

# Poverty & Race

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As always is the case, the September/October P&R is a late arrival, due to vacation schedules. We're also skipping round 3 of our new "Board Member Reports" series, for the same reason. It will be resumed in our November/December issue.

We're happily ensconced in our new, larger offices: 3000 Connecticut Ave. NW, #200, Wash., DC 20008 - same phone and fax. (Sorry if you experienced any difficulties in trying to reach us during August - Bell Atlantic unfortunately performed poorly in the move.)

## "Not the Rich, More Than the Poor": Poverty, Race, and Campaign Finance Reform

by John C. Bonifaz

The American experiment with democracy is failing. In this new Gilded Age, wealth is increasingly concentrated in fewer hands and the gap between the rich and poor has grown ever wider. For the 13% of this nation living in poverty and for the millions of the working poor, the current political process is bankrupt. It does not provide any meaningful opportunity for the voices of ordinary citizens to be heard. For the very forces that control and directly benefit from the U.S. economy also control and directly benefit from today's campaign finance system, and in doing so, disproportionately influence our public elections.

No experiment with democracy can survive under these conditions. Instead, it becomes a plutocracy, which the *Random House Webster's Unabridged Dictionary* defines as: "1. the rule or power of wealth or the wealthy; 2. a government or state in which the wealthy class rules; 3. a class or group

ruling, or exercising power or influence, by virtue of its wealth."

We can change the direction. To do this, we must not only highlight the standard arguments of the danger of corruption posed by our money-dominated political system. We must also return to the bedrock principle of democracy: political equality for all. The power of the democratic vision lies in that simple promise. As James Madison wrote in *The Federalist Papers No. 57*:

Who are to be the electors of the federal representatives? Not the rich, more than the poor; not the learned, more than the ignorant; not the haughty heirs of distinguished names, more than the humble sons of obscure and unpropitious fortune. The electors are to be the great body of the people of the United States...

This article focuses on the campaign finance system's impact on the politi-

cal voice of the poor of this nation. Too often in the campaign finance debate, this question is largely ignored. Yet, if the promise of political equality is to mean anything, it must, first and foremost, have meaning for the most powerless of our society. The political process cannot serve as an avenue for changing economic conditions for the poor when the playing

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field is uneven. In a true democracy, the poor and the rich must stand on equal ground.

## The Poll Tax as History

Despite James Madison's eloquent words more than two centuries ago, this nation has a long tradition of property and wealth conditioning political participation. The history of the poll tax presents the proper context for assessing today's system of privately-financed public election campaigns.

Thirty-three years ago, in addressing the poll tax barrier for the third time, the U.S. Supreme Court finally articulated the principle that wealth discrimination in the political process is prohibited, in state as well as federal elections. In 1966, Annie Harper, a poor Virginia voter, made history. She and other poor voters brought a constitutional challenge to Virginia's \$1.50 poll tax to the Supreme Court — and won. The nation's highest court, in *Harper v. Virginia Board of Elections*, struck down the poll tax on equal protection grounds. "A State violates the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution," the Court ruled, "whenever it makes the affluence of

the voter or payment of any fee an electoral standard. Voter qualifications have no relation to wealth...." The poll tax, a fee charged to citizens throughout the South as a requirement for exercising their right to vote, was no longer consistent with the U.S. Constitution. And, of course, the barrier the poll tax created to democratic participation, while aimed at all poor citizens, disproportionately disenfranchised African-Americans.

In issuing this ruling, which came two years after the Twenty-Fourth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution banned poll taxes in federal elections, the Supreme Court reversed its two prior decisions upholding the poll tax.

## *Abolishing the campaign finance barrier means full public financing of our elections.*

In 1937 (*Breedlove v. Suttles*) and in 1951 (*Butler v. Thompson*), poor voters had challenged the poll tax on equal protection grounds. In both cases, the Court found constitutional justification for requiring citizens to pay a fee in order to vote. But Justice William O. Douglas, speaking for the Court in the 1966 *Harper* case, stated:

[T]he Equal Protection Clause is not shackled to the political theory of a particular era. In determining what lines are unconstitutionally discriminatory, we have never been confined to historic notions of equality, any more than we have restricted due process to a fixed catalogue of what was at a given time deemed to be the limits of fundamental rights. Notions of what constitutes equal treatment for purposes of the Equal Protection Clause *do* change. [emphasis in original]

## The Campaign Finance Barrier

The campaign finance system of today has replaced the poll tax of the past as the newest wealth barrier to equal and meaningful participation in the political process. Like the earlier poll tax, the current campaign finance system "makes the affluence of the voter...an electoral standard." The system operates like a "wealth primary," effectively pre-selecting the candidates who will be viable and who, almost invariably, will go on to win election. Voters lacking access to wealth are too often left simply to ratify the decisions made by that exclusionary process.

Consider these facts: In the 1996 elections, 92% of U.S. House of Representative winners and 88% of U.S. Senate winners first won the wealth primary — outraising and outspending their opponents — and then went on to win election. The vast majority of campaign money comes from a tiny and wealthy segment of our society. Less than 1% of the population contributes more than 80% of all money in federal elections in amounts of \$200 or more. Wealthy individuals and monied interests increasingly control our elections, drowning out the voices of ordinary citizens.

While the campaign finance system discriminates against the vast majority of Americans who cannot amass and contribute large sums of money for the candidates of their choice, it reserves its harshest impact for the poor. Annie Harper did not have \$1.50 in order to vote in Virginia's state elections. A candidate running for the U.S. House of Representatives today must have, on average, half a million dollars in order to win. A U.S. Senate candidate must have \$4.6 million. A presidential run? Check back soon for the latest record. For the Annie Harpers of today, equal and meaningful participation in the political process remains only a dream. The wealth barrier is higher than ever.

When we consider the intersection of campaign finance and race, we find

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# Achieving Racial Justice: What's Sprawl Got to Do With It?

by john a. powell

Race plays a significant role in creating and maintaining fragmented metropolitan regions through urban sprawl and racialized concentrated poverty. While this idea is gaining attention from urban activists of color, the epicenter of the anti-sprawl debate remains the suburb, where race and social justice issues are seldom, if ever, mentioned.

I have argued that one of the central forces behind the sprawl explosion is white aversion to blacks, which is supported and reinforced by large institutions such as the federal government, the real estate industry, the banking industry, and state and local zoning boards. One cannot adequately account for the increase in racial segregation and the proliferation of small fragmented jurisdictions, by simply examining personal choice, personal racial dynamics or market forces. The federal government alone has spent over a trillion dollars through sprawl subsidies to create and support the jurisdictional segregation that is now the norm in our metropolitan landscape. While the government paid for and subsidized white flight from central cities through FHA and VA mortgage insurance, tax policies and highway and other infrastructure investments, it also divested the inner cities of their resources and the people of color in those cities of their opportunities.

Others have written about the far-reaching negative effects this segregated jurisdictional structure has had on blacks, including racialized concentrated poverty at the urban core, the development of what Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton have called "American apartheid," and isolation from opportunities as job growth and regional resources are pulled out of the city and into the suburbs. In fact, some have argued that not only have we racialized our space, but it is through space that we do our "racing" in the late 20<sup>th</sup> cen-

ture. Despite this growing body of work, few have made the connection between these negative consequences and the severe limitations that sprawl and fragmentation have placed on the civil rights movement. This oversight is dramatic because there is strong evidence to support the position that this spatial arrangement has been the single most effective tool for maintaining black subordination since the repeal of Jim Crow laws.

## Some Race History

In order to fully understand this connection between sprawl and civil

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*It is through space that we do our "racing" in the late 20th century.*

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rights, it is necessary to look at the historical forces behind the racial dynamics in America. At the turn of the century black Americans comprised 12% (almost nine million) of the American population, and 90% (almost eight million) of black Americans still lived in the old Confederate South. While the same level of residential segregation that exists today did not exist at the turn of the century, blacks in the North and South were socially and economically segregated and subjugated by a number of practices, including Jim Crow laws and racial terrorism. Blacks were denied the right to vote, serve on juries, hold many jobs and attend integrated schools. In short, blacks were not politically, economically or socially equal to whites; they remained less than full citizens.

During the Industrial Revolution the preferred labor pool of white European immigrants began to dry up,

initially during World War I, then more severely during and after World War II. So the North began to hire blacks from the South. It was during this time that blacks started moving to Northern cities in record numbers. During the height of the Great Migration, the trickle of blacks from the rural South to the urban North became a torrent, as five million blacks moved to the North after 1940.

At the same time that millions of blacks were coming to the urban North in search of opportunity and inclusion that had been denied them in the South, the civil rights movement took root. While many of the foundations and strategies associated with the civil rights movement crystallized during the 30's and 40's, it was World War II itself that radically changed the demands and the response for racial inclusion and justice in our society. The fact that the United States was engaged in an anti-racist war was not lost on blacks in the U.S. Although the focus of the legal strategy was on education, the ultimate goal of the civil rights movement was to end all forms of racial subordination, and to gain access to real opportunity and full citizenship.

The Supreme Court responded to the growing demands for racial justice, as it appeared to abandon its earlier role of frustrating racial justice efforts during the First Reconstruction era. Instead, the Court became one of the first institutions to begin to dismantle the Jim Crow system of racial subordination. The Court demon-

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**We dedicate this issue of P&R to the memory of James Farmer, the Civil Rights giant of the 50s and 60s.**

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strated its commitment to racial justice by refusing to enforce racially restrictive covenants in *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948), and in the area of education, the Court chipped away at the separate but equal doctrine it had announced in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). But at the same time that the Court was beginning to break down a racial caste system inscribed in law, it, along with other powerful government and non-governmental institutions, was establishing "American apartheid": racial segregation re-inscribed in jurisdictional boundaries.

