

# Poverty & Race

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## Freedom Riders

*Freedom Riders: 1961 and the Struggle for Racial Justice*, published by Oxford University Press, is an extraordinary study, by Raymond Arsenault, the appropriately named John Hope Franklin Professor of Southern History at the Univ. of South Florida, St. Petersburg (rarsenau@stpt.usf.edu). The product of 10 years of research, this 690-page book details the courage and tenacity of a remarkable, diverse group of racial justice activists and their success in tearing down unconstitutional Southern segregation practices regarding interstate travel. Buttressed by 73 pages of endnotes, a 27-page bibliography and, most amazingly, a Roster of Riders Appendix listing 64 Freedom Rides and their 436 Freedom Riders (with race, age, gender, occupation and, where available, information about their later lives and careers), this engagingly written account is an important piece of our nation's history. We reprint here the book's (slightly shortened) Introduction (minus its endnotes, deleted due to space limitations; see the book — a bargain at \$32.50 — for proper source attributions).

The plan...was simplicity itself. In any sane, even half-civilized society it would have been completely innocuous, hardly worth a second thought or meriting any comment at all. CORE would be sending an integrated team—black and white together—from the nation's capital to New Orleans on public transportation. That's all. Except, of course, that they would sit randomly on the buses in integrated pairs and in the stations they would use waiting room facilities casually, ignoring the white/colored signs. What could be more harmless...in any even marginally healthy society?

—Stokely Carmichael

May 21, 1961. It was Sunday night on the New Frontier, and freedom was on the line in Montgomery, Alabama. Earlier in the evening more than a thousand black Americans, including the Reverend Martin Luther

King Jr. and several other nationally prominent civil rights leaders, had gathered at the First Baptist Church (Colored) to show their support for a visiting band of activists known as Freedom Riders. Located just a few blocks from the state capitol where President Jefferson Davis had sworn allegiance to the Confederate cause in 1861, First Baptist had been the setting for a number of dramatic events over the years, but the historic church had never witnessed anything quite like the situation unfolding both inside and outside its red-brick walls. For several hours the Freedom Riders and the congregation sang hymns and freedom songs and listened to testimonials about courage and commitment. But as the spirit of hope and justice rose inside the crowded sanctuary, a wholly different mood of defiance and outrage developed outside.

By nightfall the church was surrounded and besieged by a swelling

mob of white protesters determined to defend a time-honored system of racial segregation. Screaming racial epithets and hurling rocks and Molotov cocktails, the protesters threatened to overwhelm a beleaguered group of federal marshals who feared that some members of the mob were intent on burning the church to the ground. When it became obvious that the marshals were overmatched, the governor of Alabama deployed a battalion of National Guardsmen to disperse the crowd, and tragedy was averted. But it would be early morning before the

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From *Freedom Riders: 1961 and the Struggle for Racial Justice*, by Raymond Arsenault.  
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surrounding streets were secure enough for the Freedom Riders and their supporters to leave the church. Loaded into a convoy of military trucks and looking much like wartime refugees, the troublesome visitors and their hosts were escorted back to a black community that must have wondered what other indignities and challenges lay ahead. The battle of May 21 was over, but the centuries-old struggle for racial justice would continue.

How the Freedom Riders came to be at First Baptist, why they inspired so much hope and fear, and what happened to them—and the hundreds of other Americans who joined their ranks—are the questions that drive this book. As the epigraph from Stokely Carmichael suggests, these are important and perplexing questions that should engage anyone concerned with freedom, justice, and the realization of America's democratic ideals. With characters and plot lines rivaling those of the most imaginative fiction, the saga of the Freedom Rides is an improbable, almost unbelievable story. In 1961, during the first year of John F. Kennedy's presidency, more than four hundred Americans participated in a dangerous experiment designed to awaken the conscience of a complacent nation. Inspired by visions of social revolution and moral regeneration, these self-proclaimed "Freedom Riders"

challenged the mores of a racially segregated society by performing a disarmingly simple act. Traveling together in small interracial groups, they sat where they pleased on buses and trains and demanded unrestricted access to terminal restaurants and waiting rooms, even in areas of the Deep South where such behavior was forbidden by law and custom.

Patterned after a 1947 Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) project known as the Journey of Reconciliation, the Freedom Rides began in early May with a single group of thirteen Riders recruited and trained by CORE's national staff. By early summer the Rides had evolved into a broad-based movement involving hun-

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***The saga of the Freedom Rides is an improbable, almost unbelievable story.***

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dreds of activists representing a number of allied local, regional, and national civil rights organizations. Attracting a diverse assortment of volunteers—black and white, young and old, male and female, religious and secular, Northern and Southern—the Freedom Rider movement transcended the traditional legalistic approach to civil rights, taking the struggle out of the courtroom and into the streets and jails of the Jim Crow South. Empowered by two U.S. Supreme Court decisions mandating the desegregation of interstate travel facilities, the Freedom Riders brazenly flouted state and local segregation statutes, all but daring Southern officials to arrest them.

Deliberately provoking a crisis of authority, the Riders challenged federal officials to enforce the law and uphold the constitutional right to travel without being subjected to degrading and humiliating racial restrictions. Most amazingly, they did so knowing that their actions would almost certainly provoke a savage and violent response from militant white supremacists. Invoking the philosophy of non-violent direct action, they willingly

put their bodies on the line for the cause of racial justice. Openly defying the social conventions of a security-conscious society, they appeared to court martyrdom with a reckless disregard for personal safety or civic order. None of the obstacles placed in their path—not widespread censure, not political and financial pressure, not arrest and imprisonment, not even the threat of death—seemed to weaken their commitment to nonviolent struggle. On the contrary, the hardships and suffering imposed upon them appeared to stiffen their resolve, confounding their white supremacist antagonists and testing the patience of even those who sympathized with their cause.

Time and again, the Riders seemed on the verge of defeat, but in every instance they found a way to sustain and expand their challenge to Jim Crow segregation. After marauding Alabama Klansmen used bombs and mob violence to disrupt and disband the original CORE Freedom Ride, student activists from Nashville stepped forward to organize a Ride of their own, eventually forcing federal officials to intervene on their behalf. Later, when Mississippi officials placed hundreds of Freedom Riders in prison and imposed bond payments that threatened the financial solvency of CORE, the net effect was to strengthen rather than to weaken the nonviolent movement. On a number of other occasions, too, attempts to intimidate the Freedom Riders and their supporters backfired, reinvigorating and prolonging a crisis that would not go away.

It is little wonder, then, that the Freedom Rides sent shock waves through American society, evoking fears of widespread social disorder, racial polarization, and a messy constitutional crisis. In the mid-1950s the Montgomery Bus Boycott and its leader Martin Luther King Jr. had familiarized Americans with the tactics and philosophy of Gandhian nonviolent resistance, and in 1960 the sit-in movement conducted by black college students in Greensboro, North Carolina, and scores of other Southern cities had introduced direct action on a

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# Housing is the Foundation of HIV Prevention and Treatment

by Virginia Shubert and Hilary Botein

Compelling new research findings demonstrate the critical significance of housing as an intervention to address both public and individual health priorities, including disease prevention, health care access and effectiveness, and cost containment. This is especially true of HIV and related conditions, where recent studies show strong correlations between improved housing status and reduced HIV risk, improved access to HIV medical care, and better health outcomes.

This growing body of evidence refutes the predominant “risky person” model for understanding the co-occurrence of homelessness, HIV infection and poor health outcomes among persons living with HIV/AIDS who lack stable housing. The “risky person” model assumes that behavior follows the person. This research shows instead that housing status has an independent effect on risk behaviors and treatment access, after controlling for a range of individual characteristics like histories of prior homelessness, drug use and mental illness. It is not the homeless or unstably housed person who is risky but the person’s situation.

