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Social Exclusion: The European Approach to Social Disadvantage

by Hilary Silver and S.M. Miller

The United States is falling further behind the European Union in its conceptualization and measurement of poverty and its understanding of those living at the margins of society. The U.S. still imagines poverty strictly as a deficiency of income for basic necessities. In contrast, the European Union has continually revised its thinking about social deprivation, adopting a view of poverty relative to rising average living standards and, more recently, building a framework for thinking about non-monetary aspects of deprivation. Europeans are now committed to include the “excluded,” the outsiders, the people left out of mainstream society and left behind in a globalizing economy. The U.S. can learn much from the European fight against social exclusion. A new agenda for political action could emerge.

Ironically, an Englishman, B. Seebohm Rowntree, at the end of the 19th Century, pioneered the American method of counting the poor by estimating an absolute monetary threshold based upon bare subsistence requirements. Our poverty line reflects a convenient rule of thumb that a government economist, Mollie Orshansky, devised in 1964. It has since become a policy and social science fixture. Based on the value of an “economy food plan” times three (since at that time the average family of three

spent a third of its after-tax income on food), this narrow approach persists, even though today food, including restaurant meals, accounts for only 13.5% of annual budgets for that family size and 14.9% of expenditures by the poorest 20% of families. The poverty threshold, adjusted only for inflation, identifies people living in the direst material circumstances, not those living below what John Kenneth Galbraith termed “the grades and standards” of society. Although in 1995 the National Academy of Sciences recommended limited changes to the poverty line in order to reflect real consumption relative to all money and non-monetary resources, minus work-related expenses, there has as yet been no official redefinition. (See “Remeasuring Poverty,” by S.M. Miller and Else Øyen, in the September/October 1996 *P&R*.)

In contrast, the European Union adopted as the official poverty line a *relative* poverty indicator: one-half or less of the national median disposable household income. It rises when Europeans grow richer. EU statistical reports provide data on 50% and 60% of median income, offering evidence of near poverty as well. Concern about rising income inequality, a problem much worse in the U.S. than in Europe, has also encouraged the development of income distribution measures. The European Household Panel

Survey and the longitudinal EU Statistics on Income and Living Conditions study now make it possible to develop dynamic indicators of poverty, tracking those who enter, leave and stay mired in destitution.

At the March 2001 Stockholm Summit, the European Commission’s Synthesis Report on Social Inclusion proposed seven indicators of “social exclusion,” three of which captured forms of “financial poverty”: (1) the share of the population below 60% of national median income (adjusted for household size) before and after social transfers; (2) the ratio of the share of the top 20% to the share of the bottom 20% of the income distribution; and (3) persistent poverty, or the share of the population below the 60% poverty line for the current year and at least two of the preceding three years.

The most significant European innovation is the development of non-
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monetary indicators of “social exclusion,” transcending economists’ focus on money. Mention of “social exclusion” in European public and social science discourse has increased much faster than references to “poverty” or “the underclass.” Cognizant that deprivation is a multi-dimensional condition, Eurostat (the EU Statistical Office), national statistical agencies and European social scientists have developed social and political benchmarks to track progress against exclusion.

The Origins of “Social Exclusion”

Europeans conceive of social exclusion as distinct from income poverty. Poverty is a distributional outcome, whereas exclusion is a relational process of declining participation, solidarity and access. For some, exclusion is a broader term encompassing poverty; for others, it is a cause or a consequence of poverty. The two may even be unrelated.

The meaning of social exclusion also varies across countries. The term originated in France, where the “Anglo-Saxon” idea of “poverty” is

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thought to patronize or denigrate equal citizens. In French Republican thought, social exclusion refers to a “rupture of the social bond” or “solidarity.” The French social contract does not leave individuals to fend for themselves. Society owes its citizens the means to a livelihood; citizens in turn have obligations to the larger society. European welfare states were supposed to do away with “charity” for “the poor,” by providing basic social assistance and thereby eliminating absolute material deprivation as a right of citizenship. (See “Social Exclusion and Social Solidarity: Three Paradigms,” by Hilary Silver, in Vol. 133 of the 1994 *International Labour Review*.)

The U.S. can learn much from the European fight against social exclusion.

Although many sociological theories adumbrated the concept of exclusion, French advocates for destitute groups, such as ATD-Fourth World, were among the first to employ the term in its contemporary sense. By the 1970s, references to “the excluded” became more frequent. In the 1980s, as the problem groups “excluded” from economic growth multiplied, “exclusion” discourse helped cement a national movement of associations, ALERTE, urging France to launch a comprehensive war on exclusion.

In 1988, with the support of the Right and the Left, France enacted a minimum “insertion” income [RMI]. The RMI entails signing an “insertion” contract specifying a trajectory for an assisted individual to follow to become a productive member of society, whether through work, volunteering, studying, family reunification or the like. Social workers and nonprofits provide multi-faceted, comprehensive and personally tailored assistance, from health care to subsidized jobs, to help the excluded re-enter social life in all its spheres. Thus, in France, social bonds are reknit in families and communities as well as in the workplace.

Illustrative European Social Inclusion Policies

- Minimum Income Policies
- Solidarity or Redistributive Taxation
- Employer Wage or Hiring Subsidies and Tax Incentives
- Insertion by Economic Means and Social Enterprise
- Active Labor Market Policies
- Reform of Employment and Job Placement Services
- Work Sharing
- Local Development Policies
- Anti-discrimination Laws
- Improved Access to Services
- Representation and Participation in Partnerships and Policymaking

In 1990, homeless activists won a legal right to housing, and in June 1998, a full-blown French “law of prevention and combat of social exclusions” guaranteed universal access to fundamental rights. It mandated comprehensive and coordinated interventions in at least ten spheres: employment, training, social enterprise, social minima, housing, health, education, social services, culture and “citizenship” (e.g., helping the homeless to vote). The “exclusion” approach dispersed from France throughout Europe.

Most policies promoting social inclusion or cohesion [see Box] emphasize: (1) multi-pronged interventions crossing traditional bureaucratic domains and tailored to the multi-dimensional problems of excluded individuals and groups; (2) a long-term process of insertion and integration moving through transitional stages; and (3) participation of the excluded in their own inclusion into economic and social life. The latter is especially important since targeted and means-tested programs may stigmatize their intended beneficiaries. Often, local nonprofit initiatives of disadvantaged residents become public-private partnerships

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Race, Poverty and Community Schools

by Ira Harkavy and Martin Blank

Listening to the recent debate culminating in the “No Child Left Behind Act”, it would be easy to assume that the only things that matter are annually testing for all children in grades 3-8, having a qualified teacher in every classroom in four years, and allowing parents to move their children out of persistently failing schools.

Nonsense.

High academic standards, aligned tests, clear incentives and strong professional development are important, but they’re not sufficient to meet the lofty goal of educating all children.

Largely ignored in this debate, and early implementation of the Act, are the highly visible, morally troubling, increasingly savage inequalities experienced by far too many poor children in predominantly minority urban schools, as well as in under-served, under-resourced rural schools, and their respective communities. The school-community connection is evident in the relationship between the multiple interrelated plagues: poverty, violence, ill health, broken families, unemployment, and drug and alcohol abuse – and academic failure.

Discussion of these issues seems to be outside the present education reform framework. Paul Barton of the Educational Testing Service, in his 2001 study *Facing the Hard Facts of Education Reform*, suggests an alternative view. He argues that “our reluctance to address important nonacademic factors stems from a fear that to consider such factors may cause us to lose focus, ... and provide excuses for not raising standards and achievement... [H]owever, we do so at our peril. The seriousness of our purpose requires that we learn to rub our bellies and pat our heads at the same time.”

From our perspective, rubbing our bellies and patting our heads means creating comprehensive community schools. While the community school approach is applicable to all students,

it is particularly important for poor children of color, whose assets and talents tend to be overlooked, and who bring the largest challenges to the schoolhouse door.

A Vision of Community Schools

Here is a vision of a community schools supported by the Coalition for Community Schools, an alliance of more than 170 national, state and local organizations. This vision explic-

The totality of the work of a community school represents an important anti-poverty strategy.

itly recognizes the shared responsibility of schools, families and community for the education of all our children.

A community school strategically combines community resources with the assets and expertise of educators and schools to better meet the learning and development goals of students and schools, and to support families and communities. Individual schools and the school system work in partnership with community agencies and organizations to operate these unique institutions. Families, students, principals, teachers and neighborhood residents decide together what happens at a community school.

Community schools are open to students, families and community members before, during and after school, throughout the year. They have high standards and expectations for students, qualified teachers and a focused, engaging curriculum.

Before- and after-school programs build on classroom experiences and

help students expand their horizons, contribute to their communities and have fun. Family support centers help with parent involvement, child rearing, employment, housing and other services. Medical, dental and mental health services are readily available. Parents and community residents participate in adult education and job training programs, and use the school as a place for community problem-solving. Volunteers come to community schools to support young people’s academic, interpersonal and career success.

Community schools use the community as a resource to engage students in learning and service, and help them become problem-solvers in their communities. The school also sees itself as a resource to the community, sharing its facilities, equipment and other assets to support community-building efforts.

Strategically, when community schools bring together school and community assets they create six conditions for learning, conditions that are especially vital for poor, minority children:

- **Condition #1:** A core instructional program with high standards, qualified teachers, and a focused, engaged curriculum provides for academic excellence.
- **Condition #2:** The basic medical, mental and physical health needs of young people and their families are addressed.
- **Condition #3:** Families are actively engaged in supporting and making decisions affecting their children’s learning.
- **Condition #4:** The school climate, strengthened by community engagement, promotes safety, respect and connection to a learning community.
- **Condition #5:** Students are motivated and engaged in learning in and out of school.

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- **Condition #6:** The community provides a resource for learning and civic participation.

These conditions summarize a growing consensus on what research, practice and common sense suggests it takes for all young people to succeed.

In our vision of community schools, educators are major partners, but they do not do everything. A capable partner organization – a youth development organization, a college or university, a child and family services agency, a community development corporation, a family support center, for example – can serve as the anchor partner for a community school. The partner organizations work with the school to mobilize and integrate the resources of community and school. This allows principals and teachers to focus on their core mission: improving student learning.

Asset-based and strengths-based practices that have emerged in the fields of community building, youth development, family support and related human services fields complement one another at a community school, providing students, their families and neighborhood residents with multiple pathways to success. The totality of the work of a community school represents an important anti-poverty strategy.

In the past decade, community school expansion has largely been in poor urban and rural settings, with large minority populations. There are national approaches, such as the work of Children's Aid Society and Beacon Schools, initiated in New York and now being adapted in many cities; Communities in Schools, reaching students and families in more than 2,300 schools; and the West Philadelphia Improvement Corps, started in Philadelphia, now operating in more than 20 communities. There are many more locally grown models, distinguished by the creation of community leadership groups that bring together representatives of various stakeholder groups concerned with the well-being of children,

families and communities (Bridges to Success, Indianapolis; Local Investment Commission, Kansas City, Missouri; Schools United Neighborhoods, Portland/ Multnomah County, Oregon; and the Community Learning Centers Initiative in Lincoln, Nebraska). In rural communities, the community school strategy emphasizes place-based education – engaging the community, the school and its students in active learning and community problem-solving. Each of these approaches has different emphases, but

Do community schools work? Absolutely.

they all share the broad vision of a community school.

Results in Community Schools

Do community schools work? Absolutely. Evaluation data from organizations such as the Academy for Educational Development, the Stanford Research Institute, the Chapin Hall Center for Children and others, compiled by leading authority Joy Dryfoos, demonstrate the positive impact of community schools on student learning, healthy youth development, family well-being and community life. Results include students doing better on tests, students improving their attendance and behavior, and families having their basic needs met and being more involved in their children's education. Moreover, principals and teachers in community schools testify that deep and intentional relationships with community partners are not a distraction, but rather a significant source of support, giving teachers more time to teach and students more opportunity to learn.

