in the state's struggling urban communities. The study also discovered an inability of the labor market to absorb GA recipients and an increase in homelessness.

Since publication of the report, MLHS has used its findings in a broad-based advocacy effort to educate communities about the potential effect of welfare "reforms" which make vulnerable populations less employable, and to prevent further reduction in welfare assistance programs in the state. The research has been used to provide information on the experience in Michigan to inform national policy-making. MLHS has also used the research to provide technical assistance to other advocacy groups across the country addressing welfare reform in their respective states, where similar cuts are being proposed. Assistance includes strategic analysis of how to address welfare reform initiatives and how to develop effective campaigns to counter severe cuts. MLHS also testified before the Connecticut state legislature on the experience of eliminating GA in Michigan and its impact on the poor.

The Sentencing Project
918 F Street NW, Suite 501
Washington, DC 20004
202/628-0871

Contact: Marc Mauer

With research funding from PRRAC, in 1993 The Sentencing Project published *Does the Punishment Fit the Crime? Drug Users and Drunk Drivers, Questions of Race and Class* (available from The Sentencing Project, March 1993, 36 pp., \$8), analyzing the differences in how these types of offenses are disparately treated along race and class lines. Among the findings were that drunk drivers and drug users receive dramatically different treatment in the criminal justice system: convictions for drunk driving are primarily among white males and often involve non-prison sanctions, while for drug offenses offenders are disproportionately low-income African American and Hispanic males, who often receive lengthy mandatory prison terms.

Over the past year, The Sentencing Project has used the report and additional findings as part of a broader effort to conduct community education and policy development in the area of sentencing reform. Recently their findings have received media coverage in *The Washington Post*, the *New York Review of Books* and other publications, and have been cited in a number of legal challenges to drug sentencing policies. The research has also been used in The Sentencing Project's efforts to influence criminal justice policy-making and development of the recent crime bill passed by Congress. Staff of the Project testified before Congress on its work and cooperated with the Congressional Black Caucus in its effort to include prevention provisions in the crime bill by providing findings from their research on the issue of sentencing reform.

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(ADVOCACY: Continued from page 11)

La Cooperativa Campesina de California
2101 Capitol Avenue
Sacramento, CA 95816
916/442-4791

Contact: Ed Kissam, Principal Researcher, 707/829-5696 or Ilene Jacobs, Directing Attorney, California Rural Legal Assistance/Marysville, 916/742-5191

In October 1993, findings from research funded in part with PRRAC support, "The Impact of Migrant Travel Patterns on the Undercount of Hispanic Farmworkers" was published in the Census Bureau's compilation of proceedings from its annual Conference on Undercounted Ethnic Populations. The research analyzed factors contributing to the undercount of farmworkers in the 1990 Decennial Census and found that 60-70% of low-income migrant and sea-

sonal farmworkers may not be included in census data and that rates of undercount and reasons for undercount are likely to vary greatly from one region of the country to another. The findings have a dramatic impact on funding and planning for farmworker housing, health, education, job training, and legal services.

Administration advocacy stemming from the research has focused on the need to address structural deficiencies in the way migrant and seasonal farm laborers are counted. Rather than only seek adjustments to census undercounts, La Cooperativa and CRLA have emphasized the need to correct the demographic and socioeconomic profile of the U.S. farmworker population which arises from census omission of the poorest, least educated, and most marginally housed sub-groups among farmworkers.

La Cooperativa and CRLA are currently working with Federal agencies and

researchers to develop alternative strategies for generating an improved count and profile of U.S. farmworkers. One promising strategy is to use the survey methodology of an expanded National Agricultural Workers Survey in conjunction with administrative data sets (a strategy referred to as the "NAWS+") to estimate the total numbers of farmworkers in the country and seasonal changes in the distribution of the farmworker population due to migration. The NAWS is not a Census instrument but it successfully profiles a sample of farmworkers by using surveyors, many of whom have been farmworkers previously, to conduct face-to-face interviews in Spanish. La Cooperativa is continuing to advocate for inter-agency collaboration to collectively fund research such as the "NAWS+" which will provide the information needed to plan effective social programs to meet farmworkers needs. □

(IMMIGRATION: Continued from page 9)

countable for their actions.

In sum, because immigration law enforcement authorities do not distinguish undocumented immigrants from the larger population of Hispanic residents in the Lower Rio Grande Valley, all Mexican and Mexican-Americans are potential targets for abuse. As the federal courts have ruled on the issue, however, immigration law enforcement authorities cannot legitimately single out Hispanics solely on the basis of ethnicity. Mexicans and Mexican-Americans in South Texas are subjected on an arbitrary basis to the same border enforcement strategies that were originally devised to deter undocumented immigrants and expedite their removal. As the study also indicates, Mexicans and Mexican-Americans in South Texas are still without an effective forum to adequately redress these concerns.

Advocacy

The study was designed to be of use to advocacy groups in their efforts to make policy recommendations to policy designers in the U.S. Congress, the U.S.

Immigration Reform Commission, and the Justice Department. The final report has been submitted to the Justice Department, IRC, and selected members of immigration subcommittees in Congress. Further, the data from the study have been used by advocates in support of H.R. 2110, which calls for creation of an immigration law enforcement review commission.

The study is also intended to be of use to advocacy groups in the Valley as an instrument in their efforts at grass-roots organizing. With the assistance of ILEMP, the public was reached through press releases, and copies of the report were forwarded to newspapers and television and radio stations in South Texas and around the nation. On May 20, 1994, the report was the subject of a "Report to the Community" press conference in Harlingen, Texas, in an attempt to draw further attention to INS abuses.

Much follow-up still needs to be done in the colonias surveyed. Publicity and ready access to free legal services is needed for victims of INS abuse. Also needed are workshops to educate colonias about their rights when stopped by immigration officials. It is hoped that

our final report will continue to be of use to the residents of the Lower Rio Grande Valley in efforts to demand accountability and justice of our government officials, and to publicize human and civil rights violations throughout the border.