In June 2005, public health and housing experts gathered for the first time to share research findings on the relationship between housing status and HIV prevention and care. The first National Housing and HIV/AIDS Research Summit was sponsored by the National AIDS Housing Coalition (NAHC) and hosted by the Emory Center for AIDS Research (CFAR). Leading researchers in the field of HIV care, homelessness and health care economics convened Summit I, and working sessions included researchers who have conducted important recent work in each of these areas, as well as experts on housing policy and health care access. Participants presented and discussed findings, shared information

and strategies regarding ongoing and planned research projects, considered policy and program implications of rigorous research, and examined disparities in access to care and health outcomes.

Examples of key findings from the Summit are summarized below. A complete discussion, with supporting

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***It is not the homeless or unstably housed person who is risky but the person’s situation.***

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citations, is available from NAHC in its policy paper *Housing is the Foundation of HIV Prevention and Treatment: Results of the National Housing and HIV/AIDS Research Summit*, which can be found at [www.nationalaidshousing.org](http://www.nationalaidshousing.org).

**Homelessness is a major risk factor for HIV, and HIV is a major risk factor for homelessness.** Homelessness or unstable housing is directly related to greater HIV risk among vulnerable persons. The prevalence of HIV infection is three to nine times higher among persons who are homeless or unstably housed, compared to similar persons with stable and adequate housing. Indeed, overall rates of HIV infection among homeless populations range from 3-10% or higher—ten times the rate of infection in the general population. Homelessness and unstable housing are likewise common and recurring issues among persons living with HIV/AIDS. As many as 60% of all persons living with HIV/AIDS have experienced homelessness since becoming HIV positive; at any given time, up to 16% of all per-

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## Ann Braden, Damu Smith, James Cameron

We dedicate this issue of *P&R* to the memory of three fighters for civil rights:

**Ann Braden**, a white Kentuckian, who, with her husband Carl, starting in the 1950s, was active in the Southern movements against white supremacy. In connection with buying a house in a Louisville suburb, fronting for a black friend who was the true buyer, the Bradens were indicted for sedition (leading to seven months imprisonment for Carl until the verdict was overturned); a decade later, in 1967, the Bradens again were indicted for sedition, for helping to organize a protest against strip mining in Eastern Kentucky—months later, a federal court ruled the state’s anti-sedition law unconstitutional.

**Damu Smith**, former Ex. Dir. of the Wash. Office on Africa, leader in the fight for environmental justice, and founder of Black Voices for Peace.

**James Cameron**, who as a 16-year-old survived being lynched in Marion, Indiana in 1930 when a white spectator shouted that he was innocent, went on to found the Black Holocaust Museum in Milwaukee. He lived long enough to be present in the US Senate chambers when that body in June 2005 passed a resolution formally apologizing for never having passed federal anti-lynching legislation (see *P&R*, Nov./Dec. 2005). His memoir is *A Time of Terror*.



sons with HIV in some communities are homeless—sleeping in shelters, on the street or in cars.

**Housing is HIV prevention.** A growing body of research suggests that unstable housing is more strongly associated with increased HIV risk behaviors than individual characteristics of homeless and unstably housed individuals, highlighting the potential of housing as an independent structural intervention to reduce the spread of HIV. Persons who were homeless or unstably housed were two to six times more likely to have recently used hard drugs, shared needles, or exchanged sex than persons with stable housing, controlling for demographics, economic resources, health and mental health status, and service utilization. Persons whose housing status improved during the course of research were half as likely to use hard drugs, use needles, share needles or have unprotected sex as were individuals whose housing status did not change. Those whose housing status worsened over time were four times more likely than others to have recently exchanged sex. Indeed, re-

search indicates that appropriate housing protects very-low-income individuals from “exposure” to a range of individual and public health threats, including HIV, violence, harmful drug use and incarceration. Housing protects and stabilizes not only individuals, but also their families and communities.

**Housing is HIV health care.** Housing is a matter of life or death for persons with HIV/AIDS. The all-cause death rate among homeless persons with HIV/AIDS is five times the rate of death among housed persons with HIV/AIDS. Lack of stable housing is a barrier to starting HIV health care, staying in care, and access to antiretroviral therapy (ART). Im-

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**Homelessness or unstable housing is directly related to greater HIV risk among vulnerable persons.**

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proved housing status is directly related to improved access to health care, higher levels of ART adherence, lowered viral loads, and reduced mortality. After controlling for variables including outpatient use at baseline, demographics, health status and receipt of case management, persons who improved their housing were almost five times more likely to report a recent outpatient visit for HIV care than persons who remained homeless or unstably housed. Homeless or unstably housed persons who improved their housing between baseline and follow-up were over six times as likely as persons who did not change their housing situation to be receiving antiretroviral medications at follow-up.

**Housing is a cost-effective prevention and treatment intervention.** The provision of housing for persons with HIV and persons at high risk of HIV due to homelessness may be not only lifesaving, but cost-effective as well. The economic costs of ongoing HIV transmissions and HIV treatment failure within this population are enormous. The estimated lifetime medical

treatment cost of each new infection is \$155,000-\$195,000; the annual cost of providing supportive housing is approximately \$14,000. Cost analyses of behavioral prevention interventions have demonstrated that their costs are more than offset by the savings associated with prevented HIV infections. Likewise, research has shown that the cost to the public of providing supportive housing is offset by reduced use of more expensive public services such as acute health care, mental health inpatient care, emergency shelters, and prisons and jails. The effectiveness and cost implications of housing as an HIV prevention and treatment intervention are currently the subject of a national research project conducted by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

**This growing body of knowledge supports a public health response to housing need.** Models of care that include housing as a key component offer great power, enabling new and more effective approaches to HIV prevention and treatment. Four public policy imperatives emerged from the research presentations and policy discussions at the first National Housing and HIV/AIDS Research Summit:

- Make subsidized, affordable housing (including supportive housing for those who need it) available to all persons with HIV;
- Make housing homeless persons a top prevention priority, since housing is a powerful HIV prevention strategy;
- Incorporate housing as a critical element of HIV health care; and
- Continue to collect and analyze data to assess the impact and effectiveness of various models of housing as an independent structural HIV prevention and health care intervention.

**Summit II: Transforming fact into strategy.** The National AIDS Housing Coalition will convene the second National Housing and HIV/AIDS Research Summit on October 20-21,

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## Teaching for Social Justice

PRRAC, along with Teaching for Change, our partner organization in publishing *Putting the Movement Back Into Civil Rights Teaching* ([www.civilrights.org](http://www.civilrights.org)), is co-sponsoring “Teaching for Social Justice: From Moments to Movement,” along with the Bay Area group Teachers 4 Social Justice. The free conference is Saturday, Oct. 14, at Mission High School in San Francisco. Keynoter is Asa Hilliard, and there will be lots of interesting workshops. Contact Chester Hartman ([chartman@prrac.org](mailto:chartman@prrac.org)) for more details or if you are interested in attending.

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## Family Housing Opportunities in the LIHTC Program

Are states using the Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) program to enable families with children to live in low-poverty and racially integrated neighborhoods? This is an extremely important question, because, with more than 1.5 million units, LIHTC is a larger government program than public housing. Furthermore, the tax credit program is in effect a block grant to the states, and tax credit authority is allocated to housing developers by state housing finance agencies. Fair housing laws apply to the program, but there is no systematic monitoring of the program for compliance with federal fair housing mandates.

