

Promoting Diversity and Reducing Racial Isolation in Ohio

by Stephen Menendian

Last May, the State Board of Education of Ohio adopted a new, forward-looking Diversity Policy that will improve student performance and potentially affect the lives of every child in the state. Over the last three years, staff from the Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity at Ohio State worked very closely with the Board and Ohio Department of Education (ODE) staff to develop this Policy. In this article, I will share the positive results and key elements of the new Policy, but more importantly, I will discuss the process of developing this Policy in order to offer valuable lessons for advocates and researchers in other states, particularly for those struggling to create effective and progressive policies in fiscally and politically challenging environments.

Background

In 1980, the State Board of Education of Ohio adopted a broad and

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sweeping guide for school districts designed both to promote diversity and reduce racial isolation throughout Ohio. The Policy emphatically reaffirmed the state goal of promoting diversity and alleviating racial isolation in Ohio schools. This impressive Policy touched on virtually every relevant educational issue, from curriculum and instruction to test-taking and transportation.

The core element of the Policy was a monitoring mechanism designed to ensure that no school population varied more than 15% from the demographics of the respective school district as a whole. These data were collected into reams of 1980s-style dot matrix continuous feed printer spreadsheets. ODE staff reviewed these spreadsheets for compliance with the demographic variation standard, regardless of whether the variation was a result of intentional *de jure* segregation or simply a result of *de facto* patterns of residential segregation. However, districts that were suspected of having this variation result from *de jure* segregation were immediately requested to appear before the Superintendent of Public Instruction to explain the situation.

The astute reader will recognize that this demographic percentage band is essentially the same numeric band that both the districts in Seattle, Washington and Jefferson County, Kentucky employed before the Supreme Court

found them constitutionally infirm in *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1*. For that reason, even though the policy did not clearly violate the *Parents Involved* ruling, the State Board of Education of Ohio suspended the 1980 Policy following the Supreme Court's decisions in those cases, pending the development of a new Policy.

The State Board of Education asked the then-Executive Director of the Kirwan Institute, Prof. John Powell, to present to the Board on the *Parents Involved* decision, and to highlight national best practices on student assignment policies and diversity initiatives. Under the leadership of Prof. Powell, we had already advised a number of other districts across the country, including Jefferson County, on how to revise their policies in light of the Supreme Court's decisions while maintaining hard-won gains with technical support. The Board asked ODE staff to work with the Kirwan Institute to

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create a process for developing a new statewide Diversity Policy.

Over the next three years, we worked very closely with various ODE staff to develop a set of recommendations that would inform the development of a new policy. Once the recommendations were accepted by the Board last September, we were asked to help ODE draft a Policy under the direction of the Board's various subcommittees. On May 15 of this year, the full Board unanimously adopted the new Policy.

The Diversity Strategies Policy

The new Diversity Strategies Policy is far more than top-down oversight of districts. Rather, the Policy seriously attempts to create an infrastructure for best practices to be lifted up and shared, and to empower districts with the tools and resources to promote diversity and reduce racial isolation. The Policy does this in several ways. It sets out the demographic challenges in the state and the myriad forms of diversity throughout the state. One such challenge is the growing income segregation across neighborhoods that reduces the number of mixed-income environments and promotes the clustering of poor and wealthy families, with stark educational outcomes. The

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Policy also emphasizes the importance of diversity and explains the relationships between diversity, racial isolation and student performance. In addition, the Diversity Strategies Project envisioned a more active role for ODE in not only facilitating the guidance, but in helping to disseminate and share proven practices and improve awareness of what works.

Most importantly, however, the Policy provides guidance to school districts. The guidance comes in the form of principles announced by the State Board; identification and elaboration of activities furthering those principles; encouragement to pursue specific activities consistent with those principles; specific requirements to take actions consistent with those prin-

The only solution to inter-district segregation is regional.

ciples; and specific reporting requirements to the Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The guidance itself includes twelve elements directed at school districts. The elements of guidance range from encouraging student assignment policies that promote diversity to staff recruitment to curriculum and discipline. The Policy also encourages districts to reduce concentrated poverty within school buildings by, for example, capping enrollment for students receiving free or reduced lunch per building. The guidance requires districts to report to the Superintendent of Public Instruction on various matters, such as the diversity impact of potential new school sites. The guidance is applicable both to public and non-public schools, including charter schools.

The focus on school *districts* means that larger, structural inter-district aspects of school diversity were not specifically addressed. Ohio's system of school funding has been held unconstitutional on multiple occasions by the state's Supreme Court. However, the Ohio Assembly has never seriously tackled all aspects of the state's edu-

cational deficiencies. More critically, the greatest degree of racial isolation is inter-district rather than intra-district. The 1980 Policy spoke almost exclusively to the latter. Given the fact that the new Policy is directed at school districts and other non-public schools for whom the State Board prescribes minimum standards under state law, this Policy is only marginally better at addressing this problem.

Given this overarching reality, it should not be surprising that the recurring refrain from local administrators were the demographic limitations of promoting diversity within their districts. Rural and suburban districts expressed concern that they did not have sufficient numerical diversity to meaningfully address the issue. Stakeholders with institutional memory recalled that attempts to integrate were met with white flight on the one hand, and charter schools, private schools and school vouchers on the other. Attempts to diversify school buildings often had to overcome community opposition, parental biases and perceptions, and even personal threats.

The only solution to inter-district segregation is regional. In an attempt to deal with a deeply entrenched structural limitation, the Policy encourages districts to participate in regional magnet programs and support and fund inter-district transfers. Ohio has enjoyed great success with both arts and STEM-focused magnets, especially regional magnets. These magnets, which use lottery or talent screening for admissions, award seats proportionally to participant districts.

The most important successes of the Policy, however, are less direct, but perhaps more influential than a more traditional heavy-handed top-down Policy. First, the Policy directs each district to develop a statement on diversity. While the State Board reaffirms its commitment to promoting diversity and reducing racial isolation through this Policy, having each district adopt its own such statement will provide the critical foundation for all other local policies. It will bring directly into the conversation at the level

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Reporting Race in the 21st Century

by Craig Flournoy

Overview

In the late 1980s, the mainstream news media embraced race relations. Witness the fact that in 1989 three Pulitzer Prizes were given for race-related journalism. The Investigative Reporting award went to the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* for a series revealing that local lending institutions systematically discriminated against African Americans. The Feature Writing prize was awarded to the *Philadelphia Inquirer* for stories describing the harshness of daily life for South African blacks. The Commentary award went to the *Chicago Tribune*'s Clarence Page for his columns exploring race relations. The three awards represent more than one-quarter of all Pulitzers given for written journalism that year.

At the time, this journalistic attention to race did not strike me as unusual. I was a reporter at the *Dallas Morning News* in 1989. A few years earlier, another reporter and I had published "Separate and Unequal," an eight-part series documenting how the federal government expanded a racially segregated, starkly unequal system of subsidized housing two decades after passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. We spent more than a year researching and writing the series. It was awarded a Pulitzer Prize for National Reporting in 1986. Afterwards, my editors agreed I could cover low-income housing and race full-time.

And why not? Wherever we looked, print and broadcast reporters were producing outstanding work examining African Americans. In 1987, PBS aired "Eyes on the Prize," a six-

part series superbly chronicling the Civil Rights Movement. Subsequently, it was awarded the dupont-Columbia Gold Baton, broadcast journalism's highest honor. During these years, mass communication scholars also focused much of their attention on race. Between 1986 and 1990, *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly (J&MCQ)*, the most prestigious scholarly journal in its

One area where mainstream media regularly report on black Americans is crime.

field, published 15 peer-reviewed articles focusing on African Americans.