Robert Koulish is a doctoral student in political science at the University of Wisconsin, Madison; his dissertation is on the absence of political control over the immigration bureaucracy. His research project was begun in 1990-91 when he was a lecturer at the University of Texas—Pan American; the project was headquartered at the Mid-Valley Community Center in Weslaco, Texas. The full study is available from us with a 9" x 12" SASE with 75¢ postage. A companion study, comparing these results with a similar survey in an Arizona border region ("U.S. Immigration Authorities and Victims of Human and Civil Rights Abuses: The Border Interaction Project Study of S. Tucson and S. Texas," 26 pp., June 1994), is available for \$4 from the Mexican American Studies & Research Center, Douglas Bldg. 315, University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ 85721. □

PRRAC Update

LINDHEIM INTERNS: This summer, for the first time, PRRAC brought on two interns, both supported by the generous gift we previously reported from the Richard and Roselyn Lindheim Memorial Trust. Destefhino Bracey, a third-year Georgetown Law student, has been assisting with our massive data reconnaissance project, the research and advocacy work we are undertaking on the impact of federal housing, health, education and income maintenance programs on minority and poor recipients. Des will be with us through the end of September. Malaika Hilliard, a junior at Brown, undertook the considerable task of putting into a database all items that have appeared in the Resource Section of all issues of *P&R* (see box below). They worked under the supervision of Joe Lucero, our Assistant Director. Both were terrific additions, and we thank them, as well as Daniel and Susan Lindheim, for making this possible.

HEIDI HARTMANN of PRRAC's Social Science Advisory Board, as we reported in the last issue of *P&R*, recently received a MacArthur Foundation "genius grant." The Business section of the Sunday July 10 *NY Times* had a lovely profile of her ("She Always Said Feminism and Economics Can Mix"), which we'll be glad to send to all Heidi fans with a SASE.

SEATTLE/ATLANTA: The seventh in our series of local all-day meetings of race and poverty activists and researchers will take place October 7 in Seattle; an Atlanta meeting is tentatively scheduled for early December.

COMBINED FEDERAL CAMPAIGN: PRRAC now is in the Combined Federal Campaign for the DC area. Our number is 7640. Please consider listing us as your designated charity.

OFFICE SPACE: The small office next to ours is about to become vacant. It's about 400 s.f. and currently is not divided. Rent is reasonable, and we'd love to have a friendly neighbor. Call our Office Manager, Jackie Holliday (202/387-9887), for further information.

PRRAC DATA RECONNAISSANCE: PRRAC is currently conducting a Federal Data Reconnaissance Project. We have commissioned research papers in the areas of housing, education, health care and income security programs, evaluating the quality, accessibility and availability of beneficiary data for Federal programs in each of these areas. Data sources are being evaluated for their ability to reflect communities of color and the poor—in many instances, the communities for which programs in these areas can mean the most. The results of this research will be used to advocate for consistent, clear and accurate data collection reflecting communities of color and the poor. Advocacy will include meeting with officials in the Clinton Administration and in Congress to serve notice on the need for continued commitment to this

area and continued compliance with statutory mandates calling for data collection in the enforcement of civil rights provisions. It will also be used to organize advocates by soliciting their input on identifying gaps in data and specific research needed in the area of race and poverty.

Preliminary results from this data reconnaissance reveal that while data reflecting minorities and poor in these areas are available, they are not always accessible, user friendly, and/or accurate. Nor are they consistent in tracking of both race/ethnicity variables and income or socioeconomic status, leading to speculation that the two variables are not treated as equally valuable indicators of the condition and status of communities that are both of color and poor.

We welcome any general comments or suggestions based on the experience of advocates and researchers in these areas. We are especially interested in discovering what types of data, specific to each of these areas, advocates would find useful. Please contact Joe Lucero at PRRAC with any comments or suggestions, or for further information on the PRRAC Federal Data Reconnaissance Project. □

P&R Resources Now Available on Database

Each issue of *Poverty & Race* lists 100-150 items in the Resource Section. The cumulative list—nearly 1,900 items in all—now is available on a database, and as Resources are listed in subsequent issues of *P&R* the db will be expanded. It will be useful as a general resource for libraries, academic institutions, public interest organizations and others. Its separate sections—Race/Racism, Poverty/Welfare, Community Organizing, Criminal Justice, Economic/Community Development, Education, Environment, Families/Women/Children, Food/Nutrition/Hunger, Health, Homelessness, Housing, Immigration, Rural, Miscellaneous, Jobs/Fellowships/Grants—will be available for specialized use. Inquiries about the db should be directed to Joe Lucero, PRRAC's Assistant Director.

Resources

STARTING WITH THIS ISSUE OF P&R, WE WILL BE LISTING CONFERENCES AT THE END OF THE RELEVANT SUBJECT HEADING, RATHER THAN AS A SEPARATE CATEGORY.

SASE = self-addressed stamped envelope --29¢ unless otherwise indicated. Prices include the shipping/handling (s/h) charge when this is provided to PRRAC. "No price listed" items often are in fact free.