In 1950, 60% of Americans living in metropolitan areas still lived in the central cities. The city was still the regional hub for jobs, a strong tax base, decent housing, good schools, retail and other opportunities.

This picture changed rapidly as the suburban population doubled between 1950 and 1970, and by 1990 the suburbs contained two-thirds of the metropolitan population, while only one-third remained in the central cities. With this population shift, a jurisdictional change occurred as well. In 1950, 60% of America's metropolitan residents lived in just 193 jurisdictions. By 1990, almost 70% of the metropolitan population lived in 9,600 suburban jurisdictions, indicating the shift to a more fragmented regional structure. This process of land use planning has aptly been called "land use war."

Jobs also relocated to the suburbs, and the central city's strong tax base soon followed. It was no coincidence that these shifts occurred shortly after large numbers of blacks moved into these urban areas. The fracturing of metropolitan areas is almost always a racially motivated method of excluding blacks. In order for this racial sorting to work, however, suburbs had to both attract whites and exclude blacks. Federal and state governments normalized these practices in our society by creating incentives for whites to move to the suburbs, while erecting barriers preventing blacks from doing the same. Barriers to the sub-

### **"Putting the 'Movement' Back Into Civil Rights Teaching"**

A free all-day institute on information, strategies & resources to teach about the Civil Rights Movement from a social justice perspective will be held Saturday, Oct. 30 at the Howard Univ. School of Business. K-12 educators (teachers, administrators, school board members, parents) are encouraged to attend. PRRAC is one of the sponsors.

Bob Moses and Howard Zinn are among the resource people.

For information/registration, contact the Network of Educators on the Americas, 202/238-2387. Spread the word to teachers and other educators you know!

urbs were not economic but racial, as many low-income whites were able to gain access to the suburbs while access was denied to blacks through

### ***The Supreme Court supported regional segregation through the constitutionalization of "local control."***

redlining, racial steering and discriminatory zoning practices. These numerous small white communities used their expanding autonomy to further capture resources and opportunities while excluding blacks and other minorities.

### **The Role of the Courts**

While the Supreme Court supported desegregation within cities by ending *de jure* segregation, it simultaneously supported segregation of the region along jurisdictional lines through the constitutionalization of "local control." Federal courts constitutionalized the concept of "local control" despite pre-existing federal law that said cities were not entities unto themselves, thereby setting the stage for the re-establishment of a racial hierarchy that reconfigured, but maintained, white supremacy and black subordination. "Local control" has been used to justify the segregated and fragmented jurisdictional structure of sprawl; it is the primary en-

forcement mechanism for racially exclusionary practices; and it appears to be a perfectly legal method of ensuring racial subordination under current federal law. Two areas of particular significance in the "local control" movement are land use practices or exclusionary zoning and protection of local control over education.

School desegregation litigation provides an example of how white suburbanization under the concept of "local control" has undermined the civil rights movement. Despite almost 50 years of litigation since *Brown*, most black, and an increasing number of Latino, children attend racially and economically segregated schools in areas that have supposedly been desegregated under federal law. The Supreme Court fostered this arrangement by striking down explicit segregation at the intra-jurisdictional level while upholding it at the inter-jurisdictional level.

One of the most important cases that supported this arrangement was the *Milliken* case. The Supreme Court, basing its decision on the importance of local control, would not allow the lower court to order a desegregation remedy for Detroit's discriminatory school district that included Detroit's suburbs. The Court held that the suburban districts could not be incorporated into the desegregation remedy because they had not been found to intentionally segregate their districts. This was their conclusion, despite the fact that Detroit's school district was overwhelmingly comprised of students of color and the suburban districts were overwhelmingly white. The Court ignored the claim that

a segregated housing market on a jurisdictional level was causing inter-district school segregation. Instead, the Court suggested that these segregative housing patterns were unexplainable and beyond the purview of the court.

*Milliken* sent a message to whites that neighborhood-level segregation within the city would not be acceptable, but the suburbs would be a safe haven from desegregation. And the message to blacks was that there were limits to how far the Court would go to achieve racial justice, and those limits very closely matched the city limits.

This white suburban wall began to crack for middle-income blacks after passage of the Fair Housing Act of 1968. As a result, middle-income blacks have begun to move to the suburbs in record numbers. However, they are often re-segregated in the suburbs and remain isolated from the more powerful white suburbs that still capture most of the opportunities and resources. During this same period, low-income people of color have been consigned to resource-depleted cities; isolated from the opportunities that brought blacks to the North 50 years ago. This isolation has caused an explosion of racialized concentrated poverty at the urban core. Growth in black and brown concentrated poverty at the urban core is almost always associated with white, upper middle-class, fragmented sprawl at the edge of the region. Racial subordination has taken on a different form: through the mechanisms of metropolitan fragmentation and sprawl, blacks have again been subordinated socially, politically and economically. By racializing space through the spatial isolation of blacks and other minorities, we have achieved many of the negative racial conditions formally held in place with Jim Crow laws, thus frustrating the civil rights goals of the 50s and 60s.

## Weighing In On the Issue

Fragmentation and sprawl may be the most important impediments to racial justice as we approach the millen-

nium. The fact that it has become a national concern for environmentalists as well as land use planners provides a wonderful opportunity to weigh in on this national discussion. New lines are being drawn on this issue by federal and state government, both figuratively and literally, and suburban voters demonstrated a growing hostility toward sprawl in the last election.

So, why have civil rights and social justice advocates remained largely absent from this growing anti-sprawl movement? In this limited space I can

### ***The social justice community must frame the sprawl issue from a civil rights perspective.***

suggest only a couple of reasons: the fear of diluting minority political power and of losing cultural identity. While both of these are legitimate concerns, they do not justify inaction in addressing fragmentation. There are alternatives to an all-or-nothing approach. One alternative I have suggested is federated regionalism: a balance that is struck between localism and regional policy to preserve both political and cultural voice while providing access to opportunity and a

chance to fulfill the ultimate goals of the civil rights movement.

The social justice community must take this current opportunity to frame these issues from a civil rights perspective, ensuring that racial and ethnic minorities have real access to both shape and partake of the opportunity structure in our society. It is hard to imagine an effective civil rights and social justice movement that promotes racial justice and addresses the negative consequences of concentrated poverty without addressing the fragmentation associated with sprawl.

As history has demonstrated, racial subordination mutates. So I am not suggesting that by simply addressing fragmentation and sprawl we will achieve racial justice. However, without addressing these issues, it is highly unlikely that we will make much progress toward that goal.

*John A. Powell, a founding member of PRRAC's Board, is executive director of the Institute on Race and Poverty and was recently named the Marvin J. Sonosky professor of law and public policy at the University of Minnesota Law School. He is reachable at 229 19<sup>th</sup> Ave. S., Mpls., MN 55455, 612/625-5529, irp@tc.umn.edu. □*

### **Further Readings:**

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that the system's disenfranchisement of the poor disproportionately harms communities of color. While the poverty rate for white Americans nationally is 11%, the poverty rates both for African-Americans and Hispanics are more than double that, each at 27%. It is not surprising, then, that this wealth barrier maintains its strongest presence in communities of color.

A 1998 study by Public Campaign ("The Color of Money: Campaign Contributions and Race"), a Washington, DC-based organization supporting full public financing of elections, found that the nation's top 100 communities in terms of campaign contributions are 80% white and that each of these communities gave an average of \$1.4 million. In contrast, the 100 communities with the highest concentration of people of color each gave an average of \$7,000. Similarly, a 1997 national survey of major congressional campaign contributors (giving \$200 or more) revealed that 95% of such donors are white and 81% have annual incomes of \$100,000 or more, with the top 20% in the \$500,000+ income category (see the Groen et al. report listed in Resources box). As Nelson Rivers, the NAACP's National Field Director, says: "We're impacted negatively in a disproportionate way. Since African-Americans have decidedly less income, less disposable money than other people in the country, we're at a disadvantage when money is the deciding factor in whether you can participate."

And what about our politics? Where are the voices, where are the policies focused on eliminating poverty and the sharpening division between the haves and the have-nots in this, the richest nation in the world? Who is speaking

for the Other America? A 1998 study by Second Harvest, a national network of food banks, revealed that, in the midst of this so-called economic boom, more people are visiting soup kitchens, shelters and food pantries across the country, seeking relief from hunger. *Forbes Magazine* reported last October that the net worth of the 400 wealthiest Americans increased by \$114 billion over the previous year. As United for a Fair Economy (UFE), a national non-profit focusing public attention on economic inequality here at home, points out in its important new book, *Shifting Fortunes*: "Less than half that increase — \$48.4 billion — would have been enough to bring all poor Americans up to the official poverty line."

Government policy with respect to the minimum wage provides a classic example of the lockout facing the poor

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***The current system destroys democratic participation just as surely as the poli tax ever did.***

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in this system of privately financed public election campaigns. Business interests, which dominate the campaign financing process, consistently oppose increasing the minimum wage to a livable wage. As a result, UFE says, "A[t]he minimum wage has become a poverty wage. It was 19% lower in 1998 at \$5.15 than it was in 1979, when it was worth \$6.39, adjusted for inflation. The minimum wage used to bring a family of three, with a full-time worker, above the official poverty line. Now it doesn't bring a full-time worker with one child above the poverty line."

Meanwhile, the pay America's corporate executives receive has skyrocketed. According to *Business Week's* annual survey of executive salaries, CEOs now make 326 times the pay of factory workers. UFE calculates that if the minimum wage increased as fast as CEO pay since 1960, it would be over \$57 an hour today.