A Divergence in Race Coverage

I assumed journalistic interest in race relations would continue. I was wrong, based on the recognized work of "print journalism"—including newspapers, online news organizations and journalism scholars in the 21st Century's first decade. Between 2002 and 2012, the number of Pulitzer Prizes awarded for race-related work was three—the same number given in 1989. Between 2002 and 2012, the number of *J&MCQ* articles focusing on African Americans fell by almost two-thirds when compared to the preceding 16 years.

The work honored as broadcast journalism's best has a different record. Between 2002 and 2011, 16 dupont-Columbia prizes were awarded for race-related stories, or 1.6 per year. That is virtually identical to the rate between 1986 and 2001, when 26 dupont-Columbia awards were given for work focusing on African Americans.

Numbers tell only part of the story. Over the past quarter-century, the award-winning, race-related stories told by print journalists have changed a great deal. During the 1980s, Pulitzer Prizes honored two series of stories demonstrating that racial discrimination remains a systemic problem in the United States and two other series detailing the battle against South Africa's apartheid system of government. Since then, two-thirds of the Pulitzers awarded for race-related work have gone to columnists, feature writers and editorial writers. Hard news enterprise work about African Americans has been hard to come by. Two exceptions are separated by 10 years and radically different approaches. In 2004, a team of *Los Angeles Times* reporters showed malpractice at a county hospital primarily treating black and Latino patients was pervasive and sometimes deadly. For a 1994 series, the *Washington Post*'s Leon Dash devoted four years and 36,644 words to describe the life of a thieving, drug-dealing, baby-producing, child-abusing black prostitute. Racial prejudice as a structural problem was replaced by racial stereotyping.

Again, broadcast journalism followed a different route. During the 1980s, dupont-Columbia awards honored an ABC *Nightline* series on apartheid in South Africa and a documentary by Chicago's NBC affiliate on the racist heritage of Cicero, Illinois. Since then, broadcast journalism's most prestigious prize has recognized:

- A 1994 PBS documentary tracing the year-long struggle of students and teachers to overcome racial and class differences at Berkeley High School in California.
- A year-long NBC project in 1997 examining race relations in an Illinois town and its residents' efforts to deal with residential and school segregation.

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- A 2001 Court TV documentary recounting Attica, the most violent prison rebellion in American history, and the media's often wildly inaccurate coverage.
- A 2002 report by San Diego's PBS station based on a two-year investigation exploring the rising popularity of "White Power"—and violence—among adolescents in a working-class suburb.
- A 14-month NBC *Dateline* investigation in 2004 of racial profiling by police in Cincinnati and other cities, and how the practice can produce tragic consequences.

Whether measured in quantitative or qualitative terms, the results remain the same. If you were searching the mainstream media for stories that explored the most vital issues affecting African Americans and Latinos with tough fair-mindedness, historical context and structural awareness, the message was clear: Turn on the television.

A Look Back – Print Journalism and Race

Even as I write these words, I can hear the ghosts of colleagues from newsrooms past gasping, "Flournoy, have you lost your mind?" Many believe that broadcast journalism is an oxymoron—local television news is crime ("if it bleeds, it leads"), sports, weather and happy talk, and what little moral outrage and gutsy reporting there was in network news died the day CBS honchos, prodded by gutless advertisers, banished Ed Murrow's *See It Now* from prime time.

Popular culture reinforces this mindset. Consider *Network* and *All the President's Men*, widely considered two of the best films about journalism. *Network* tells the story of Howard Beale, a fading news anchor at a last-place network who resuscitates his career as the "mad prophet of the airwaves" under the tutelage of a sociopathic entertainment executive. Paddy Chayefsky, who wrote the Academy

Award-winning screenplay, uses a news anchor—ostensibly the epitome of television gravitas—to savagely satiric effect. As Beale tells viewers, "Television is not the truth! Television is a God-damned amusement park!"

Network premiered in 1976. So did *All the President's Men*. Screenwriter William Goldman, who'd won an Academy Award for *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*, took home another after portraying *Washington Post* reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein as solely responsible for uncovering the Watergate scandal. (The

Racial stereotyping has replaced structural racism.

film's most memorable line—"follow the money"—came not from Deep Throat but from Goldman's imagination.) As *Post* Executive Editor Ben Bradlee tells the two reporters in the film's penultimate scene, "Nothing's riding on this except the First Amendment to the Constitution, freedom of the press, and maybe the future of the country." The camera cuts to Woodward and Bernstein working in a mostly deserted newsroom while a teletype machine moving at machine-gun speed heralds a who's who of criminal convictions and, finally, Nixon's resignation. U.S. District Judge John J. Sirica, the Senate hearings and the Watergate tapes are never mentioned.

Got it? Television news is our freak show, print journalism our savior.

Scholarly types have laid bare whole forests in their efforts to map the pernicious influence of television journalism. In *Breaking the News: How the Media Undermine American Democracy*, James Fallows says television corrupted the newsgathering process by transforming reporters into celebrities, creating a system that "erodes the quality of the news we receive and threatens journalism's claim on public respect." He finds hope in a newspaper reporter's commitment to his craft. Fallows concludes, "It was

a serious responsibility, a public trust, which deserved the very best that was in him to give."

But during the first half of the 20th Century, was there any greater journalistic responsibility than reporting the humiliation and horror inflicted on African Americans in the Jim Crow South? For those in the mainstream press, it was an opportunity as well as a responsibility. Yet they failed to seize it. Indeed, with rare exceptions, they blew it. From east to west, newspapers ignored black Americans. Studies of the *New York Times* covering 1900 to 1953 found that, except in isolated instances, the *Times* devoted no more than 1% of its average daily content to black Americans.

There was one exception—crime. In 1949, the Southern Regional Council examined more than 1,000 stories in mainstream Southern newspapers and found almost no mention of African Americans unless they'd allegedly committed a crime. The 1946-47 class of Nieman fellows at Harvard University echoed this view on a national scale. At the end of a year-long study, this remarkable group concluded, "North and South, most newspapers are consistently cruel to the colored man, patronizing him, keeping him in his place, thoughtlessly crucifying him in a thousand big and little ways." As pictured in many newspapers, the Negro is either an "entertaining fool, a dangerous animal, or ... a prodigy of astonishing attainments, considering his race."

It was no coincidence that big-city newsrooms in the 1950s were white, male and opposed to change. In 1952, the *Washington Post* hired Simeon Booker as its first black reporter. Booker had 10 years of experience at two of the country's top black newspapers and had just completed a Nieman fellowship. But at the *Post*, editors wrote racial slurs on his copy and DC cops questioned him whenever he tried to cover a story. Booker resigned in 1953 and went to *Jet* magazine, where he did a superb job covering civil rights. In *The Race Beat*, Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff argue that white and black journalists

reported civil rights as a journalistic brotherhood, citing the Emmett Till murder trial. "They conducted the same interviews, exchanged notes, [and] filled in one another's quotes," they wrote. Booker, who covered the trial, painted a very different picture of the relationship between black and white reporters. "We never knew one another," he told me in a 2006 interview. "We worked different sides of the street."

Race Reporting in the 21st Century

The first decade of the 21st Century has not been kind to newspapers. Classified advertising dropped 70%. Subscription revenue plummeted. The result: In 2008, the stock value of the nation's 15 largest newspaper companies dropped 83% (more than twice the 38.5% decline in the S&P 500). Some 7,500 print journalists lost their jobs in 2008. They had represented 15% of the nation's newsrooms.

And yet mainstream newspapers, in some cases collaborating with web-only news organizations such as ProPublica and Politico.com, continue to produce the kind of journalism that would have made Lincoln Steffens and Ida Tarbell proud. The *Washington Post's* Dana Priest and Anne Hull exposed mistreatment of wounded military veterans at Walter Reed Army Medical Center in 2007. The following year, the *Las Vegas Sun's* Alexandra Berzon revealed a high death rate among construction workers on the Las Vegas Strip. Each series prompted significant reforms, each received a Pulitzer Prize for Public Service. The economic model of newspapers may be broken, but print and digital reporters demonstrated they can still put together social-justice journalism. However, race does not appear to be on their to-do list.