PRRAC and the National Fair Housing Alliance (NFHA) have funded a report, to be released later this month, that uses a national database on LIHTC units placed in service between 1995 and 2003 (the most recent LIHTC database with a full range of data available) to show the extent to which the program produces “family” housing—that is, units that have two or more bedrooms—in low-poverty portions of metropolitan areas. The paper was prepared by Jill Khadduri, Larry Buron and Carissa Climaco of Abt Associates.

Because of the lack of information about who actually lives in LIHTC rental housing, we do not yet know the extent to which LIHTC housing in low-poverty areas is accessible to the lowest-income families, or to African-American and Latino families, but we were able to count the number of units that have at least two bedrooms as a “proxy” for family housing and then look at where those LIHTC units are located. The report focuses on large metropolitan areas, those with more than 250,000 people, because these are the places in which spatial concentration by poverty and race is most likely to occur.

According to the Abt analysis, 22% of LIHTC units developed in recent

years in large metropolitan areas are large enough to be occupied by families and are located in low-poverty census tracts. As in the Moving to Opportunity demonstration, low-poverty census tracts are defined as those in which less than 10% of the population is poor. Another 19% of LIHTC units are “family” housing units in census tracts with moderate (10-20%) poverty levels.

LIHTC units that are in low-poverty locations within large metropolitan areas are also likely to be in census tracts with low populations of people of color. Many are also in the suburbs. These neighborhoods are not places where poverty rates are increasing. Rather, LIHTC units that are built in low-poverty neighborhoods are in high-growth parts of metropolitan areas, areas in which a high proportion of all of the housing was built after 1990.

Because LIHTC siting policy is under the control of state housing finance agencies, the paper devotes considerable attention to state-by-state variations in the location of LIHTC family housing. States are ranked by the percentage of LIHTC family units found in low-poverty locations. Because states vary in the overall extent of poverty in their large metropolitan areas, the paper also ranks states by comparing the extent to which LIHTC units are in low-poverty locations with the extent to which all rental housing is in such locations. States vary a great deal by either measure, suggesting that some states are focusing much more than others on the policy goal of increasing opportunities for families with children to live in low-poverty neighborhoods. States that appear to have made positive efforts are Utah, New Hampshire, New York, Wisconsin, Delaware, Nebraska and Colorado. In contrast, Illinois, South Carolina, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Idaho, Arizona and the District of Columbia place only small

fractions of their LIHTC family housing in census tracts in which fewer than 10% of all people are poor.

The report also examines the extent to which states are selecting LIHTC developments that have the effect of increasing racial integration, by comparing the “minority” populations of the census tracts in which LIHTC units are located with the overall minority populations of the same metropolitan areas. No state is performing well on this measure.

In addition to the comparisons among states, the report includes detailed tables on individual metropolitan areas that readers may find useful for advocacy, and potentially for later studies of who actually lives in LIHTC developments. For multi-state metropolitan areas, tables provide information on LIHTC units located within the portion of each metropolitan area that is within each state—and, therefore, under the control of that state’s housing finance agency. In addition, national rankings for each full metro area will be provided for the key indicators in the report.

PRRAC is continuing to pursue research and advocacy to bring civil rights reforms to the Low Income Housing Tax Credit program. Our partners in this work, in addition to the National Fair Housing Alliance, include the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights and the Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity. For more information, see [www.prrac.org/projects/lihtc.php](http://www.prrac.org/projects/lihtc.php).

To request a copy of the report, contact Philip Tegeler at [ptegeler@prrac.org](mailto:ptegeler@prrac.org). □

**Be sure to visit  
PRRAC’s website at:  
[www.prrac.org](http://www.prrac.org)**

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## Xenophobia/Racism

*This is in the “oldies but goodies” department: Back in the March/April 1994 P&R, we printed what follows. Given the rise of anti-immigration sentiment among Americans, reprinting it seems appropriate. While the original song was aimed at segregationist US Senator Theodore Bilbo (D-MS), feel free, in the best folk-song manner, to substitute current figures and make up some more up-to-date verses. (Transcription of the music notation, from The People’s Song Book, is courtesy of Jeremy Hartman, the eight-year-old referred to, now about to enter his senior year of college.) – CH*

One of the privileges of editing a newsletter is being able to indulge in occasional whims: The other day my eight-year-old son asked me who Crispus Attucks was. In responding, it brought to mind a political song I knew as a kid, aimed at one of the notorious segregationists and race-haters, Mississippi’s US Senator (1935-1947) Theodore Bilbo. Remembering the words (by Bob and Adrienne Claiborne) perfectly after quite a number of decades, I sang it to him, commenting on its topicality, given the present nativist, anti-immigrant climate.

Chorus (to be sung after each verse): *Listen, Mr. Bilbo, listen to me. I’ll give you a lesson in history. Listen while I tell you that the foreigners you hate are the very same people made America great.*

*In 1492, just to see what he could see, Columbus, an Italian, set out across the sea. Said, “Isabella, babe, the world is round, and the USA is just a-waiting to be found.”*

*In 1609, on a bright summer’s day, the Half Moon set anchor in New York Bay. Henry Hudson, a Dutchman\*, took one look around, said, “Boy, this is gonna be one helluva town.”*

*When the King of England started pushing Yankees around, they had a little trouble up in Boston town. There was a brave Negro, Crispus Attucks was the man, was the first one to fall when the fighting began.*

*Colin Kelly was the pilot, flying down low. Levin pushed the button that let the bomb go. They sank The Haruna [a*

*Japanese World War II battleship] to the bottom of the sea. It was foreigners like these that kept America free.*

*Now, Bilbo, you’re taking one hell of a chance, ‘cause your good friends, the DuPonts, came over from France. Another thing I’m sure will be news to you: The first Mr. Bilbo was a foreigner, too.*

*You don’t like Negroes, you don’t like Jews. If there’s anyone you do like, it sure is news. You don’t like Poles, Italians, Catholics too. Well, dead\*\* or alive, bud, we don’t like you.*

\* Erratum: Wikipedia indicates Hudson was actually English, but captained ships for the Dutch East India Trading Company, which accounts for the misidentification.

\*\* When Bilbo met his maker in 1947 (in office but with his seating challenged by Republicans for irregularities in his 1946 re-election due, among other things, to intimidation of Black voters), it struck many of us as poetic justice that this hate-monger died of mouth cancer.



(HOUSING: Continued from page 4)

2006, in Baltimore, Maryland, in collaboration with the Department of Health, Behavior and Society of the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health. Summit II will build on the momentum and results of the first Research Summit—providing a unique forum for continuing to gather and communicate what we know and

what we need to know about HIV, housing, and individual and community health; and offering a first-of-its-kind opportunity for participants to transform research findings into concrete strategies for change.

Virginia Shubert and Hilary Botein are the principals of Shubert Botein Policy Associates ([www.shubertbotein.com](http://www.shubertbotein.com).) The National AIDS Housing Coalition ([www.nationalaidshousing.com](http://www.nationalaidshousing.com)) retains SBPA to help plan, coordinate and document the National Housing and HIV/AIDS Research Summit Series.

For the Summit II schedule and registration information, contact NAHC at 1518 K St. NW, #410, Wash., DC 20005, 202/347-0333, [nahc@nationalaidshousing.org](mailto:nahc@nationalaidshousing.org). Early registration ends September 15. □



mass scale. But nothing in the recent past had fully prepared the American public for the Freedom Riders' inter-racial "invasion" of the segregated South. With the Freedom Rides, the civil rights struggle reached a level of intensity that even the sit-ins, potentially the most disruptive episode of the pre-1961 era, had managed to avoid. Loosely organized by local student activists and only tangentially connected to federal court mandates, the sit-in movement had skirted the potentially explosive issues of states' rights and outside agitation by Northern-based civil rights organizations.