*"We can overcome the power of big money to corrupt our political system and the government it elects. At the rate of spending in '96 and '98, the people can buy back their country from big corporations for half the price of one movie ticket, per year, per person."*

Warren Beatty, in his Aug. 22 *NY Times* op-ed, advocating complete public financing of all federal campaigns.

Now, more than ever, another voice is needed in the public debate of our national priorities. But it cannot be heard — not under the current campaign finance regime.

## **The Movement for Full Public Financing of Our Public Elections**

When the campaign finance system is viewed in the context of the poll tax history, the solution becomes all the more apparent. The solution for addressing the poll tax barrier was abolition. No response short of that would have been acceptable. The state of Virginia could not, for example, simply have lowered its poll tax from \$1.50 to 75¢ and have survived constitutional scrutiny. Its only option, in accordance with the U.S. Constitution, was to eliminate the fee.

Abolition is the appropriate response to the campaign finance barrier. Abolition here means full public financing of our elections. In a democracy, public elections should be publicly financed. No one would reasonably suggest that we should revert to the days of privately financed election ballots or that we should begin to auction our election precincts to the highest bidder. Why, then, do we allow private wealthy interests to finance our public election campaigns? If we are truly to own our electoral process, then we must own its financing structure.

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Six years after its landmark ruling in the *Harper* case, the Supreme Court struck down a system of high candidate filing fees for primary elections in the state of Texas (*Bullock v. Carter*). "We would ignore reality," the Court stated, "were we not to find that this system falls with unequal weight on voters, as well as candidates, according to their economic status." Texas had argued that the filing fees were necessary to pay for the cost of conducting the primary elections. If the fees were struck down, the state said, "the voters, as taxpayers, will ultimately be burdened with the expense of the primaries."

The Supreme Court did not yield. Primary elections, the Court emphasized, are part of the democratic process.

...[I]t is far too late to make out a case that the party primary is such a lesser part of the democratic process that its cost must be shifted away from the taxpayers generally. The financial burden for general elections is carried by all taxpayers... It seems appropriate that a primary system designed to give the voters some influence at the nominating stage should spread the cost among all the voters in an attempt to distribute the influence without regard to wealth.

"Viewing the myriad governmental functions supported from general revenues," the Court continued, "it is difficult to single out any of a higher order than the conduct of elections at

all levels to bring forth those persons desired by their fellow citizens to govern."

Like the party primary process, the campaign financing process has become an integral part of our elections. As with the *Bullock* case, the solution here must be to "distribute the influence" to all voters, regardless of their economic status. A new campaign finance system, in which candidates forgo private funds and receive equal amounts of public financing for their campaigns, would end the wealth primary and open up the candidate selection process to all voters. The cost, at \$5-10 per taxpayer, would be far less than the billions of dollars in legislative favors to campaign contributors — in the form of corporate subsidies

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## Resources

### ORGANIZATIONS

**Center on Budget and Policy Priorities**  
820 First St. NE, # 510  
Wash., DC 20002  
202/408-1080  
Web: www.cbpp.org

**Center for Responsive Politics**  
1320 19th St. NW, # 620  
Wash., DC 20036  
202/857-0044  
info@crp.org  
Web: www.opensecrets.org

**Children's Defense Fund**  
25 E St. NW  
Wash., DC 20001  
202/628-8787  
cdfinfo@childrensdefense.org  
Web: www.childrensdefense.org

**National Institute on Money in State Politics**  
25 S. Ewing St., # 506  
Helena, MT 59601  
406/449-2480  
institute@statemoney.org  
Web: www.followthemoney.org

**Public Campaign**  
1320 19th St. NW, # M-1  
Wash., DC 20036  
202/293-0222  
info@publiccampaign.org  
Web: www.publiccampaign.org

**United for a Fair Economy**  
37 Temple Pl., 2nd Flr.  
Boston, MA 02111  
617/423-2148  
stw@stw.org  
Web: www.stw.org

### READINGS

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"Campaign Finance: A Civil Rights Issue," a video production of a February 1999 national conference at Howard Law School (free copies available from the National Voting Rights Institute).

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and payoffs — for which taxpayers now foot the bill.

In the past several years, a grassroots movement for full public financing of elections has emerged to respond to the campaign finance barrier. As a result of activist campaigns, voters in Arizona, Maine and Massachusetts have passed, by ballot initiative, full or near-full public financing systems for their state elections. In Vermont, grassroots organizers pressured the state legislature to enact a similar law for its gubernatorial and lieutenant governor races. Activist coalitions in more than 30 states, led by Public Campaign, which is pushing the "Clean Money Campaign Reform" model, are working for additional victories in the years to come.

All of these systems are voluntary, so as to comport with the Supreme Court's 1976 ruling in *Buckley v. Valeo*, which equated money with speech in the political process and which struck down mandatory congressional campaign spending limits. Ultimately, however, *Buckley* must be revisited and reversed. If candidates want to opt out of public funding, that is their prerogative. *But no one has the right to drown out other people's speech.* Mandatory spending limits are necessary to ensure that those who participate in a public financing system are on equal ground with those who do not.

Longtime civil rights leader Roger Wilkins spoke of the link between the poll tax of another era and today's campaign finance system in his keynote speech before a national conference on "Campaign Finance as a Civil Rights Issue" at Howard Law School last February:

[E]verybody knew that the poll tax was a civil rights issue. Everybody could see that because it was obviously an instrument for the exclusion of lots of people. But it was also an instrument for preserving the power of those who had long held power...

To the poor and the uneducated, the current system looks like exactly what it is, a tightly wrapped plutocracy which breeds the idea: "They are rich. That's not for me. I can't get in, so what's the use?" That is the attitude that destroys democratic participation just as surely as the poll tax ever did.

The moral and legal promise of political equality cannot co-exist with the current campaign financing structure. If this nation is to uphold its expressed commitment to a democratic vision, then this barrier, like ones before it, must come down.

*John C. Bonifaz is the founder and executive director of the National Voting Rights Institute (294 Washington St. #713, Boston, MA 02108, 617/368-9100, nvri@world.std.com, www.nvri.org). The Institute is a non-profit litigation and public education organization dedicated to challenging the campaign finance system on voting rights grounds and to defending meaningful campaign finance reform laws at the state and local level across the country. Mr. Bonifaz is a 1992 graduate of Harvard Law School and is a 1999 recipient of a MacArthur Foundation Fellowship. □*

## PRRAC GRANT FUNDS AGAIN AVAILABLE!

However, our new grants moneys, courtesy of The Joyce Foundation, have a specific focus: Social science research on education reform issues (dealing of course with the race-poverty intersection), tied (again of course) to an advocacy agenda — of any type — limited to community- and school-based organizations. Such groups may, as has always been the case, bring in outside researchers, but the grant funds will go only to such organizations. Recipients must be tax-exempt 501(c)(3)s or have a tax-exempt fiscal sponsor.

An Advisory Board, consisting of both PRRAC Board members and outside resource people, will help us evaluate proposals.

Get the word around, as we'd like to begin making these grants as soon as possible. There is no deadline for submissions. Maximum grant is \$10,000 (but try to aim for a lower budget, so we can make the Joyce money go further: we're happy to be co-funders for a larger budget, providing our portion of the total is substantial).

Application procedure is simple: a letter (they're usually 3-4 pp., with whatever attachments are appropriate) covering the following:

- A title for, and description of, the research project
- A description of the research methodology that will be used
- A budget
- Information about (preferably resumes of) the person(s) who will carry out the research
- A detailed description of the advocacy agenda the research is designed to support
- Discussion of the project's replicability (if applicable)

GO TO IT!



# Monitoring Housing Desegregation Litigation Settlements

by Philip Tegeler & Shelley White

Settlements in complex institutional reform litigation are often only as good as the monitoring and compliance resources devoted to their implementation. When settling a class action containing detailed compliance requirements, it is incumbent on plaintiffs' attorneys to ensure that adequate resources will be available to monitor the court-ordered agreement for its expected useful life.

In our case, one of 17 housing desegregation cases settled during the Cisneros era at HUD, compliance work has been a continuing effort throughout the four years the settlement has been in effect, and we anticipate at least four more years of work to come. Our compliance work has not been particularly "litigious," as not one compliance motion has yet been filed with the Court. But over the years we have had our share of sharply worded letters and compliance motions drafted and withdrawn at the last moment. For the time being, all parties are meeting regularly and working constructively to improve the performance of the settlement agreement.

In this brief update, we will share some of our compliance activities in *Christian Community Action v. Cisneros*, a case originally partially funded by PRRAC.

*CCA v. Cisneros* originated with a housing demolition and replacement plan for the former Elm Haven high-rises in New Haven, which plaintiffs alleged was being carried out in violation of the Fair Housing Act and HUD siting requirements, as the local housing authority began to locate replacement housing in segregated neighborhoods. The 1995 settlement consisted of two primary elements: 1) a scattered-site housing remedy, requiring defendants to place all of the remaining replacement housing units outside areas of minority concentration within the city, and 2) a regional housing

mobility program, including approximately 450 new Section 8 certificates earmarked for use outside areas of minority concentration, including the New Haven suburbs, along with a HUD-funded mobility counseling program to be administered by a local non-profit agency. The settlement also included a variety of related fair housing provisions, which will not be addressed here.

## The Scattered-Site Housing Program

Although the program began ominously with a fire-bombing of one of the scattered-site home locations shortly after a preliminary injunction was entered, since that time over 137 units have been successfully completed in predominantly white areas of New Haven, with occasional local political opposition. Sites for another 36 units have been identified in similar neighborhoods, with development proposals pending at HUD. The only serious opposition centered on a lawsuit filed by a predominantly white community organization challenging the location of a single scattered-site unit in their neighborhood (the challenge was brought on procedural/notice grounds and because of claimed racial changes in the neighborhood since the time of the 1990 Census). The group's preliminary injunction motion was denied, and although the case is pending, we expect it to be dismissed (the family has already moved into the house). We have also experienced some delays by the Housing Authority in siting specific units (particularly single-family homes) in response to sporadic neighborhood opposition, but we have so far been able to successfully resolve these issues without the need for court intervention.