Since 2002, Columbia University has awarded 121 Pulitzer Prizes for reporting, feature writing, commentary, criticism and editorial writing. Three recognized journalism focusing on African Americans. In 2005, the *Los*

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Presentations and materials from the Fifth National Conference on Assisted Housing Mobility (conference held at the Urban Institute on June 11-12, 2012).

Diverse Charter Schools: Can Racial and Socioeconomic Integration Promote Better Outcomes for Students? by Richard Kahlenberg and Halley Potter (co-published by PRRAC and The Century Foundation).

Recent civil rights advocacy on the Section 8 voucher program, the Low Income Housing Tax Credit, and the HUD Rental Assistance Demonstration.

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Angeles Times received the Pulitzer Prize for Public Service for its gripping expose of patient mistreatment at Los Angeles County's Martin Luther King Jr./Drew Medical Center. In 2007, Cynthia Tucker, an African-American columnist with the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, was honored for her work analyzing the intersection between politics and race. Tucker praised the legacy of Coretta Scott

Mass communication scholars displayed no more interest in race relations than mainstream newspapers and websites.

King and called out the Republican Party for seeking to suppress minority voting. But she unleashed her real fury on black elected officials and civil rights organizations. She criticized a black Congressional member for "recklessly playing the race card." She mocked "the usual suspects—the NAACP, the Urban League and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference"—for ignoring the plight of black men. She savaged former Atlanta mayor and UN ambassador Andrew Young for comments that gave African Americans "an excuse to embrace bigotry."

In 2009, the judges awarded a

Pulitzer Prize to another African-American columnist, the *Washington Post's* Eugene Robinson. The jumping-off point for his work was the 2008 presidential election, particularly Barack Obama's bid to become the nation's first African-American President. Robinson does a masterful job of conveying his own sense of wonder that a black man might be elected to the nation's highest office and reinforces this with historical context. And he never forgets those who know despair far more than hope. In "Two Black Americas," the columnist reminds his readers that one-quarter of African-American families continue to struggle with poverty, poor education and diminished expectations.

Mass communication scholars displayed no more interest in race relations than mainstream newspapers and websites. Since 2001, *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* has published an average of one article per year focusing on African Americans. This is a tiny slice of its peer-reviewed pie. In 2011, for example, *J&MCQ* published 36 articles. Most of the dozen race-related articles pay no attention to actual media reporting on African Americans. Only three look at coverage of events involving black Americans—women in the Black Panthers in the 1970s; the murder of James Byrd in Jasper, Texas in 1998; and the Jena Six, six black teenagers charged

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with beating a white teenager in 2006. Half of the articles employed experiments or surveys in an attempt to measure various hypothetical questions involving race and journalism. I was unaware mass communication had attained the status of science.

Broadcast journalism again was the unexpected exception. In the ten years between 2002 and 2011, Columbia University handed out 133 dupont-Columbia awards. Sixteen, or 12%, have honored race-related stories. The work is wide-ranging, compelling and timely:

- A PBS documentary in 2003 on a little-known effort at school desegregation in the tiny Arkansas town of Hoxie by its all-white school board.
- An NBC *Dateline* program in 2007 that follows a young, African-American teacher as she navigates an inner-city school in Atlanta during her baptismal year in the classroom.
- An extraordinary PBS series in 2008 detailing health disparities in the United States and their connections to income and race.

The level of quality in broadcast reporting impressed me. The precipitous decline in mainstream print/digital race-related reporting astounded me. The work of the mass communication scholars matched my low expectations. Despite their differences, all three have something in common: They missed the most important story affecting African Americans in the past quarter-century: prisons.

The facts are, to quote a former editor, like poison gas. The United States imprisons more of its citizens per capita than any country in the world. In 1954, approximately 100,000 African Americans were in state and federal prisons. Today, some 900,000 are behind bars. Black Americans, who comprise less than 13% of the population, account for 38% of inmates. Four of the five states with the highest incarceration rates—Louisiana,

Mississippi, Alabama and Texas—are Southern stalwarts of the Old Confederacy. Based on current trends, one in three black males born today will spend time in prison, compared with one in 17 white males. It is, in the words of one African-American law professor, “the New Jim Crow.”

Mainstream media organizations have not been silent about America’s prison boom. The problem is that they treat it as a daily story. This means someone with a vested self-interest in prisons—a contractor or warden or law-and-order legislator—initiates the story and defines it. When a Texas state senator complained in 2011 that a death row inmate’s last meal request was extravagant, the legislator garnered national media action and a quick end to the practice.

What the print and television and digital reporters have not done is take on the system, its history, its winners, its cost to taxpayers, its impact on inmates’ families, its political repercussions, its relationship to crime rates and what it means when one of the world’s oldest republics sees fit to lock up more of its people than any other country. Is this too much to ask? True, the white guys in the newsroom missed the old Jim Crow. Maybe the addition of women and minority reporters will change things.

Postscript: In May, the New Orleans *Times-Picayune* published a riveting eight-part series examining the prison system in Louisiana, which has the world’s highest incarceration rate. Lead reporter Cindy Chang shows that private companies and local sheriffs are the major beneficiaries today, much as they were under the convict-leasing system a century ago. In June, the Newhouse family, which owns the *Times-Picayune*, announced it would cut its print edition to three days a week and fire 84 of the 173 persons in its newsroom. Management told Chang she still had a job but not as a “special projects writer.” My guess is that Chang will find a way to do kickass journalism. □

of Policy the issue of diversity.

In focus groups with local administrators, we found a deep and broad understanding of both the benefits of diversity and the need to find ways to prepare students, even in racially isolated environments, for living and working in a diverse society. Requiring local districts to develop such a policy statement will help local leaders connect diversity to their own pedagogical goals and educational needs. At the same time, it will provide a necessary foundation for all other future programming, activities, outreach and policies. Districts will be forced to explicate not only their own diversity values, but also to bring the issue of diversity into the ongoing community conversation. The benefits of this potentially go far beyond what would be practically achieved from any particular state-imposed mandate.

Secondly, and perhaps most critically, many of the reporting requirements function in practice as soft mandates. The 1980 Policy required districts to provide data to ODE for monitoring compliance with the parameters of that Policy. The new Policy requires districts to report to the Superintendent of Public Instruction on a variety of matters. For example, the Policy requires districts to report the diversity impact of potential new school sites or school closings to the Superintendent of Public Instruction. While the Policy does not prohibit opening or closing a school site that would have an adverse effect on school diversity within a district, that is its practical effect. By forcing districts to consider the diversity impact of a new school site or school closing (a practice explicitly endorsed by Justice Kennedy in *Parents Involved*), we believe that local communities will take this information into account. In addition, the State Board and the Superintendent of Public Instruction will have critical information for crafting future state policy. If it turns out that districts are consistently opening new schools in racially isolated environments, with negative consequences for other

schools throughout the district, the State Board can craft new policies to address this issue.

There is perhaps no single issue that has a more significant and long-lasting influence on student body diversity within a district than school site selection for new schools or school closings. Since most schools draw students from nearby neighborhoods, the site of a new school will have ramifications that reverberate throughout the entire district. Neighborhood schools have the potential to draw students out of more diverse educational environments into racially isolated environments. Integrative school site selection also serves as a deterrent to white flight within a district, and will improve the diversity within a district as a whole, by making each school more diverse.

In evaluating the 1980 Policy, we were struck by many of the limitations in its implementation. We designed the new Policy to overcome many of these implementation challenges, but also to be proactive and forward-looking. The new Policy does not rely entirely on ODE or Board oversight for implementation, but offers immediate guidance and resources to districts. Moreover, the new Policy brings into focus the issues of diversity and racial isolation, and prompts a conversation within local districts where administrators are both tasked with and empowered to build solutions to local and regional problems. As Ohio, like the nation, continues to experience dramatic demographic change, educators and administrators will have the resources, knowledge and experience to proactively and collectively address our many looming challenges. I believe this Policy will serve the state for more than a generation to come.