The closest thing to a national civil rights crisis prior to the Freedom Rides was the school desegregation fight following the *Brown v. Board of Education* implementation decision of 1955, but the refusal of the Eisenhower administration to press for anything more than token integration had seemingly defused the crisis by the end of the decade. Even in Little Rock, Arkansas, where Eisenhower had dispatched troops to enforce a court order in 1957, the spirit of intense confrontation had largely subsided by the time of the Freedom Rides. By then John Kennedy's New Frontier was in full swing, but there was no indication that the new administration was willing to sacrifice civic peace or political capital in the interests of school desegregation or any other civil rights issue, despite periodic pledges to abide by the Supreme Court's "with all deliberate speed" implementation order. Indeed, with public opinion polls showing little interest in civil rights among white Americans, there was no compelling reason, other than a personal commitment to abstract principles of freedom and justice, for any national political leader to challenge the racial orthodoxies and mores of Jim Crow culture.

During and after the fall campaign, Kennedy proclaimed that his New Frontier policies would transcend the stolid conservatism of the Eisenhower era; and in a stirring inaugural address he declared that the United States

would "pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and success of liberty." In the winter and early spring of 1961, however, the New Frontier manifested itself primarily in an assertive presence abroad, not in enhanced social justice at home. As civil rights leaders waited for the first sign of a bold initiative on the domestic front, superheated rhetoric about "missile gaps" and Soviet expansionism heightened Cold War tensions, fostering a crisis mentality that led to the ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion in April. Marginalizing all other issues, including civil rights, the military and diplomatic fiasco in Cuba only served to sharpen the administration's focus on international affairs.

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***The Freedom Rider movement transcended the traditional legalistic approach to civil rights, taking the struggle into the streets and jails of the Jim Crow South.***

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The president himself set the tone, and by early May there was no longer any doubt, as the journalist Richard Reeves later observed, that the Cold Warrior in the White House regarded civil rights matters as an unwelcome "diversion from the priority business of promoting and winning freedom around the world." Father Theodore Hesburgh, the chairman of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, was one of the first to learn this sobering truth. During an early briefing held two weeks after the inauguration, Kennedy made it clear that he considered white supremacist transgressions such as the Alabama National Guard's illegal exclusion of black soldiers to be a trivial matter in the grand scheme of world affairs. "Look, Father," he explained, "I may have to send the Alabama National Guard to Berlin tomorrow and I don't want to have to do it in the middle of a revolution at home." Neither he nor Hesburgh had the faintest

**One More  
Research/Advocacy  
Grant**

In addition to the eight grants reported in the May/June *P&R*, we were able to squeeze out one more with the Casey Foundation funds:

**Legalized Usury: The Expansion of Payday Lending in Ohio:** The Housing Research & Advocacy Center, Cleveland, OH.

suspicion that in three months' time these same Alabama Guardsmen would be called not to Berlin but rather to a besieged black church in Montgomery where Freedom Riders required protection from a white supremacist mob. In early February neither man had any reason to believe that a group of American citizens would deliberately place themselves in jeopardy by traveling to Alabama, counting "upon the racists of the South to create a crisis, so that the federal government would be compelled to enforce federal law," as CORE's national director Jim Farmer put it.

To many Americans, including the president, the rationale behind the Freedom Rides bordered on madness. But Farmer and other proponents of direct action reasoned that they could turn the president's passion for Cold War politics to their advantage by exposing and dramatizing the hypocrisy of promoting freedom abroad while maintaining Jim Crow in places like Alabama and Mississippi. With the onset of decolonization, the "colored" nations of Africa and Asia had emerged as important players in the escalating struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union, and it was no secret that America's long and continuing association with racial discrimination posed a potential threat to the State Department's continuing efforts to secure the loyalty and respect of the so-called Third World. If move-

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ment leaders could find some means of highlighting the diplomatic costs of Jim Crow, the administration would be forced to address civil rights issues as a function of national security.

Putting this strategy into practice, however, was extremely risky in a nation still conditioned by a decade of McCarthyism. To embarrass the nation on the world stage, for whatever reason, was to invite charges of disloyalty and collusion with Communist enemies. Even though a growing number of Americans acknowledged the connection between civil rights and the legitimacy of America's claims to democratic virtue and moral authority, very few, even among self-professed liberals, were willing to place the nation's international stature at risk for the purpose of accelerating the pace of social change. Such considerations extended to the civil rights movement itself, where internecine Red-baiting and periodic purges had been common since the late 1940s. In varying degrees, every civil rights organization from the NAACP to CORE had to

guard against charges of subversion and "fellow-traveling," and even the most cautious advocates of racial justice were sometimes subject to Cold War suspicions.

Civil rights activists of all persuasions faced an uphill struggle in the Cold War context of 1961. For the Freedom Riders, however, the challenge of mounting an effective protest movement was compounded by the fundamental conservatism of a nation wedded to consensus politics. As earlier generations of radical activists had discovered, enlisting support for direct

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***The Riders challenged federal officials to enforce the law and uphold the constitutional right to travel.***

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action, economic boycotts, and other disruptive tactics was a difficult task in a society infused with the mythology of superior national virtue and equal access to legal redress. While a

majority of Americans endorsed the goal of desegregating interstate transportation, a much smaller proportion supported the use of direct action, non-violent or otherwise. According to a Gallup Poll conducted in late May and early June 1961, 66 percent of Americans agreed with the Supreme Court's recent ruling "that racial segregation on trains, buses, and in public waiting rooms must end," but only 24 percent approved "of what the 'freedom riders' are doing." When asked if sit-ins, Freedom Rides, and "other demonstrations by Negroes" would "hurt or help the Negro's chances of being integrated in the South," only 27 percent of the respondents thought they would help.

In many communities, public opposition to the Rides was reinforced by negative press coverage. Editorial condemnation of CORE's intrusive direct action campaign was almost universal in the white South, but negative characterizations of the Freedom Rides as foolhardy and unnecessarily confrontational were also common in the national press. Although most of the nation's leading editors and commentators embraced the ideal of desegregation, very few acknowledged that Freedom Rides and other disruptive tactics were a necessary catalyst for timely social change. Indeed, many journalists, like many of their readers and listeners, seemed to accept the moral equivalency of pro- and anti-civil-rights demonstrators, blaming one side as much as the other for the social disorder surrounding the Rides. In later years it would become fashionable to hail the Freedom Riders as courageous visionaries, but in 1961 they were more often criticized as misguided, if not dangerous, radicals.

The Freedom Riders' negative public image was the product of many factors, but two of their most obvious problems were bad timing and a deeply rooted suspicion of radical agitation by "outsiders." Set against the backdrop of the Civil War Centennial celebration, which began in April 1961, the Freedom Rides evoked vivid memories of meddling abolitionists and invading armies. This was especially true in the white South, where a resurgent

## **Eradicating Poverty: The New National Priority**

Rep. Barbara Lee (D-CA), co-chair of the 64-member Congressional Progressive Caucus (CPC@Lee.House.gov), has introduced 4 bills aimed at reducing poverty:

**H.CON.RES.234** requires the President to immediately present a plan to eradicate poverty in the US by 2010. The bill has over four dozen Congressional co-sponsors.

**H.CON.RES.282** calls on Congress to repeal the 2001 tax giveaways to the rich and invest those moneys in programs to alleviate poverty.

