

White Privilege

Michael R. Wenger

On average, African Americans begin life's journey several miles behind their white counterparts as a result of the legacy of our history of racial oppression. This disadvantage is compounded by institutional hurdles they encounter at every stage of the journey: the socioeconomic conditions into which they're born, the system of public education through which they pass, the type of employment they are able to secure, the legacy they are able to leave behind. These hurdles, arduous, relentless, and often withering to the soul, do not confront many white people as they pursue their hopes and

dreams. It is at the core of the privilege of being white in our society and it is a reality I have witnessed from a unique perspective—as a white man in an interracial marriage raising three African-American children and now being married to a white woman as we help to guide our four African-American grandchildren and one great grandchild on their life journey.

Whether attending school, leaving home for college, seeking a job, purchasing a house, buying a new car, traveling on vacation, or simply walking down the street, my skin color is never a factor. In most circumstances, it is a huge plus. In school, I experienced only the normal growing-up anxiety about fitting in. My father's connections, which would have been nonexistent had his skin color not been white, were an advantage to me for obtaining summer jobs during high school. When I bought my first car, I had the security of having my father with me, confident that, because of his skin color, he would not be taken advantage of. In seeking my first job out of college, the factor of skin color never entered my mind. After moving to West Virginia, I felt only the anxiety of culture shock in moving from an urban environment to a rural one.

Nevertheless, the concept of white privilege is an understandably difficult concept for white Americans to grasp. Most do not feel privileged in their daily lives. Their income may barely be enough to make ends meet. Eco-

nomically, they may be only one or two paychecks away from disaster. They fear that if one of the working parents in a two-earner household were to become seriously ill, the deductible for the care they might need, even if they have health insurance, and the loss of time on the job could rip their budget to shreds. Life is a continuing struggle, and the light at the end of the tunnel is dim. To talk about white privilege under these conditions yields an ironic laugh at best and an angry diatribe at worst.

And yet, even with these burdens, I can drive any car that I can afford and not worry about being stopped by the police. I can stop to ask directions of a police officer without concern about the officer's possible reaction. I can read about racial incidents in the newspaper almost every day and not wonder whether it will happen to me. I can make a fool of myself or simply be silent at a meeting without worry-

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See in the Resources Sec., the closely related short item by Sam Fulwood III, "Race and Beyond: Witness to Whiteness."

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ing that others will think my performance is reflective of all white people. Within the limits of my budget, I can travel and eat wherever I want without attracting attention. Sociologist Joe Feagin speaks of the innate confidence of being white in a white world. My wife Jackie and I see it every day in the predominantly black community in which we live. We're a distinct minority in our neighborhood, as well as a minority in our county. I'm in the minority in the office where I work. Yet we know innately and instinctively that the world is ours. We see it in newspapers every day. We see it on television. We know it in the way we're greeted when we step out of our community. We know it in terms of our access to economic resources and to political power. And we know it from our government, both historically and contemporarily.

When I begin the discussion of white privilege in my classes, students often ask why I talk about privilege. Isn't it simply another way to describe racial discrimination? In answering the question, I refer to a speech given by then Rep. Henry Hyde (R-IL) from the floor of the House of Representatives. He asserted that the idea of collective guilt for slavery "is an idea whose time has gone. I never owned a slave. I never oppressed anybody. I don't know that I should have to pay for someone who did generations be-

fore I was born." In a narrow sense, Rep. Hyde was correct. But what he failed to acknowledge, or probably even to understand, are the benefits that were afforded him simply because he was white. His argument turns on whether or not he engaged in racist behavior. In that context, it's too easy to become defensive and let yourself off the hook by proclaiming that you don't discriminate, or that you don't have a racist bone in your body. But when you come at the issue from the perspective of white privilege, you change the context of the argument

My skin color is a huge plus.

from whether someone engages in racist behavior to whether people have benefited from the racist behavior of others in the past. Such an argument eliminates the need for people to be defensive about their own behavior. It gives them the freedom to acknowledge that whether or not racist behavior still exists, the legacy of past racist behavior continues to privilege white people today, and it helps to make them feel more accountable for correcting the inequities that persist.

Thus, while one may not be consciously guilty of racist behavior, understanding the privilege conferred simply because of skin color raises the question, "What will I do to lessen or end racist behavior?"