Race/Racism

- **"Black-Hispanic Tensions: One Perspective"** is a paper delivered at the 1991 Amer. Pol. Sci. Assn. meeting by Charles Kamasaki & Raul Yaguirre of the Natl. Council of La Raza. We'll send a copy of the 25-page document with a self-addressed 9" x 12" envelope with 75¢ postage.
- **Challenge: A Journal of Research on African American Men:** The July, 1994 issue of this semi-annual publication is devoted to the 50th anniversary of Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*, marked by an April, 1994 conference at Morehouse College. The 4 articles in the 98-page issue deal with reconceptualizing African American self-concept (by Harold Braithwaite, Jr., Kevin Foreman & Nathaniel Williams), justice (by Susan Welch, Michael Combs, Lee Sigelman & Timothy Bledsoe), the police and other public contacts (by Samuel Walker), and black-white residential segregation (by Reynolds Farley). No single-issue price listed, subs \$10 indivs., \$25 libraries, from the Morehouse Research Inst., 830 Westview Dr., Atlanta, GA 30314.
- **Critica: A Journal of Puerto Rican Policy & Politics** is a brand new monthly publication from the Inst. for Puerto Rican Policy, 286 Fifth Ave., 3rd fl., NYC, NY 10001-4512, 212/564-1075. \$25/yr.
- **Healing Racism in America: A Prescription for the Disease**, by Nathan Rutstein, has been published by Whitcomb Pub., Springfield, MA.
- **Hugh Price's Inaugural Keynote Address** to the July, 1994 Natl. Urban League Convention as its new Pres./CEO got considerable coverage for its stress on global economic trends and the need for help within the Black community and consequent downplaying of racism as the central problem facing Blacks. We'll send a copy of the 19-page speech with a self-addressed 9" x 12" envelope with 75¢ postage.
- **Indian Giver** is a new quarterly newsletter covering Native American grantmaking. Free, from the First Nations Development Inst., 11917 Main St., Fredericksburg, VA 22408, 703/371-5615.
- **Indigenous People's Day** is the Columbus Day alternative (accompanied by a suggested "Italian Achievement Day" to replace the defunct "Day of Discovery"). Inf. from American Citizens Together, PO Box 1036, Bisbee, AZ 85603, 602/432-3660.
- **Latinos in a Changing Society:** The Mauricio Gastón Inst. for Latino Dev. & Public Policy of the Univ. of Mass. is publishing a special issue of the *New England J. of Public Policy* and is seeking 6-8,000 word papers for the issue. Contact (right away) Diana Negrón at the Inst., 100 Morrissey Blvd., Boston, MA 02125-3393, 617/287-5790.
- **Race Questionnaire: Hungry Mind Review**, a Midwestern book review, has put together a short (17 q's, 2 sides of a single page) "list of simple and not-so-simple questions on the subject of race." It was prepared in conjunction with their upcoming Sept. special issue on race and has been used in diversity awareness workshops and radio shows. The quarterly has a \$13 sub. rate, but they are offering a \$5 rate for educators who return the questionnaire. (Likely you can just request a copy of the questionnaire.) They're at 1648 Grand Ave., St. Paul, MN 55105, 612/699-2610.
- "Race Trilogy," by David Kairys, appears in vol. 67 no. 1 (1994) of *Temple Law Review*. The 12-page article discusses the new conservative perspective on equality that establishes a dual system of equality rules and outcomes, with special reference to the *Shaw v. Reno* decision. Reprints available from Prof. Kairys, Temple Univ. School of Law, 1719 N. Broad St., Phila., PA 19122.
- **Reference Library of Black America** (5 vols., 1994, \$189.90) and **Reference Library of Hispanic America** (3 vols., 1993, \$129.90) are available from Afro American Press, 1315 Vine St., Phila., PA 19107, 215/923-2828.
- **The Ethnic Reporter** is the semi-annual newsletter of the Natl. Assn. for Ethnic Studies. Available (no price listed) from the Assn., Dept. English, Ariz. St. U., Box 870302, Tempe, AZ 85287-0302, 602/965-2197.
- **Wakye Warriors: An Effective Alliance Against Racism and for the Earth**, by Rick Whaley with Walter Bresette, Foreword by Winona LaDuke (272 pp., 1994), is available (\$20.45) from New Society Publishers, 4527 Springfield Ave., Phila., PA 19143, 215/382-6543. The book documents a complex story of treaty and fishing rights, environmental degradation, and struggle among Wisconsin's Anishinabe Indians.
- **"Building Personal & Professional Competence in a Multicultural Society,"** sponsored by the Natl. MultiCultural Inst., will be held Nov. 3-6 in Wash., DC. Inf. from the Inst., 3000 Conn. Ave. NW #438, Wash., DC 20008-2556, 202/483-0700.
- **"The America Dilemma: Can't We All Get Along?"** is the 75th anniversary conf. of the Southern Regional Council, Nov. 17-19 in Atlanta. Participants include Julian Bond, Anne Braden, Julius Chambers, Coretta Scott King, Cynthia McKinney, John Lewis, William Lucy & Eva Clayton. Inf. from SRC, 134 Peachtree St. NW #1903, Atlanta, GA 30303-1825, 404/522-8764.
- **"Ethnicity: Family & Community"** is the March 2-12, 1995 conf. of the Natl. Assn. for Ethnic Studies. Proposals/abstracts due Oct. 1 to Dr. George Junne, Jr., CSERA, CB 339, Univ. Col., Boulder, CO 80309, 303/492-2507.
- **"Working It Out: Creating Inclusive Social Structures,"** sponsored by the Natl. Conf. on Peacemaking & Conflict Resolution, will be held May 26-30, 1995 in Minneapolis. Inf. from Linda Baron, George Mason U., 4403 Univ. Dr., Fairfax, VA 22030, 703/934-5142. Proposals for training sessions, seminars, panel discussions and other presentations due Oct. 1.

Poverty/Welfare

- **"An Oregon Family in Poverty: Follow the Smith family from welfare dependency to self-sufficient employment,"** by John Chylek (9 pp. + app., 1994), is available (no price listed) from Catholic Comm. Services, 1095 W. 7th Ave., Eugene, OR 97402, 503/345-3642.

• **Earned Income Credit:** The Ctr. on Budget & Policy Priorities has available a one-pager showing the number of families receiving EIC and the number of EIC dollars received, 1987-92. Contact the Ctr., 777 N. Capitol St. NE #705, Wash., DC 20002, 202/408-1080.

• **Library Bulletin** is a new, free, monthly publication from the Ctr. on Social Welfare Policy & Law that summarizes recent publications, court decisions and federal policy materials on welfare issues. Contact Ramon Curva at the Ctr., 275 Seventh Ave., 6th fl., NYC, NY 10001-6708, 212/633-6957.

• **"Making the Case for a State Earned Income Tax Credit: A County by County Profile of New York State Claimants"** (12 pp. + ca. 60 pp. of indiv. county data, Feb. 1994) is available (no price listed) from Russ Sykes, State Communities Aid Assn., 1 Columbia Pl., Albany, NY 11207, 518/463-1895. The report was instrumental in securing passage of a NYS EITC beginning in Tax Year 1994.

• **New Directions for Reducing Urban Poverty** is a new newsletter covering research, resources & program ideas from the Natl. League of Cities' Urban Poverty, Econ. Dev. & Cities Project. Likely free, from Phyllis Furdell, NLC, 1301 Penn. Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20004, 202/626-3030.

• **"No Work, No Welfare: Able-Bodied Men on the Streets of Chicago—Meeting the Employment and Training Needs of the City's Destitute Men"** (50 pp., Aug. 1993) is available (no price listed) from The Chicago Inst. on Urban Poverty, 208 S. LaSalle St. #1818, Chicago, IL 60604, 312/629-4500 x4525.

• **"The Administration's Welfare Reform Proposal—Two Years and What"** (31 pp., July, 1994) is available (no price listed) from the Ctr. on Social Welfare Policy & Law, 275 Seventh Ave., 6th fl., NYC, NY 10001-

6708, 212/633-6967. They also have available a 400-page packet of materials collected for their July, 1994 conference on welfare reform: \$25.

• **"The Clinton Welfare Reform Plan: Will It End Poverty As We Know It,"** by Robert Haveman & John Karl Scholz (IRP Discussion Paper #1037-94, July 1994), is available (\$3.50) from the Inst. for Research on Poverty, 1180 Observatory Dr., 3412 Soc. Sci. Bldg., Univ. Wisconsin, Madison, WI 53706, 608/262-6358.