The scattered-site program is being

managed by a local non-profit, HOME, Inc. Based on anecdotal accounts of participants and the management company, the scattered-site housing program in New Haven appears to be a success, echoing many of the positive findings recently reported in Yonkers (see Briggs et al. in the Winter 1999 *APA Journal*). The scattered-site units consist primarily of existing single-family homes, and also newly developed townhouses and duplexes. None of the sites include more than 16 units. Less than eleven units remain to be sited.

Our main frustration with the New Haven program is with the jurisdictional limits of state and federal law — which prevented us from designing a program that would effectively develop or acquire actual public housing units in suburban jurisdictions outside of New Haven (as opposed to portable housing vouchers). To get around these jurisdictional restrictions, we were able to include an innovative provision in the Settlement Agreement which permitted the use of 50-100 project-based Section 8 certificates outside the city, for the primary benefit of (city) class members. Unfortunately, the project-based subsidy alone was not sufficient to lure suburban developers to respond to our initial RFP. If these units are not claimed soon, they will revert to portable Sec. 8 vouchers.

## The Mobility Counseling Program

The New Haven mobility counseling program is a five-year effort called "The New Neighborhoods Project" (TNNP). It is housed within the agency that manages the scattered-site program. It includes a project director/counselor, a staff housing counse-

(Please turn to page 10)

lor and a consultant who handles landlord recruitment, demographic analysis and similar work. TNNP started up in 1997 and has placed 112 families to date. At this time, more than 300 of the 450 originally-allocated certificates remain to be distributed.

Our major initial frustrations with the mobility counseling program included a slow placement rate and the disappointing number of families placed in suburban towns. As of April 30, 1999, 80% of families placed were located outside areas of minority concentration, although it was the intent of the program to place virtually all mobility certificates in such areas. Approximately 30% of families have located in suburban towns. We suspected that the major causes of these problems had more to do with program design than with the excellent staff who were trying to make the program work, so approximately a year ago, we hired Mary Ann Russ and Hannah Shulevitz of Abt Associates to review the mobility program and to make recommendations to improve the program's success.

Some of the conclusions we have reached about how to operate a mobility program more effectively include:

**Security Deposits:** One of the initial problems we identified was the inability of many program participants to provide a full security deposit. When we settled the case, the Section 8 regulations still placed a limit on the amount of security a landlord could charge. This restriction was eliminated in 1996, to the detriment of many cities seeking to expand Section 8 mobility. In New Haven, we were fortunate to obtain a grant from a local foundation to create a grant/loan pool to supplement the security deposit resources available to mobility program participants.

**Earmarking of Certificates:** A more serious problem was that the program had not been initially marketed selectively to families most interested in moving to suburban towns; we have now begun the process of re-market-

We're delighted to report that PRRAC has received substantial grants from the W.K. Kellogg Foundation, the Jacob and Hilda Blansin Foundation, and the Albert A. List Foundation, as well as personal contributions from Carol Barger, David Billings, Theodore Pearson, Norman Maroon, Diana Gordon, and Peter and Frances Marcuse. Contributions from P&R readers are greatly encouraged.

Also, for those connected with the Combined Federal Campaign: PRRAC's number is 2241. Please encourage your co-workers to designate PRRAC as a recipient (we'll be glad to send them information, or send you materials to pass on to them).

ing the program to create a waitlist of families more interested in suburban housing opportunities. A related defect in program design was that, although the certificates were earmarked for use outside of areas of minority concentration, after a period of six months, recipients could use the certificates anywhere; this loophole encouraged people to apply who were not truly interested in a suburban move. We are currently seeking to modify the agreement to eliminate this problem.

**Improved Communications:** A simple problem that was easy to fix was the lack of communication that sometimes existed between the Housing Authority, which administered the certificates, and the mobility counseling program. After we began regular meetings, we have been resolving most problems as a group instead of approaching implementation issues as adversarial disputes. After the intervention of Abt Associates, all the parties have had a more constructive relationship, with regular monthly problem-solving meetings.

**Fair Market Exception Rents & Payment Standards:** Like many mobility programs, we have been hampered by low Fair Market Rents (FMRs) for Section 8 certificates, which severely limited access to suburban housing for our clients. (HUD calculates FMRs – the maximum rent that can be paid for a Section 8 apartment – by aggregating rents in a region and selecting a figure which is 40% of the area median rent – a process which obviously excludes much of the more expensive rental housing in lower poverty, less segregated suburbs.) With the help of TNNP and the Housing Authority, we success-

fully applied for exception rents in many of the suburban towns around New Haven, which has increased the number of available suburban units. We are now planning advocacy strategies to maximize suburban rent levels in response to the new HUD regulations which merge the certificate and voucher programs into an all-voucher Section 8 program. We are concerned that, unless suburban PHAs cooperate by adopting high Section 8 "payment standards," these new regulations could have a detrimental effect on mobility programs like the one in New Haven.

## Conclusion

Based on our conversations with attorneys involved in implementing desegregation settlements in other cities, we know that our experiences are not unique. We are also anticipating the release later this year of a HUD-funded Urban Institute study on implementation of the Cisneros-era desegregation settlements. As we have learned in New Haven, housing desegregation is a slow, painstaking process, and there is much to be gained from a detailed discussion of common implementation issues.

*Philip Tegeler is the legal director at the Connecticut Civil Liberties Union Foundation, an affiliate of the ACLU (32 Grand St., Hartford, CT 06106, 860/247-9823). Shelley White is litigation director at New Haven Legal Assistance. The two have represented the plaintiffs in CCA v. Cisneros (originally called CCA v. Kemp) since 1991. □*

# Resources

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

When ordering items from PRRAC: SASE = self-addressed stamped envelope (33¢ unless otherwise indicated). Orders may not be placed by telephone or fax. Please indicate which issue of P&R you are ordering from.

## Race/Racism

- **The Diversity Initiative**, a project of the Human Services Personnel Collaborative, provides technical assistance & funding to nonprofit human service & cultural orgs. committed to creating greater racial, ethnic & cultural diversity within their staffs & boards. Contact them c/o The HYAMS Foundation, 175 Federal St., 14th fl., Boston, MA 02110, 617/426-5600.

- **Caribbean Connections: Moving North**, eds. Catherine Sunshine & Keith Warner (256 pp., 1999) — fiction, essays & interviews on the 5 major Caribbean groups in the US (Haitian, Dominican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, West Indian) — is available (\$24) from the Network of Educators on the Americas, PO Box 73038, Wash., DC 20056, 202/238-2379, necadc@aol.com.

- **Taino Revival: Critical Perspectives on Puerto Rican Identity & Cultural Politics**, ed. Gabriel Haslip-Viera, based on Feb. 1998 conf. papers, is available (\$10) from Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, Hunter College, 695 Park Ave., NYC, NY 10021.

- **"Healing in the Heart of Diversity"** is a series of retreats (to be held on both coasts) by the Fetzer Inst. Initiative. Contact them for more inf: 712 Staunton Ave. NW, Roanoke, VA 24016, 540/343-5192, hthd@mindspring.com.

- **"Puerto Ricans in the USA, 1898-1998,"** a CD ROM, is available from the Center for Puerto Rican Studies — ordering inf. on their website: www.centropr.org.

- **"The Public Influences of African-American Churches: Assessing Where We Are & Where We Go From Here"** is a newly begun research project of the Morehouse College Leadership Ctr. For inf., contact project director Rev. R. Drew Smith at the Leadership Ctr., 830 Westview Dr. SW, Atlanta, GA 30314-3773, 404/614-8565.

- **Race Discrimination by Bay Area Employment Agencies: A study** just released by the Testing Proj. of the Impact Fund surveyed 17 SF & Oakland employment agencies, using the paired tester technique, and found that white applicants were preferred more than 3 times as often as black applicants. The complete report is on the web:

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

www.impactfund.org.  
Further inf. from Ana Nunes, Testing Proj. Coordinator, 415/957-1418. The Impact Fund is at 1040 Solano Ave., Berkeley, CA 94707-2109, 510/528-7344, impactfund@impactfund.org.

- **"A Call to Context: The Professional Challenges of Cause Lawyering at the Intersection of Race, Space & Poverty,"** by John O. Calmore, appeared in the April 1999 *Fordham Law Review*. Reprints of the 31-page article may be available from Prof. Calmore, UNC School of Law, CB#3380, Van Hecke-Wettach Hall, Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3380, 919/962-8323, jcalmore@email.unc.edu. The article appears in a symposium *FLR* issue, "Conference on the Delivery of Legal Services to Low-Income Persons: Professional & Ethical Issues."

## Poverty/Welfare

- **Worlds Apart: Why Poverty Persists in Rural America**, by (PRRAC Soc. Sci. Adv. Bd. member) Cynthia M. Duncan (235 pp., 1999), has been published by

Yale Univ. Press (\$19.25). Robert Coles wrote the Foreword. Chapters deal with communities in Appalachia's coal fields, the Mississippi Delta & Northern New England.

- **"Welfare Time Limits: An Interim Report Card,"** by Dan Bloom (78 pp., April 1999), is available (likely free) from the Manpower Demonstration Research Corp., 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016, 212/532-3200.

- **Rethinking Income Support for the Working Poor: Perspectives on Unemployment Insurance, Welfare & Work** is a new book from the Natl. Governors' Assn. Ctr. for Best Practices. \$30 + s/h from 301/498-3738.