Lessons Learned

Ohio, with this progressive and forward-looking Policy, is now a national leader in promoting diversity and reducing racial isolation. But the critical question is how other states and districts may learn from Ohio's success. While recognizing that every state

has a different political climate and structure, I believe there are three critical lessons to be learned from the hard, slow and often difficult process of developing a new Policy for the State of Ohio.

Lesson 1: Go Grassroots

The Diversity Strategies Project was initiated during the previous governor's administration. The 2010 election meant not only a shift in Board priorities, but also less familiarity with the work undertaken so far. As a consequence, the DSP was returned to Committee. The new Committee Chairman sent a letter to districts asking for feedback on the Report we had submitted so far.

The Kirwan Institute created a process for developing a new state-wide Diversity Policy.

As part of this project, we held four regional meetings throughout the State of Ohio in the Spring of 2010. We selected the regions, identified district participants, planned the itinerary, and were responsible for facilitating the meetings and participant workgroups. The meetings were designed to obtain feedback from districts throughout the entire state on their experience with diversity and the principles and strategies that would guide the new State Board Diversity Strategies Policy.

Because of accessible facilities, we were limited to around 50-60 participants per region. Recognizing that many invitees would be unavailable, at least 50 districts in each region were invited to participate. Districts were selected according to a mixture of geographic and demographic criteria. A representative mix of urban, suburban and rural districts were selected for invitation, and every one of Ohio's 88 counties had at least one district selected. Typologies based on geographic, racial and SES characteristics were developed to ensure diverse representation.

The workgroup feedback was com-

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piled into the Recommendations Report. The feedback was summarized by question and issue and became an important basis for the development of the new Policy. The feedback was particularly important for revealing the limitations of the previous Policy, understanding the current educational realities and challenges, and for reaffirming for the State Board the importance of having a diversity policy.

Over and over again, workgroup participants strongly affirmed the value and importance of diversity in relation to a wide range of pedagogical goals. When the Committee chairman solicited further feedback from districts, the workgroup and grassroots participation that we had already solicited proved invaluable, for it allowed us to speak with the confidence and voice of local leaders, communities and their administrators.

The process developed for the State of Ohio grew out of workgroups we had developed for Montclair, New Jersey and other districts where we had conducted focus groups to gauge community views on the importance and value of diversity and integration, and asked folks to define both, and weigh in on strategies designed to promote them. The workgroups in Ohio were designed not only to collect similar information, but to also impart information on the current demographic challenges and national best practices.

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The workgroup report provided the foundation for the recommendations to the State Board, out of which the new Policy was derived. Just as importantly, they provided a critical grassroots backstop against criticism of any of the recommendations. Having this foundation proved essential to weathering any potential political concerns that may have been raised during this process. The workgroup feedback provided an incontrovertible foundation for continuing this work and the necessity of doing so.

Lesson 2: Be Creative

Concerns about unfunded mandates, “one-size-fits-all” rules and budgetary constraints were central to the development of the new Policy. Even before the new administration arrived, we were concerned that many strict, top-down mandates would alienate Board members and local communities alike. Even if such a Policy was put in place, meaningful implementation would be a challenge without constant oversight by an understaffed ODE.

It became clear that framing many of the elements of guidance as either reporting requirements or in ways that give local administrators leeway to tailor the spirit of the guidance to their local needs was not only more practicable, but possibly more effective in the long run. Ohio’s educational leaders are people of good conscience striving to do the right thing for their students. Requiring districts to attend to issues of diversity and racial isolation by developing a policy statement and reporting on various matters to the Superintendent of Public Instruction would put these questions into the public conversation, increase public awareness, and generate data and other information from which key decision-makers may make more informed and better decisions without alienating local leaders and their communities.

In sum, we sought to turn many of the constraints of the current political and budgetary environment into strengths by focusing more on how the

Policy might be implemented in practice rather than designing the ideal mandate.

Lesson 3: Be Reasonable

Throughout the project, Board members expressed particular concerns about various aspects of the Recommendations Report and the Policy. The DSP went through three different Board committees and through the full board multiple times. From across the political spectrum we heard concerns over almost every aspect of the Policy, and worked closely with Board members and the Board’s committees to create the best possible Policy.

In the final stage of the development of the Policy, concerns were raised by the President of the Board about the Policy’s treatment of gifted

The Policy directs each district to develop a diversity statement.

education. Other Board members raised similar concerns. The research on tracking and instructional grouping is decidedly mixed. Some researchers and academics believe that schools should be de-tracked: that both ability and other forms of instructional grouping can harm many students, especially students of color. Black and Latino students are disproportionately referred for special or remedial classrooms and dramatically under-represented in gifted education. Questions of tracking, ability grouping and instructional grouping were intense in the development of the Recommendations Report, and many of our initial recommendations on this issue were muted or heavily revised in 2010.

Just before the full Board was to consider the final diversity policy draft, the Director for the Ohio Association for Gifted Education testified that the Diversity Policy could do significant harm to gifted education in Ohio. In particular, it was suggested that if gifted education would reduce the diversity of non-gifted classrooms, then it should be avoided. Further research showed that many students, but espe-

cially African-American youth, may choose not to participate in such programming even when they meet minimum qualifications. Qualitative studies on gifted education suggested that black students have much to gain from gifted education, including exposure to highly skilled teachers and more stimulating environments. Rather than suggest that the State should discourage gifted programming that may lead to more racially isolated classrooms, we instead emphasized research highlighting the potential benefits of gifted programming to non-white students, while focusing more on educating these students and their parents on the benefits of gifted education and while paying closer attention to referral rates.

The Director for the Ohio Association for Gifted Education even recommended a provision requiring districts to monitor the racial and ethnic representation of students in ability-grouped courses, and to also report this information to the Superintendent of Public Instruction. Attending to the concerns that were raised and being willing to switch tracks has produced a stronger policy. Ultimately, the Director for the Ohio Association for Gifted Education publicly endorsed the revised Policy, which was instrumental to receiving unanimous support by the full Board.

Conclusion

Advocates, researchers and educators nationwide are often struggling to do the right thing in increasingly challenging political and budgetary environments. Rapidly changing demographics and a bifurcating economy pose serious educational challenges moving forward, especially since most educational inequality is now inter-district and inter-state. Ohio has moved into the vanguard for promoting diversity and reducing racial isolation by using creative methods to foster empowering solutions to intransigent, long-term challenges. There are many lessons to be learned that could be applied elsewhere to achieve similar successes. □

Reader Comment/Response

John A. Powell & Stephen Menendian, in their thoughtful essay, “Beyond Public/Private: Understanding Corporate Power,” *Poverty and Race*, Nov./Dec., 2011, use the term “corporate power” as the “behemoth in the boardroom,” the force, the 1% (although they don’t use that term) that should be the target of change. They make the important point that the line (i.e., 1%/99%—they use the term “circle of human concern” and “membership in the community,” in the same way Occupy speaks of the 99%) is not between private and public, individuals vs. the government. The target should not include “entrepreneurs, small business owners, farmers, workers... [who] are all swept up into the ‘private sphere.’”

Being clear on what “private” means is very important politically and ideologically. The sanctity of the personal private is a cornerstone of democratic belief, an essential aspect of what freedom means. Applying “private” indiscriminately to Goldman Sachs, the small business owner, the corner grocer, and the individual person gives Goldman Sachs a cloak of moral standing it does not deserve. So far so good.