**H.R.1050** is a Living Wage for All Act.

**H.R.4600** calls on the House to amend House Rules so as to require the Congressional Budget Office to issue a poverty impact report for any legislation scheduled for floor consideration with spending above \$10 million.

Further inf. from Aysha House-Moshi, Rep. Lee's Senior Policy Advisor, 202/225-2661, aysha.house-moshi@mail.house.gov



“siege mentality” was in full force during the post-*Brown* era. But “outside agitators” were also unpopular in the North, where Cold War anxieties mingled with the ambiguous legacy of Reconstruction. When trying to comprehend the motivations behind the Freedom Rides, Americans of all regions and of all political leanings drew upon the one historical example that had influenced national life for nearly a century: the allegedly misguided attempt to bring about a Radical Reconstruction of the Confederate South. While some Americans appreciated the moral and political imperatives of Reconstruction, the dominant image of the tumultuous decade following the Civil War was that of a “tragic era” sullied by corruption and opportunism.

Among black Americans and white liberals the *Brown* decision had given rise to the idea of a long-overdue Second Reconstruction, but even in the civil rights community there was some reluctance to embrace a neo-abolitionist approach to social change. Some civil rights advocates, including Thurgood Marshall and Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, feared that Freedom Riders and other proponents of direct action would actually slow the process of change by needlessly provoking a white backlash and squandering the movement’s financial and legal resources. To Wilkins, who admired the Riders’ courage but questioned their sanity, the CORE project represented “a desperately brave, reckless strategy,” a judgment seconded by Leslie Dunbar, the executive director of the Southern Regional Council. “When I heard about all those Northerners heading south I was sure they were going to catch hell and maybe even get themselves killed,” Dunbar recalled many years later.

Dunbar had good reason to be concerned. In a nation where the mystique of states’ rights and local control enjoyed considerable popularity, crossing state lines for the purpose of challenging parochial mores was a highly provocative act. The notion that Freedom Riders were outside agitators and provocateurs cast serious doubt on their legitimacy, eliminating most of the

moral capital that normally accompanied nonviolent struggle. Freedom Rides, by their very nature, involved physical mobility and a measure of outside involvement, if only in the form of traveling from one place to another. But the discovery—or in some

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***Invoking the philosophy of nonviolent direct action, they willingly put their bodies on the line for the cause of racial justice.***

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cases, the assumption—that most of the Freedom Riders were Northerners deepened the sense of public anxiety surrounding the Rides. Judging by the national press and contemporary public commentary, the archetypal Freedom Rider was an idealistic but naive white activist from the North, probably a college student but possibly an older religious or labor leader. In actuality, while many Freedom Riders

ate Conm. on Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs as a Legislative Assistant.

- PRRAC Research Director **Chester Hartman** and PRRAC Soc. Sci. Adv. Bd. member **Gregory Squires** are co-editing *There Is No Such Thing As a Natural Disaster: Race, Class & Hurricane Katrina*, out from Routledge in time for the Aug. 29 anniversary. PRRAC Board members **John Powell** and **Sheila Crowley** have chapters in the collection. Further inf. from [chartman@prrac.org](mailto:chartman@prrac.org)

- We thank **Sarah Emrys/Ruthanna Emrys Gordon** and **Theodore Pearson** for their recent donations to PRRAC.

## PRRAC Update

- PRRAC’s since-Day-1 Board Chair **John Charles Boger** has just been named the new Dean of the Univ. No. Carolina Law School. Congratulations, Jack!

- New Board Member: **Dennis Parker**, Director of the Racial Justice Program at the American Civil Liberties Union national office, has just joined the PRRAC Board. His previous positions were with the NAACP Legal Defense & Educ. Fund, and from 2003-06 he served as Bureau Chief of the Civil Rights Div. in the NY State Attorney General’s office. Welcome, Dennis.

- **Alex Cawthorne**, PRRAC’s 2005 Bill Emerson Hunger Fellow, has just joined the staff of the Sen-

resembled that description, many others did not. The Freedom Riders were much more diverse than most Americans realized. Black activists born and raised in the South accounted for six of the original thirteen Freedom Riders and approximately 40 percent of the four-hundred-plus Riders who later joined the movement. The Freedom Rider movement was as interregional as it was interracial, but for some reason the indigenous contribution to the Rides did not seem to register in the public consciousness, then or later. Part of the explanation undoubtedly resides in the conventional wisdom that Southern blacks were too beaten down to become involved in their own liberation. Even after the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the 1960 sit-ins suggested otherwise, this misconception plagued popular and even scholarly explanations of the civil rights struggle, including accounts of the Freedom Rides.

Redressing this misconception is reason enough to write a revisionist history of the Freedom Rides. But there

(Please turn to page 10)

are a number of other issues, both interpretative and factual, that merit attention. Chief among them is the tendency to treat the Freedom Rides as little more than a dramatic prelude to the climactic events of the mid- and late 1960s. In the rush to tell the stories of Birmingham, Freedom Summer, the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965, the Black Power movement, and the urban riots, assassinations, and political and cultural crises that have come to define a decade of breathless change, the Freedom Rides have often gotten lost. Occupying the midpoint between the 1954 *Brown* decision and the 1968 assassination of Martin Luther King, the events of 1961 would seem to be a likely choice as the pivot of a pivotal era in civil rights history. But that is not the way the Rides are generally depicted in civil rights historiography. While virtually every historical survey of the civil rights movement includes a brief section on the Freedom Rides, they have

not attracted the attention that they deserve. The first scholarly monograph on the subject was published in 2003, and amazingly the present volume represents the first attempt by a professional historian to write a book-length account of the Freedom Rides. . . .

As the first historical study of this remarkable group of activists, *Freedom Riders* attempts to reconstruct the

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### **The Freedom Rides sent shock waves through American society.**

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text and context of a pivotal moment in American history. At the mythic level, the saga of the Freedom Riders is a fairly simple tale of collective engagement and empowerment, of the pursuit and realization of democratic ideals, and of good triumphing over evil. But a carefully reconstructed history reveals a much more interesting story. Lying just below the surface, encased in memory and long-overlooked documents, is the real story of

the Freedom Rides, a complicated mesh of commitment and indecision, cooperation and conflict, triumph and disappointment. In an attempt to recapture the meaning and significance of the Freedom Rides without sacrificing the drama of personal experience and historical contingency, I have written a book that is chronological and narrative in form. From the outset my goal has been to produce a “braided narrative” that addresses major analytical questions related to cause and consequence, but I have done so in a way that allows the art of storytelling to dominate the structure of the work.

Whenever possible, I have let the historical actors speak for themselves, and much of the book relies on interviews with former Freedom Riders, journalists, and government officials. Focusing on individual stories, I have tried to be faithful to the complexity of human experience, to treat the Freedom Riders and their contemporaries as flesh-and-blood human beings capable of inconsistency, confusion, and varying modes of behavior and belief. The Freedom Riders, no less than the other civil rights activists who transformed American life in the decades following World War II, were dynamic figures. Indeed, the ability to adapt and to learn from their experiences, both good and bad, was an essential element of their success. Early on, they learned that pushing a reluctant nation into action required nimble minds and subtle judgments, not to mention a measure of luck.