• **"The Impoverished Politics of Poverty,"** by Thomas Sugrue, from the Winter, 1994 issue of the *Yale J. of Law & the Humanities*, a critical review of recent books on urban poverty by Lawrence Mead and Christopher Jencks, is available (with a 52¢ SASE) from Sugrue, Univ. of Penn., 207 College Hall, Phila., PA 19104-6379, 215/898-0293.

• **The President's Working Group on Welfare Reform** has available a 5-page summary of the Clinton reform proposal. Available (likely free) from the Office of the Asst. Sec. for Planning & Eval., HHS, 200 Independence Ave. SW #404E, Wash., DC 20201.

• **"Understanding the Clinton Welfare Bill: Teen Pregnancy Prevention & Teen Parents,"** by Jodie Levin-Epstein (15 pp., July 1994), is available (no price listed) from the Ctr. for Law & Social Policy, 1616 P St. NW #150, Wash., DC 20036, 202/328-5140.

• **"Understanding the Clinton Welfare Bill: Two Years and Work,"** by Mark Greenberg (37 pp., July 1994), is available (no price listed) from the Ctr. for Law & Social Policy (see above item).

• **"Welfare & Out-Of-Wedlock Births: A Research Summary"** is a 2-pager disputing the contention that welfare is a major cause of out-of-wedlock births. The statement, designed to refute the claims of Charles

Murray and others, was signed by a verifiable "who's who" of the social science research community, including Elijah Anderson, Rebecca Blank, Larry Bobo, Martha Burt, Sheldon Danziger, Greg Duncan, Ren Farley, Irv Garfinkel, Peter Gottschalk, Robert Haveman, Jennifer Hochschild, Christopher Jencks, Alfred Kahn, Jeff Lehman, Richard Nathan, Melvin Oliver, Lee Rainwater, Gary Sandefur, Theda Skocpol, Marta Tienda, and William Julius Wilson. We'll send a copy with a SASE.

• **"Welfare Reform Proposals, Brief Descriptions,"** by Vee Burke of the Congressional Research Service, describes and compares the 24 welfare reform bills introduced in the 103rd Congress (through July 15). The 51-page document (#94-638 EPW) is available through your Congressional representative.

• **"America's War on Poverty,"** is a new 5-hour documentary by Heruy Hampton's Blackside production company. It will be aired on public t.v. Jan. 16-18. Inf. from Betty Higgins at Blackside, 486 Shawmut Ave., Boston, MA 02118-1863, 617/492-2777 x3869.

Community Organizing

• **Works in Progress**, the premiere issue of which was June, 1994, is a "quarterly report on progressive innovations, interventions and initiatives" from progressive organizations. \$20/yr. from the Applied Research Ctr., 25 Embarcadero Cove, Oakland, CA 94606

Criminal Justice

• **In Spite of Innocence: Erroneous Convictions in Capital Cases**, by Michael Radelet, Hugo Adam Bodau & Constance Putnam (399 pp., Sept. 1994), is now available in pb (\$16.95), with an expanded preface to the original 1992 hb, from Northeastern Univ. Press, 300 Huntington Ave., 272HN, Boston, MA 02115, 617/373-5481. Part II of the 4-part book,

"Pride & Prejudice," focusses on the racial dimension of the problem.

• **"Policing the Ghetto Underclass: The Politics of Law & Law Enforcement,"** by sociologist (and PRRAC grantee) William Chambliss, is an 18-page article from the May, 1994 *Social Problems*. Reprints from Prof. Chambliss, Dept. Sociology, George Washington Univ., 2129 G St. NW, Wash., DC 20052.

• **"The Ecology of Justice"** is the Spring 1994 issue of *In Context*, "a quarterly of humane sustainable culture." The 64-page issue contains stories from people and programs that are working to stop crime in unusual and effective ways, providing tools that can help put an end to the nation's cycle of violence. \$6 from the Context Inst., PO Box 11470, Bainbridge Island, WA 98110, 800/IN-CONTEXT.

• **"Women in California Prisons: Hidden Victims of the War on Drugs,"** by Barbara Bloom, Meda Chesney Lind & Barbara Owen, is a 10-page, May 1994 report. \$3 from the Ctr. on Juvenile & Criminal Justice, 1622 Folsom St., 2nd fl., SF, CA 94103, 415/621-5661.

• **"Women in the Criminal Justice System"** is the theme of an upcoming issue of *Concrete Gardens*, the journal published by the SUNY-Buffalo Dept. of Amer. Studies (their Attica commemorative symposium was listed in the previous issue of *P&R*). They are collecting writings for the issue; contact June License at the Dept., 1010 Clemens Hall, Box 604630, SUNY, Buffalo, NY 14260-4630, 716/645-2548.

Economic/Community Development

• **"Community Reinvestment Act Performance Evaluation Ratings of Savings Associations"** is available (may be free) from Gwendolyn Gregg-Cauthen, Office of Thrift Supervision,

1700 G St. NW, Wash., DC 20552, 202/906-7084.

* *The Underclass of the US Economy: Joblessness & the Marginalization of Work in America*, by David Dembo & Ward Morehouse (46 pp., 1994), is available (\$5) from Apex Press, 777 UN Plaza, NYC, NY 10017, 800/316-2739.

* *Jobs for All: A Plan for the Revitalization of America*, by Sheila Collins, Helen Lachs Ginsburg & Trudy Schaffner Goldberg (136 pp., 1994), is available (\$12) from Apex Press (see item above).

* *More for Our Money: A Primer on Public Deposit Programs* (1994) is available (\$10 govt./univ./nonprofits, \$20 others) from The Woodstock Inst., 407 S. Dearborn #550, Chicago, IL 60605, 312/427-8070.

* *NCRC Reinvestment Competence* is a new bi-monthly newsletter (no price listed) from the Natl. Comm. Reinvestment Coalition, 1875 Conn. Ave. NW #1010, Wash., DC 20039-4728, 202/986-7898.

* *Poverty & Economic Development: Views from City Hall* (30 pp., July 1994) is available (\$15) from the Natl. League of Cities Publications Ctr., PO Box 491, Annapolis Junction, MD 20701, 301/725-4299.

* *Section 3 Reporter* is a new publication of the Section 3 Monitoring Project. (Sec. 3 of the 1968 Hsg. & Urban Dev. Act is designed to assure that economic opportunities generated by federally-funded housing construction, rehab and other public construction projects are directed to the greatest extent feasible toward low- and very low-income persons, particularly recipients of government housing assistance.) The newsletter is available (apparently free) from the Project, 2 S. Easton Rd., Glenside, PA 19038, 215/572-7300.

* *The Empty Promise: The EEOC & Hispanics* (April

1994) is available (\$12.50) from the Natl. Council of La Raza, 810 First St. NE #300, Wash., DC 20002, 202/289-1380.