But what is the line that divides Goldman Sachs from the small business owner? Powell and Menendian suggest it is “corporate power,” but

they explicitly deny that their position is anti-capital: “the case against corporations is not anti-capital.” But of course it is “anti-capital”: What differentiates Goldman Sachs and the 1% from the small business owner and farmers and workers is the ownership and control of capital. “Ordinary citizens” are not “powerful corporate actors” because they don’t control capital, the wealth that would give them power. And while some, perhaps most, owners of capital use the corporate form, which is specifically designed to permit the aggregation of capital and its use to accumulate further capital, some don’t; it’s not the legal form that counts. Hedge funds control capital whether they are incorporated or not.

Being clear on the source of the undesired power of corporations is important politically. Acknowledging the reality of capital, and the capital-

ist system that enshrines its use, naming the system, clarifies who’s the 1%, who’s “Wall Street,” and avoids the public/private trap. That’s why conservatives shy away from the use of the words. The conservatives realize that. As Peter Dreier has pointed out in a recent issue of *Dissent*,

Frank Luntz [Republican strategist and Fox News commentator] ... urged Republican politicians to avoid using the word “capitalism.” “I’m trying to get that word removed and we’re replacing it with either ‘economic freedom’ or ‘free market,’” Luntz said. “The public...still prefers capitalism to socialism, but they think capitalism is immoral. And if we’re seen as defenders of quote, Wall Street, end quote, we’ve got a problem.”

We shouldn’t go along.
Peter Marcuse (pm35@columbia.edu)

Menendian/powell response to Marcuse

We’d like to thank Peter Marcuse for his interest in our article, and his thoughtful response. Peter questions whether our critique of corporate misalignment is truly not anti-capital. Moreover, he argues that the difference between large-scale, global corporate actors and small business owners and private individuals is in fact capital itself.

While we agree that the scale of capital owned and controlled by Goldman Sachs, banks and other corporations like Apple or Google vis-à-vis the small business owner or farmer is different, it is not capital itself that is the issue: It is the misalignment of corporations in our democracy. It is the exercise of political power, influence and the channels that allow corporations to manipulate and distort the democratic process.

Corporations—even monopolies—that use their capital to serve the broader society, as corporations were charged and required to do in the early years of the Republic, were not inherently problematic. While the concentration of private economic power can harm the economy, our focus is on the mechanisms that allow the translation of economic power into political power and influence. Decisions such as *Citizens United* are one such example, and which allow unlimited independent expenditures.

As John Rawls suggested, in a democracy the economy should serve the people, and not the other way around. The scale of corporate power today, and the concentration of that power, distorts not only the economy, but our democracy. It is these distortions, and the mechanisms that channel them, that are the problem, not capital itself. □

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Race/Racism

- **The Henry Louis Gates, Jr. Reader** (656 pp., May 2012, \$29.99) has been published by Basic Civitas, 212/340-8136. [13439]
- **My People Are Rising: Memoir of a Black Panther Party Captain**, by Aaron Dixon (July 2012, \$17.95), has been published by Haymarket Books, PO Box 180165, Chicago, IL 60618, 773/583-7884, www.haymarketbooks.org [13454]
- **Detroit: I Do Mind Dying - A Study in Urban Revolution**, by Dan Georgakas & Marvin Surkin (Dec. 2012, \$18), Foreword by Manning Marable, has been published by Haymarket Books, PO Box 180165, Chicago, IL 60618, 773/583-7884, www.haymarketbooks.org [13455]
- **Covert Racism: Theories, Institutions, and Experiences**, by Rodney D. Coates (2012 [?], \$36), has been published by Haymarket Books, PO Box 180165, Chicago, IL 60618, 773/583-7884, www.haymarketbooks.org [13457]
- **Look, a White! Philosophical Essays on Whiteness**, by George Yancy (May 2012, 224 pp., \$26.95), has been published by Temple Univ. Press, 800/621-2736. [13467]
- **"Occupy Racism,"** by Chester Hartman, on the absence of a focus on structural racism as a major causal factor in the welcome emphasis on inequality on the part of the Occupiers, appeared in the Spring 2012 issue of *Progressive Planning*. Copies of the 1-page op-ed are available from Hartman at chartman@prrac.org or 202/906-8025. [13468]
- **"We're Not Even Allowed to Ask for Help: Debunking the Myth of the Model Minority"** (51 pp., Dec. 2011), from the Coalition for Asian American Children and Families & Pumphouse Projects, is available (no price listed) from John Beam at Pumphouse Projects, 230 Garfield Pl., #1, Brooklyn, NY 11215, 718/768-1023, Pumphouse.Projects@verizon.net [13482]
- **Hillbilly Nationalists, Urban Race Rebels, and Black Power: Community Organizing in Radical Times**, by Amy Sonnie & James Tracy (201 pp., 2012[?], \$16.95), has been published by Melville House in Brooklyn. [13488]
- **"The City that Care Forgot [New Orleans] Begins a Racial Healing Initiative,"** by Susan M. Glisson, a 1-pager, appeared in the Summer 2011 issue of *The Well-spring*, the newsletter of the William Winter Institute for Racial Reconciliation, Univ. of Mississippi, Box 1848, University, MS 38677-1848, 662/915-6734. [13492]
- **New Jackson, MS FBI Building:** The new FBI building in Jackson, MS was named in honor of the three civil rights workers murdered in Philadelphia, MS during Freedom Summer 1964: James Chaney, Andrew Goodman & Michael Schwerner—named as well for FBI agent Roy K. Moore, who led the investigation into their murders. [13493]
- **Space, Place, and Violence: Violence and the Embodied Geographies of Race, Sex and Gender**, by James A. Tyner (240 pp., Oct. 2011, \$34.95), has been published by Routledge. [13497]
- **"Exclusion of Blacks from Census":** A May 21, 2012 *Washington Post* article, headed "More than 1 million blacks weren't included in 1940 Census," describes the omission. If you can't find it on the Internet, we can mail you a copy with a SASE. [13498]
- **My Father's Name: A Black Virginia Family After the Civil War**, by Lawrence P. Jackson (272 pp., May 2012, \$25)—a personal history by an Emory Univ. historian—has been published by Univ. of Chicago Press, 1427 E. 60th St., Chicago, IL 60637, 773/702-7700. [13506]
- **"Post-Whiteness,"** by Darnell Moore, appeared in *Huffington Post* (late May 2012). Available at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/darnell-l-moore/postracial-america_b_1531399.html [13551]
- **"The State of Race in America"** was an April 9, 2012 Aspen Institute Symposium, featuring, among others, Charles Blow, Karen Narasaki, Norman Ornstein, Kurt Schmoke, Touré & Juan Williams. Inf. from Aspen, One Dupont Circle, NW, #700, Wash., DC 20036, 202/736-5800 [13478]
- **"Summer of Change: Civil Rights Commemoration Day"** was held June 30, 2012 by the National Park Service, honoring the 52nd anniversary of the civil rights protests at the Glen Echo Amusement Park in suburban Maryland, very close to the DC border, then privately owned, which barred native-born African Americans. NPS also has an oral history project re this history—contact Zachary Gardner at 301/320-1400. There's an annual weekend-long Folklife Festival each May at Glen Echo, very much worth attending (if only for their fabulous

restored 1921 Dentzel Carousel). [12973]

- "Making Sense of Race and Ethnicity in Health: Do We Need to Do Better?" was held June 12, 2012 by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies' Health Policy Institute. A report on the briefing is available on their website, www.jointcenter.org [13553]

Poverty/ Welfare

- "The Assets Report 2012: An Assessment of the Federal 'Asset-Building Budget'," by Reid Cramer, Rachel Black & Justin King (April 2012, 28 pp.), is available (possibly free) from New America Foundation, 1899 L St. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20036, 202/ 986-2700 [13446]

- *So Rich, So Poor: Why It's So Hard to End Poverty in America*, by Peter Edelman (July 2012, 208 pp.), has been published by New Press. [13462]