The Public's Perspective

A recent poll by the Knowledge Works Foundation in Ohio provides

evidence that the public supports the community school approach. Eighty-four percent of respondents supported community use of schools during afternoon, evening and weekend hours for activities like health clinics, recreation activities, and parenting and adult education classes. Seventy-two percent agreed that adult fitness, community activities and parenting classes should be located in public schools. Seventy nine percent agreed that schools should offer mental health services for students, and 65% agreed that community social services for children like health services, dental services and after-school programs should be located in public schools. We suspect there is similar support around the country.

Keys to Community Schools

There are four keys to creating community schools: leadership, partnership, community voice and financing.

Leadership: As Atelia Melaville writes in her 1998 study, *Learning Together: The developing field of school-community initiatives*, leadership provides “fuel and direction; community school initiatives that last are led by people committed to the well-being of poor children and families, and who know where they want to go and have the position, personality, and power to make others want to come along.” This leadership is creating permanent coalitions to improve results for children through community schools.

Partnership: Partnerships are essential to mobilizing, galvanizing and integrating the enormous untapped resources of communities for the purpose of improving schooling and community life. These partnerships, bringing together stakeholders across the public, private and non-profit sectors and including community voices, are part of a “democratic devolution revolution” that is slowly restructuring the way communities make decision affecting their residents. Through

these partnerships, the ongoing work of local institutions (e.g., higher education; health and human services agencies; youth development and community development groups; civic, business and religious organizations) changes and adapts to the needs in particular community school settings.

Community Voice: Organized and vocal support from students, parents and neighborhood residents ensures that the community school is responsive to their concerns and helps to convince stakeholders across the community of the importance and effectiveness of the community school strategy. Through effective leadership and community participation, strong partnerships emerge.

Financing: Money does matter in a community school. Government and public school systems, in particular, as well as philanthropy and United Ways and other institutions have key roles to play in helping to finance the cooperation among the sectors of society that must come together in a community school strategy. The work of the partnership at the community or school district level, and the coordination work at the school site, generally require new investments or the use of existing funds in new ways.

Barriers to the Community Schools Movement

The benefits of community schools are becoming clearer and clearer. Yet there are numerous challenges to expanding the community schools approach as an anti-poverty approach and education reform strategy.

Differences in Philosophy and Practice: Practitioners in education, youth development, health, mental health, family support, community development and related fields often have

their distinct philosophy and practice of what works best to help young people succeed. The cultural distance between school and community remains wide. To shorten that distance, interprofessional development programs are needed that help educate practitioners to work across sectors and with schools and communities.

Categorical Funding: Narrowly crafted public funding streams separate people and organizations. They make it more difficult to integrate resources in ways that are consistent with a community school strategy. Needless to say, resources remain insufficient to meet the needs of all students even if they were used more strategically; at the same time, much more can be done with what is available.

Preparation of School Leaders: Superintendents and principals learn little about working with family and

The public supports the community school approach.

community at institutes of higher education. They are trained to manage their buildings, not to be leaders and partners in the education of children.

Community Leadership: The leadership to initiate and guide a partnership-driven community school strategy, especially involving working across race and class, is still limited. More efforts must be made to develop leaders committed to a collaborative community problem-solving culture.

Financing: Funding is still insufficient to develop community schools that can create the conditions for all children to learn. We now find ourselves in a zero-sum game in education, with increases in federal funding for programs such as Title I and after-school programs balanced out by cuts in state and local spending for education and other child and family services. Still, more can be done with what exists within a community schools framework.

The continuing expansion of community schools across the country in

the face of these barriers demonstrates the power and potential of this idea.

Action Steps

Stakeholders in many sectors must act to create and sustain community schools. The following action recommendations focus on the federal and state government. There are six major leadership actions for the federal and state government:

- *Develop and promote a **VISION** for improving student learning that incorporates the critical role of families and communities, as well as schools.*
- *Support **BROAD-BASED, LOCAL COALITIONS OR MULTI-AGENCY COMMISSIONS** to advance, develop and sustain community schools.*
- *Ensure that federal and state programs and policies **FOCUS** on supporting student learning and are subject to the guidance of a local coalition of such multi-agency commissions. This means coordinating categorical grant programs across agencies to improve student learning, and providing incentives for coordination at other governmental levels.*
- *Substantially **INCREASE FUNDING** for the supports and opportunities that poor children need to succeed, with a focus on those that build on the assets of young people, their families and communities.*
- *Make targeted **INVESTMENTS** in community schools to increase the effectiveness of existing programs and resources. This includes funding community school coordinators to facilitate effective partnerships, sustain funding over time, and support local planning and partnership-building processes.*
- *Build **SCHOOLS AS CENTERS OF COMMUNITY**. As state and local government and school districts pay to rehabilitate or construct new schools, they should build community schools that meet not only*
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the needs of students and schools, but family and community as well.

Conclusion

Organizational development expert Peter Senge argued in the Summer 2001 *Community Youth Development Journal* that “until we go back to thinking about school as the totality of the environment in which a child grows up, we can expect no deep changes. Change requires a community – people living and working together, assuming some common responsibility for something that’s of deep concern and interest to all of them – their children.”

Community schools can help build the kind of caring, compassionate, responsible community Senge describes. Community schools are environment-changing institutions that engage children, their families, neighbors and local institutions in active work to improve the quality of life and learning of all members of the community. Needless to say, community schools have a particular contribution to make in helping to change the appalling conditions facing far too many of America’s poor and minority children.

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Resources

National Center for Community Education: <http://www.nccenet.org/>

Children’s Aid Society: <http://www.childrensaidsociety.org>

Fund for the City of New York (Beacon Schools): <http://www.fcny.org/html/home.htm>

Communities in Schools: <http://www.cisnet.org>

West Philadelphia Improvement Corps – Center for Community Partnerships, Univ. of PA: <http://www.upenn.edu/ccp/index.html>

Bush Center for Child Development and Social Policy/Schools of the 21st Century: <http://www.yale.edu/bushcenter/21C/>

The Rural School and Community Trust: <http://www.ruraledu.org/index.cfm>

United Way of Central Indianapolis (Bridges to Success Model): www.uwci.org

Local Investment Commission Kansas City, MO: www.kclinc.org

Schools United Neighborhoods (SUN Schools) Portland/ Multnomah County, OR: www.sunschools.org

Community Learning Centers Initiative Lincoln, NE: <http://www.ci.lincoln.ne.us/city/mayor/media/2002/012402a.htm>

Race, Poverty and the Estate Tax

by Gary Bass, Ellen Taylor and Cate Paskoff

Proponents for repeal of the estate tax, including the powerful independent business lobby, have spent the past decade portraying the estate tax as a “death tax” that destroys small businesses and family farms – the very heart of America. Those who would reform – but not repeal – the estate tax understand it very differently. We see it as a fair and effective tax that:

- Limits huge concentrations of wealth, thereby decreasing economic inequality
- Provides an incentive for charitable giving, and
- Generates revenue at the state and federal level to sustain many of the programs that serve low-income and disadvantaged people.

In April 2001, Black Entertainment Television (BET) founder and billionaire CEO Robert Johnson and 48 other African American business leaders placed a full-page ad supporting repeal of the estate tax in the Washington Post and New York Times. Using many of the inaccurate arguments that had already been made by conservatives and business lobbyists, Johnson and his cosigners also claimed that the estate tax is particularly unfair to African Americans.

The argument that the estate tax hurts the black community and that repealing it will be beneficial is contrary to the facts. The estate tax is not harmful to black prosperity; in fact, the tax actually helps to mitigate increasing income and wealth inequality in the United States.

An Estate Tax Primer

The estate tax is not a death tax. It is a one-time tax on the transfer of assets to heirs that occurs as a result of death. Death is not a taxable event, but transferring large sums of wealth is. Other transfers of assets result in

other taxes – for instance, the capital gains tax. While few of us enjoy paying taxes, most of us recognize that taxes are necessary if we want (and most of us do), the protection and benefit of a sound government that gives us the opportunity to flourish and succeed. Or, as economist and columnist Julianne Malveaux reminds us, “Taxes are the price we pay to live in a civil society.” The estate tax fills an important niche in the tax code that otherwise would result in a huge loophole, since it is the only way to tax the appreciation of wealth that remains in the hands of a family – capital gains taxes do not apply to inheritances.

The estate tax is not a death tax.

Because the estate tax is a very “progressive” tax, it does not tax low- or even middle-income people, only the wealthiest. Currently, an estate of \$1 million (\$2 million for a couple) is exempt from taxation, and the exemption levels are scheduled to rise annually to \$3.5 million for an individual (\$7

million for a couple) by 2009. An estate bequeathed to a spouse is totally exempt. These exemptions help to ensure that 98 of every 100 people who die face no estate tax whatsoever. Only the super-wealthy – the richest 2% of Americans – are subject to the estate tax. According to economist Edward Wolff, cited in the June 4, 2001 *American Prospect*, less than one-third of 1% of all estates that pay an estate tax are left by black decedents. It is only fair that people, of whatever race, who have amassed great wealth (a substantial part of which may never have been taxed before) be taxed when that wealth is passed on. Besides limiting concentrations of wealth passed down from generation to generation, the estate tax serves two other important purposes:

1. Since transfers of wealth from an estate to charities (or to create foundations that fund charities) are untaxed, the estate tax provides a way for the wealthy to reduce their estate tax liability, and, at the same time, to positively do good things that often give the less fortunate a hand up. Total charitable bequests of all estates amounted

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Program	\$ Billions
Education of Disadvantaged Children	8.6
Job Training	1.0
Youth Training/Summer Jobs	1.0
Head Start	6.2
Child Care Block Grant	2.0
Runaway, Homeless Youth	0.07
College Work Study	1.0
Low-Income Energy Assistance	1.4
Individuals with Disability Education Act (IDEA)	7.4
Community Health Centers	1.2
Substance Abuse Block Grant	1.7
Mental Health Block Grant	0.4
Community Services Block Grant	0.6
Refugee Assistance	0.6
Total	33.17

to more than \$16 billion in 2000 – resources upon which nonprofits, charities and direct service providers are increasingly reliant for the important work they accomplish.

2. But charities can't do it all. We also need government. The estate tax is an important source of federal revenue. The Congressional Joint Committee on Taxation (JCT) published a 1999 report projecting revenue from the estate and gift tax. According to JCT, from 2000 to 2008, the tax will generate \$303.4 billion. On average, this is \$33.7 billion per year, a sizable amount of federal revenue (this number is expected to increase to \$56 billion for each full year the estate tax is repealed beginning in 2012). To put it in perspective, you could fund each of the programs listed in the page 7 box and still have a surplus left over.

The value of these programs and the needs they must serve only increase when there is an economic downturn, as we are now experiencing.

In spite of the fairness of the tax and the benefits it provides, an intense campaign has been carried out to eliminate the estate tax. A large part of the \$1.3 trillion Bush tax cut passed in 2001 was partial repeal of the estate tax. Because repeal is so costly, Congress could only begin phasing the tax out. In 2010, the tax is fully repealed for one year, only to be re-instituted in 2011 as though the tax bill had never been enacted. Because the estate tax was not permanently repealed, we anticipate continued efforts to repeal it, as occurred this summer.

The Role of Government in the Creation of Wealth

While we recognize the important role of individual achievement in the creation of wealth, it is equally important to recognize that our government and the social, economic and political benefits it confers play a significant role in establishing the conditions for wealth creation. Our system

of property law protection and the investments we make towards equality of opportunity, such as education, public health, food and nutrition programs, or libraries and museums – though admittedly imperfect – make a social claim on individual wealth.

Many wealthy people recognize this – the role of a strong government, the benefits they have received from such a government, and their obligation to support government, as well as charities, through taxation and bequests. Almost 1,000 wealthy Americans who will owe estate taxes, who are part of the Responsible Wealth Project of United for a Fair Economy, signed a petition urging Congress to reform,

It is important to recognize that our government plays a significant role in establishing the conditions for wealth creation.

but not repeal, the estate tax because it is essential in protecting true equality of opportunity. Billionaire Bill Gates, Sr., a leader of the Project made this point well when he said in the June 13, 2002 New York Times, “[the estate tax] is a very legitimate claim of society on an accumulation of wealth which would not have occurred without an orderly market, free education and incredible dollars spent on research.”