* *The State of Working America, 1994-95*, by Lawrence Mishel & Jared Bernstein (367 pp., Dec. 1994), is a new Economic Policy Inst. book. Price unavail. at this time. Order from M.E. Sharpe, 800/541-6563.

* *"Where Are the Jobs?"* is the proceedings of the National Governors' Assn's Nov. 1993 employment & training conf., which explores a strategy leading to quality, high-paying jobs for all workers. \$8 from NGA Pubs., PO Box 421, Annapolis Junction, MD 20701, 301/498-3738.

* *Richard Schramm Paper on Community Development: A \$2500 stipend will be awarded to a community development practitioner to write a paper and present it at the June, 1995 Tufts Univ. Management & Comm. Dev. Inst. Applications* (from Ruth Gore, 617/627-3549) due Oct. 14.

* *"Bringing Community Development Home"* is the 1994 annual conference of the Natl. Congress for Community Economic Development, Oct. 5-3 in Chicago. Speakers include Commerce Sec. Ron Brown, Sen. Carol Moseley-Braun and MacArthur Foundation President Adele Simmons. Inf. from NCCED, 1875 Conn. Ave. NW, #524, Wash., DC 20009, 202/234-5009. The Congress also has available a publications list.

* *"Community Reinvestment & Fair Lending: Into the 21st Century"*, sponsored by the NY Law School, will be held Oct. 7 in NYC. Inf. from Prof. Rick Marsico, 57 Worth St., NYC, NY 10013-2960, 212/431-2180.

* *The Natl. Assn. of Comm. Dev. Loan Funds* is holding its 10th annual training conf., Oct. 14-17 in Newark. Inf. from the Assn., 924 Cherry St., 3rd fl., Phila., PA 19107-2405, 215/923-4754.

* *Leadership & Mgt. Program for Community-Based Development* is a capacity-building program of the Development Training Inst. (Joe McNeely, Dir.) The application deadline for the Winter program has passed, but the Spring program (Feb. 27-March 5 and May 15-23) has a Dec. 5 deadline. DTI covers program costs, participants and their organizations must raise travel, meals and lodging funds. Contact Erna Perkins, DTI, 2569 Maryland Ave., Baltimore, MD 21218, 410/338-2512 x152.

Education

* *Breakdown* is a new series from YouthAction, 1830 Conn. Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20039, 202/483-1432. It's a "new resource for young activists, written by youth, for youth." The first issue is on "Threats to Education," "designed to alert young readers to the current political trends that threaten to undermine the ability of our public education system to nurture democracy." It appears to be free, with donations requested.

* *"Building Villages to Raise Our Children"* is a set of 6 ca. 60-page 1993 guides presenting community-based, family-supportive "villages" that coordinate health, education & social services for children and families, \$35.95+s/b. "Reinventing Systems: Collaborations to Support Families" (96 pp., 1994) examines struggles and solutions to achieving broad reforms in state bureaucracies (in CA, CO, NM & WV); \$7.50+s/h. "Paths to School Readiness: An In-Depth Look at Three Early Childhood Programs" (114 pp., 1993) profiles school-based comprehensive family support programs in CT, CO, & FL, \$10.95+s/h. All from the Harvard Family Research Project, 38 Concord Ave., Cambridge, MA 02138, 617/495-9108.

* *"Core Concepts of Reform,"* by William Slotnik, Ex. Dir. of the Comm. Training & Assistance Ctr., a 3-page article

from the Dec. 1993 issue of *The Executive Educator*, "describes the core concepts behind CTAC's organizational assessment approach to true systemic school reform." It's available (likely free) from Slotnik at CTAC, 30 Winter St., Boston, MA 02108, 617/423-1444.

* *PLAN (Push Literacy Action Now)* has a publications list available: 1332 G St. SE, Wash., DC 20033, 202/547-8903.

* *"Rethinking Our Classrooms: Teaching for Equity & Justice"* is the special 208-page July, 1994 issue of *Rethinking Schools* \$6 from RS, 1001 E. Keefe Ave., Milwaukee, WI 53212, 414/964-9646. (Two other special issues of RS are "Rethinking Columbus" and "Why School Vouchers Threaten Our Children's Future.")

* *"The Condition of Education in Rural Schools,"* Joyce D. Stern, ed. (140 pp., June 1994), is a product of the US Dept. of Education's Office of Educational Research & Improvement. It's for sale (no price listed) from the US Govt. Printing Office, Supt. of Documents, Mail Stop: SSOP, Wash., DC 20402-9328.

* *The Harvard Project on School Desegregation* (Gary Orfield, Dir.) has available several publications: "Still Separate, Still Unequal: The Limits of *Miliken II's* Educational Compensation Remedies," by Joseph Feldman, Edward Kirby & Susan Eaton (65 pp., April 1994); "Money, Choice & Equity in Kansas City: Major Investments with Modest Returns," by Alison Murante (34 pp., April 1994); "Resegregation in Norfolk, VA: Does Restoring Neighborhood Schools Work?," by Christina Meldrum & Susan Eaton (62 pp., May 1994); "Slipping Towards Segregation: Local Control & Eroding Desegregation in Montgomery County, MD," by Susan Eaton (82 pp., Aug. 1994). Each report is \$10, from The Project, Gutman Library, Rm. 446, 6 Appian Way, Harvard Grad.

School of Educ., Cambridge, MA 02138, 617/496-6367. Another of their reports, "The Growth of Segregation in America's Schools," is free. Planned for Fall release are reports on desegregation efforts in Prince George's County, MD and Charlotte, NC.

Environment

• "Report on the [April 1993] *Interfaith Hearings on Toxic Poisoning in Communities of Color*" (20 pp.) is available (\$5 indiv., \$7 inst.) from SouthWest Org. Proj., 211 10th St. SW, Albuquerque, NM 87102, 905/247-8832. Their "deluxe package" (\$15 indiv., \$20 inst.) also includes a 30-minute video of the hearings plus SWOP's 4 environmental justice booklets.

• "Toxic Wastes & Race Revisited," by Benjamin Goldman & Laura Fitton (17 pp., 1994), is an update of the 1987 report on the racial and socioeconomic characteristics of communities with hazardous waste sites. \$20 from the Ctr. for Policy Alternatives, 1875 Conn. Ave. NW #710, Wash., DC 20009, 202/387-6030. CPA also has available a publications list.