The Self-Perpetuating Cycle of Negative Racial Stereotyping

A key aspect of white privilege is not being plagued by negative racial stereotyping. When I was in school, the books we used to learn to read contained nary a black face. Reading these books, one would have thought that the entire population of the United States looked just like me. Compounding the problem was the virtual exclusion of African Americans, except as slaves, from our history of nation-building. The American history I was

taught barely touched on the harsh treatment of enslaved people (finally brought alive by Alex Haley in *Roots*) and their countless efforts to escape. It included no contributions by black people to the building of our country other than a line or two about George Washington Carver inventing three hundred uses for the peanut. As a child, I took great pride in reading about white inventors like Thomas Edison and Alexander Graham Bell, and white pioneers like Daniel Boone and Lewis and Clark. My dark-skinned brothers and sisters had no such sources of pride. I was never taught that black people invented the refrigerator and the traffic light, discovered blood plasma, designed Washington, DC, and built the Capitol. Neither was I taught that the concept of mandatory public education emerged from the policies of black-led governments in the South during Reconstruction. Names like Frederick Douglass, W. E. B. DuBois and Ralph Bunche were mentioned only in passing, if at all. But emphasis was placed on the philosophy of Booker T. Washington, who was willing to accept the concept of white social superiority as the price of black job-training.

Our schools, the media and often public officials too often bombard us with negative images of people who are not white, and simply ignore positive images of nonwhite people, making stereotyping virtually impossible to avoid. Unless we can understand and confront this concept, it is unlikely that we will ever be able to overcome the persistent racist behavior that plagues our nation. And make no mistake: Virtually all white people are guilty of such stereotyping, to various degrees. It often occurs subconsciously, despite our best intentions.

We see it clearly whenever a major incident occurs. For example, when a tragic event like the killing of students at Columbine High School or the bombing of the Oklahoma City Federal Building occurs and the perpetrators are white, we spend an interminable amount of time agonizing over why they did it. Did their parents abuse

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Intergenerational Impacts of Concentrated Poverty – What Can be Done?

Patrick Sharkey's powerful new book, *Stuck in Place: Urban Neighborhoods and the End of Progress toward Racial Equality* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 2013), brings a multi-generational dimension to the study of how children are affected by living in our poorest neighborhoods, and poses provocative questions about the kinds of policies that might actually address these intergenerational impacts. Research by Sharkey, an Associate Professor of Sociology at NYU, shows that neighborhood poverty during childhood accounts for more than a quarter of the racial gap in economic mobility, and further that neighborhood disadvantages experienced by children do not fade away as they move into adulthood, but continue to have an impact on their own children's development a generation later. These findings take on an additional urgency in a country where 70 percent of families living in concentrated poverty neighborhoods in 1972 are still living in similar neighborhoods 40 years later. To address the multiple intergenerational impacts that he documents, Sharkey calls for a new kind of "durable" urban policy that has potential to reach multiple generations, to generate a lasting impact on families, and to be sustained over time. We have invited several of our Board and Social Science Advisory Board members to reflect on Sharkey's analysis; this first response is from Marge Turner of the Urban Institute. — the editors

Place Matters Even More than We Thought: New Insights on the Persistence of Racial Inequality

by Margery Austin Turner

Patrick Sharkey's new book, *Stuck in Place: Urban Neighborhoods and the End of Progress toward Racial Equality*, makes a huge contribution to both scholarship and policy debate about racial inequality and the role of neighborhood segregation. Like Denton and Massey's *American Apartheid* and Wilson's *The Truly Disadvantaged*, *Stuck in Place* marshals data and rigorous statistical analysis to reframe our understanding about these

stubbornly complex problems. Sharkey sheds new light on the persistence of racial inequality, forcing us to confront our tragic lack of progress in closing the income gap between blacks and whites. He makes creative use of survey data that track parents and children over several decades, revealing new insights on intergenerational effects of living in severely distressed neighborhoods. And he applies these new insights to what's become a rather stale debate about "people versus place," articulating instead the need for "durable urban policies."

others have achieved middle- and upper-income success. The share of blacks in the poorest fifth of the income distribution is only slightly lower today than it was in 1971, and the share in the richest fifth is only slightly higher. In fact, the cohort of blacks born after the end of legally sanctioned discrimination and segregation is actually doing worse economically than their parents' generation. While many whites who grew up in middle-income families have higher incomes than their parents did, the opposite is true for a majority of blacks.