While they sometimes characterized the civil rights movement as an irrepressible force, the Freedom Riders knew all too well that they faced powerful and resilient enemies backed by regional and national institutions and traditions. Fortunately, the men and women who participated in the Freedom Rides had access to institutions and traditions of their own. When they boarded the “freedom buses” in 1961, they knew that others had gone before them, figuratively in the case of crusading abolitionists and the black and white soldiers who marched into the South during the Civil War and Re-

### **New on PRRAC's Website**

- Documents from the remedy hearing in the Baltimore public housing desegregation case, *Thompson v. HUD*: proposed order, post-hearing briefs, list of expert witnesses, and highlights of hearing testimony – at [www.prrac.org/projects/baltimore.php](http://www.prrac.org/projects/baltimore.php)
- Materials from the June 12 meeting of the New Orleans Health Disparities Initiative, cosponsored by PRRAC and supported by the Health Policy Institute at the Joint Center for Political & Economic Studies – at [www.prrac.org/projects/katrina.php](http://www.prrac.org/projects/katrina.php)
- Updated Bibliography of Housing Mobility Research, 2004-2006 – at [www.prrac.org/projects/housingmobility.php](http://www.prrac.org/projects/housingmobility.php)
- “Underwriting for Fair Housing? Achieving Civil Rights Goals in Affordable Housing Programs,” by Henry Korman (reprinted with permission from the ABA’s *Journal of Affordable Housing*) – at [www.prrac.org/projects/lihtc.php](http://www.prrac.org/projects/lihtc.php)
- Also – please visit our recently updated Research Guides on:

Housing  
Education  
Health Disparities  
Community Organizing  
Food/Nutrition/Hunger  
Race, Gender and Families

construction, and literally in the case of the CORE veterans who participated in the 1947 Journey of Reconciliation. In the early twentieth century, local black activists in several Southern cities had staged successful boycotts of segregated streetcars; in the 1930s and 1940s, labor and peace activists had employed sit-ins and other forms of direct action; and more recently the Gandhian liberation of India and the unexpected mass movements in Montgomery, Tallahassee, Greensboro, Nashville, and other centers of insurgency had demonstrated that the power of nonviolence was more than a philosophical chimera. At the same time, the legal successes of the NAACP and the gathering strength of the civil rights movement in the years since the Second World War, not to mention the emerging decolonization of the Third World, infused Freedom Riders with the belief that the arc of history was finally bending in the right direction. Racial progress, if not inevitable, was at least possible,

and the Riders were determined to do all they could to accelerate the pace of change.

Convincing their fellow Americans, black or white, that nonviolent struggle was a reliable and acceptable means of combating racial discrimination would not be easy. Indeed, even getting the nation's leaders to acknowledge that such discrimination required immediate and sustained attention was a major challenge. Notwithstanding the empowering and instructive legacy left

**To many Americans, the rationale behind the Freedom Rides bordered on madness.**

by earlier generations of freedom fighters, the Freedom Riders knew that the road to racial equality remained long and hard, and that advancing down that road would test their composure and fortitude.

The Riders' dangerous passage

**Remember to send us items for our Resources section.**

through the bus terminals and jails of the Jim Crow South represented only one part of an extended journey for justice that stretched back to the dawn of American history and beyond. But once that passage was completed, there was renewed hope that the nation would eventually find its way to a true and inclusive democracy. For the brave activists who led the way, and for those of us who can only marvel at their courage and determination, this link to a brighter future was a great victory. Yet, as we shall see, it came with the sobering reminder that "power concedes nothing without a demand," as the abolitionist and former slave Frederick Douglass wrote in 1857....



## Resources

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

*When ordering items from PRRAC: SASE = self-addressed stamped envelope (39¢ unless otherwise indicated). Orders may not be placed by telephone or fax. Please indicate from which issue of P&R you are ordering.*

### Race/Racism

● **Barefootin': Life Lessons from the Road to Freedom**, by Anita Blackwell (272 pp., 2006, \$23), has been published by Crown. Blackwell was the first Black female mayor of Mississippi (Mayersville), and this is a memoir of her civil rights activism. [9821]

● **The Color of Wealth: The Story Behind the U.S. Racial Wealth Divide**, eds. Meizhu Lui, Barbara Robles, Betsy Leondar-Wright, Rose Brewer & Rebecca Adamson (326 pp., 2006, \$19.95), has been published by New Press. [9823]

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

● **History Now Online** in its most recent (2006) issue focuses on teaching about the Civil Rights Movement, [www.historynow.org/06\\_2006/index.html](http://www.historynow.org/06_2006/index.html) [9828]

● **Letter in Support of a Black Reconstruction in New Orleans and the Gulf Coast**, by Eric Mann (212 pp., 2006, \$10), has been

published by Frontline Press, 213/387-2800. [9831]

● **Structural Inequality: Black Architects in the United States**, by Victoria Kaplan (244 pp., 2006, \$24.95), has been published by Rowman & Littlefield, 800/462-6420. [9833]



● ***Our Town: A Heartland Lynching, a Haunted Town, and the Hidden History of White America***, by Cynthia Carr

(501 pp., 2006, \$25.95), has been published by Crown. It is the account of the Marion, Indiana lynching that James Cameron survived, wrote about and memorialized (see p. 3 of this issue). [9845]

● ***Journal on Race and Society*** is publishing the Inaugural Symposium on Race and Society, entitled "Katrina's Wake: Racial Implications of the New Orleans Disaster." This Univ. of Virginia journal is currently (July 2006) accepting papers and proposals: Box 400881, Charlottesville, VA 22904, 434/243-4311, [www.virginia.edu/symrs](http://www.virginia.edu/symrs) [9861]

● **"Being a Black Man"** is a major *Washington Post* series. Several long pieces appeared in Spring 2006 editions, with the series to resume in the Fall, [www.washingtonpost.com/blackmen](http://www.washingtonpost.com/blackmen) [9862]

● ***Privileged Places: Race, Residence, and the Structure of Opportunity*** by Gregory D. Squires & Charis E. Kubrin (183 pp., July 2006), has been published by Lynne Rienner Publishers, 303/444-6684. [9864]

## Poverty/ Welfare

● ***Clearinghouse Review*** has published a special May-June 2006 issue, "What the Federal Government Must Do to End Poverty." Contributors include Sen. John Edwards, Peter Edelman, (former PRRAC Bd.

member) James D. Weill, Gary Bass, Maya Wiley & (PRRAC Bd. Member) John Powell, William P. Wilen, William P. Quigley and many others. \$30/nonprofits, \$60/others. [mnicolet@povertylaw.org](mailto:mnicolet@povertylaw.org), <http://www.povertylaw.org/> [9839]

● **Minimum Wage Lowest in 50 Years:** The Center for Economic & Policy Research 2006 press release/graph shows that the adjusted value of the current \$5.15 federal minimum wage (which the Senate just refused to raise) is at its lowest since 1956, [www.cepr.net/pressreleases/2006\\_06\\_19.htm](http://www.cepr.net/pressreleases/2006_06_19.htm) [9841]

● **"Understanding Changes in Child Poverty Over the Past Decade,"** by Austin Nichols (May 2006), is available (possibly free) from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/261-5709, [www.urban.org/url.cfm?ID=411320](http://www.urban.org/url.cfm?ID=411320).