The BET ad argues that the estate tax is particularly unfair to blacks because of America's history of racial discrimination, but, ironically, repeal of the estate tax would mean less federal revenue to more effectively enforce civil rights; or provide the resources to give disadvantaged kids decent child care and pre-school programs and nutrition, so they, too, can have the equal opportunity to succeed; or to fund job-training or housing or drug and alcohol treatment programs that would allow many people a chance at a good life. Revenue from the estate tax is important to the continua-

tion of programs like Small Business Loans for minorities, or FCC ownership rules that benefit minorities, or public subsidies of historically black colleges – to mention only a few. As Malveaux wrote in the April 12, 2001 *Sun Reporter* shortly after the ad ran, “[s]ome of the very programs that African American business executives used to climb their ladder will be jeopardized by budget cuts” that will likely result from repeal of the estate tax.

The Estate Tax and the Wealth Gap

The BET ad states that, “Elimination of the Estate Tax will help close the wealth gap in this nation between African American families and White families ... permit wealth to grow in the Black community through investment in minority businesses that will ... allow African-American families to participate fully in the American dream.” Since the ad's signers constitute fully 22% of the estimated 223 African Americans who had to pay the tax (as estimated by Edward Wolff) the one point the ad does make very clear is that there is a massive racial wealth gap in the U.S.

The wealth gap in this country – the phenomenon whereby the top 1 or 2 percent own a disproportionately large amount of the nation's wealth – has grown at a disturbing rate over the last 20 years. From 1976 to 1999, the top 1% of America's wealthiest went from owning 20% to more than 40% of the nation's wealth. Over the last 30 years, the percentage of families “with zero or no net worth” – that is, those families who owe the same or more than they own – has doubled.

As disturbing as the general trend of an increasing wealth gap is, the country's widening racial wealth gap is even more pronounced. NYU sociologist Dalton Conley, writing in the April 5, 2001 Salon.com, has said that wealth or net worth is, among others, the “one statistic [that] captures the persistence of racial inequity in the U.S.” While the racial income gap has

narrowed, the wealth gap remains wide and is growing larger. According to 2000 Census data, median income of blacks is about 66% that of whites. According to a U.S. Census report based on 1995 data (the most recent available), however, there are even greater differences in the net worth of whites and blacks – at all income levels. In each of the bottom two categories of income, black households have just 15% of the wealth of their white counterparts. Even in the top two income brackets, black households have only 48% and 33%, respectively, of the wealth of comparable white households.

As Conley explains, this “equity inequity is, in part, the result of the head start that whites have enjoyed in accumulating and passing on assets.” Though there are many factors, including different savings rates and investment choices that contribute to this wealth gap, sociologists Melvin Oliver and Thomas Shapiro, quoting research by Mark Wilhelm, have estimated that, “at least one half, but likely more” of wealth is inherited – and that the majority of these inheritances go to well-educated, white professionals. Oliver and Shapiro cite data that show white households are more than three times as likely to receive inheritances than are black households, and that the mean value of inheritances for whites is more than two times that for blacks.

The Estate Tax and Family-Owned Business and Farms

One of the most commonly used arguments for repeal of the estate tax is that it causes the destruction of small family farms and businesses, because heirs are unable to pay the estate tax, forcing the sale of the farm or business. There is little evidence to support the notion that the estate tax causes the ruination of family farms and businesses, which are given a more favorable treatment, including a higher exemption and a provision allowing the

tax to be paid in yearly installments.

There is extensive data showing that the family-owned small business or farm is actually left largely untouched by the estate tax. In their analysis of the “Rhetoric and Economics in the Estate Tax Debate,” economists William Gale and Joel Slemrod find that “the vast majority of family businesses are not subject to the estate tax, either because they [fail] well before the death of the owner or because their value is well below the estate tax exemption.”

Likewise, New York Times investigative reporter David Cay Johnston on April 8, 2001 concluded that, “Even one of the leading advocates for repeal of estate taxes, the American Farm Bureau Federation, said it could not cite a single example of a farm lost

There is a massive racial wealth gap in the U.S.

because of estate taxes.”

While we have no information on how many black-owned firms actually went under because of the estate tax, it is fair to surmise from the small percentage of all businesses that pay the estate tax and the even smaller fraction of a percent of black estates that have any estate tax liability, that the percentage of black-owned businesses that fail or must be sold as a result of the estate tax would be much, much smaller. As noted, family farms and businesses are already given special protections, and the estate tax law could easily be reformed to ensure that it is not an obstacle to the continuation of family-run enterprises.

Repeal of the estate tax will not lift blacks from economic dependency. It won't increase black savings. It won't increase the number of black-owned businesses. The estate tax itself provides the revenue to more effectively support black economic self-sufficiency and independence over the long term.

Be sure to send us items for our Resources Section.

Recent Public Opinion and Action on the Estate Tax

Despite all the misinformation included in arguments for repeal of the estate tax, it enjoys broad support among the public. Many Americans think that reforming the estate tax, to make sure that it continues to affect only the very wealthy and allows the preservation of family farms and businesses, but not repealing it, is the best way to go. In a May 2002 survey, among 1,000 registered voters who indicated they are likely to vote in the November 2002 elections, a solid majority indicated that reforming the estate tax was a higher priority than repealing it. Sixty percent of voters said they strongly or somewhat supported reform, whereas only 35% said they strongly or somewhat supported repeal. Only 24% of blacks support elimination of the estate tax, whereas 36% of whites do. Interestingly, the poll revealed also that even though less than one-third of 1% of estates that pay an estate tax are paid by black decedents, 34% of black voters thought someone in their household would have to pay the estate tax, indicating the need to get the true facts out more widely. (For a full discussion of the poll results, see the resource box.)

Opponents of the estate tax mobilized earlier this year to make repeal of the tax permanent. They were able to move permanent repeal through the House, but in June 2002 they fell six votes short of the Senate's 60-vote requirement for passage. In an earlier Senate test vote last spring, they thought they were only 3 or 4 votes away from permanently repealing the tax; so they actually lost ground.

Nonetheless, repeal advocates have
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vowed to bring permanent repeal of the estate tax back to the Senate floor again, even this year — either before November, since many see it as a key election issue, or later, depending on what changes the Senate undergoes. Either way, because the estate tax is scheduled to revert back to its pre-2001 provisions in 2011, it's inevitable that the topic will regularly be revisited and the issues raised in this article will continue to resurface until Congress either repeals or reforms the law. This means that the public interest community must get more involved in the estate tax debate and better help the public understand the estate tax's role in generating needed government revenue, encouraging charitable contributions, and working to address the country's wealth gap. And if the tax is to be reformed, the public interest community needs to be prepared to comment on how changes would impact issues pertaining to race and wealth.

Conclusion

To the highly emotional and often rhetorical debate already surrounding the estate tax, the BET ad attempted to up the ante — to the point of implying that elimination of the estate tax could be a form of partial reparations to the entire black community. The estate tax and the nation's growing racial wealth disparity, as well as the reparations for slavery proposal, are complicated issues that demand and deserve a sincere debate and resolution. The points made in the BET ad and in many other pro-repeal arguments, however, only further complicate these issues by implying that the superrich are owed more by society than are the rest of us; and specifically, in the case of this ad, that super-rich blacks are owed more than are low-and moderate-income blacks. The country's growing racial wealth gap must be confronted, but repeal of the estate tax will not help us move down this path.

Repeal of the estate tax will benefit many, many more super-rich whites than the 223 super-rich blacks in this country who are currently subject to the tax. It will, as Conley explains, be a “windfall for the wealthiest whites in America ...[and] only exacerbate the black-white asset gap.” Repeal will not only enable the very wealthiest to hold on to more of their wealth tax-free, but will almost surely worsen the condition of poor and low-income Americans by forcing cuts in spending on programs which target the poor — or, at the very least, by pushing more of the tax burden onto low- and mod-

Equity inequity is, in part, the result of the head start whites have enjoyed in accumulating and passing on assets.

erate-income families.

The implications of the wealth gap are varied — from poor health care to a lack of educational opportunities to delayed retirement or the ability of a family to weather an economic “slow-down” — not to mention the significance such gaps have on the long-term welfare of a country that is supposed to value the well-being of all of its individuals and not just the wealthiest 1.4% of them. Eliminating a tax that affects less than 2%, or 47,000, of the wealthiest estates each year, is not the solution, but will add to the problem. By the end of this decade, repeal of the estate tax will begin costing \$56 billion each year in lost federal revenue alone. With 11.5% of all Americans living in poverty — nearly 23% of blacks and 22% of Hispanics — plus cuts in current federal spending on social programs, the estate tax should be retained.

Dalton Conley, some members of Congress and others have suggested creation of Individual Development Accounts (IDAs) that would enable the asset-poor to save through a government-matching savings program. Others have suggested “Kidsave” accounts,

whereby the government creates and contributes to a savings account for every child until age 5 — or even age 18 in other proposals. Resources from the estate tax could be used for seed funds to assist minority businesspeople in struggling communities in starting their own businesses. Or, as Conley suggests in the March 26, 2001 *Nation*, resources could go to create a federally-funded “integration insurance” program to protect the value of homes in neighborhoods that suffer when white homeowners abandon them. These are just a few of the examples of ways to use federal revenue to positively work towards narrowing the wealth gap.

Even without these innovative programs, the money saved by retaining the estate tax will help to ensure in a time of growing budget deficits the availability of the funds necessary to provide a social safety net, and even to shore up some of the holes in it. Repeal of the estate tax will do nothing for those who are still trying to climb the ladder of success; it will only benefit those already at the top. Repeal of the estate tax will have negative effects on the rest of us, especially on the most disadvantaged — those who are still struggling to make it to the first rung. The way to address racial economic disparity is not to cut the taxes of the wealthy, of whatever race, but to continue to put federal resources towards ensuring that every American is allowed the basic opportunities necessary to succeed.

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The authors also want to acknowledge the careful reading and thoughtful suggestions offered by Ryan Turner, OMB Watch's Nonprofit and Technology Analyst. □

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supported with subsidies from municipal or national governments and the European Union Structural Funds.

The number of unemployed workers in the EU soared from 14 million in 1992 to 16.5 million in 1998, half of whom were out of work for over a year. These dismal facts and the urging of France and other countries forced the EU to recognize that its economic market integration had a "social dimension" too. Drawing upon lessons from building monetary union and committed to "basic principles of solidarity which should remain the trademark of Europe," the "Luxembourg Process" coordinated a European Employment Strategy of 19 guidelines into four pillars: (1) improving employability; (2) developing entrepreneurship; (3) encouraging business and worker adaptability; and (4) equal employment opportunity. The Employment Strategy was "soft law," integrating EU, national and local level efforts through peer pressure and without recourse to regulations with formal sanctions. Multi-level iterative monitoring promotes learning from national best practices and modification of goals and procedures. Explicit long-term employment targets were later adopted. In December 2000, the EU applied this "open coordination method" to social policy, separating the fight against poverty and exclusion from employment strategy more generally. Every two years, nation-states produce "National Action Plans" on social inclusion, laying out their progress towards agreed-upon goals on a variety of social indicators.