• The Sugar Law Center is looking for an academic, credentialed public health type who can help them compile/collect data on the health risks of a proposed woodwaste incinerator in Flint, MI (which will burn lead-based painted demolition wood), and analyze the data according to the demographic makeup of those at risk. Contact Kary Moss at the Ctr., 2915 Cadillac Tower, Detroit, MI 48226, 313/962-6540.

• "Creating Community Sustainability Across America 1994" will be held Nov. 16-19 in Silver Spring, MD. Inf. from the Comm. Sustainability Resource Inst., PO Box 11343, Takoma Park, MD 20913, 301/588-7227.

Families/Children/Women

• *Child Welfare Report: Practical Solutions for Professionals* is a monthly

newsletter, \$149/yr., but free sample copy available, from PO Box 5009, Iola, WI 54945, 715/445-5000.

• Displaced Homemakers Ctr. of Tompkins County is "beginning to develop strategies which actively involve and empower members in the process of welfare reform. We are currently in the process of collecting suggestions about the best way to do so." Contact Kami Patrizio at DHC, 301 S. Geneva St., Ithaca, NY 14850, 607/272-1520.

• "Drawing Strength from Diversity: Effective Services for Children, Youth & Families" is available (\$18) from Calif. Tomorrow, Fort Mason Ctr. Bldg. 3, SF, CA 94123, 415/441-7631. Two other reports from them are: "Affirming Children's Roots: Cultural & Linguistic Diversity in Early Care & Education" (\$14) and "The Unfinished Journey: Restructuring Schools in a Diverse Society" (\$24).

• *Equal Means*, a publication of the Ms. Foundation for Women, is a triennial journal "dedicated to informing and networking women and girls on economic issues that impact their lives." Subs. are \$24 indivs., \$40 insts. from Box M, 2512 9th St. #3, Berkeley, CA 94710-9902, 510/549-9931.

• "Jobs & The Gender Gap: The Impact of Structural Change on Worker Pay, 1984-1993," by Maureen Steinbruner & James Medoff (5 pp. + tables, May 1994), is available (no price listed) from the Ctr. for Natl. Policy, One Mass. Ave. NW #333, Wash., DC 20001, 202/682-1800; they also have available a publications list.

• The National Council for Research on Women is a member organization of university-based research centers, national policy organizations and educational coalitions of women and girls. Inf. on their functions and publications from Mary Ellen Capek, Exec. Dir., 530 Broadway, 10th fls., NYC, NY 10012, 212/274-0730. The premier issue of their *Issues*

Quarterly was on sexual harassment.

• The Natl. Resource Ctr. for Youth Services has a catalogue of publications and tapes, training programs, etc. They're at the Univ. of Oklahoma College of Contin. Educ., 202 W. 8 St., Tulsa, OK 74119-1419, 918/585-2986.

• The Rainbow National Reclaim Our Youth Crusade (Jesse Jackson, Founder, Angela Davis, Exec. Dir.) is "working to build a broad coalition to create a youth support system within neighborhoods across the nation." They have available a one-page Goals & Mission Statement and video, "Search Session on Violence" (\$29.95). Contact them at the Citizenship Educ. Fund, 1700 K St. NW #802, Wash., DC 20006, 202/296-6726.

• The Roundtable on Comprehensive Community Initiatives for Children and Families was formed in 1992 "to bring together key participants in the most promising initiatives to discuss lessons they are learning—as they are being learned." It recently was transferred from the Natl. Academy of Science to the Aspen Inst. Co-chairs are Lisbeth Schorr of the Harvard Proj. on Effective Services and Harold Richman of the Chapin Hall Ctr. for Children at the Univ. of Chicago. Ex. Dir. is Anne Kubisch, former deputy director of the Ford Foundation's Urban Poverty Program; 345 E. 46 St., NYC, NY 10017, 212/697-1226.

• *From Sand Boxes to Ballet Boxes*, by Margaret Brudkin & Coleman Advocates for Children & Youth (98 pp., 1994), reports on San Francisco's landmark campaign to fund children's services. Available (no price listed) from CACY, 2601 Mission St. #804, SF, CA 94110, 415/641-4362. Coleman is also holding 2 symposia on the campaign. Oct. 14 in Wash., DC and Oct. 28 in SF.

• "Youth & Adults: Weaving the Future: Symposium '95,"

sponsored by the Natl. Network of Runaway & Youth Services, will be held Jan. 29-Feb. 1 in Wash., DC. Inf. from the Network, 1319 F St. NW #401, Wash., DC 20004, 202/783-7949.

Health

• "111,000 Businesses with 10,436,000 Workers at Risk Today: The Crushing Burden of Health Insurance" (11 pp. + app., June, 1994) is available (\$10) from Families USA, 1334 G St. NW, Wash., DC 20005, 202/628-3030.

• "Doing Without: The Services Families Make to Provide Home Care" (21 pp. + app., July 1994) is available (\$10) from Families USA (see item above).

• "Disadvantaged Blacks More Prone to Cancer" was the headline of a short report in the health section of the June 19 *Wash. Post*. The study reported is "Cancer Differentials Among US Blacks and Whites: Quantitative Estimates of Socioeconomic-Related Risks," by Kevin Gorey & John Vena, in the March, 1994 *Journal of the Natl. Medical Assn.* Reprints available (liberally free) from Dr. Gorey, Univ. of Windsor School of Social Work, 461 Sunset, Windsor, Ontario, Canada, 519/253-4232 x3064. Dr. Gorey and his colleagues expect, during the next year or two, to publish 4-10 additional articles, in peer-reviewed journals, on socioeconomic inequality, race and public health.

• "Fetal Alcohol Syndrome: The Impact on Children's Ability to Learn" (34 pp., July 1994) is available (\$5) from the Natl. Health/Educ. Consortium, c/o Inst. for Educ. Leadership, 1001 Conn. Ave. NW #310, Wash., DC 20036, 202/822-8405; they also have available a publications list.

• "Health Care Debate, 1994: New Frameworks for Change" is the special Spring 1994 issue of *Social Policy*. The subsequent issue will deal with "Movement Agendas" for health care. Subs. to the quarterly are \$20, from

Rm. 1212, 33 W. 42 St., NYC, NY 10036. *Social Policy* has just received the 1994 UTNE Reader Alternative Press Award for best Special Interest Magazine.

• **"Hurting in the Heartland: Migrant & Seasonal Farmworkers Under National Health Reform,"** by Joel Dinger (18 pp., July 1994), is available (no price listed) from the Rural Health Advocacy Inst., 1160 Marsh St. #114, San Luis Obispo, CA 93401, 805/544-7997.