- **"Getting Down to Business: Matching Welfare Recipients' Skills to Jobs That Train,"** by Anthony Carnevale & Donna Desrochers, is available in a 37-page, 1999 Exec. Summary from Educ. Testing Service, Mail Stop 50-D, Rosedale Rd., Princeton, NJ 08541. Free.

- **"Big Cities & Welfare Reform: Early Implementation & Ethnic Findings"**

from the Project on Devolution & Urban Change," by Janet Quint, Kathryn Edin, Maria Buck, Barbara Fink, Yolanda Padilla, Olis Simmons-Hewitt & Mary Eustace Valmont, is a 26-page, April 1999 report, available (likely free) from the Manpower Demonstration Research Corp., 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016, 212/532-3200.

• **"Making Welfare Reform Work Better: How Diverse Organizations Worked to Improve Their States' Welfare Policies,"** by Phyllis Burlingame (102 pp., May 1999), is a jt. pub. of the Ctr. for Comm. Change, Ctr. on Budget & Policy Priorities & Ctr. for Law & Soc. Policy. Like free, from the Ctr. for Comm. Change, 1000 Wisconsin Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20007, 202/342-0594.

• **Community Action Digest: A Journal Dedicated to Fighting Poverty in America** has been inaugurated by the Natl. Assn. of Comm. Action Agencies. Subs. to the 3x/yr. journal are \$20, from NACAA, 1100 17th St. NW, #500, Wash., DC 20036, 202/265-7546, info@nacaa.org. The Spring 1999 Issue #1 has articles on asset building, livable wages, farmworkers, child care, TANF, youth employment and other subjects.

• **"How Families That Left Welfare Are Doing: A National Picture,"** by Pamela Loprest, is a 5-page, Aug. 1999 report, available (free) from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/261-5687, paffairs@ui.urban.org.

• **"The Family Transition Program: Implementation & 3-Year Impacts of Florida's Initial Time-Limited Welfare Prog.,"** by Dan Bloom, Mary Farrell, James Kemple & Nandita Verma (29 pp., April 1999), is available (likely free) from the Manpower Demonstration Research Corp., 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016, 212/532-3200.

• **"The Realities of Poverty in Delaware"** (1999 update) is a special Summer 1999, 18-page issue of *The Housing Journal*, published by the Delaware Housing Coal., PO Box 1633, Dover, DE 19903-1663, 302/678-2286, dhc@housingforall.org. No price listed.

• **"Children & Welfare Reform: A Guide to Evaluating the Effects of State Welfare Reform Policies on Children"** is available, free, from Child Trends, 4301 Conn. Ave. NW, #100, Wash., DC 20008, 202/362-5580.

• **An Economic Human Rights Tour** will be undertaken in mid-November by representatives of the 53-member Congressional Progressive Caucus, coordinated by the Inst. for Policy Studies' Progressive Challenge & the Inst. for Food & Development Policy's Economic Human Rights Campaign. It will follow up on Pres. Clinton's recent "New Markets" tour, pointing out that the problem is far more pervasive than "pockets of poverty" and the limitations of market-oriented solutions. Further inf. from Karen Dolan at IPS, 202/234-9382, x228, kdolan@igc.org.

• **"Designing & Administering a Wage-Paying Community Service Employment Prog. Under TANF: Some Considerations & Choices"** is available (likely free) from the Manpower Demonstration Research Corp., 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016, 212/532-3200.

• **49 Million Americans Had Difficulty Satisfying Basic Needs in 1995**, according to the Census Bureau's Survey of Income & Program Participation. Included are households that failed to make mortgage or rent payments, failed to pay utility bills and/or had services shut off, did not get enough to eat, were unable to visit a doctor or dentist when necessary, or otherwise could not meet basic expenses. Over half the 49 million persons experienced more than one of these problems. The report is at [www.census.gov/prod/99pubs/p70-67.pdf](http://www.census.gov/prod/99pubs/p70-67.pdf).

• **Impact of Welfare Reform on Housing Stability & Homelessness: A new issue of "Welfare Reform News"** from the Inst. for Women's Policy Research (headed by PRRAC Soc. Sci. Adv. Bd. member Heidi Hartmann) deals with this subject. On their website: [www.iwpr.org/WRNN10.html](http://www.iwpr.org/WRNN10.html) or phone them at 202/785-5100.

• **"State Workforce Policy Initiatives"** (Winter 1999) is available (\$5) from Public/Private Ventures, 2005 Market St., #900, Phila., PA 19103.

• **"New Hope for People with Low Incomes: 2-Yr. Results of a Program to Reduce Poverty & Reform**

**Welfare"** is the 2nd rpt. evaluating Milwaukee's New Hope Project. Available from Manpower Demonstration Research Corp. website: [www.mrdc.org](http://www.mrdc.org) (and maybe in hard copy form): 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016, 212/532-3200.

• **"A Closer Look at the Thousands of Families Losing Benefits under the Mass. Time Limit [2nd rpt],"** from the Mass. Law Reform Inst., is available from 617/357-0700, x328 or 329; also online: [www.gbls.org](http://www.gbls.org) — click on "Welfare & Employment," then on "Welfare Time Limit Background."

• **"The ABC Evaluation - Carrying & Using the Stick: Financial Sanctions in Delaware's A Better Chance Prog.,"** by David Fein & Wang Lee, is available from Abt Associates, 55 Wheeler St., Cambridge, MA 02138, 617/492-7100 and online: [www.abtassociates.com](http://www.abtassociates.com).

• **"Young Children in Poverty: A Statistical Update"** is available from the Natl. Ctr. for Children in Poverty, 154 Haven Ave., NYC, NY 10032, 212/927-8793, and online at <http://cpmcnet.columbia.edu/dept/nccp>. The July issue of the NCCP's periodical *The Forum* has several articles exploring the potential effects of welfare reform on children — on line at [www.researchforum.org](http://www.researchforum.org), go to Forum Publications.

• **"Welfare Reform: Information on Former Recipients' Status"** is a 48-page, April 1999 GAO report (GAO/HEHS-99-48), available, free, from USGAO, PO Box 37050,

Wash., DC 20013, 202/512-6000.

• **"Supplementary Security Income: Progress Made in Implementing Welfare Reform Changes; More Action Needed"** is a 20-page, June 1999 GAO report (GAO/HEHS-99-103), available, free, from USGAO, PO Box 37050, Wash., DC 20013, 202/512-6000.

• **"Welfare Reform: Public Assistance Benefits Provided to Recently Naturalized Citizens"** is a 27-page, June 1999 GAO report (GAO/HEHS-99-102), available, free, from USGAO, PO Box 37050, Wash., DC 20013, 202/512-6000.

• **"Welfare Reforms & the Higher Education Option"** is a natl. conf., Sept. 24-25 at Gallaudet Univ., Wash., DC. Inf. from Charles Price, 212/642-2584.

• **"Creating Higher Education Opportunities that Support Welfare-to-Work"** is a live, interactive satellite event, Sept. 30, 1-2:30 EST. To register as a downlink site, contact [www.pbs.org/als.programs/live](http://www.pbs.org/als.programs/live).

## Community Organizing

• **Roots of Justice: Stories of Organizing in Communities of Color**, by Larry Salomon (1998), is available (\$15) from Chardon Press, 888/458-8588.

• **The Midwest Academy** is running training sessions in Chicago (Oct. 4-8) & Litchfield, Conn. (Nov. 15-19). Contact them at 28 E. Jackson

Blvd., #605, Chicago, IL 60604, 312/427-2304, [mwacademy1@aol.com](mailto:mwacademy1@aol.com).

## Criminal Justice

• **"Second Chances: 100 Years of Children's Court: Giving Kids a Chance to Make a Better Choice"** is available (\$10) from the Chn. & Family Justice Ctr., Northwestern Univ. School of Law, 357 E. Chicago Ave., Chicago, IL 60611, 312/503-0396. It can be downloaded at [www.cjcj.org](http://www.cjcj.org).

• **Race to Incarcerate**, by Marc Mauer of The Sentencing Proj. (208 pp., 1999), has been published by New Press; \$22.95.

• **An Open Letter to Pres. Clinton & Members of Congress: Stop Hate Crimes & Promote Diversity**, endorsed by 144 organizations, put together by the Natl. Korean Amer. Service & Educ. Consortium (whose Exec. Dir., Chung-Wah Hong, sits on PRRAC's Board), was delivered to the White House on July 16. A copy is available from NAKASEC, 50-16 Parsons Blvd., #100, Flushing, NY 11355, 718/445-3939, [nakasec@sprynet.com](mailto:nakasec@sprynet.com).

• **"Balancing Crime Strategies & Democratic Principles"** is a 15-point "Self-Evaluation" prepared by Police Chief Robert K. Olson of Mpls., printed in a recent issue of *Subject to Debate*, the Police Forum newsletter. We'll send you a copy with a SASE.

## Economic/Community Development

• **Critiquing CRA Critiques: Daniel Immergluck of The Woodstock Inst. has written an 8-page, Aug. 1999 rebuttal of a recent Fed. Reserve Bank of Dallas study questioning the impact of, and need for, the Community Reinvestment Act. Likely free from the Inst., 407 S. Dearborn Ave., #550, Chicago, IL 60605, 312/427-8070., [woodstck@wwa.com](mailto:woodstck@wwa.com).**

## Education

• **"No Exit? Testing, Tracking & Students of Color in Public Schools,"** by Rebecca Gordon & Libero Della Piano, is available (\$5 — \$1 extra for an exit exam advocacy kit) from the Applied Research Ctr., 3781 Broadway, Oakland, CA 94611, 510/653-3415.