Since 2000, the European Council has pursued a comprehensive strategy to become the "most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy," combining "sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion." To this end, European social policy explicitly aims to eradicate poverty, fight social exclusion and enhance social cohesion. In October 2001, the European Commission and the Council adopted the

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Resources

- Americans for a Fair Estate Tax <http://www.fairestatetax.org> — more information about the current estate tax laws, changes made in the June 2001 tax cut, and the ongoing campaign to stop permanent repeal of the tax
- FAQ on the Estate Tax at <http://www.ombwatch.org/article/articleview/749/1/119/>
- May 2002 polling data reveal that by a margin of more than 2 to 1, Americans support reform over repeal once they hear more information about who pays the estate tax and what repeal of the tax would cost. For the survey questions, results and analysis from this survey, see <http://www.ombwatch.org/article/archive/125>
- United for a Fair Economy's Responsible Wealth Project <http://www.responsiblewealth.org>.
- Dalton Conley: <http://home.nyu.edu/~dc66/>. Julianne Malveaux: <http://www.juliannemalveaux.com/>
- Collins, Chuck and Felice Yeskel. *Economic Apartheid in America*. New York: The New York Press, 2000.
- Davern, Michael E. and Patricia J. Fisher. *Household Net Worth and Asset Ownership: 1995*, U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Reports, Household Economic Studies, Series P70-71. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, February 2001, Table G, pg. xiv.
- Gale, William and Joel Slemrod. "Rhetoric and Economics of the Estate Tax Debate," prepared for the National Tax Association Spring Symposium, Washington, DC, May 7-8, 2001. <http://www.brookings.edu/dybdocroot/views/papers/gale/20010522.pdf>
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- Wolff, Edward N. "Racial Wealth Disparities: Is the Gap Closing?" Public Policy Brief, Levy Institute, No. 66, 2001. <<http://www.levy.org/docs/ppb/ppb66.pdf>>
- BET Holdings-sponsored Estate Tax Repeal ad <http://www.ombwatch.org/estatetax/betad.pdf>

Edith Witt Internship Grant

We are accepting nominations for the Third Annual Edith Witt Internship grant (ca. \$2100), given to a grassroots community group and its intern, working on social justice issues, in order "to help develop a new generation of community activists." The award honors the memory of a wonderful former staff member of the San Francisco Human Rights Commission.

The first year award went to the Women of Color Resource Center in Berkeley, CA and their intern, Jackie Henderson. The second year award went to the Tellin' Stories Project in DC and their intern, Sandra Cruz.

To apply: Send us a letter from the sponsoring organization, describing the organization's mission and outlining the work to be done by the Edith Witt intern; and a personal statement (250-500 words) from the proposed intern and her/his resume.

P&R readers should pass word about this award to relevant grassroots groups.

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Joint Inclusion Report, based upon the first 2001 National Action Plans of Social Inclusion. The document, which strongly resembles the 1998 French law against social exclusion, specified four objectives:

1. *Facilitating participation in employment and access to resources and rights, goods and services for all citizens* (e.g., social protection, housing, health care, education, justice, culture);
2. *Preventing the risks of exclusion* by preserving family solidarity, preventing over-indebtedness and homelessness, and promoting equal access to new technologies;
3. *Helping the most vulnerable* (e.g., the persistently poor, children, residents of areas marked by exclusion);
4. *Mobilizing all relevant bodies* by promoting participation and self-expression of the excluded in partnerships and mainstreaming their concerns.

What is Social Exclusion?

Social exclusion is: (1) *multi-dimensional or socio-economic*, encompassing collective as well as individual resources; (2) *dynamic*, denoting a process, movement or trajectory from full integration to a condition of multiple exclusions; (3) *relational*, in that

exclusion entails social distance or isolation, rejection, humiliation, lack of social support networks and denial of participation; (4) *active*, in that people and institutions do the excluding; and (5) *relative to context*. Disrespect, discrimination and degradation are as much at work as are monetary poverty and physical need. Even the welfare state can exclude some citizens from protection or trap them in joblessness.

Consensus on exclusion as multidimensional does not mean agreement on which dimensions are operative. EU social indicators are much better

The most significant European innovation is the development of non-monetary indicators of "social exclusion," transcending economists' focus on money.

developed for material and labor market deprivation than for social, political or cultural dimensions. There is also disagreement over whether multidimensionality refers to "cumulative" disadvantage or to any one of a wide range of deprivations that need not be material or economic. Britain's Social Exclusion Unit uses the term as "a shorthand label for what can happen

when individuals or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdowns." In this definition, the excluded approximate a marginal, deviant "underclass." Multiple disadvantages obviously characterize fewer individuals and neighborhoods than those suffering from one of a number of disadvantages.

Similarly, many more people suffer disadvantage at some point in their lives than those who remain disadvantaged for long periods. French sociologists emphasize dynamics, tracing a trajectory of "disaffiliation" and "disqualification" from a condition of economic and social integration through vulnerability or fragility to total isolation and breakdown of social ties.

Social exclusion is a relative, intrinsically social term. It takes on different meanings, depending upon context or the point of reference for inclusion. When Americans speak of "exclusion," racial connotations often spring to mind: There are "exclusionary" institutions, like clubs or zoning, or "exclusive" prestigious resources, like neighborhoods or prep schools. When Bill Clinton spoke of inner city problems in 1993, he remarked, "It's not an underclass anymore, it's an outer class." His Affirmative Action report, calling to "mend it, don't end it," is full of calls for inclusion.

While American race relations are central in defining the significance and common understanding of the term "integration" in the U.S., Europeans feel uncomfortable with the word "race." Europe has few affirmative action policies, avoiding specific diversity targets. Equal opportunity policies apply mainly to women. Access to social rights traditionally comes through union representation. French colonial history in North Africa or Germany's historical anti-Semitic and guest-worker policies are more central to how immigrant minorities are "integrated" or "incorporated" or not in France or Germany. While Europeans usually call the opposite of exclu-

PRRAC Update

- We say goodbye, and all kinds of thanks, to **Alison Leff**, our 2002 Mickey Leland/Bill Emerson Hunger Fellow, who leaves us at the end of her 6-month stint here, to assume a full-time (and paid) position with American Institutes for Research; and to **Josh Daniels**, our wonderful summer intern, who returns to Wesleyan for his senior year.

- And we welcome to the world **Dylan Antonio Payne**, born July 27th to PRRAC's Administrative Assistant Tracy Jackson.

- **Kati Haycock**, our long-time Board member, has decided to drop off the Board due to pressing commitments at the organization she heads, The Education Trust. We thank her for her years of advice and service.

sion “insertion” or “solidarity,” the preferred framework for cultural or ethnic diversity issues is one of “citizenship,” “nationality” or “cohesion.”

Speaking of cohesion can direct attention away from excluded groups and towards responsibilities of the entire society. While the agents of exclusion can be impersonal institutions, dominant groups, as well as powerful individuals, the excluded must participate in their own inclusion. Policies must provide them access, participation and “voice,” rather than making them passive recipients of material assistance.

Measuring Social Exclusion

All approaches attempt to capture exclusion’s multi-dimensionality, but aside from low income and unemployment, they do not agree upon which dimensions are salient or causal. The most influential measurement report was that of Tony Atkinson and his colleagues (*Social Indicators: The EU and Social Exclusion*, Oxford University Press, 2002). They proposed a small number of leading indicators for Eurostat to monitor social exclusion [see Box], while encouraging states to develop nationally-specific indicators too.

Although this official list stresses consumption and production, work is under way to measure social and political dimensions of exclusion. European researchers are examining less tangible aspects like non-participation in civic life, customary family rituals and community activities, poor future prospects, social crisis points in depressed regions and large cities, poor health, education, literacy/numeracy, housing and homelessness. Financial precariousness is also considered, as are measures of exclusion from public and private services, and from social support. Insofar as social exclusion is a relational concept associated with social isolation, indicators of “social capital” take account of associational membership, social network involvement, democratic inclusion and access

EU-Wide Social Benchmarks

- Risk of financial poverty (share of population below 60% of national median income, adjusted for OECD household size variations, before and after social transfers): in 1998, 26% and 18%, respectively
- Income inequality (top-20%-to-bottom-20% ratio of total income shares): in 1998, 5.35
- Persistence risk of poverty (share of the population below the 60% poverty line for the current year and at least two of the preceding three years): in 1998, 11%
- Jobless households (proportion of population in households with no member in a job among all people in households with at least one person in the labor force, whether employed or not): in 2000, 4.5%
- Early school leavers (proportion of 18-24 year olds with lower secondary education and not in education or training): in 2000, 17.8%
- Regional disparities in unemployment: coefficient of variation=60.3 in 1999
- Long-term unemployment (proportion of active 15-64-year-old labor force unemployed for one year or more): in 2000, 3.6%

Source: <http://europa.eu.int/comm/eurostat/> Search on “structural indicators”

to rights. Even exclusion from leisure and culture is assessed. There is concern to measure regional disparities unrelated to unemployment, such as exposure to crime and other environmental conditions. Non-governmental organizations and the “social partners” participate in the statistical process, giving a voice to the excluded. However, there are no indicators for exclusion by ethnicity or immigration. For example, Eurostat grouped indicators into seven dimensions of social exclusion, in order to examine their cumulation over time.

Additional Indicators of Social Exclusion

- Financial difficulties in the household
- Unaffordability of some basic needs
- Unaffordability of consumer durables
- Disadvantageous housing conditions
- Poor health: life expectancy; self-perceived health status
- Infrequent contacts with friends and relatives
- Dissatisfaction with work or main activity

Implications for the U.S.

American politicians have always resisted a relative definition of poverty. Poverty line thinking has so dominated American social policy that “welfare” has narrowed its meaning to means-tested income transfers to lone parents. Now that welfare “reform” has mobilized multiple social supports to enable these parents to enter the paid labor force, the rhetoric of “inclusion” – the demand for access to jobs, respect and a place at the table – may not sound as foreign as it once did.

How many working Americans are “excluded” from health, unemployment or disability insurance? How many are excluded from good jobs because of inadequate family support or child care or inferior public schools? How many are shut out of the housing market by unaffordable rents? Isn’t segregation about exclusion from white and “better” neighborhoods, schools, suburbs? Has the Americans with Disabilities Act really eliminated physical exclusion from all public facilities? Are not formally equal citizens denied a say, while politicians listen mainly to campaign contributors

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and school officials listen only to English?

If social exclusion and inclusion became important ideas in U.S. thinking, alongside concerns with absolute poverty, the political landscape might begin to change. Currently, groups concerned about neighborhoods (crime, services, education), the labor market (low wages, insecure employment, long-term unemployment, contingent work, unemployment insurance), social programs and services (Medicaid, Temporary Assistance to Needy Families, food stamps, child care), school performance, immigration and many other issues are fragmented and even competitive. A social exclusion/inclusion approach could serve as the rhetorical umbrella that brings the groups together politically and strategically.

The role of symbolic discourse in building political alliances should not be underestimated. Talking about “exclusion” connects people at all levels of the society through a common emotional experience found in social relations everywhere. No one can get through life without some rejection, humiliation or unfair treatment. We have all been subjected to sanctions like gossip, or felt unwanted, left out, stigmatized or “dissed.” The goal of inclusion appeals to our democratic impulses and common humanity, promoting solidarity with the excluded.

Just as “social exclusion” highlights the complex multi-dimensionality and cumulative character of social disadvantage, so must inclusionary policies transcend traditional bureaucratic domains. Discrete programs and single-focus policies that now administer to people in need are, to put it euphemistically, disjointed. Service providers have little contact with one another. Families with multiple problems must make the rounds among many bureaucracies operating in different ways, each with scant understanding of families’ overall situation. Americans need more comprehensive, “transversal,” or what the British call “joined-up policies for joined-up problems” across

social policy fields. Britain’s Social Exclusion Unit and France’s “inter-ministerial” commissions connect national policy areas across agencies. Regional and local public-private partnerships collectively administer social assistance and service programs. One-stop service centers and casework that tailors packages of support and assistance to individual needs are back in vogue. In the U.S., more progressive states now pursue similar strategies in their welfare-to-work policies, but integrating TANF with the Workforce Improvement Act and human services should be national policy.

The great divides of American society are not only economic but are also based on racial-ethnic, gender, cultural, educational and political status lines. Discrimination and disrespect have material consequences, denying access to information, contacts and resources, consigning minorities to low-quality schools, dangerous neighborhoods, poorly paid jobs and even joblessness. Americanizing the social exclusion perspective could put new wind in the sails of affirmative action. Calling for full inclusion would show that poverty, racism and other forms of domination are integral to the functioning of American society, rather than accidental or unintended consequences easily addressed with an ameliorative program or financial adjustment here or there.