● **"Delivering a Local EITC: Lessons from the San Francisco Working Families Credit,"** by Tim Flacke & Tiana Wertheim (24 pp., May 2006), reports on the first year of San Francisco's local supplement to EITC. Available from the Brookings Institution, [www.brookings.org/metro/pubs/20060516\\_sfworks.htm](http://www.brookings.org/metro/pubs/20060516_sfworks.htm)

## Criminal Justice

● **Soros Justice Fellowships** support new & seasoned lawyers, advocates, grassroots organizers, activist academics, print & radio journalists, filmmakers to

implement innovative criminal justice projects. Sept. 13 application deadline. Inf from Kate Black, 212/548-0170. Guidelines/applic. inf. at [www.soros.org/initiatives/justice/focus\\_areas/justice\\_fellows](http://www.soros.org/initiatives/justice/focus_areas/justice_fellows) [9832]

● ***Race to Incarcerate***, by Marc Mauer, has just been published in a revised edition (2006, \$15.95). Contact The Sentencing Project, 202/628-0871, [gali@sentencingproject.org](mailto:gali@sentencingproject.org), <http://www.sentencingproject.org/> [9837]

● **"Shortchanging Security: How Poor Training, Low Pay & Lack of Job Protection for Security Guards Undermine Public Safety in New York City,"** by Nancy Rankin & Mark Levitan (46 pp., May 2006), is available (no price given) from the Community Service Society of NY, 105 E. 22 St., NYC, NY 10010, 212/254-8900, [www.cssny.org/pdfs/ShortchangingSecurity.pdf](http://www.cssny.org/pdfs/ShortchangingSecurity.pdf) [9848]

● **"Death Row USA"** (65 pp., Spring 2006) is the quarterly report from the Criminal Justice Project of the NAACP Legal Defense & Educ. Fund, on current cases involving the death penalty, examining the race and gender of current inmates on death row and their victims. Available at [www.naacpldf.org/content.aspx?article=297](http://www.naacpldf.org/content.aspx?article=297)

## Education

● **"Checks and Balances at Work: The Restructuring of Virginia's Public Higher**

**Education System,"** by Lara K. Couturier (97 pp., June 2006), is available (no price listed) from the Natl. Ctr. for Public Policy & Higher Education, 152 N. Third St., #705, San Jose, CA 95112, 408/271-2699, [center@highereducation.org](mailto:center@highereducation.org), <http://www.highereducation.org/> [9822]

● **"How Black and Hispanic Families Rate Their Schools"** is a 24-page Reality Check 2006 report from Public Agenda, 6 E. 39 St., NYC, NY 10016, 212/686-6610, <http://www.publicagenda.org/> [9825]

● **"Helping Children Move from Bad Schools to Good Ones,"** by Richard D. Kahlenberg (15 pp., n.d. [2006]), is available (likely free) from The Century Fdn., 41 E. 70 St., NYC, NY 10021, 212/535-4441, [info@tcf.org](mailto:info@tcf.org), <http://www.tcf.org/> [9827]

● ***Voices in Urban Education*** devotes its Spring 2006 issue to "Getting to Equity" — examining the actions that must take place to achieve equity and excellence for all students. Available (no price given) from the Annenberg Inst. for School Reform, Brown Univ., Box 1985, Providence, RI 02912, 401/863-7990, [www.annenberginstitute.org/VUE/index.html](http://www.annenberginstitute.org/VUE/index.html) [9846]

● **Education Action** is a new website about to be initiated by Jonathan Kozol and the network of education activists he met during his six-month book tour for *The Shame of the Nation*. For now, contact him/them at [EducationActionInfo@gmail.com](mailto:EducationActionInfo@gmail.com)

- **“Transforming High School Teaching and Learning: A District-Wide Design,”** by Judy Wurtzel (2006), from The Aspen Inst., is available at <http://www.aspeninstitute.org>

- **“Taking the Next Step - Defining a Shared Federal Agenda for High School Reform”** is the Alliance for Excellent Education’s Third Annual High School Policy Conf., Oct. 12-13, 2006 in DC. Inf. from the Alliance, 1201 Conn. Ave. NW, #901, Wash., DC 20036, 202/828-0828, x871, [conference@all4ed.org](mailto:conference@all4ed.org)

## Employment/ Jobs Policy

- **“The High-Performance Workforce and the At-Risk Student”** (2006) addresses the educational needs of the at-risk student to fit the growing need for well-prepared employees. Available (no price given) from the National Dropout Prevention Center/Network, Clemson Univ., 209 Martin St., Clemson, SC 29631, 864/656-2599. [9847]

- **“Transitional Jobs: Helping TANF Recipients with Barriers to Employment Succeed in the Labor Market,”** by Allegra Braider & Abby Frank (10 pp., May 2006), is available (possibly free) from the Center on Law and Social Policy, 1015 15th St. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20005, 202/906-8008, [http://www.clasp.org/publications/transitional\\_jobs\\_06.pdf](http://www.clasp.org/publications/transitional_jobs_06.pdf)

- **“And Injustice for All: Workers’ Lives in**

**the Reconstruction of New Orleans,”** by Judith Browne-Dianis, Jennifer Lai, Marielena Hincapie & Saket Soni (76 pp., July 2006), is available (no price listed) from Advancement Project, 1730 M St. NW, #910, Wash., DC 20036, 202/728-9557, [ap@advancementproject.org](mailto:ap@advancementproject.org)

## Environment

- **“Building a Regional Voice for Environmental Justice”** (44 pp., Sept. 2004), about organizing to reduce racial disparities in exposure to hazards and air pollution, from Communities for a Better Environment & The Liberty Hill Fdn., is available at [www.cbecal.org/publications/newpublication/pdf](http://www.cbecal.org/publications/newpublication/pdf) [9849]

- **“Environmental Justice Advocacy”** will be a track of workshops at the Natl. Legal Aid & Defenders Assn. annual Substantive Law Conf., July 19-22 in San Jose, CA. Inf. from Steve Fischbach, 401/274-2652, x182, [steve.fischbach@gmail.com](mailto:steve.fischbach@gmail.com) [9840]

## Families/ Women/ Children

- ***Unsung Heroines: Single Mothers and the American Dream***, by Ruth Sidel (244 pp., 2006, \$17.95), has been published by Univ. of Calif. Press, 800/777-4726, <http://www.ucpress.edu/> [9836]

- **“The Well Being of Families and Children as Measured by Consump-**

**tion Behavior”** is a report of a May 4-5, 2006 research conf. hosted by the National Poverty Ctr. Conf. materials accessible at [www.npc.umich.edu/news/events/consumption06/](http://www.npc.umich.edu/news/events/consumption06/) [9850]

- **“The Risk of Negative Child Outcomes in Low-Income Families,”** by Mark Mather & Dia Adams (19 pp., May 2006), is available from the Population Reference Bureau, 1875 Conn. Ave. NW, #520, Wash., DC 20009, 202/483-1100, [www.prb.org/Template.cfm?Section=PRB&template=/ContentManagement/ContentDisplay.cfm&ContentID=13807](http://www.prb.org/Template.cfm?Section=PRB&template=/ContentManagement/ContentDisplay.cfm&ContentID=13807) [9851]

- ***The Invisible Safety Net: Protecting the Nation’s Poor Children and Families***, by Janet Currie (2006), has been published by Princeton Univ. Press.

- **“Child Care Subsidies and Leaving Welfare: Policy Issues and Strategies,”** by Gina Adams, Robin Koralek & Karin Martinson (49 pp., 2006), is available (possibly free) from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/261-5709, [www.urban.org/url.cfm?ID=311304](http://www.urban.org/url.cfm?ID=311304).

- **“Parents’ Perspectives on Child Care Subsidies and Moving from Welfare to Work,”** by Kathleen Snyder, Sara Bernstein & Robin Korlek (54 pp., 2006), is available (possibly free) from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/261-5709, [www.urban.org/url.cfm?ID=311303](http://www.urban.org/url.cfm?ID=311303).