• **"Medical State Reports, FY 1992,"** from the Amer. Academy of Pediatrics, contains the most current data available on the program: state, regional & natl. statistics on children's health, infant mortality, prenatal care and characteristics of the program, its recipients and its costs. Single state reports are free, a complete set of the 50 states + DC is \$25; phone Pat Rogers, 800/433-9016 x7626. Further inf. about the reports from Beth Yudowsky at the AAP, 708/981-7946.

• **"The Health Status of Women of Color,"** listed in the last issue, had the wrong address. The 52-page, 1994 report by Wilhelmina Leigh is available (still no price listed) from the Women's Research & Educ. Inst., but they're at 1700 (not 1800 as mislisted) 18th St. #400, Wash., DC 20009, 202/328-7070.

• **"Unity Through Diversity: The Commitments of Color Leadership Remotable"** is a report from the Healthy Mothers, Healthy Babies Coalition, highlighting maternal and child health issues from the perspectives of communities of color. Free from HMHB, 409 12 St. SW, Wash., DC 20024-2188, 202/863-2458.

• **"Warning: Inadequate Low-Income Subsidy Design Can Cause Problems for Health Care Reform,"** by David Super, Robert Greenstein & Laura Summer (80 pp. June 1994), is available (\$12) from the Ctr. on Budget & Policy Priorities, 777 N. Capitol St. NE #705, Wash., DC 20002, 202/408-1080. A \$3 Summary also is available.

Homelessness

• **"Broadening Perspectives on Homelessness"** is special issue (vol. 37, no. 4) of *American Behavioral Scientist*, eds. David Snow & M. Gerald Bradford. Among the contributors: Kim Hopper, Jim Baumohl, Luisa Stark, Gary Blasi, \$14 from Sage Pubs., 2455 Teller Rd., Thousand Oaks, CA 91320, 805/499-0721.

• **"Learning About Homeless Children, Youth & Families: A Teaching Guide"** (1994) is available (\$5) from the Atlantic St. Ctr., 2103 Atlantic St., Seattle, WA 98144, 206/329-2050.

• **"Life-time & Five-year Prevalence of Homelessness in the US,"** by Bruce Link, Ezra Susser, Ann Stueve, Jo Phelan, Robert Moore & Ehner Stuenkel of Columbia Univ., is a national self-reporting survey showing the magnitude of the problem to be far greater than previous enumerations had shown: 5.7 million people were homeless over a 5-year period, 13.5 million people at some point in their life! The 21-page + tables study is available (no price listed) from lead author Link, Box 47, 722 W. 168 St., NYC, NY 10332.

• **"More Than Shelter: A Manual on Transitional Housing"** (1994) is available (\$15) from the Women's Inst. for Housing & Econ. Dev., 179 South St., Boston, MA 02111, 617/423-2296.

• **"Sponsoring a Transitional Home for the Homeless: A Step-by-Step Handbook for Religious & Community Organizations"** (80 pp., Feb. 1993) is available (no price listed) from The Gtr. Phila. Urban Affairs Coal., 121 N. Broad St., 6th fl., Phila., PA 19107, 215/977-2800.

• **The Sears/Phil Collins Grant Program to End Homelessness** will make awards (up to \$25,000) to nonprofits, with emphasis on programs that assist families with children, national organizations are not eligible. At least \$500,000 will be

awarded. Applications are due Oct. 14 and application requests must be in writing to the Natl. Alliance to End Homelessness, 1518 K St. NW #206, Wash., DC 20005.

• **"Models for the Future"** is a 2-day workshop on service-enriched permanent housing, hosted by Beyond Shelter, Nov. 3-4 in Washington, DC. Inf. from Natalie Profant, Beyond Shelter, 4032 Wilshire Blvd. #501, LA, CA 90010, 213/262-9793.

Housing

• **"Philanthropy & The Housing Crisis: Clarity or Justice?"** by Peter Dreier (40 pp., June 1994), is available (probably free) from Prof. Dreier, Occidental College Internl. & Public Affairs Ctr., LA, CA 90041, 213/299-2913.

• **"Tenants' Rights to Utility Service"** is a new 208-page manual from The Natl. Consumer Law Ctr., 18 Tremont St. #400, Boston, MA 02108, 617/523-8010. \$60.

• **"The State of the Nation's Housing: 1994"** (32 pp.) is available (no price listed) from Harvard's Jt. Ctr. for Housing Studies, Cambridge, MA 02138, 617/495-7108.

• **"We're Power Together"** is a new 23-min. video, from the Comm. for Boston Public Housing, showing the many positive aspects of public housing communities. \$15 (\$10 for low-income mg./indivs) from CBPH, 100 Terrace St., Suite B, Roxbury, MA 02120, 617/427-3556.

• **"Worst Case Needs for Housing Assistance in the US in 1993 and 1991"** (44 pp., June 1994) is a Report to Congress from HUD's Office of Policy Dev. & Research. Probably available from them free: Wash., DC 20410.

• **Fair Housing Planning In America:** A series of six 2 1/2-day symposia has been organized by HUD's Fair Housing Inf. Clearinghouse. Only one (Atlanta) will take

place after this issue of *P&R* arrives—Oct. 17-19. Contact # is 800/329-7466. The already-held ones, and the contact numbers for follow-up inf., were: Chicago, Aug. 23-25, 800/233-1234; Hartford, Aug. 29-31, 800/333-3333; St. Louis, Sept. 12-14, 314/231-8100; Sept. 21-23, 415/873-3550; San Antonio, Sept. 26-28, 809/648-4462.

• **"The First National Conf. on Housing Mobility as an Anti-Poverty Strategy"** will be held Oct. 20-22 in DC. Participants include Henry Cisneros, Roberta Achtenberg, and Michael Stegman from HUD, Benjamin Chavis, PRRAC Board members James Gibson (Urban Inst.) and William Taylor (Leadership Conf. Educ. Fund.), Nancy Denton of SUNY-Albany, Karen Hill of the Yonkers Fair Housing Implementation Office, James Johnson of UNC, Alexander Polikoff of BPI, James Rosenbaum of Northwestern, and George Peterson of the Urban Inst. Logistical inf./registration from Natalie Shear, 1629 K St. NW #802, Wash., DC 20006, 800/833-1354. Prog. inf. from Carolyn Farrow-Garland, 804/978-1986.

• **The 1994 Natl. Community Land Trust Conf.**, sponsored by the Inst. for Comm. Econ., will be held Nov. 3-5 in Hartford. Inf. from Julie Orvis, ICE, 57 School St., Springfield, MA 01105-1331, 413/746-8650.

Rural

• **Broken Heartland: The Rise of America's Rural Ghetto**, by Osha Gray Davidson, is available (\$12) from Anchor Books, 666 Fifth Ave., NYC, NY 10103.