To be sure, there is a danger of ghettoization and stigmatization whenever we introduce new labels for social problems. Calling attention to spectacular forms of cumulative disadvantage may distract attention from widespread problems like rising inequality and family dissolution and undermine broader social programs. Indeed, some on the European Left worry that the “social exclusion” framework is replacing a “social class” perspective. Any discourse can serve a variety of political purposes, but insuring widespread participation may overcome these downsides. Although people argue about the precise nature and measures of exclusion and cohesion, these ideas do provide a frame-

work for discussing the new, complex forms of disadvantage. Easily understood indicators could be found for these notions. Benchmarking our progress as a society could go beyond the simple, intuitive and familiar poverty line to track multiple forms of disadvantage. A new politics might emerge.

Hilary Silver (Hilary_Silver@brown.edu) is Associate Professor of Sociology and Urban Studies at Brown University and a consultant to the ILO. She is writing a book, Social Exclusion and Social Solidarity, about the fight against social exclusion in France and Germany. S.M. Miller (fivegood@aol.com), a PRRAC Board member, is senior fellow at the Commonwealth Institute, a board member of United for a Fair Economy, and research professor of sociology at Boston College. He is the co-author (with Anthony J. Savoie) of Respect and Rights: Race, Class and Gender Today, to be published by Rowman & Littlefield this fall. □

Organizations

EAPN (European Anti-Poverty Network of Associations of the Fight against Poverty and Social Exclusion), rue Belliard 205 – Box 13, B-1040 Brussels, tel: +32 (2) 230 44 55, Email: eapn@euronet.be

UNIOPPS (Inter-federal national institution of social and medical private organisms and activities of France), 122, rue Saint-Maur 75541 Paris cedex, tel +33 (1) 53 36 35 00. See: UNIOPPS, *Exclusion Sociale et Pauvreté en Europe*. Paris: Ministère de l’Emploi et de la Solidarité.

ATD-Quart Monde (Fourth World Movement, US National Center) 7600 Willow Hill Dr., Landover, MD 20785-4658, tel 301/336-9489. See: Jona Rosenfeld and Bruno Tardieu. *Artisans of Democracy: How Ordinary People, Families in Extreme Poverty, and Social Institutions Become Allies to Overcome Social Exclusion*. Lanham: University Press of America, 2000.

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 (37¢ 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

- **Race & Resistance: African-Americans in the 21st Century**, ed. Herb Boyd, has just been published by South End Press. Essayists include Amiri Baraka, Angela Davis, Bill Fletcher, bell hooks, Julianne Malveaux & Manning Marable. Inf. at website: <http://www.southendpress.org/books/raceresistance.shtml>. [6995]

- **Uprooting Racism: How White People Can Work for Racial Justice**, by Paul Kivel (rev. ed., 271 pp., 2002), is available (\$17.95) from New Society Publishers, 37 Cherry St., Easthampton, MA 01027, 800/567-6772, johnsonlorenz@charter.net. Website: www.newsociety.net. [7006]

- **Asian Americans on War & Peace**, eds. Russell C. Leong & Don Nakanishi (228 pp., 2002, \$20.95), is available from the UCLA

Asian Amer. Studies Ctr. (headed by PRRAC Bd. member Don Nakanishi). Chapters cover "Worlds of Crisis," "Civil Liberties & Internment," "Geopolitics," & "Peace." Among the contributors: Helen Zia, Jerry Kang, Grace Lee Boggs, Angela Oh, Mari Matsuda. Order from the Ctr., 3230 Campbell Hall, Box 951546, LA, CA 90095-1546. [7055]

- "Race and Power" is an on-line discussion of Lani Guinier's article, "Tracking the Miner's Canary," from the Summer 2002 issue of *Nonprofit Quarterly*. Website: <http://www.nonprofitquarterly.org/315.htm>. [7021]

- "Racial/Ethnic Profiling," by Howard Ehrlich, is the 8-page essay that comprises the June 2002 issue of *Perspectives*, the bi-monthly "newsletter on prejudice, ethnoviolence & social policy" that he edits. Subs. are \$35 (single copies may be available) from The Prejudice Inst., 2743 Maryland Ave., Balt., MD 21218, 410/366-9654, prejinst@aol.com. Website: www.prejudiceinstitute.org. [7103]

- **Intelligence Report** is a quarterly magazine, dealing with racism & hate crimes/groups, published (possibly free) by the Southern Poverty Law Ctr., 400 Washington Ave., Montgomery, AL 36104, 334/956-8200. Website: www.intelligenceproject.org. [7070]

- "Training for Racial Equity & Inclusion: A Guide to Selected Programs," by Isaac Shapiro & Alana Shapiro, (125 pp., 2002), summarizing 10 programs, is available (no price given) from The Aspen Inst., PO Box 222, 109 Houghton Lab Ln., Queenstown, MD 21658, 410/820-5338, publications@aspeninstitute.org. [6974]

- "Pursuing Racial Justice" is the May/June 2002 issue of *Clearinghouse Review: Journal of Poverty Law & Policy*, the first of a 2-part special. The 16 articles in the 196-page issue cover health, housing, employment, welfare, consumer issues, education, Legal Services, environmental justice, immigrants, transportation; and among the authors are current & former PRRAC Board members Jane Perkins, Alan Houseman & Florence Wagman Roisman. Ordering inf. from the Natl. Ctr. on Poverty Law, 205 W. Monroe St., 2nd fl., Chicago, IL 60606, 312/263-3830, admin@povertylaw.org. Website: www.povertylaw.org. [6977]

- "Imagine a World Beyond Racism" is a 35-page, 2001 Workbook, prepared by the Southern Educ. Fdn. for the Youth Summit of the 2001 UN World Conf. Against Racism. Available (possibly free) from the Fdn., 135 Auburn Ave., 2nd fl., Atlanta, GA 30303, 404/523-0001. Website: www.beyondracism.org. [7087]

- "Latino Growth in Metropolitan America:

Changing Patterns, New Locations" (July 2002) is available (possibly free) from the Brookings Inst. Ctr. on Urban & Met. Policy, 1775 Mass. Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20036, 202/797-6139. Website: <http://www.brookings.edu/urban>. [7110]

- The National Campaign to Restore Civil Rights is holding a Natl. Strategy Conf. **Oct. 4-5, 2002** at Columbia Law School, NYC. Inf. from Denise White, 212/244-4664, dwhite@nylpi.org. [6984]

- "Fulfilling the Promise of Democracy & Equity Through Multicultural Education" is the 12th annual conf. of the Natl. Assn. for Multicultural Education, **Oct. 30-Nov. 3, 2002** in Crystal City, VA (right outside DC). Among the speakers: James Counts Early & Sonia Nieto. Inf. from NAME, 733 15th St. NW, #430, Wash., DC 20005, 202/628-6263, name@nameorg.org. Website: www.nameorg.org. [6998]

Poverty/Welfare

- "Groups Work Together on Welfare Reform," by Duane M. Elling, is a 7-page, July 2002 report in *Mott Memo*, featuring the work of the Natl. Campaign for Jobs & Income Support (headed by PRRAC Bd. member Deepak Bhargava) & Seth Borgos. Available (likely free) from the Mott Fdn., 800/645-1766, info@mott.org. Website: www.mott.org. [7047]

- **“Most States Had Welfare Caseload Increases in the Last Year”** is the lead article in the July 2002 issue of *CLASP Update*, available (likely free) from the Ctr. on Law & Social Policy, 1015 15th St. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20005, 202/906-8000, Website: www.clasp.org. [7048]

- **“An Unanticipated Story of Caseload Declines: The First 2 Years of the Pathways Case Management System in Oswego Cty., NY,”** by Suzanne L. Wagner, Charles Chang & Toby Herr (35 pp., July 2002), is available (no price given) from Project Match, 420 N. Wabash Ave., 6th flr., Chicago, IL 60611, 312/755-2250, Website: www.pmatch.org. [6973]

- **“Reforming Welfare: Institutional Change & Challenges,”** by Karin Martinson & Pamela Holcomb (22 pp., July 2002), is available (possibly free) from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/833-7200, paffairs@ui.urban.org. Website: <http://www.urban.org>. [6982]

- **“Framing the PRWORA/TANF Reauthorization Debate,”** by Lawrence J. Aber, is the lead article in the Spring/Summer 2002 issue of *News & Issues*, published by (and likely available free from) the Natl. Ctr. for Children in Poverty, 154 Haven Ave., NYC, NY 10032, 212/304-7100, nccp@columbia.edu. Website: www.nccp.org. [6988]

- **“2000 Report on Illinois Poverty”** (44 pp., 2002) is available (possibly free) from the Heartland Alliance, 208

S. LaSalle St., #1818, Chicago, IL 60604, 312/660-1300. Website: www.heartland-alliance.org. [6989]

- **“Building Assets To Reduce Poverty & Injustice”** is a 27-page, 2002(?) Ford Fdn. publication, available (likely free) from VP Melvin L. Oliver at the Fdn., 320 E. 43 St., NYC, NY 10017, 212/573-5000, ford@fordfound.org [6993]

- **“America’s Forgotten Children: Child Poverty in Rural America”** is a 2002 report from Save the Children. Downloadable at www.savethechildren.org, 800/SAVETHECHILDREN. [6996]

- **“How Welfare & Work Policies for Parents Affect Adolescents: A Synthesis of Research,”** by Lisa A. Gennetian, Greg Duncan, Virginia Knox, Wanda G. Vargas, Elizabeth Clark-Kauffman & Andrew S. London (69 pp., May 2002), is available (possibly free) from the Manpower Demonstration Research Corp., 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016, 212/532-3200, A 1-page summary also is available. Website: www.mdr.org. [7003]

- **“Understanding the Costs of DOL Welfare-to-Work Grants Program,”** by Irma Perez-Johnson, Debra Strong & Michelle Van Noy (Aug. 2002), a Mathematica report, is available from 609/275-2350, jallen@mathematica-mpr.com. Website: <http://www.mathematica-mpr.com/PDFs/edirect.asp?strSite=understandingcosts.pdf>. [7026]

- **“The Implementation of the Welfare-to-Work Grants Program,”** by Demetra Smith Nightingale, Nancy Pindus & John Trutko (Aug. 2002), a Mathematica report, is available from 609/275-2350, jallen@mathematica-mpr.com. Website: <http://www.mathematica-mpr.com/PDFs/redirect.asp?strSite=impgrants.pdf>. [7027]

- **“Earned Income Tax Credit: Opportunities to Make Recertification Program Less Confusing & More Consistent”** (48 pp., April 2002) is a GAO report (GAO-02-449), available (free) from USGAO, 441 G St., Rm. LM, Wash., DC 20548, 202/512-6000. [7042]

- **“Welfare Reform: Tribes Are Using TANF Flexibility to Establish Their Own Programs,”** by Cynthia M. Fagnoni, is 20-page, May 2002 Congressional testimony, available (free) from USGAO, 441 G St. NW, Rm. LM, Wash., DC 20548, 202/512-6000. [7043]

- **“Fast Facts on Welfare Policy,”** available (free) from The Urban Inst., focuses on TANF Eligibility; Welfare Leavers, Cyclers & Stayers; & TANF Funding. 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/833-7200, bnowak@ui.urban.org. [7058]

- **“Welfare, Children & Families: A Three-City [Boston, Chicago, San Antonio] Study,”** by Andrew J. Cherlin & Paula Fomby (2002), is available at website: http://www.jhu.edu/~welfare_work/paper_2-20.pdf. [7119]

- **“Shoring Up the Child Welfare-TANF**

Link,” by Robert Geen (June 2002), is available (likely free) from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/833-7200, bnowak@ui.urban.org. [7124]

- **“Are Shrinking Caseloads Always a Good Thing?,”** by Sheila R. Zedlewski (June 2002), is available (likely free) from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/833-7200, bnowak@ui.urban.org. [7125]

- **“The Importance of Place in Welfare Reform: Common Challenges for Central Cities & Remote-Rural Areas”** is a 2002 report, available (possibly free) from The Brookings Inst. Ctr. for Urban & Met. Policy, 1775 Mass. Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20036, 202/797-6139. Website: <http://www.brookings.edu/urban>. [7128]

- **“Doctors Speak Out About Welfare Reform”** was a June 2002 Capitol Hill program, sponsored by the Assn. of Maternal & Child Health Progs. & Finding Common Ground. Presentation materials may be available from AMCHP, 1220 19th St. NW, Wash., DC 20036, 202/833-6022. [7101]