- "A Consumer's Guide to Interpreting Various U.S. Poverty Measures," by David S. Johnson & Timothy Smeeding (7 pp.), is the May 2012 issue of *Fast Focus*, a single-topic Brief put out several times a year and distributed (only) electronically by the Institute for Research on Poverty of the Univ. of Wisconsin-Madison: 1180 Observatory Dr., 3412 Social Science Bldg., Madison, WI 53706, 608/262-6358, www.irp.wisc.edu [13500]

- "Temporary Assistance for Needy Fami-

lies: State Maintenance of Effort Requirements and Trends" is a May, 2012 GAO report: <http://www.gao.gov/products/GAO-12-713T> [13530]

- "Making Savings Work for the Poor" was a June 5, 2012 facilitated seminar held by the New America Foundation. Inf. from Jamie Zimmerman, zimmerman@newamerica.net [13527]

Criminal Justice

- "Inside This Place, Not of It: Narratives from Women's Prisons," by Robin Levi & Ayelet Waldman (308 pp., 2012[?]), is available via voiceofwitness.org [13510]

- "Breaking the Census: Redistricting in an Era of Mass Incarceration," by Peter Wagner (20 pp.), appeared in *William Mitchell Law Review* v.38:4. [13528]

Economic / Community Development

- "2012 Advocates' Guide to Housing and Community Development Policy" is available from the National Low Income Housing Coalition (headed by former PRRAC Bd. member Sheila Crowley), 202/662-1530, x246, sarah@nlihc.org [13443]

Education

- "The State of the NYC Charter School Sector" (2012, 39 pp.) is available (no price listed) from the NYC Charter

School Center, 111 Broadway, #604, NYC, NY 10006, 212/437-8300, www.nycCharterSchools.org [13448]

- *Howard Zinn Speaks: Collected Speeches, 1963 to 2009*, ed. Anthony Arnove (Oct. 2012, \$18.95), has been published by Haymarket Books, PO Box 180165, Chicago, IL 60618, 773/583-7884, www.haymarketbooks.org [13451]

- *Reversing the Assault on Public Education: Joining the Power of Teacher Unions to the Heart of Teaching*, by Lois Weiner (Sept. 2012, \$16), has been published by Haymarket Books, PO Box 180165, Chicago, IL 60618, 773/583-7884, www.haymarketbooks.org [13453]

- *Pencils Down: RETHINKING high-stakes testing and accountability in public schools*, eds. Wayne Au & Melissa Bollow Tempel (April 2012, 303 pp., \$24.95), has been published by Rethinking Schools, 1001 E. Keefe Ave., Milwaukee, WI 53212, 414/964-9646. [13469]

- *Rethinking Elementary Education*, eds. Linda Christensen, Mark Hansen, Bob Peterson, Elizabeth Schlessman & Dyan Watson (April 2012, 303 pp., \$24.95), has been published by Rethinking Schools, 1001 E. Keefe Ave., Milwaukee, WI 53212, 414/964-9646. [13470]

- The NYS Language Regional Bilingual Education Resource Network has just been introduced by NYU's Steinhardt Metropolitan Center for Urban Educa-

tion. Inf. from kno1@nyu.edu [13481]

- "Profiles of Risk: School Readiness" is a 4-page, May 2012 Research Brief, available (possibly free) from the Institute for Children, Poverty & Homelessness, 44 Cooper Sq., NYC, NY 10003, 212/358-8086, www.ICPHusa.org [13501]

- "Preparing High School Students for College" (May 2012) is available (possibly free) from MDRC, 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016-4326, 212/532-3200, www.mdrc.org [13503]

- "Facilitating Postsecondary Education and Training for TANF Recipients" (May 2012) is available (possibly free) from MDRC, 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016-4326, 212/532-3200, www.mdrc.org [13505]

- *The Education of a White Parent: Wrestling with Race and Opportunity in the Boston Public Schools*, by Susan Naimark (2012, 208 pp., \$18.95), has been published by Levellers Press, 413/256-6010, levellerspress1@gmail.com, www.levellerspress.com [13534]

- "Reaching Parents with NAEP Resources" is a 10-page, March 2012 report from the National Assessment Governing Board's Ad Hoc Committee on NAEP Parent Engagement. Available at <http://www.nagb.org/newsroom/PressReleasePDFs/release-20120525-reaching-parents-with-NAEP-resources-ad-hoc-committee.pdf> [13537]

- *The Evolving Significance of Race: Living, Learning and Teaching*, eds. Sherick Andre

Hughes & Theodora Regina Berry (310 pp., 2012, \$36.95), has been published by Peter Lang Publishers, 29 Broadway, NYC, NY 10006, 212/647-7700 [13542]

● **"Creating a Comprehensive System for Evaluating and Supporting Effective Teaching,"** by Linda Darling-Hammond (52 pp., May 2012), is available (no price listed) from the Stanford Center for Opportunity Policy in Education, Barnum Center, 505 Lasuen Mall, Stanford, CA 94305, 650/725-8600. [13549]

● **"Preserving the Public in Public Schools,"** by Phil Boyle & Del Burns (180 pp., Oct. 2011, \$24.95), has been published by Rowman & Littlefield. [13550]

● ***Freedom's Teacher: The Life of Septima Clark,*** by Katherine Melten Charron (462 pp., 2012, \$29.65), has been published by Univ. N. Carolina Press [13557]

● **"Building Community Support for Urban Student Success"** was the 5th Annual National Summit, Great Teachers for Our City Schools, April 11-13, 2012 in Denver. Inf. from Natl. Conf. of State Legislatures, 303/364-7700 [13486]

● **"Parent Power: A Film & Panel on Effective Organizing for School Reform,"** sponsored by the Center for Education Organizing at the Annenberg Inst. for School Reform, was held May 9, 2012 at the Capitol Visitors Center. Inf. from the Natl. Coal. for Parent Involvement in Education, admin@

ncpie.org, www.ncpie.org [13461]

● **"Charting a Path in U.S. Education Reform"** was a May 16, 2012 event, sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars' Program on America and the Global Economy. Inf. from USStudies@wilsoncenter.org [13484]

● **"Weighing the Evidence: A Conversation with Community College Presidents on Using Research to Support Student Success Outcomes,"** organized by the American Youth Policy Forum & National Center for Postsecondary Research, was held May 18 on Capitol Hill. Inf. from AYPF, 202/775-9731, www.aypf.org [13463]

● **"Diverse Charter Schools: Can Racial and Socioeconomic Integration Promote Better Outcomes for Students?"** was a May 30, 2012 Forum, co-sponsored by The Century Foundation & PRRAC. Among the panelists: Richard Kahlenberg, Sheryll Cashin of the Georgetown Law faculty and a PRRAC Bd. member, Philip Tegeler. Info. from Halley Potter, potter@tcf.org [13472]

● **"Increasing the Impact of Federal and State Investments in Early Childhood Education"** took place June 1, 2012, sponsored by the Center for American Progress. Inf. from events@americanprogress.org [13552]

● **"Dual Enrollment: Latest Research and Policy Development"** was a June 12, 2012 webinar held by American Youth Policy Forum, on pro-

grams that allow/encourage high-school students to take college-level courses. Inf. on their website, www.aypf.org [13531]

● **"Reforming Education in Post-Katrina Louisiana,"** co-sponsored by the National Assn. of Black Journalists & the New Orleans Assn. of Black Journalists, was held June 19, 2012 in New Orleans. Inf. from Dr. Andre Perry, 504/865-2427, aperry@loyno.edu [13559]

● **"Improving Education Through Accountability and Evaluation: Lessons from Around the World,"** sponsored by the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management & the Univ. of Maryland School of Public Policy, will take place **Oct. 3-5, 2012** in Rome, Italy. Diane Ravitch and Helen Ladd are among the confirmed speakers. The deadline for submission of abstracts is July 9. Inf. from improving_education@invalsi.it [13533]