• **Capasles** is a periodical from the Southern Rural Development Ctr. "for educators, researchers, practitioners, local officials and private citizens interested in improving the quality of life in small communities and rural areas of the South." Free, from the Ctr., Box 9656, Miss. St., MS 39762-9656, 601/325-3207.

Jobs/Fellowships/ Grants

• LISC has several openings: **Program Director, Asia**, **Program Officer (Louisiana)**, and **Asst. Program Officer (Arkansas)**; resumes to Sandra Rosenblith, LISC, 1825 K St. NW #909, Wash., DC 20006. **Program Officer (Miami)**; resume/ltr. to Claire Raley, Gtr. Miami LISC, 1390 Brickell Ave. #270, Miami, FL 33131. **Program Director (Mon Valley)**; resume/ltr. to Richard Mason, LISC, 733 Third Ave., 8th flr., NYC, NY 10017, 212/455-9800.

• **Public Internships** linking policy research and political theory to grassroots environmental, social justice and union efforts, are available at the Grassroots Policy Project (headed by Richard Healey) for Fall, 1994. Full time, stipend available, typically for 3-4 month period. Resume/ltr. to Intern Coord., GPP, 2040 S St. NW #203, Wash., DC 20007, 202/387-2933.

• The **Center for Community Change** is hiring an **Organizational Development Specialist** to increase the capacity of community-based organizations in low-income communities. Resume/refs./salary expectations to Dir. Adm. Services, CCC, 1030 Wisconsin Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20007, 202/342-0519.

• The **Chinese Comm. Housing Corp.** is looking for a **Director of Property Management**. Low-mid \$50s. Resume/ltr. to CCHC, 1525 Grant Ave., SF, CA 94133-3323, att: DPM.

• The **Community Training & Assistance Ctr.** is seeking a **Director of Community Development** and a **Sr. Assoc. Comm. Dev. & Coord. of Mgt. Inf. Ctr.** CTAC is a 14-year old minority-controlled organization that develops leadership, planning & managerial skills within low-income urban communities. Resume/ltr. to CTAC, 30 Winter St., Boston, MA 02108, 617/423-1444.

Food Safety Scientist and an **Alcohol Policies Associate**. Ltr. of interest/resume to Human Resources Mgr., CSPI, 1875 Conn. Ave. NW #300, Wash., DC 20009-5728, 202/392-9110.

• The **Ctr. on Social Welfare Policy & Law** has a p.t./temp. position as **Public Inf. Campaign Coordinator** around the welfare reform debate. \$20-30/hr., ca. 15 hrs./wk. Ltr./resume/writing sample to Outreach Coord. Hiring, 1029 Vermont Ave. NW #850, Wash., DC 20005-3592.

• The **Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees Internat. Union** is seeking a **Union Research Analyst** for a corporate research & contract campaign in Las Vegas. Resume to HERE Research Dept., 2500 Wilshire Blvd #1010, LA, CA 90057, 213/368-0750.

• The **Natl. Health Law Program** is seeking a **Staff Attorney** for its Wash., DC office. Resume to Laurence Lavin, NHLP, 2639 S. La Cienega Blvd., LA, CA 90034, 310/204-6010.

• The **Natl. Women's Law Ctr.** is seeking a **Senior Counsel**. Resume to VP Adm./Fin., NWLC, 1616 P St. NW #100, Wash., DC 20036, 202/328-5160.

• HUD's **Office of Fair Housing & Equal Opportunity** has 2 separate job openings for **Program Analysts**. Position #1 calls for knowledge of property lending issues and the mortgage lending process. Position #2 calls for knowledge of property insurance issues and the insurance underwriting process. Maximum grade potential for both is GS-13. Apply immed. to Greg Squires, 202/708-2904.

• The **Partnership for Neighborhood Initiatives** is seeking a **Project Director** for its work in building healthier, more competent communities in six low-income neighborhoods in Palm Beach County. \$38-44,000. Ltr./resume/3 ltrs. of rec. by Oct. 10 to Tenna Wiles, PNI, 2600 Quantum Blvd., Boynton Beach, FL 33426, 407/624-4960.

Miscellaneous

• **Consumer Credit & Sales Legal Practices Series** is an 11-volume set (Sales of Goods & Services, Fair Debt Collection, Consumer Class Actions, Usury & Consumer Credit Regulation, Repossessions, Credit Discrimination, Unfair & Deceptive Acts & Practices, etc.), from the Natl. Consumer Law Ctr., 18 Tremont St., Boston, MA 02108, 617/523-8010. Prices of indiv. volumes range from \$90-90, \$672 for entire set.

• A 5-page article by Mike Hudson, "**Robin's** the hood: How Wall Street takes from the poor and gives to the rich," from the July/August *Mother Jones*, is available from us with a SASE.

• **On the Line** is the new newsletter from the DataCenter, "a nonprofit social justice research center dedicated to providing information to those working for progressive social change." Contact them at 464 19th St., Oakland, CA 94612, 510/835-4692.

• **Surviving Debt: Counseling Families in Financial Trouble** (272 pp., 1992) is available (\$15) from the Natl. Consumer Law Ctr., 11 Beacon St., Boston, MA 02108, 617/523-8010.

• The **Ctr. for Urban Affairs & Policy Research** of Northwestern Univ. has available in Spring, 1994 Working Papers catalog, on such topics as "Poverty, Race & Inequality," "Labor Markets & Employment," "Health Policy," "Media & Public Policy," and "Feminist Public Policy." The Ctr. is at 2040 Sheridan Rd., Evanston, IL, 60208-4100.

• The **Natl. Whistleblower Ctr.** is "dedicated to protecting worker rights, safety and the environment." It provides consultation, information and referrals to whistleblowers in the corporate and government sectors, and alerts and educates the public about issues raised by whistleblowers. Information, publications list, inf. on internships from the Ctr., 415

Florida Ave. NW, PO Box 26381, Wash., DC 20001-9596, 202/667-2075.

• **US-S. Africa Sister Community Project: The July/Aug. P&R** had a typo on their phone number: it's 510/601-7635.

• "**Sustaining Nonprofits Through Tax Credit Partnerships: A Regional Workshop on State Neighborhood Assistance Programs**," co-sponsored by the Union Inst.'s Ctr. for Public Policy & the Missouri Dept. of Econ. Dev., will be held Nov. 17-18 in Kansas City. Inf. from Carol Wayman, Union Inst., 1731 Conn. Ave. NW, #300, Wash., DC 20009-1146, 202/667-1313.

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