- ***A Day’s Work, A Day’s Pay***, a one-hr. documentary, follows 3 men & women through NYC’s workfare program, exposing econ. & racial injustice & documenting organizing efforts of welfare recipients to demand job creation, training, access to education & quality childcare. Order from 212/952-0121, x235, kathy@mintleafproductions.com. [7053]

Criminal Justice

- “Perceptions of Racial Profiling: Race, Class & Personal Experience,” by Ronald Weitzer & Steven A. Tuch, appeared in Vol. 40, No. 2 (2002) of *Criminology*. Reprints of the 22-page article are available from Prof. Weitzer, Dept. Sociology, George Washington Univ., 2129 G St NW, Wash., DC 20052, 202/994-6345, weitzer@gwu.edu. [7056]
- “¿Dónde está la justicia? A Call to Action on Behalf of Latino & Latina Youth in the US Justice System,” by Francisco A. Villarruel & Nancy E. Walker (117 pp., July? 2002), is available (free) from the Youth Law Ctr., 1010 Vermont Ave. NW #310, Wash., DC 20005, 202/637-0377. Website: <http://www.buildingblocksforyouth.org/orderform1.html>. [6985]
- “Barriers to Democratic Participation: Prisoner Reentry & the Institutions of Civil Society — Bridges & Barriers to Successful Reintegration,” by Christopher Uggen (17 pp., March 2002), is available (possibly free) from the author, Dept. Sociology, Univ. MN, 267 19th Ave. S., #909, Mpls., MN 55455, uggen@atlas.socsci.umn.edu. [7050]
- “Every Door Closed: Barriers Facing Parents with Criminal Records” is a (2002?) joint report from the Ctr. for Law & Social Policy & Community Legal Services of Phila. Available at <http://www.clasp.org/pubs/>

claspupdate/
Clasp_update0702.pd.
[7062]

Economic/Community Development

- *Voices from the Field II: Reflections on Comprehensive Community Change*, by Anne Kubisch, Patricia Auspos, Prudence Brown, Robert J. Chaskin, Karen Fulbright-Anderson & Robert Hamilton (125 pp., 2002), is available (no price given) from The Aspen Inst., PO Box 222, 109 Houghton Lab Ln., Queenstown, MD 21658, 410/820-5338, publications@aspeninstitute.org. [6970]
- *APA Policy, Practice & Community: A Journal on Asian Pacific Americans* is a new journal, from the UCLA Asian Amer. Studies Ctr. (headed by PRRAC Bd. member Don Nakanishi), which will focus on applied social science research for & on the diverse & growing APA community. The first issue (to be released early 2003) will focus on Community Development. Manuscripts (deadline Sept. 27) to the Center, Box 951546, LA, CA 90095-1546, apa@aasc.ucla.edu. Website: <http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/aasc.apa> [6992]
- “Solutions for America: National Problems, Local Solutions” (121 pp., May 2002) is available (possibly free) from the Pew Partnership for Civic Change, 5 Boar’s Head Ln., #100, Charlottesville, VA 22903, 434/971-2073, It

features 19 “hometown success stories” from CA, FL, IA, KY, LA, MA, MN, MO, NY, NC, OH, SC, TX, VT, VA, WV. Website: www.pew-partnership.org. [7002]

- **Introduction to Community Development Venture Capital: A Training Workshop**, sponsored by the CDVC Alliance, will be held **Sept. 25, 2002** in Chicago. Inf. from the Alliance, 330 Seventh Ave., 19th fl., NYC, NY 10001, 212/594-6747. Website: www.cdvca.org [7075]

Education

- *Shooting for the Sun: The Message of Middle School Reform*, by M. Hayes Mizell (210 pp., 2002), is available (likely free) from the Edna McConnell Clark Fdn., 250 Park Ave., #900, NYC, NY 10177, 212/551-9100, info@emcf.org. Website: www.emcf.org [6968]
- *Inclusion: A Service, Not a Place - A Whole School Approach*, by Alan Gartner & Dorothy Kerzner Lipsky (148 pp., 2002), is available (\$29.99) from Natl. Prof. Resources, 25 S. Regent St., Port Chester, NY 10573, 800/453-7461, A 35-min. videotape is available as well (\$154.95). Website: www.nprinc.com. [6971]
- *Finding Common Ground: Service-Learning & Education Reform: A Survey of 28 Leading School Reform Models*, by Sarah S. Pearson (137 pp., 2002), is available (\$10) from the Amer. Youth Policy Forum, 1836 Jefferson Pl. NW, Wash., DC 20036, 202/775-9731. [6980]
- *The Class Size Debate*, eds. Lawrence Mischel & Richard Rothstein (102 pp., 2002), is available (no price listed) from the Econ. Policy Inst., 1660 L St. NW, #1200, Wash., DC 20036, 202/775-8810. Contributors include Alan B. Krueger, Eric A. Hanushek & Jennifer King Rice. Website: www.epinet.org. [7001]
- “Public High School Completion by State & Race/Ethnicity, 1981 to 2000” is the lead article in the May 2002 issue of *Postsecondary Education Opportunity*, the excellent monthly produced by Thomas Mortenson. Subs. are \$136 from PO Box 415, Oskaloosa, IA 52577-0415, tom@postsecondary.org. Website: <http://www.postsecondary.org> [7036]
- “Out of Balance: Our Understanding of How Schools Affect Society & How Society Affects Schools,” by Richard Rothstein (28 pp.), is an essay commissioned by The Spencer Fdn. for its 30th Anniv. celebration, Jan. 24-25, 2002. Available (likely free), along with 7 other essays in the series, all on education (e.g., “Racing Against Race: 30 Years of Educational Research On & About Students of Color,” by Gloria Ladson-Billings), from the Fdn., 875 N. Michigan Ave., #3930, Chicago, IL 60611, 312/337-7000. Website: www.spencer.org [6979]
- “From Schoolhouse to Statehouse: Community Organizing for Public School Reform” (33 pp., March 2002) is available (no price given) from the Natl. Ctr. for Schools & Communities,

Fordham Univ., 33 W. 60 St., 8th flr., NYC, NY 10023, 212/636-6699. Website: www.NCSCatFordham.org [6986]

- **“Youth Speak Out on the State of San Francisco’s Schools”** (16 pp., June 2001) is available (possibly free) from the SF Youth Commn., City Hall Rm. 345, SF, CA 94102-0917, 415/554-6446, youthcom.ci.sf.us. Website: www.ci.sf.us/youthcommission. [7059]

- **“New Poll Finds Education Is a Crucial Element of National Security”** (3 pp., April 2002) is available (possibly free) from the Alliance for Excellent Education, 1101 Vermont Ave. NW, #422, Wash., DC 20005, 202/842-4888, Alliance@all4ed.org. Website: http://www.all4ed.org. [7061]

- **“Private School Racial Enrollments & Segregation,”** by Sean F. Reardon & John T. Yun (55 pp., June 2002), is available from The Harvard Civil Rights Proj., 124 Mt. Auburn St., #400S, Cambridge, MA 02138, 617/496-6367, crp@harvard.edu. Website: www.law.harvard.edu/civilrights. [7064]

- **“The Problem of Taking Private School Voucher Programs to Scale: The Next Issue in the Voucher Wars”** (8 pp., 2002?) is available, possibly free, from The Century Fdn., 41 E. 70 St., NYC, NY 10021, 212/535-4441, info@tcf.org. Website: www.tcf.org. [7066]

- **“Meeting the Highly Qualified Teachers Challenge: The**

Secretary’s [of Educ.] Annual Report on Teacher Quality” (2002) is available at website: www.ed.gov/offices/OPE/News/teacherprep/index.html [7077]

- **“Interpret with Caution: The First State Title II Reports on the Quality of Teacher Preparation,”** from The Education Trust, is available at website: www.edtrust.org. [7078]

- **“A Further Examination of Student Progress in Charter Schools Using California API,”** by David Rogosa, contradicts an earlier study that showed positive results of charter schools compared with noncharter schools in the state. Available at website: www.cse.ucla.edu. [7100]

- **“The Secondary Education Transition Study”** (26 pp. + App., 2001) describes how the US Army deals with teens transitioning from school to school as the family is reassigned. Exec. Summary, full research report & parent guidebook are available (likely free) from the Military Family Resource Ctr., CS4, #302, Rm. 309, 1745 Jefferson Davis Hwy., Arlington, VA 22202-3424, 703/602-4964, mfrcrequest@calib.com. [7107]

- **“All Talk, No Action: Putting an End to Out-of-Field Teaching,”** by Craig Jerald (14 pp., Aug. 2002), is available on the Education Trust website: www.edtrust.org. [7129]

- **The Natl. Clearinghouse for Educational Facilities** is a free service, offering inf. on school planning, design, financing, construction,

modernization & maintenance; they also maintain a free helpline: 888/552-0624. Website: www.edfacilities.org. [7073]

- **Healthy Schools Summit** will be held **Oct. 7-8, 2002** in DC (free). Inf. from 800/416-5136. Website: www.ActionforHealthyKids.org [7044]

- **The Natl. Community Education Assn.** is holding its 37th annual conf. **Nov. 13-16, 2002** in Austin. Inf. from NCEA, 3929 Old Lee Hwy., #91A, Fairfax, VA 22030-2401, 703/359-8973, ncea@ncea.com. Website: www.ncea.com [7004]

Employment/ Jobs Policy

- **“Making Ends Meet: Six Programs That Help Working Families & Employers - A Guide for Business Leaders & Policymakers,”** by Nisha Patel, Mark Greenberg, Steve Savner & Vicki Turetsky, from the Ctr. for Law & Social Policy (2002), is available at http://www.clasp.org/pubs/claspupdate/Clasp_update0702.pdf. [7063]

- **“Transitional Community Jobs, Chicago IL: A summary report on the program & outcomes”** (6 pp., June 2002) is available (possibly free) from the Heartland Alliance, 208 S. LaSalle St., #1818, Chicago, IL 60604, 312/660-1349, amyr@hamail.org. Website: www.heartland-alliance.org [6991]

- **“The Reality of Intentional Job Discrimination in Metropolitan**

America - 1999,” by Alfred Blumrosen & Ruth Blumrosen, using EEOC data, is available at website: http://www.civilrights.org/library/detail.cfm?id=9835. [7082]

- **“Transitional Jobs: The Philadelphia Story,”** by Richard C. Greenwald (July 2002), describes how community leaders came together to create the Transitional Work Corp. Available (possibly free) from The Brookings Inst. Ctr. on Urban & Met. Policy, 1775 Mass. Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20036, 202/797-6000. Website: http://www.brookings.edu/urban. [7105]

- **“Rethinking Work Requirements,”** by Alan Weil (June 2002), is available (likely free) from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/833-7200, bnowak@ui.urban.org. [7123]

- **The National Employment Law Unemployment Insurance Safety Net Conf.** will be held **Nov. 22-23, 2002** in DC. Inf. from 301/577-6940, eventprof@aol.com. Website: www.nelp.org. [7109]

Environment

- **Stumbling Toward Sustainability**, ed. John C. Dernbach (ca. 1,058 pp., July 2002), a Rio+10 collection, has been published by the Environmental Law Inst., 800/433-5120; \$69.95. The 32 chapters cover a range of topics, including medical/public health services, transportation, K-12 & higher education, hazardous waste/ Superfund, public access to inf./participation/

justice, local/state/natl. governance, population, plus all the specific environmental concerns. Website: www.eli.org. [7040]

● **The Second National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit** will be held **Oct. 23-27, 2002** in DC. Inf. from Bouapha Toommaly (Youth Coordinator) or Zenaida Mendez (Proj. Coordinator), 1612 K St. NW, #904, Wash., DC 20006, 202/833-9300, 510/267-1881. [6981]

Families/ Women/ Children

● **Black Children: Social, Educational & Parental Environments**, ed. (PRRAC Soc. Sci Adv. Bd. member) Harriet Pipes McAdoo (2nd ed., 2002, 288 pp., \$32.95), has been published by SAGE, 800/818-7243. [7115]