Employment/ Labor/Jobs Policy

● **"Need Not Apply: The Racial Disparate Impact of Pre-Employment Criminal Background Checks,"** by Roberto Concepcion, Jr., is a 24-page article in the Spring 2012 *Georgetown Journal on Poverty Law and Policy*. [13432]

● ***Why Labor Organizing Should Be a Civil Right: Rebuilding a Middle-Class Democracy by Enhancing Worker Voice,*** by Richard D. Kahlenberg & Moshe Z. Marvit (150 pp., 2012),

has been published by The Century Foundation Press, 41 E. 70 St., NYC, NY 10021, 202/745-5476. www.tcf.org [13434]

● **"The Public Sector Jobs Crisis: Women and African Americans Hit Hardest by Job Losses in State and Local Governments,"** by Algernon Austin, David Cooper & Mary Gable (May 2012), is available (no price listed) from the Economic Policy Inst., 1333 H St. NW, #300, Wash., DC 20005, 202/775-8810, aaustin@epi.org [13450]

● **"Increasing Employment Stability and Earnings for Low-Wage Workers"** (May 2012) is available (possibly free) from MDRC, 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016-4326, 212/532-3200, www.mdrc.org [13502]

● **"Improving Employment and Earnings for TANF Recipients"** is available (possibly free) from MDRC, 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016-4326, 212/532-3200, www.mdrc.org [13504]

● **The Kalmanovitz Initiative for Labor and the Working Poor** at Georgetown Univ. has labor-related courses, a practitioner fellowship program, and a Working Lives Oral History Project. Contact them at 209 Maguire Hall, Georgetown Univ., 37th & O Sts. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/687-2293. [13555]

● **"The Future of Labor Organizing"** was a June 4 Century Foundation Forum, featuring, among others, Richard Kahlenberg, Amy Dean, Tom Geoghegan & Bob Herbert. Inf. from events@tcf.org [13466]

- **"Workplace Restructuring and the 'New Normal': The Informal Economy, Non-Standard Work and Low-Income Women,"** by Marcia Bok (33 pp., 2012[?]), is available (free) from the author, 193 Girard Ave., Hartford, CT 06105, MARCIABOK@aol.com

Environment

- **AAPI Nexus**, published by UCLA's Asian American Studies Center (until recently headed by PRRAC Bd. member Don Nakanishi) is devoting a forthcoming special issue to "AAPIs and the Environment." Letter of Intent to submit a manuscript due by July 9, 2012. Inf. from Melanie De La Cruz-Viesca at the Center, 3230 Campbell Hall, LA, CA 90095, 310/206-7738, melanyd@ucla.edu [13556]

Families/ Women/ Children

- **"The Moynihan Report and Its Aftermaths: A Critical Analysis,"** by Herbert J. Gans, appeared in *DuBois Review* (2011), pp. 315-27. Reprint may be available from Prof. Gans, Dept. Sociology, Columbia Univ., Knox Hall, 606 W. 122 St., MC9649, NYC, NY 10027, hjg1@columbia.edu [13464]
- **"Profiles of Risk: Child Care"** is a 4-page May 2012 Research Brief, available (possibly free) from the Inst. for Children, Poverty & Homelessness, 44 Cooper Sq., NYC, NY 10003, 212/358-8086, www.ICPH.usa.org [13499]

- **"Ideas for Refining Children's Savings Account Proposals"** (10 pp., Jan. 2012), by William Elliott, is available (possibly free) from the New America Foundation, 1899 L St. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20036, 202/986-2700. [13546]

- **"The Case for Extending Financial Inclusion to Children: The Role of Parents' Financial Resources and Implications for Policy Innovations,"** by Terri Friedline (21 pp., May 2012), is available (possibly free) from the New America Foundation, 1899 L St. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20036, 202/986-2700. [13547]

- **American Youth Policy Forum** has a brand new website. Contact them at 1836 Jefferson Pl. NW, Wash., DC 20036, 202/775-9731, ayfp@aypf.org [13445]

Food/ Nutrition/ Hunger

- **"Hunger in America: Suffering We All Pay For,"** by Donald S. Shepard, Elizabeth Setren & Donna Cooper (Oct. 2011), is available (possibly free) from the Center for American Progress, 1333 H St. NW, 10th fl., Wash., DC 20005, 202/682-1611, www.americanprogress.org [13494]
- **"Does the Local Food Movement Help or Hurt Low-Income Americans?"** was a June 20, 2012 Webinar sponsored by the Sargent Shriver National Center on Poverty Law. Inf. from Michelle Nicolet there,

312/368-2675, www.povertylaw.org [13496]

Health

- **"Advocating for Children's Health Care Coverage in Tumultuous Times,"** an April 2012 brief, is available (no price listed) from Mathematica Policy Research, PO Box 2393, Princeton, NJ 08543-2393, 609/799-3535, info@mathematica-mpr.com [13447]
- **"The Affordable Care Act's Coverage Expansions Will Reduce Differences in Uninsurance by Race and Ethnicity,"** by Lisa Clemans-Cope, Genevieve M. Kenney, Matthew Buettgens, Caitlin Carroll & Fredric Blavin (10 pp.), appeared in the May 2012 (31:5) issue of *Health Affairs*, www.healthaffairs.org [13480]

Homelessness

- **"New Jersey Faces New Poverty: Rising Family Homelessness in Bergen County,"** a 4-page, Nov. 2011 policy brief, is available (possibly free) from the Institute for Children, Poverty & Homelessness, 44 Cooper Sq., NYC, NY 10003, 202/358-8086, www.ICPHusa.org [13483]
- **"Homeless Incidence and Risk Factors for Becoming Homeless in Veterans"** is a 61-page, July[?] 2012 Veterans Adm. report, available at <http://va.gov/oig/publications/reports-list.asp> [13509]
- **"Homelessness: Fragmentation and Overlap in Programs**

Highlight Need to Identify, Access, and Reduce Inefficiencies" is a May, 2012 GAO report: <http://www.gov/products/GAO-12-491>. [13529]

- **"Foreclosed Future, Part 1: The Impact of Homelessness on a Student's Education"** was a March 24, 2012 webinar held by the Alliance for Excellent Education & the National Assn. for the Education of Homeless Children and Youth. Inf. from the Alliance, 1201 Conn., Ave., NW, Wash., DC 20036, 202/828-0828, all4ed@all4ed.org, www.all4ed.org [13459]
- **"Welcome Home: The Rise of Tent Cities in the United States"** was a May 22, 2012 webinar held by the National Law Center on Homelessness & Poverty. Inf. from them, 1411 K St., NW, #1400, Wash., DC 20005, 202/635-2535, www.nlchp.org [13471]

- **"Homeless Veterans and Rental Housing: Supportive Housing Programs to End Homelessness"** was a June 13, 2012 Webinar hosted by the National Housing Conference. Inf. from Emily Salomon, 202/466-2121, x239, esalomon@nhc.org [13511]

Housing

- **"Where Has All the Towers Gone? The Dismantling of Public Housing in U.S. Cities,"** by Edward Goetz, appears in Vol. 33, No. 3 of the *Journal of Urban Affairs*. The 21-page article study won the "Best Article" award at the Urban Affairs Association's recent annual meeting. Likely the author can get you a copy: egoetz@

umn.edu [13440]

• **"Housing & Land: A Need for Transformative Demands"** is a 5-page, May 2012 Right to the City's Transformative Demands Working Paper No. 1, available (possibly free) from Tony Romano, 404/593-5227, tony@righttothecity.org [13444]

• ***Rats, Riots, and Revolution: Black Housing in the 1960s***, by Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor (Jan. 2013, \$16), will be published by Haymarket Books, PO Box 180165, Chicago, IL 60618, 773/583-7884, www.haymarketbooks.org [13452]

• ***Fair and Affordable Housing in the US: Trends, Outcomes, Future Directions***, eds. Robert Mark Silverman & Kelly L. Patterson (2012[?], \$28), has been published by Haymarket Books, PO Box 180165, Chicago, IL 60618, 773/583-7884, www.haymarketbooks.org [13456]