• **"The Activist Resource Kit"** is a 300-page, 1999(?) resource, stressing how to confront the attack on public education by the Christian Right & other conservative groups, available (\$40 orgs., \$30 indivs., \$20 low-income) from Political Research Associates, 120 Beacon St., #202, Somerville, MA 02143, 617/661-9313, [publiceye@igc.org](mailto:publiceye@igc.org).

• **"Project Transition: Testing an Intervention to Help High School Freshmen Succeed,"** by Janet Quint, Cynthia Miller, Jennifer Pastor & Rachel Cytron, is a 26-page, April 1999 Exec. Summary, available (likely free) from the

## Bulk Orders of Poverty & Race

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

Manpower Demonstration Research Corp., 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016-4326, 212/532-3200.

• **"Bilingual Education: New Visions for a New Era,"** by Barbara Miner, is the lead article in the Summer 1999 issue of *Rethinking Schools*. Indiv. copies of the issue are \$7 from Rethinking Schools, 1001 E. Keefe Ave., Milwaukee, WI 53212, 800/669-4192, [RSBusiness@aol.com](mailto:RSBusiness@aol.com).

• **"Transforming Teacher Unions: Fighting for Better Schools & Social Justice,"** eds. Bob Peterson & Michael Charney (142 pp., 1999), is available (\$12.95 + 10% s/h) from Rethinking Schools, 800/669-4192.

• **"Charter School DataPak"** (65 pp.), placing the issue within the context of the intensifying debate over public school privatization, is available (\$15) from the DataCenter, 1904 Franklin St., #900, Oakland, CA 94612-9725, 800/735-3741, [datacenter@datacenter.org](mailto:datacenter@datacenter.org).

• **"Promising Results, Continuing Challenges: The Final Report of the National Assessment of Title I"** is available from the US Dept. Educ. Publication Ctr. (877-433-7827 or 800/872-

5327, edpubx@inet.ed.gov). It's a quite positive review.

- **"No Excuses: 7 Principals of Low-Income Schools Who Set the Standard for High Achievement,"** by Samuel Casey Carter, is a 35-page, 1999 report, available (likely free) from The Heritage Foundation, 214 Mass. Ave. NE, Wash., DC 20002-4999, 202/546-4400.

- **Next Steps: Research & Practice to Advance Indian Education,** eds. Karen Gayton Swisher & John Tippeconnic III (317 pp., 1999), is available (\$27) from ERIC/CRESS, PO Box 1348, Charleston, WV 25325-1348, 800/624-9120, ericrc@ael.org.

- **"Resegregation in American Schools,"** the report of the Harvard Civil Rights Proj., is available (\$10) from the Project, 446 Guman Lib., Cambridge, MA 02138. It's also downloadable: [www.law.harvard.edu/civilrights/publications/resegregation99.html](http://www.law.harvard.edu/civilrights/publications/resegregation99.html).

- **"Students' Rights"** is a Sept. 22-23 Las Vegas conf., by The Fahnouth Inst., dealing with Native Amer. students attending BIA or contract schools. A related Sept. 20-21 Palmouth conf. is "Indian School Board Members." Inf. from the Inst., 3702 Pender Dr., #300, Fairfax, VA 22030, 800/992-4489.

- **"Educational Leadership for Students of African Descent in the New Millennium"** is the 27th annual conf. of the Natl. Alliance of Black School Educators, Nov. 10-14 in Nashville. Inf.

from NABSE, PO Box 79251, Baltimore, MD 21279-0251, 877-NABSE99, nabse99@nabse.org.

- **"Multicultural Education: Crossing Borders for Equity & Justice"** is the 9th annual conf. of the Natl. Assn. for Multicultural Education, Nov. 10-14 in San Diego. Inf. from NAME, 733 15th St. NW, #430, Wash., DC 20005, 202/628-6263, nameorg@erols.com.

- **"Capitalizing on Leadership in Rural Special Education: Making a Difference for Children & Families"** is the 20th annual natl. conf. of the Amer. Council on Rural Special Educ., March 14-18, 2000, in Alexandria, VA. Proposal deadline is Sept. 17. Conf. inf. from ACRES Hq., 2323 Anderson Ave., #226, Manhattan, KS 66502-2912, 785/532-2737, acres@ksu.edu. Submit proposals to Diane Montgomery, Oklahoma St. Univ., 424 Willard Hall, Stillwater, OK 74078, 405/744-9441, montgom@okway.okstate.edu.

## Employment/ Jobs Policy

- **"Getting In, Staying On, Moving Up: A Practitioner's Approach to Employment,"** by Tony Proscio & Mark Elliott (Spring 1999), is available (\$10) from Public/Private Ventures, 2005 Market St., #900, Phila., PA 19103.

- **"The Big Fix"** is the 2nd in the series of Jobs with Justice Comics, on the perils of union organizing, "a fantastic

tool to use to educate current union members, religious leaders & elected officials about the barriers workers face when they fight for a voice in the workplace, and about what it takes to win." It's 20¢ per, with quantity discounts. Contact JwJ (they've got other good resources as well), 501 3rd St. NW, Wash., DC 20001, 202/434-1106.

- **"Career Academies: Building Career Awareness & Work-Based Learning Activities through Employer Partnerships,"** by James Kemple, Susan Poglioco & Jason Snipes (17 pp., May 1999), is available (likely free) from Manpower Demonstration Research Corp., 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016-4326, 212/532-3200.

- **"The Los Angeles Jobs-First GAIN Evaluation: First-Year Findings on Participation Patterns & Impact,"** by Stephen Freedman, Marisa Mitchell & David Navarro (34 pp., June 1999), is available (likely free) from the Manpower Demonstration Research Corp., 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016, 212/532-3200.

## Families/ Children/ Women

- *The American Univ. Journal of Gender, Social Policy & the Law* invites submissions dealing with race and poverty issues. Inquiries/submissions to Articles Editor at the Journal, Wash. College of Law, 4801 Mass. Ave. NW, #632, Wash., DC 20016, 202/274-4446, genderlaw@wcl.american.edu.

- **"Family Care or Foster Care? How State Policies Affect Kinship Caregivers,"** by Shelley Waters Boots & Rob Green, is a 5-page, July 1999 report, available, free, from the Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/261-5687, paffairs@ui.urban.org.

- **"Working Poor Families with Children: A Statistical Portrait"** is the first issue of a new research brief series from Child Trends. On their website: [www.childtrends.org/newswort.htm](http://www.childtrends.org/newswort.htm). Multiple copies are available by calling 202/362-5580. Future briefs will cover welfare reform & children, childcare & low-income children, fatherhood, nonmarital childbearing, and skills youths will need for success in the 21st century.

- **"Family Development & Self-Sufficiency: The Stories of Families Who Faced Many Struggles & Partnered with the Iowa Family Development & Self-Sufficiency (FaDSS) Grant Program"** (28 pp., May 1999) is available (free) by calling 515/281-3861.

- **"Steps to Success: Helping Women with Alcohol & Drug Problems Move from Welfare to Work,"** a Legal Action Ctr. report profiling 20 alcohol & drug treatment progs. in 7 states, is available (free) from Michelle Lewis, 202/544-5712 (fax), michelle@lac-dc.org.

- **"Strong Families, Strong Neighborhoods"** is the Sept. 26-29 Miami Beach jt. conf. of Grantmakers for Chn., Youth & Fams. & the

Neighborhood Funders Gp. Inf. from The Balcom Gp., 3600 16th St. NW, Wash., DC 20010, 202/234-3880, miamicon99.aol.com.

• **"Reclaiming Childhood: Shaping Policy for the Future"** is the Oct. 18-19 Loyola Forum on the Child. Speakers include Donna Shalala & Linda Ellerbøe. Inf. from Phyllis Paulo, Loyola Univ., 820 N. Michigan Ave., #1400, Chicago, IL 60611, 312/915-8567.

## Food/ Nutrition/ Hunger

• **"USDA Advance Report on Household Food Security in the US"**: Preliminary data from this report show that in 1998 approx. 36 million people in 10.5 million households experienced food insecurity, meaning they did not have adequate access to enough food for a healthy, active life; 19.7% of children lived in food-insecure households, up from 17.4% in 1995; the prevalence of hunger was above average for households with children, especially those led by single women, minorities & households with incomes below the poverty line. The report can be downloaded at [www.fns.usda.gov/oane/MENU/Published/FSP/FSP.HTM](http://www.fns.usda.gov/oane/MENU/Published/FSP/FSP.HTM). A summary analysis of the report's preliminary results is available from the Tufts Univ. Ctr. on Hunger & Poverty, 617/627-3956, [dseavey@infonet.tufts.edu](mailto:dseavey@infonet.tufts.edu).

• **A School Breakfast Jump Start Kit** is available (presumably free) from the USDA Food &

Nutrition Service-Northeast Office of Public Affairs, 617/371-0934.

• **"The 9th Annual Report on the State of Hunger"** is available (\$14) from Bread for the World Inst., 301/608-2401.

• **"Toward a Democratic & Just Food System"** is the annual conf. of the Comm. Food Security Coal., Oct. 14-17 in Chicago. Inf. from CFSC, PO Box 209, Venice, CA 90294, 310/822-5410.

## Health

• **"State Profiles 99"** describes state activities supported by the Title V Maternal & Child Health Services Block Grant. Produced by the Assn. of Maternal & Child Health Progs., the report is available (possibly free) from the Natl. Maternal & Child Health Clearinghouse, 2070 Chain Bridge Rd., #450, Vienna, VA 22182, 703/356-1964.

• **The Natl. Health Law Program** has available an Aug. 1999 Publications List: 2639 S. La Cienega Blvd., LA, CA 90034, 310/204-6010, [nhelp@healthlaw.org](mailto:nhelp@healthlaw.org).