● **The Future of Children** (Feb. 2002 issue) was devoted to the need to refocus welfare reform to improve the lives of children in low-income families. Available (likely free) from the David & Lucile Packard Fdn., 300 2nd St., #200, Los Altos, CA 94022, 415/948-7658; they also released a poll on public attitudes toward welfare. Website: <http://www.futureofchildren.org/>. [7120]

● **“Parent Work & Child Well-Being in Low-Income Families,”** by Katherin Ross Phillips (35 pp., June 2002), is available (possibly free) from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/833-7200, paffairs@ui.

urban.org. Website: <http://www.urban.org>. [6972]

● **“The Kids Are Alright? Children’s Well-Being & the Rise in Cohabitation,”** by Gregory Acs & Sandi Nelson (7 pp., July 2002), is available (likely free) from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/261-5687, pubs@ui. urban.org. Website: <http://www.urban.org>. [6975]

● **“What Happens When the School Year Is Over? The Use & Costs of Child Care for School-Age Children During the Summer Months,”** by Jeffrey Capizzano, Sarah Adelman & Mathew Stagner (35 pp., June 2002), is available (possibly free) from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/833-7200, paffairs@ui.urban.org. Website: <http://www.urban.org> [6990]

● **“Is Marriage a Viable Objective for Fragile Families?”** (4 pp., July 2002) is available (possibly free) from the Ctr. for Research on Child Wellbeing, Wallace Hall, 2nd fl., Princeton Univ., Princeton, NJ 08544, crcw@opr.princeton.edu. Website: <http://crcw.princeton.edu/fragilefamilies/index.htm>. [6987]

● **“Disabilities among Children & Mothers in Low-Income Families,”** by Sharon M. Lee, Melissa Sills & Gi-Taik Oh (7 pp., June 2002), is available (possibly free) from the Inst. for Women’s Policy Research (headed by PRRAC Soc. Sci. Adv. Bd. member Heidi Hartmann), 202/785-5100. Website: <http://www.iwpr.org> [6994]

● **“Work-Family Issues & Low Income Families,”** by Jody Heymann, Renee Boynton-Jarrett, Patricia Carter, Ellen Galinsky & James T. Bond (16 pp., Summer 2002), is available (likely free) from Helen Neuborne, Ford Fdn., 320 E. 43 St., NYC, NY 10017, 212/573-5000. [7028]

● **“Investing in Family Well-Being, a Family-Friendly Workplace & a More Stable Workforce: A ‘Win Win’ Approach to Welfare & Low-Wage Policy,”** by Ellen Bravo, Mark Greenberg & Cindy Marano (17 pp., Summer 2002), is available (likely free) from Helen Neuborne, Ford Fdn., 320 E. 43 St., NYC, NY 10017, 212/573-5000. [7029]

● **“Children Cared for by Relatives: What Services Do They Need?,”** by Jennifer Ehrle & Robert Geen (June 2002), is available (free) from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/833-7200, bnowak@ui.urban.org. Website: <http://www.urban.org/ViewPub.cfm?PublicationID=7772>. [7032]

● **“Marriage & Government: Strange Bedfellows?,”** by Theodora Ooms, is a July(?) 2002 brief from the Ctr. on Law & Social Policy, available at website: <http://www.clasp.org/DMS/Documents/1028928846.02/13reasons.pdf>. [7035]

● **“America’s Children: Key National Indicators of Well-being 2002”** is available from the Federal Agency Forum on Child & Family Statistics: childstats.gov;

among its findings is the increasing number of children with immigrant parents. [7071]

● **“The Living Arrangements of New Unmarried Mothers,”** a 2-page, June 2002 brief, is available (possibly free) from the Ctr. for Research on Child Wellbeing, Wallace Hall, 2nd fl., Princeton Univ., Princeton, NJ 08544; the full paper is available at <http://crcw.princeton.edu> — go to Fragile Families link, click on Publications, click on Working Paper Series. crcw@opr.princeton.edu. [7076]

● **“Repairers of the Breach: Congregations Acting to Leave No Child Behind”** (2002) has been produced in observance of The Children’s Sabbath, Oct 18-20, 2002. Available (as is inf. about the event) from Children’s Defense Fund, PO Box 90500, Wash., DC 20009-0500, 202/662-3652. \$8. Also available are the first 10 Children’s Sabbath manuals (\$6 each) & a 9-min. video on highlights from past events (\$5.95). [7102]

● **“Distributing Collected Child Support to Families Exiting TANF”** (Oct. 2001) was published by the HHS Office of Inspector General. For copies, 312/353-4124 or <http://oig.hhs.gov/oei/reports/oei-05-01-00220.pdf>. A summary of the report, by Sara Davis of the Ctr. for Law & Social Policy, is available at <http://www.clasp.org/pubs/childenforce/OIG%20Report%20re%20Post-TANF%20Distribution.pdf>. [7121]

● **“Leaving Our Children Behind: Welfare Reform & the Gay,**

Lesbian, Bisexual & Transgender (GLBT) Community,” by Sean Cahill & Kenneth T. Jones (2002?), is available from the Natl. Gay & Lesbian Task Force. Website: <http://www.nglftf.org/downloads/WelfRef.pdf>. [7122]

● **“Should Government Promote Healthy Marriages?”** by Robert I. Lerman (May 2002), is available (likely free) from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/833-7200, knowak@ui.urban.org. [7126]

Food/ Nutrition/ Hunger

● **“Trends in Food Stamp Program Participation Rates: 1994 to 2000,”** by Karen Cunyngnam (June 2002), is available from Mathematica, 609/275-2350, jallen@mathematica-mpr.com. Website: <http://www.fns.usda.gov/oane/MENU/Published/FSP/FILES/Participation/Trends94-00.pdf>. [7022]

● **“Characteristics of Food Stamp Households: Fiscal year 2001 - Advance Report,”** by Christina Tuttle (July 2002), a Mathematica report, is available from 609/275-2350, jallen@mathematica-mpr.com. Website: <http://www.mathematica-mpr.com/PDFs/redirect.asp?strSite=charfoodstamp.pdf>. [7025]

● **“Consequences of Hunger & Food Insecurity for Children”** (2002) is available from the Brandeis Univ. Ctr. on Hunger & Poverty, 781/736-8885. Website: www.centeronhunger.org/

[pubs/pubs.html](#). [7038]

● **“Fact Sheet on Hunger in the US”** (Aug. 2002) is available on the Food First website: <http://www.foodfirst.org/progs/humanrts/hungerinamerica.html>. [7045]

● **“The Food Stamp Shelter Deduction: Helping Households with High Housing Burdens Meet Their Food Needs,”** by Dorothy Rosenbaum, Daniel Terry & Sam Elkin (2002), is available (no price given) from the Ctr. on Budget & Policy Priorities, 202/408-1080, rosenbaum@cbpp.org. [7090]

● **The Natl. Hunger Clearinghouse** has created an online database listing grassroots orgs. working on hunger, food, nutrition & agriculture issues, based on location or type of prog. NHC@worldhungeryear.org, 800/GLEAN-IT. Website: www.worldhungeryear.org/nhc_data/nhc_01.asp. [7039]

Health

● **“The Health of Latino Children: Urgent Priorities, Unanswered Questions & a Research Agenda,”** by Glenn Flores + 14 co-authors, appeared in the July 3, 2002 *J. Amer. Medical Assn.* (vol. 288, no. 1). Reprints of the 9-page article are available (likely free) from Dr. Flores, Div. Gen. Pediatrics, Boston Med. Ctr., 91 E. Concord St., Maternity 419, Boston, MA 02118, glenn.flores@bmc.org. [7051]

● **“Immigrant Access to Health Benefits: A Resource Manual”** (rev. ed., 2002) is available

(\$25) from the Natl. Health Law Prog., 2639 S. La Cienega Blvd., LA, CA 90034, 310/204-6010, nhelp@healthlaw.org. [7080]

● **“Family Out-of-Pocket Spending for Health Services: A Continuing Source of Financial Insecurity”** (2002) is available at website: http://www.cmwf.org/programs/insurance/merlis_oopspending.509.pdf. [7095]

● **“Reaching Uninsured Children Through Medicaid: If You Build It Right, They Will Come”** (2002) is available at website: <http://www.kff.org/content/2002/20020611/4040/pdf>. [7093]

● **“SCHIP Disenrollment & State Policies”** (2002) examines the relationship between disenrollment in the child health insurance program & state policies in 4 states that together represented where 1/3 of SCHIPP enrollees lived at the time of the study. Website: <http://www.ahrq.gov/about/cods/chiribrf1.htm>. [7092]

● **“States as Innovators in Low-Income Health Coverage,”** by John Holahan & Mary Beth Pohl (June 2002), is available (free) from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/833-7200, knowak@ui.urban.org. Website: <http://www.urban.org/ViewPub.cfm?PubID=310519> [7033]

● **“States’ Use of Medicaid Maximization Strategies to Tap Federal Revenues: Program Implications & Consequences,”** by Teresa

Coughlin & Stephen Zuckerman (June 2002), is available (free) from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/833-7200, knowak@ui.urban.org. Website: <http://www.urban.org/ViewPub.cfm?PubID=310525>. [7034]

● **“Should Health Care Professionals Consider Civil Disobedience as a Tool to Achieve Universal Healthcare?”** by Norbert Goldfield (24 pp., May 2002), is available (possibly free) from the author, nigoldfield@msn.com. [7052]

● **“Children’s Health & TANF Sanctions”** is the subject of an article in the July 2002 *Archives of Pediatric & Adolescent Medicine*, available at website: <http://dcc2.bumc.bu.edu/csnaublic/Welfaresanctions.htm>. [7079]

● **“Reaching Out: Successful Efforts to Provide Children & Families with Health Care”** (2002) is available at website: <http://www.communityvoices.org/PDF/ReachingOut.pdf>. [7091]

● **“The Insurance Gap & Minority Health Care, 1997-2001”** (2002) is available at website: <http://www.hschange.org/CONTENT/443/443.pdf>. [7096]

● **“Developing a Health Plan Report Card on Quality Care for Minority Populations”** (2002) is available at website: http://www.cmwf.org/programs/minority/nerenz_reportcard.547.pdf. [7097]

● **The Natl. Priorities Proj.** has added Health as

an issue area. Website: <http://database.nationalpriorities.org>. [7046]

- **The Provider's Guide to Quality Care & Culture** is a new (2002) website explaining cultural competence & providing tools to help health care profls. offer culturally appropriate care. Website: <http://erc.msh.org/mainpage.cfm?file=2.0.htm&module=provider&language=English>. [7098]

- **Expanding Access to Quality Health Care: Solutions for the Uninsured** is the title of a 2002 Congressional hearing. Testimony by Ron Pollack of Families USA is at website: <http://www.familiesusa.org/Ron%27sTestimonyfor792002.pdf>. [7099]

- **The Calif. Primary Care Assn.** is holding a statewide conf., **Oct. 3-4, 2002**, in Burbank. Inf. from the Assn., 1215 K St., #700, Sacto., CA 95814, 916/440-8170, x219. [7131]

Health Action 2003 is a **Jan. 23-25, 2003** natl. grassroots meeting in DC for health advocates, organized by Families USA. Inf. from 800/593-5041, kperry@familiesusa.org. Website: www.familiesusa.org [7030]

Homelessness

- **"Creating Community to Bring America Home,"** co-sponsored by the Minn. Coal. for the Homeless & the Natl. Coal. for the Homeless, will be held **Oct. 2-4, 2002** in Mpls. Speakers include Peter Edelman & Alexander Keyssar. Inf.

from 320/251-1612, bringamericahome@yahoo.com. Website: www.tricap.org/admin.html#conf. [7136]

- **The Natl. Homeless Education Conf.**, sponsored by the Natl. Assn. for the Educ. of Homeless Children, will be held **Oct. 5-8, 2002** in L.A. Inf. from 916/657-5342. Website: <http://www.cde.ca.gov/cilbranch/homeless/homelesstoc.html>. [7135]