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Persistence of Racial Inequality

We are all familiar with the discouraging evidence of persistent gaps in economic outcomes for whites and blacks. Sharkey shows that—although the U.S. made significant progress in narrowing those gaps during the 1960s and 70s—the gains since then have been minimal. And it's not just that a disproportionate share of blacks have been trapped in poverty while many

Intergenerational Neighborhood Effects

Sharkey's biggest contribution comes from his analysis of neighborhood effects. Many scholars have addressed the question of how neighborhood conditions (like poverty, crime and unemployment) affect outcomes for individual adults and children. One of the most common criticisms of research on this topic is that it overstates the causal connection, because people

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with problems (like low incomes, weak job skills or criminal involvement) “choose”—or are constrained to—problem neighborhoods. If this is the case, the argument goes, conditions in the neighborhood may be caused by the characteristics of people living there, rather than vice versa. So researchers investigating neighborhood effects go to enormous lengths to control for individual and family characteristics to estimate the independent effects of neighborhood conditions.

Sharkey’s analysis suggests that this kind of narrow, “all else being equal” analysis may obscure the most important effects of neighborhoods. He makes a compelling case that neighborhood conditions during childhood play a big role in explaining gaps between whites and blacks in income and wealth during adulthood, other things being equal. And neighborhoods may have even more long-lasting effects. Sharkey presents new evidence that living in a poor, segregated neighborhood undermines some outcomes not just for one generation, but across generations. For example, he shows that children whose families lived in poor neighborhoods for two generations score dramatically worse on reading and problem-solving tests than those whose parents grew up in non-poor neighborhoods, other things being equal. In fact, the parents’ neighborhood exposure may be *more* important than the child’s neighborhood exposure.

This new evidence suggests that conventional research methods actually understate the damage caused by neighborhood poverty and distress. And they also suggest that we may be too quick to declare policies that improve neighborhood conditions ineffective. If the neighborhood experiences of parents play a big role in shaping the child’s academic achievement, then improvements in the child’s neighborhood environment might not pay off right away in his or her test scores. It may not be until the next generation that we begin to see substantial gains. If we give up too soon, abandoning our efforts to improve the neighborhoods in which

black children grow up, today’s daunting achievement gaps will persist for yet another generation.

Durable Urban Policies

By focusing on the persistence of inequality across generations and the long-lasting effects of neighborhood distress, Sharkey makes a compelling case that point-in-time interventions will inevitably fall short. What’s required is sustained interventions operating at multiple levels that recognize the reciprocal effects between people and the places where they live. He calls this “durable urban policy.”

One of the features I like most about Sharkey’s analysis is that it underscores the need for effective policy at multiple geographic scales—federal, state, local and neighborhood. Narrowing the racial equity gap requires a healthy national economy, shaped by federal policies that expand decent-paying jobs with adequate benefits, offer reasonable work supports for low-wage earners, and provide a compassionate safety-net for the most vulnerable. But even the best federal policy solutions would fall short without contributions at the state level, like Medicaid ex-

pansion and alternatives to mass incarceration. The economic vitality of individual metros plays an essential role as well, reinforced by city and regional policies that promote growth, expand opportunities, and ensure equal access. And finally, even in vibrant metros, racial disparities will persist without targeted investments in the most distressed neighborhoods and intensive supports for struggling families. (Two new books from Brookings on the metro- and neighborhood-level policy challenges are well worth reading: *Confronting Suburban Poverty in America*, by Berube and Kneebone and *The Metropolitan Revolution* by Katz and Bradley).

Too often, the policymakers, advocates, and practitioners who devote their energies to one or two of these policy domains forget their interdependence. And as a consequence, policy debates too often pit one essential element against another. In my view, Sharkey’s framing of “durable urban policy” should remind us how the success of policies and investments at every level depend upon what happens at other levels. And it puts another nail in the coffin of the tired debate about “people-based vs. place-based” policies. Sharkey makes it so

Resources

Berube, Alan and Elizabeth Kneebone. 2013. *Confronting Suburban Poverty in America*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Katz, Bruce and Jennifer Bradley. 2013. *The Metropolitan Revolution: How Cities and Metros Are Fixing Our Broken Politics and Fragile Economy*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Kubisch, Anne C., Patricia Auspos, Prudence Brown and Tom Dewar. 2010. *Voices from the Field III: Lessons and Challenges from Two Decades of Community Change Efforts*. Washington, DC: The Aspen Institute.