• **Black-White Maternal Mortality**: The June 18, 1999, issue of *MMWR-Morbidity & Mortality Weekly Report* (vol. 48, no. 23) contains "State-Specific Maternal Mortality Among Black & White Women - US, 1987-1996," showing that "in every state where the overall [maternal mortality ratio] could be reliably calculated, black women were more likely than white women to die from complications of pregnancy." The issue of

*MMWR* is available electronically at [www.cdc.gov](http://www.cdc.gov). Paper copy available only by subscribing to the publication, but we'll send you a copy of the 5-page report with a SASE.

• **"Harm Reduction: A Critical Strategy in AIDS Prevention,"** by Adisa Douglas (11 pp., June 1999), is available (likely free) from the Public Welfare Foundation, 2600 Virginia Ave. NW, #505, Wash., DC 20037-1977, 202/965-1800, [general@publicwelfare.org](mailto:general@publicwelfare.org).

• **"Insuring Children's Health: A Community Guide to Enrolling Children in Free & Low-Cost Health Insurance Program"** is available (likely free) from Jeannette O'Connor at the Children's Defense Fund, 25 E St. NW, Wash., DC 20001, 202/628-8787, [cdinfo@childrensdefense.org](mailto:cdinfo@childrensdefense.org).

• **"Succeeding in a Changing Health Care Environment"** is the 2nd natl. Academy on Child Behavioral Health Care & Providers of Color, Sept. 23-26 in St. Louis. Inf. from Marva Benjamin, Georgetown Univ. Child Dev. Ctr., 3307 M St., #401, Wash., DC 20007-3935, 202/687-5000.

• **"The Changing Face of Health Care"** is an Oct. 7-8 Los Angeles conf. of the Calif. Primary Care Assn. Inf. from the Assn., 1201 K St., #1010, Sacramento, CA 95814, 916/440-8170.

## Homelessness

• **"Homelessness: State & Local Efforts to Integrate & Evaluate Homeless Assistance**

**Programs"** is a 56-page, June 1999 GAO report (GAO-RCED-99-178), available, free, from USGAO, PO Box 37050, Wash., DC 20013, 202/512-6000.

• **Taylor's Campaign** is a 75-min. documentary film (directed/edited by Richard Cohen, narrated by Martin Sheen) on a destitute former truck driver living on Santa Monica's streets who runs for city council in the hopes of changing increasingly punitive city ordinances against people living in parks & vacant lots. Available from Richard Cohen Films, PO Box 1012, Venice, CA 90291, 310/395-3549, [rbc24@earthlink.net](mailto:rbc24@earthlink.net). \$39 home video, public libraries, high schools; \$99 academic libraries, schools, orgs.

• **"Out of Sight, Out of Mind?"** is a 84-page, 1999 report from the Natl. Law Ctr. on Homelessness & Poverty, detailing anti-homeless laws, litigation & alternatives in 50 US cities. \$25 (20% discount for homeless assistance agencies) from the Ctr. at their new address: 1411 K St. NW, #1400, Wash., DC 20005, 202/638-2535. [nlchp@nlchp.org](mailto:nlchp@nlchp.org).

## Housing

• **"Forced Eviction & Human Rights: A Manual for Action,"** by Scott Leckie, is a 108-page, May 1999 document, available (no price listed) from the Geneva-based Centre on Housing Rights & Evictions. COHRE's US office is at 1760 Euclid St. NW, #406, Wash., DC 20009, 202/783-1123, [manos@igc.org](mailto:manos@igc.org).

• **Maxwell Awards of Excellence**, the Fannie Mae Foundation's annual acknowledgment of outstanding work by nonprofits in providing quality housing for low-income families & individuals, has available its Round 11 (last year's) book of winners; the 118-pager is available, likely free, from the Foundation, 4000 Wisconsin Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20016-2804, 202/274-8000. Applications for Round 12 must be postmarked by Sept. 15 (but this late-arriving P&R probably won't arrive in time — sorry).

• **"The Annual Public Housing Plan: A New Opportunity to Influence Local Public Housing & Sec. 8 Policy,"** by David Bryson & Daniel Lindsey (18 pp.) & "Dept. of Housing & Urban Development & Sec. 3: Challenges & Opportunities," by Wendy Pollack & Dina Schlossberg (16 pp.), both appeared in the May/June 1999 issue of *Clearinghouse Review: Journal of Poverty Law*. Inf. from the Natl. Ctr. on Poverty Law, 205 W. Monroe St., 2nd fl., Chicago, IL 60606-5013, 312/263-3830, admin@povertylaw.org.

• **"The State of the Nation's Housing: 1999"** is the 36-page annual report from the Jt. Ctr. for Housing Studies of Harvard Univ. (79 JFK St., Cambridge, MA

02138, 617/495-7908); likely free.

• **"What 'Fair Housing' Means for People with Disabilities"** is a 48-page, May 1999 handbook, available (\$6) from the Bazelon Ctr. for Mental Health Law, 1101 15th St. NW, #1212, Wash., DC 20005, 202/467-5730, hn1660@handsnetorg.

• **"The 1999 Affordable Housing Directory & Factbook"** (230 pp.) is available (\$129, refundable if you don't find it useful): 800/989-7255.

• **"Walking the Native Path into the Next Century: Seeking Solutions through Housing & Econ. Dev. Opportunities"** is a Sept. 27-29 conf. on the Mille Lacs Indian Reservation (nr. Onamia, MN), sponsored by the Fed. Reserve Bank of Mpls. et al. Inf. from 612/204-5075.

• **"Affordable Housing: The Next Generation — Connecting to Community"** is the Sept. 29 San Francisco annual conf. of the Non-Profit Housing Assn. of N. Calif. Inf. from them, 369 Pine St., #350, SF, CA 94104, 415/989-8160.

• **Teleconferences on Changes to Public Housing & Project-based Sec. 8 Programs:** The Natl. Housing Law Project is running 5 of these, 2 (possibly 3) of which already have taken place: **Sept. 15** (which may have come and gone by the time this issue of P&R arrives) is on "PHA Plans & Rent Increases"; **Oct. 6** is on "Public Housing & Tenant-based Sec. 8 Admissions"; **Oct. 12** is on "The PHA Plan Process." (The ex-teleconferences were on

"HUD Multifamily Properties: Prepayments, 'Opt-Outs,' & Troubled" & "Over-Market" Expiring Sec. 8: Restructuring Issues.) Inf. from Amy Siemens at the Project, 614 Grand Ave., #320, Oakland, CA 94610, 510/251-9400, x111, asiemens@nhlp.org.

• **Rural Housing Summit at Asilomar** will take place **Oct. 14-15**. Inf. from the Calif. Coal. for Rural Housing Project, 926 J St., #1400, Sacramento, CA 95814, 916/443-4448.

• **"Sharing Challenges & Solutions"** is the annual conf. of the Natl. Assn. of Housing Cooperatives, **Oct. 27-30** in Toronto. Inf. from NAHC, 1401 NY Ave. NW, #1100, Wash., DC 20005, 202/737-0797, DenizNAHC@aol.com

## Immigration

• **"All Under One Roof: Mixed-Status Families in an Era of Reform,"** by Michael Fix & Wendy Zimmerman, is a June 1999 report, available (no price listed) from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 877/847-7377. The study finds that 85% of all immigrant families are mixed-status families — in which at least 1 parent is a noncitizen and 1 child is a citizen — data that illustrate how policies aimed at noncitizens put many citizen children at risk.

• **"Patchwork Policies: State Assistance for Immigrants Under Welfare Reform"** is available on The Urban Institute's webpage: [www.urban.org](http://www.urban.org).

• **"This Week in Immigration"** is a new service of the Ctr. for Immigration Studies — a free weekly roundup of immigration news. To subscribe: <http://mail.cis.org/guest/RemoteListSummary/THISWEEK>. If you have trouble making it work, their email is [center@cis.org](mailto:center@cis.org).

• **"From Newcomers to New Americans: The Successful Integration of Immigrants into American Society"** is a new (1999) study, available (\$10) from the Natl. Immigration Forum, 220 Eye St. NE, #220, Wash., DC 20002-4362. A 3-page Exec. Summary may be available free.

## Rural

• **"Uprooting Injustice: A Report on Working Conditions for No. Carolina Farmworkers & the Farm Labor Organizing Committee's Mt. Olive Initiative"** is a 32-page, 1999 report by Sandy Smith-Nonini, available (\$6) from the Inst. for Southern Studies, PO Box 531, Durham, NC 27702, 919/419-8311, x25, [erica@i4south.org](mailto:erica@i4south.org).

## Miscellaneous

• **"Shifting Fortunes: The Perils of the Growing American Wealth Gap,"** by Chuck Collins, Betsy Leondar-Wright & Holly Sklar (94 pp., 1999), is available (\$8.95) from United for a Fair Economy, 37 Temple Place, 2nd fl., Boston, MA 02111, 617/423-2148. [stw@stw.org](mailto:stw@stw.org). The top 1% of American households now own 40% of the wealth, up from 20% in 1976.

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- **HUD's 1999 State of the Cities Report** is available on line: [www.huduser.org](http://www.huduser.org). Not surprisingly, it finds that, despite the economic boom, many central cities continue to face population decline, loss of middle-class families, slow job growth, income inequality & poverty.

- **The Northwestern Univ. Inst. for Policy Research** has a Spring 1999 Working Papers catalogue, listing many items under "Poverty, Race & Inequality," "Educational Policy," "Law & Justice Studies," "Child, Adolescent & Family Studies," etc. Contact the Inst., 2040 Sheridan Rd., Evanston, IL 60208-4100, 847/491-8712, [achambers@nwu.edu](mailto:achambers@nwu.edu).