• **"Opening the Door to the Human Right to Housing,"** by Eric Tars & Dodona Bhatpara (11 pp.), appeared in the Sept./Oct. 2011 issue of *Clearinghouse Review-Journal of Poverty Law and Policy*, 50 E. Washington St., #500, Chicago, IL 60602. Reprints may be available from authors, 202/638-2535, etars@nlchp.org, 207/266-7774, deodonne@gmail.com [13485]

• **"Louisville's Foreclosure Recovery: Understanding and Responding to the Impact of Foreclosure Sales"** (10 pp., 2012[?]) is available (possibly free) from the Metropolitan Housing Coalition, PO Box 4533, Louisville, KY 40204,

502/584-6858. [13487]

• **"Overcoming Structural Barriers to Integrated Housing: A Back-to-the-Future Reflection on the Fair Housing Act's 'Affirmatively Further' Mandate,"** by Robert G. Schwemm (53 pp.), appeared in *100KyL.J.* 8125 (2011-2012). [13526]

• **"Expanding Our Understanding of the Housing Challenges Facing Low-Income Renters - Moving Forward"** (May 2012), is available (likely free) from the Center for Housing Policy, 1900 M St. NW, #200, Wash., DC 20036, 202/466-2121, info@nhc.org [13554]

• **HUD Secretary Shaun Donovan's address to PRRAC's June 12, 2012 National Conference on Assisted Housing Mobility** can be found at <http://www.ustream.tv/channel/urban-institute-events> [13560]

• **"Adequate Housing—Rights, Practices, and Possibilities"** was a talk given at HUD, June 4, 2012, by Christopher Williams, Director of the Washington Liaison Office of the United Nations Human Settlements Programme, UN-Habitat. Inf. From TuesdaySpeakerSeries@hud.gov [13525]

• **"Resident Training Academy"** on the basics of HUD's rental housing programs, presented by the National Housing Law Project, is offered in 5 Sessions, 4 of which will have taken place by the time this issue of *P&R* arrives. (The 5th, "Enforcement Tools for Residents," will take place July 10 and 12.)

Inf. from Resident Academy@nhlp.org [13460]

• **"The AIDS 2012 International Leadership Summit on Housing,"** co-sponsored by the U.S. National AIDS Housing Coalition & the Ontario HIV Treatment Network, will be held **July 21, 2012** in Washington, DC. Inf. from the U.S. organization, 727 15th St. NW, #210, Wash., DC 20005, www.hivhousingsummit.org [13491]

• **The National Community Land Trust Conference 2012** will be held in Burlington, VT **Sept. 10-13, 2012**. Inf. from www.cltnetwork.org

Immigration

• **"Access Denied: The Unfulfilled Promise of the D.C. Language Access Act"** (May [?] 2012, 46 pp.) has been published by the Washington College of Law Immigrant Justice Clinic and the DC Language Access Coalition. Available (no price listed) from the Law College, 4801 Mass. Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20016, www.dclanguageaccess.org [13458]

• ***A Midwestern Mosaic: Immigration and Political Socialization in Rural America***, by J. Celeste Lay (2012), has been published by Temple Univ. Press, 800/621-2736. [13495]

• **"Reimagining the Immigration Court Assembly Line: Transformative Change for the Immigration Justice System"** is a 108-page, 2012 Appleseed report: 727 15th St. NW, Wash., DC 20005, lflamm@appleseednetwork.org [13532]

Miscellaneous

• ***Warfare Welfare: The Not-So-Hidden Costs of America's Permanent War Economy***, eds. Marcus Raskin & Gregory D. Squires (277 pp., 2012, \$32.95), has been published by Potomac Books. In 2 Sections: *The Wars Abroad & The Wars at Home*. Among the authors of the 12 chapters: Harold Laski, John Dewey, Seymour Melman, W.E.B. DuBois. www.potomacbooksinc.com [13433]

• **The Ohio Story Project**, called Ohio SPEAKS, has been started by a broad coalition of Ohio advocates to collect/highlight stories that demonstrate the positive impact of public support programs on the state's most vulnerable residents and their communities—they hope to educate lawmakers, the media and the public about health and human services program that strengthen families and communities. Inf. from wpetrik@advocatesforohio.org [13442]

• **Bolder Advocacy** is a new online resource center established by The Alliance for Justice—"a comprehensive approach to training and equipping nonprofits and foundations to be effective in their work by better understanding the laws and regulations governing organizations engaged in advocacy." Inf. from alliance@afj.org, BolderAdvocacy.org [13473]

• ***Agewise: Fighting the New Ageism in America***, by Margaret Morganroth Gullette (294 pp., 2011), has been published by

Univ. of Chicago Press.
[13507]

• **The Price of Inequality: How Today's Divided Society Endangers Our Future**, by Joseph E. Stiglitz (414 pp., 2012), has been published by Norton. [13523]

• "The American Middle Class, Income Inequality, and the Strength of Our Economy: New Evidence in Economics," by Heather Boushey & Adam S. Hersch (52 pp., May 2012), is available (possibly free) from the Center for American Progress, 1333 H St. NW, 10th fl., Wash., DC 20005, 202/682-1611, www.americanprogress.org [13524]

• **Occupy the Economy: Challenging Capitalism**, by Richard Wolff (190 pp., 2012, \$14.95), has been published by City Lights, 261 Columbus Ave., SF, CA 94133, 415/362-8193. [13541]

• **Rebuilding Sustainable Communities with**

Vulnerable Populations after the Cameras Have Gone: A Worldwide Study, ed. Adenrele Awotona, has been published by Cambridge Scholars Publishing. [13558]

• "To a Realistic and Effective Progressivism: After Economism and Governmentalism" is an article, in draft form, by PRRAC Bd. member S.M. Miller; available from him at fivegood@aol.com [13561]

• "The Politics of Inequality" was a New America Foundation event held May 30, 2012. Featured speakers included Timothy Noah and David Corn. Inf. from Stephanie Gunter, 202/596-3367, gunter@newamerica.net [13538]

• **The Opportunity Finance Network** is holding its annual conference **Oct. 15-18, 2012** in San Antonio. Inf. from donnafabiani@opportunityfinance.net [13548]

Job Opportunities/ Fellowships/ Grants

• **The Center for Law and Social Policy** (headed by PRRAC founding Bd. member Alan Houseman) is seeking a **Communications Director**. Resume/writing sample/refs./ltr. to communicationsdir@clasp.org, www.clasp.prg [13431]

• **The National Women's Law Center** (co-directed by former PRRAC Bd. member Nancy Duff Campbell) is seeing a recent law graduate as an **Education and Employment Paid Fellow**. Sept. 2012 starting date. Ltr./transcript/writing sample/3 supervisory refs. to humanresources@nwlc.org or fax hard copy to 202/588-5185. The Center is located in Wash., DC. [13437]

• **The NAACP Legal Defense & Educational**

Fund is seeking a **Community Organizer** in its Criminal Justice Project. Resume/ltr. to jobs@naacpldf.org, [13465]

• **The Baltimore Development Corp.**, a 501(c)(3) solely contracted with Baltimore City to provide economic development services, is seeking a **President/CEO**. Resume to Betsy McCafferty, Gans, Gans & Associates, 7445 Quail Meadow Rd., Plant City, FL 33565, 813/986-4441, x7123, [13535]

• **Assistant Attorney General, NY State AG, Div. of Social Justice-Civil Rights Bureau:** Ltr./resume/writing sample/3 refs./law school transcript if less than 5 yrs. post-graduate to: Sandra Jefferson Grannum, Office of NYS Atty. Gen., 120 Broadway, NYC, NY 10271, recruitment@ag.ny.gov. Include position and Ref. No. CRI AAG NYC_2012 [13539]

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