- **“Parent Employment and the Use of Child**

**Care Subsidies,”** by Sharmila Lawrence & J. Lee Kreader (9 pp., June 2006), is available (possibly free) from the National Center for Children in Poverty, 215 W. 125 St., 3rd flr., NYC, NY 10027, 646/284-9600, [www.nccp.org/media/CCSresbrief3.pdf](http://www.nccp.org/media/CCSresbrief3.pdf)

## Food/ Nutrition/ Hunger

- **“Food Availability & Food Deserts in the Non-metropolitan South,”** by Troy Blanchard et al. (8 pp., 2006), discusses the uneven distribution of food retailers across rural America. Available at [srdc.msstate.edu/focusareas/health/fa/fa\\_12\\_blanchard.pdf](http://srdc.msstate.edu/focusareas/health/fa/fa_12_blanchard.pdf) [9852]

## Health

- **“Medicaid and Its Importance to Rural Health,”** by A. Clinton MacKinney et al. (2 pp., 2006), discusses Medicaid as a critical source of insurance coverage for rural populations & health providers, and as important to community well-being and development. Available at [www.ask.hrsa.gov/NewPublications.cfm](http://www.ask.hrsa.gov/NewPublications.cfm) [9853]

- **“Explaining Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Health Care,”** by James Kirby et al., appeared in the May 2006 issue of *Medical Care* (vol. 44[5 suppl.]:I164-172), available at <http://www.lww-medicalcare.com> [9855]

- **“Family Perceptions of the Usual Source of**

**Care among Children with Asthma by Race/Ethnicity, Language & Family Income,”** by A.A. Greek et al., appeared in *The Journal of Asthma* 43(1):61-9 (2006), available at [www.meps.ahrq.gov/newLayout/Publications.htm](http://www.meps.ahrq.gov/newLayout/Publications.htm) [9856]

● **“The Burden of Disease Associated with Being African-American in the United States & the Contribution of Socio-Economic Status,”** by P. Franks et al., appeared in *Social Science and Medicine* 62(10):2469-78, available at [www.meps.ahrq.gov/newLayout/Publications.htm](http://www.meps.ahrq.gov/newLayout/Publications.htm) [9857]

● ***Journal of Health Disparities Research & Practice***, a quarterly online journal, is soliciting original papers for its inaugural edition. Deadline July 15, 2006: <http://JHDRP@unlv.nevada.edu/> [9863]

## Housing

● ***The New Homeless: Preventing Mass Evictions on the Gulf Coast*** is a new (2006) short video documentary on the combination of unscrupulous landlords in Southern Miss. and a shortage of affordable rental housing. Can be viewed, along with an article on the evictions crisis, at [www.nhi.org/online/issues/thenewhomeless.html](http://www.nhi.org/online/issues/thenewhomeless.html) [9829]

● ***Lyari - Highway of Tears***, a film documentary, focuses on the issue of forced evictions through the case of the Lyrai Expressway in Karachi, Pakistan. Inf. from [documentary@cohre.org](mailto:documentary@cohre.org) [9835]

● ***Where Are Poor People to Live? Transforming Public Housing Communities*** eds. Larry Bennett, Janet L. Smith & Patricia Wright (344 pp., 2006, \$34.95), has been published by M.E. Sharpe, 800/541-6563. One of the 11 chapters, by William P. Wilen & Wendy L. Stasell, is “Gautreaux and Chicago’s Public Housing Crisis: The Conflict Between Achieving Integration and Providing Decent Housing for Very Low-Income African Americans.” [9838]

● **“Formulas for Success: Housing Plus Services in Rural Areas”** (June 2006) has been published by The Housing Assistance Council. \$4 from HAC, 1025 Vermont Ave. NW, #606, Wash., DC 20005, 202/842-8600, x137, [luz@ruralhome.org](mailto:luz@ruralhome.org). Downloadable at [www.ruralhome.org](http://www.ruralhome.org)

## Immigration

● **“Immigrant Children’s Health Improvement Act (ICHIA),”** by Jennifer Ng’andu (2005), is a background sheet from the National Council of La Raza, available at [www.nclr.org/content/publications/download/30434](http://www.nclr.org/content/publications/download/30434) [9854]

● **“Immigrant Women in the United States: A Demographic Portrait,”** by Susan C. Pearce (28 pp., 2006), from the American Immigration Law Foundation’s Immigration Policy Ctr., is available at [www.aifl.org/ipc/im\\_women\\_summer06.pdf](http://www.aifl.org/ipc/im_women_summer06.pdf) [9858]

● **“Immigration Scare-Tactics: Exaggerated Estimates of New Immigration Under S.2611”** (2006) has been published by the American Immigration Law Foundation, available at [www.aifl.org/ipc/ipc\\_index.asp](http://www.aifl.org/ipc/ipc_index.asp) [9859]

● **“Civic Contributions: Taxes Paid by Immigrants in the Washington, DC Metropolitan Area,”** by Randy Capps et al. (2006), from the Community Foundation for the National Capital Region, is available at [www.urban.org/url.cfm?ID=411338](http://www.urban.org/url.cfm?ID=411338) [9860]

## Miscellaneous

● **“Target San Diego: The Right Wing Assault on Urban Democracy and Smart Government,”** by Lee Cokorinos (72 pp., Nov. 2005), is available (no price listed) from the Ctr. on Policy Initiatives, 3727 Camino del Rio S., #100, San Diego, CA 92108, 619/584-5744, [natalie@onlinecpi.org](mailto:natalie@onlinecpi.org), [www.onlinecpi.org/TargetSD.html](http://www.onlinecpi.org/TargetSD.html) [9824]

● ***The Next Form of Democracy: How Expert Rule Is Giving Way to Shared Governance — and Why Politics Will Never Be the Same***, by Matt Leighninger (288 pp., 2006, \$27.95), will come out this December from Vanderbilt Univ Press, 800/627-7377. Ch. 4 is titled “The Increasing Significance of Race in Public Life.” [9826]

● **Faith in Public Life: A Resource Center for Justice & the Common**

**Good**, a website, has recently (mid-2006) been launched, [admin@faithinpubliclife.org](mailto:admin@faithinpubliclife.org), <http://www.faithinpubliclife.org/> [9830]

● **“Federalism after Hurricane Katrina: How Can Social Programs Respond to a Major Disaster?,”** by Pamela Winston, Olivia Golden, Kenneth Finegold, Kim Rueben, Margery Austin Turner & Stephen Zuckerman (2006), is available (possibly free) from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/261-5283, [paffairs@ui.urban.org](mailto:paffairs@ui.urban.org), <http://www.urban.org/> [9834]

## Job Opportunities/Fellowships/Grants

● **The Natl. Law Ctr. on Homelessness & Poverty** is offering a **Public Interest Fellowship** — July 15 deadline (hopefully flexible if this issue of *P&R* arrives after that date). [Ltr./resume/refs./unofficial law school transcript/legal writing sample to the Ctr., 1411 K St. NW, #1400, Wash., DC 20005, attn: Fellowship Search, fax 202/628-2737, nlchp@nlchp.org](mailto:Ltr./resume/refs./unofficial%20law%20school%20transcript/legal%20writing%20sample%20to%20the%20Ctr.,%201411%20K%20St.%20NW,%20#1400,%20Wash.,%20DC%2020005,%20attn:%20Fellowship%20Search,%20fax%20202/628-2737,%20nlchp@nlchp.org) [9843]

● **The ACLU of Nebraska** is seeking an **Executive Director**. Resume (July 26 deadline) to ACLU-NE Search Comm., 941 “O” St., #706, Lincoln, NE, [affiliatesearch@aclu.org](mailto:affiliatesearch@aclu.org) [9844]



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