- **Lies Across America: What Our Historic Sites Got Wrong** is a new 416-page book by Jim Loewen, author of *Lies My Teacher Told Me*. Available (\$26.95) from New Press, 450 W. 41 St., NYC, NY 10036, 212/629-8802. The book, with 40 photos, looks at more than 100 historic markers, monuments, outdoor museums, historic houses, forts & ships, asking such questions (and correcting the wrong answers) as to why Indians are consistently "savage," tribal names are wrong and derogatory, whites "discover" everything, and the term "massacre" is a one-way street, why war museums have selective memories, why James Buchanan's house makes no mention of the fact that he was gay, etc.

## Job Opportunities/ Fellowships/ Grants

- **The Right Question Proj.**, "a small nonprofit dedicated to making democracy work better for all people on a fundamental level," is seeking a **Sr. Prog. Mgr.** (\$35-40,000). Resume/ltr. to them at 2464 Mass. Ave., #314, Cambridge, MA 02140, fax: 617/492-1950, [rqp@tiac.net](mailto:rqp@tiac.net).

- **Political Research Associates**, "an 18-yr. old independent nonprofit research ctr. that monitors & analyzes the political right from a progressive perspective," is seeking a **Deputy Director** (\$40,000). Resume/ltr. to PRA, 120 Beacon St., #202, Somerville, MA 02143, 617/661-9313, [publiceye@igc.apc.org](mailto:publiceye@igc.apc.org).

- **Children's Defense Fund** is hiring a **Sr. Prog. Assoc./Sr. Staff Atty.** - JD or relevant Masters (low-mid \$50s); p.t. schedule possible. Resume/writing sample to Deborah Weinstein, CDF, 25 E St. NW, Wash., DC 20001, 202/628-8787, [cdffjobs@childrensdefense.org](mailto:cdffjobs@childrensdefense.org).

- **The Ctr. for Third World Organizing** is seeking a new **Exec. Dir.** (\$40-50,000). Resumes to CTWO, 1218 E. 21 St., Oakland, CA 94606.

- **The Natl. Health Law Prog.** is seeking an **Attorney** for its DC office. Resume to Laurence Lavin, NHLP, 2639 S. La Cienega Blvd., LA, CA 90034, 310/204-6010, [nhelp@healthlaw.org](mailto:nhelp@healthlaw.org).

- **The Ctr. on Budget & Policy Priorities** has 6 openings: **Policy Analyst-State Fiscal Proj.**; **Tax Policy Analyst**; **Policy Analyst-Natl. Policy**; **Research Analyst**; **Research Asst.**; **Research Asst.-Health Proj.** For all, resume/ltr. to CBPP, 820 First St. NE, #510, Wash., DC 20002, 202/408-1080, [center@cbpp.org](mailto:center@cbpp.org).

- **The Natl. Women's Law Ctr.** (co-directed by PRRAC Board member Nancy Duff Campbell) is seeking a **VP/Director-Health & Reproductive Rights Prog.**; a **Communication Asst.**; & a **Staff Accountant**. Resume to NWLC, 11 Dupont Circ. NW, #800, Wash., DC 20036, 202/588-5180.

- **The Coal. of Comm. Dev. Financial Institutions** is seeking an **Exec. Dir.** Ltr./resume to CDFI Coal., 924 Cherry St., 2nd fl., Phila., PA 19107, 215/923-5363, [cdfi@cdfi.org](mailto:cdfi@cdfi.org).

- **Changemakers**, a new natl. community foundation dedicated to transforming philanthropy in the 21st century, is seeking an **Exec. Dir.** (\$60,000). Resume/ltr. immed. to Tracy Gary, Changemakers, PMB#609, 1032 Irving St., SF, CA 94122-2200, 415/682-8415.

- **The DC Collaborative on Educational Reform**, formed in 1998 by teachers, parents & comm. members to build a collaborative constituency for change & improvement in student academic achievement in the DC Public Schools, has 6 openings: **Executive Dir.**, **Constituency Building Coordinator** (p.t.), **Profl. Dev. Coordinator** (p.t.), **Research**

**Coordinator** (p.t.), **Comm. Organizer** (p.t.), **Adm. Mgr.** (f.t.). Ltr./resume/refs. to DC CER, c/o NECA, PO Box 73038, Wash., DC 20056, 202/238-2379.

- **The Inst. for Comm. Economics** is seeking a **Director of Operations & Finance**. Apply to Sarah Page, ICE, 57 School St., Springfield, MA 01105, 413/746-8660.

- **The Gill Foundation**, which "serves as a catalyst & provides resources for communities in pursuit of justice & equality, while building awareness of the contributions gay men & lesbians make to American society," is seeking a **Director of Grantmaking**. Ltr./resume/salary reqs. to the Foundation, 8 S. Nevada Ave., #303, Colorado Springs, CO 80903, 800/964-5643, [blusz@gillfoundation.org](mailto:blusz@gillfoundation.org).

- **The Progressive Technology Project**, "a small, innovative, progressive nonprofit with a commitment to community organizing & social change," is seeking a **Program Assoc.** (\$32-36,000). Resume/3 refs. to Justin Maxon at the Project, 1436 U St. NW, Wash., DC 20009, 202/387-9660, [jmaxon@progressivetech.org](mailto:jmaxon@progressivetech.org).

- **The Neighborhood Reinvestment Corp.** is seeking a **Research Specialist/Analyst** (high \$30s) & a **Mgr., Public Resource Development**. Resume (and for the latter position, salary reqs.) to NRC, 1325 G St. NW, #800, Wash., DC 20005, fax: 202/376-2664. [sharvey@nw.org](mailto:sharvey@nw.org).

- **The Mass. School Age Coalition** is seeking

an Adm. Asst. (\$25-27,000). Resume to Jenny Amory, MSAC, Wellesley College Ctr. for Research on Women, Wellesley, MA 02481, 781/283-2518. (MSAC will shortly move to a new location.)

• **The Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños** is seeking a **Research Assoc.** (\$27,575-mid50s). Ltr./resume by 10/15 to Jose deJesus, Ctr. for Puerto Rican Studies, Hunter College, 695 Park Ave., NYC, NY 10021.

• **INFACT**, whose purpose is "to stop life-threatening abuses by transnational corporations," is hiring a **National Organizer** (\$22-25,000) & a **Media Organizer** (\$22,750-26,000). Resume/ltr./3-5 refs. to Suren Moodliar, INFACT, 256 Hanover St., Boston, MA 02113, 617/742-4583.

• **Families USA** is hiring a **Health Policy Analyst**. Resume/writing sample to Kathleen Haddad, Families USA, 1334 G St. NW, 3rd flr., Wash., DC 20005, 202/628-3030, info@familiesusa.org.

• **The Mexican-American Legal Defense & Educ. Fund** is hiring **Staff Attys.** for its LA & SF offices. Resume/writing sample (for both positions) to MALDEF, 634 S. Spring St., LA, CA 90014, 213/629-2512.

• **The Nonprofit Sector Research Fund** provides 2 types of grants: 1) Up to \$50,000 (in exceptional cases, more) to support research by any eligible applicant; 2) Up to \$20,000 to support doctoral dissertation research. Priority funding areas include the impact of welfare reform & other public policy changes on nonprofits and the people they serve; nonprofit advocacy and civic participation; performance & accountability of nonprofits & philanthropy. Some good folks are on their Council, and some of their past grants have been quite relevant to the world of poverty & race. There's an Oct. 1 deadline. Contact the Fund at the Aspen Inst., One Dupont Circ. NW, #700, Wash., DC 20036, 202/736-5838, nsrf@aspeninstitute.org.

• **The Office of Community Ministries/Development of the General Bd. of Global Ministries** is seeking a **Researcher** to conduct an in-depth study of the Community Developers Program, a natl. ministry of church-based community organizing. Resume (right away) via fax: 212/870/3948 or email: rlawson@gbgm-umc.org or mail to Ruth Lawson, 475 Riverside Dr., #1548, NYC, NY 10115.

• **"Jobs & Living Wages for the Poor"** is the Yr. 2000 grant program of the Discount Foundation. Grants are up to \$25,000. One-page inf. ltr. must be received by Oct. 15: 409 Crater Ct., Henderson, NV 89014-4011, 702/547-6319, fax: 547-6398, susanchinn@lvcm.com.

• **Internships with the Natl. Women's Law Ctr.** (co-directed by PRRAC Bd. member Nancy Duff Campbell): These are available, for undergrad. as well as grad. students, in Development, Communications, Law or general. 15 or more hrs./wk. required. Resume/grade transcript/3 refs., indicat-

ing area you want to work in, to the Ctr., 11 Dupont Circle NW, #800, Wash., DC 20036, 202/588-5180.

• **The Inst. on Race & Poverty** (headed by PRRAC Board member John Powell) is hiring a **Director of Development & Administration** and **Research Staff & GIS/Mapping**. For addl. inf., contact IRP, 612/625-8071 or visit their website: www.umn.edu/irp.

• **Center for Law & Social Policy Audio Conferences** on "Looking to the Millennium & the Legislature: Revisiting Low-Income Programs"; Sept. 24, "Welfare 2000: A Win, Loss, or Draw?"; Oct. 1, "Medicaid Expansion: Reaching More Adults"; Oct. 8, "Pregnancy Prevention: Tapping TANF [funds] for Reproductive Health"; Nov. 5, "Child Care: New Trends & Emerging State Models"; Nov. 12, "Child Support: What If It All Came Home?"; Dec. 10, "Job Creation: Setting Up Programs." Contact Jodie Levin-Epstein, 202/797-6535, jodie@clasp.org.

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