Housing

- **Enforcing Housing Rights in the Americas: Pursuing Housing Rights Claims Within the Inter-American System of Human Rights** (143 pp., Jan. 2002) is available (no price given) from the Centre on Housing Rights & Evictions, 83 Rue de Montbillant, 1202 Geneva, Switzerland, 41.22.734.1028, cohre@cohre.org. Website: www.cohre.org. [6978]

- **"The State of the Nation's Housing 2002"** is available from the Harvard Jt. Ctr. for Housing Studies, <http://www.jchs.harvard.edu>. [7065]

- **"CHA [Chicago Housing Authority] Relocation Counseling Assessment,"** by Susan Popkin & Mary Cunningham (32 pp. + Apps.), is available (possibly free) from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/833-7200. [6999]

- **"There's No Place Like..."** is a 15-page, July 2001 report on the state of San Francisco's youth housing & homelessness issue. Available (possibly free) from the SF Youth

Commn., City Hall Rm. 345, SF, CA 94102-4532, 415/554-6446, youthcom@ci.sf.ca.us. Website: www.ci.sf.ca.us/youth_commission. [7060]

- **"Housing in the Nation's Capital"** (56 pp., 2002) is available (likely free) from the Fannie Mae Fdn., 4000 Wisc. Ave. NW, N. Tower #1, Wash., DC 20016-1804, 202/274-8000. Website: www.fanniemaefoundation.org. [7068]

- **"The Interactive Effects of Food Stamps & Housing Assistance,"** by Joseph M. Harkness & Sandra Newman (2002), a Joint Ctr. on Poverty Research working paper, is available at website: <http://www.jcpr.org/wp/WPprofile.cfm?ID=310>. [7072]

- **"Fannie Mae Affordable Housing Survey"** (2002) is available at <http://www.fanniemaefoundation.org/news/pr.2002spr/Report061602.pdf>. The survey provides data showing that affordable housing is a much more important issue to the general public than was previously thought. [7081]

- **Housing Survey: A Mercy Housing/St. John's Univ. survey of low-income people shows housing ranks significantly higher than terrorism as a concern.** Website: [www://mercyhousing.org](http://www.mercyhousing.org). [7085]

- **"Changing Priorities: The Federal Budget & Housing Assistance, 1976-2007,"** by Cushing Dolbeare & (PRRAC Bd. member) Sheila Crowley

(22 pp., Aug. 2002), is available (\$20) from the Natl. Low Income Housing Coal., 1012 14th St. NW, #610, Wash., DC 20005, 202/662-1973, info@nlihc.org. Website: <http://www.nlihc.org>. [7088]

- **"Increasing Access to Housing for Low-Income Families,"** a 2002 paper from the Natl. Governors Assn. Ctr. for Best Practices, outlines steps states can take to help residents obtain affordable housing in light of declining federal investment. Website: www.nga.org/cda/files/032902HOUSING.pdf. [7089]

- **Housing & Development Law Syllabus/ Materials:** PRRAC Board member Florence Roisman has produced these for the course she will be teaching at Indiana Univ. School of Law. Copies available for the cost of printing & copy-right perms. (ca. \$60). Contact Mary Deer, mdeer1@iupui.edu. [7000]

- **HOPE VI Action Agenda:** ENPHRONT (Everywhere & Now Public Housing Residents Organizing Nationally Together) has issued an action alert with a 3-point agenda to reform HOPE VI, HUD's public housing redevelopment program, now before Congress for reauthorization: 1) Require HUD to publish a list of distressed public housing properties; 2) Require HUD to publish a regulation on resident participation in the HOPE VI process; 3) Require HUD & local housing authorities to make available important documents related to the grant process. More inf. from Dushaw Hockett at

the Ctr. for Comm. Change, 202/339-9306. The 41-page, June 2002 report, "False HOPE: A Critical Assessment of the HOPE VI Public Housing Redevelopment Program" (for which PRRAC was a co-author), is available at website: <http://www.nhlp.org/html/pubhsg/FalseHOPE.pdf>. [7037]

- **"Rural Housing Summit 2002,"** sponsored by the Calif. Coal. for Rural Housing, will be held **Oct. 10-11, 2002** in Pacific Grove. Speakers include Moises Loza of the Housing Assistance Council & Calif. St. Treasurer Phil Angelides (invited). Contact the Coal., 926 J St., #1400, Sacto., CA 95814, 916/443-4448, Andy @calruralhousing.org. [7019]

- **"Building Blocks for Inclusive Communities,"** a natl. conf. on building & sustaining racially & ethnically diverse communities, will be held **Nov. 7-9, 2002** in Cleveland, co-sponsored the Fund for an OPEN Society & a group of regional & local partners. Speakers (confirmed & invited) include Angela Glover Blackwell, James Carr, Sen. Jon Corzine, Nancy Denton, Myron Orfield, Philip Nyden, Dennis Keating, Margery Turner. Inf. from The Cuyahoga Plan, 216/621-4525, Kgreer@cuyahogaplan.org, lsiena@aol.com. [7106]

Immigration

- **US Immigration:** The following website may have useful information: <http://www.nlada.org/DMS/Documents/1003787200.11>. [7084]

Rural

- **"Leadership in Rural Lending"** is a **Sept. 12, 2002** conf. in Durham, NC, hosted by the Comm. Reinvestment Coal. of No. Carolina. Inf. from 919/667-1557, x23, richard@cra-nc.org. [7130]

Miscellaneous

- **Peacework**, published by the Amer. Friends Service Comm., has a special 48-page, 2002 issue, "Reflections on September 11." Contributors include Walden Bello, Dan Berrigan, Margaret Burnham, Michael Klare. Up to 10 cc. are free, from AFSC, 2161 Mass. Ave., Cambridge, MA 02140, 617/661-6130, pwork#igc.org. Website: www.afsc.org.peacework. [7041]

- **The Inst. for Policy Research (Northwestern Univ.)** has available its Spring 2002 Working Papers catalogue, listing papers on poverty/race/inequality, labor markets/employment, child/adolescent/family studies, education, law/social justice, health, philanthropy/voluntarism/nonprofits, environment. IPR, 2040 Sheridan Rd., Evanston, IL 60208-4100, 847/491-3395. Website: www.northwestern.edu/ipr. [7108]

- **The National Priorities Project website** provides tables showing what different areas of military spending cost your state and what that money could buy to meet local needs instead: health care, Head Start, housing, teachers, etc. Website: <http://www.nationalpriorities.org/>

issues/military/tradeoffs.html. [7118]

- **"Academic Labor & the New Politics of Consensus"** is the 9th annual Human Science conf., **Feb. 28-March 1, 2003** at George Washington Univ. (DC). Robin D.G. Kelley is the plenary speaker. A call for papers (Dec. 2 proposal deadline) has been issued. Contact the Human Sciences Prog., GW Univ., 2035 F St. NW, Wash., DC 20052, 202/994-6134, labor@gwu.edu. Website: <http://www.gwu.edu/~humsci>. [7005]

Job Opportunities/Fellowships/Grants

- **The National Housing Law Project** has a **Staff Attorney/Dir. of Govt. Rels.** opening. Resume/ltr./3 refs./writing sample/salary history to 614 Grand Ave., #320, Oakland, CA 94610. [6956]

- **The ACLU of Penn.** is filling the following openings: **Dev. Director, Dev. Assoc. & Comm. Education Coord.** Resume/ltr./salary requirements to PO Box 1161, Phila., PA 19105-1161, fax 215/592-1343, Search@aclupa.org. [6957]

- **The Service Employees Internatl. Union seeks Campaign-Oriented Researchers.** Resume/ltr./writing sample to 1313 L St. NW, Wash., DC 20005, fax 202/898-3309, researchjobs@seiu.org. [6958]

- **The Lawyers' Committee for Civil**

Rights Under Law (DC) is searching for a **Staff Attorney**. Website: www.lawyerscomm.org [6959]

- **The Ford Foundation (Peace & Soc. Justice Prog., Human Rts. Unit)** is hiring a **Program Officer**. Resume/ltr./writing sample (5-20 pp.) to 320 E. 43 St., Box 733, NYC, NY 10017. [6960]

- **The Needmor Fund (Boulder, CO)** is hiring an **Executive Director**. Resume/1-2 pg. description of applicant's vision of social justice & the role of community organizing in achieving it (5 pp. total). Search Comm., 132 W. 2nd St., #A, Perrysburg, OH 43551, Needmor1@aol.com. [6961]

- **The American Association of University Women (DC)** is in need of a **Sr. Grassroots/Field Assoc.** in the Public & Govt. Relations Dept. Website: www.aauw.org/7000/jobs.html. [6963]

- **Equal Justice Works (DC)** (formerly Natl. Assn. for Public Interest Law) has an opening for a **Vice President**. Website: www.equaljusticeworks.org [6965]

- **Fund for an Open Society (Phila.)** is seeking an **Executive Director**. Website: www.civilrights.org/career_center/open.html [6966]

- **The Open Society Institute** has **Soros Justice Postgraduate Fellowships**. Website: www.soros.org/crime/fships_guide.html [6967]

- **National Organizers Alliance** is looking for an **Organizer & a Justice Pension Plan Coordina-**

tor/Organizer. Resume/ltr./3 refs./writing sample to 715 G St. SE, Wash., DC 20003, 202/543-6603, organizer@noacentral.org. [7008]

● **The National Prison Project of the ACLU Foundation (DC)** invites applicants for a **Litigation Fellowship**, Oct. 1 deadline. Resume/3 refs./legal writing sample to E.M. Bigelow, ACLUF, 733 15th St., NW, #620, Wash., DC 20005. Website: www.aclu.org [7010]

● **ACLU-N. Calif.** seeks a **Racial Justice Project Director**, Sept. 15 deadline. Resume/ltr. to Dorothy Ehrlich, ACLU, 1663 Mission St., #460, SF, CA 94103. Website: www.aclunc.org [7011]

● **Working Assets** is seeking a **Political**

Director. Resume to 101 Market St., #700, SF, CA 94105, fax 415/371-1046, pbollwin@wafs.com. Website: www.workingassets.com [7012]

● **The Southern Poverty Law Center** is seeking a **Teaching Tolerance Project Coordinator & a Program Coordinator**. Resume/2 recent writing samples to Jim Carnes, Teaching Tolerance, 400 Washington Ave., Montgomery, AL 36104, jcarnes@splcenter.org. [7014]

● **ACLU Foundation** invites applicants for a **Dir. for Affiliate Training & Org. Dev.**, Sept. 11 deadline. Resume/ltr. to L. Hills, ACLUF, 125 Broad St., 18th flr., NYC, NY 10004. Website: www.aclu.org [7094]

● **The Southern Poverty Law Center** is seeking a **Staff Attorney**. Resume/ltr. to SPLC, PO Box 2087, Montgomery, AL 36102-2087, fax 334/956-8481, legal@splcenter.org. [7016]

● **The Legal Aid Society** is seeking a **Staff Attorney-Hsg. Dev. Unit**. Resume/ltr. to Andrew Lehrer, Legal Aid Society, 230 E. 106 St., NYC, NY 10029, aelehrer@legal-aid.org. [7018]

● **The Southern Regional Council** is seeking an **Asst. Director for Program Dev.** Resume/writing sample to Wendy Johnson, SRC, 133 Carnegie Way, #900, Atlanta, GA 30303-1031. Website: www.southerncouncil.org [7020]

● **Environmental Leadership Program Fellowships** (2 year) are available, with an Oct. 1, 2002 applic. deadline, from PO Box 446, Haydenville, MA 01039, 413/268-0035, info@elpnet.org. Website: www.elpnet.org. [7031]

● **Colorlines** is looking for a 3-month **Senior Writing/Editing Fellow**. Resume/3 writing samples/3 refs. to Tram Nguyen, 3781 Broadway, Oakland, CA 94611, colorlines@arc.org. Website: www.colorlines.com. [7132]

● **The Applied Research Center** is seeking an **Assistant to the Director** for its new New York City office. High \$20s. Resume/ltr. to ARC, 584 Broadway, #612, NYC, NY 10012, fax: 212/431-3253, hweinig@arc.org

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