Massey, Douglas S. and Nancy Denton. 1993. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Turner, Margery Austin, Austin Nichols and Jennifer Comey. 2012. *Benefits of Living in High-Opportunity Neighborhoods: Insights from the Moving to Opportunity Demonstration*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute. <http://www.urban.org/publications/412648.html>

Wilson, William Julius. 1987. *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

abundantly clear that if we care about racial equity, we need a web of “place-conscious” policies that expand opportunities, ensure equal access, and provide supports for people and families.

Assisted Housing Mobility and Neighborhood Redevelopment

Sharkey gives special attention to the long-standing tension between assisted mobility interventions and neighborhood reinvestment strategies as tools for tackling the damaging concentration of poverty and social distress. I agree with his conclusion that we need both, that they can be mutually supportive, and that they must be pursued at a robust, “durable” level. Both of these approaches have proven ineffective when the help they deliver isn’t sustained for enough time or the investments they make are too shallow.

We’ve learned a lot in recent years about what works (and what doesn’t) to help poor minority families escape from severely distressed environments and move to opportunity-rich neighborhoods. Building on encouraging findings from the Gautreaux demonstration, HUD launched the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) demonstration to find out whether poor families would be better off if they could move away from distressed, high-poverty housing projects to live in low-poverty neighborhoods. Last year, HUD released findings from its evaluation of MTO, answering the question: Are families that received the demonstration’s experimental treatment (housing counseling and vouchers for rentals in low-poverty neighborhoods) better off than their counterparts in a control group? It turns out that, as a group, the MTO experimental families did enjoy significantly better health and mental health than the control group but not higher employment, incomes, or educational attainment.

Some scholars and policymakers have taken these findings to mean that where we live—and where our kids

grow up—doesn’t really matter. In fact, the evidence from MTO is much more consistent with Sharkey’s diagnosis of neighborhoods’ long-term effects. First, the health gains enjoyed by MTO’s experimental families are hugely important. High rates of obesity, anxiety, and depression severely degrade a person’s quality of life, employability, and parenting abilities. Nobody should understate the value of a policy intervention that helps tackle these chronic health risks.

Second, one likely reason that MTO gains were limited to health outcomes is that the special mobility assistance provided by the demonstration didn’t enable the experimental families to sustain access to high-opportunity neighborhoods. Experimental families moved to better-quality housing and safer neighborhoods but few spent more than a year or two in low-poverty neighborhoods. My recent analysis of MTO data (*Benefits of Living in High-Opportunity Neighborhoods*) finds that families who lived for longer periods in neighborhoods with lower poverty did achieve better outcomes in work and school, as well as in health. Specifically, adults who spent more time living in lower-poverty neighborhoods were more likely to have jobs and earn more, other things being equal. And youth (both boys and girls) who spent more time in lower-poverty neighborhoods achieved higher English and math test scores.

This evidence suggests that assisted housing mobility strategies can play an essential role in a “durable urban policy” if they help families move to and stay in opportunity-rich neighborhoods. The latest generation of mobility programs reflect these lessons and include new elements like second-move counseling and hands-on help for families who need services and supports in their new neighborhoods. One of the things I admire most about advocates and practitioners working on these strategies is their openness to learning from research about what tools work—or don’t work—and their willingness to refine and strengthen their strategies to reflect emerging evidence.

Over the years, we’ve also gained

Seeking former patients for civil rights history documentary

Professor David Barton Smith of the Drexel School of Public Health is assisting in developing a documentary about the dramatic history of the federal desegregation of hospitals in the 1960s using Title VI in tandem with the new Medicare program. The team working on the documentary needs help locating patients (or their children) who were denied care, and providers unable to admit patients because of racially exclusionary policies prior to 1966. Please contact David Barton Smith: dbs36@drexel.edu.

a lot of knowledge and experience about the effectiveness of efforts to revitalize the severely distressed neighborhoods that residential segregation, discrimination, and redlining created. These efforts implicitly aim for neighborhoods to function as “incubators” for their low-income residents—so that gradual improvements in employment, income, and education will transform the neighborhood as a whole. A recent volume from the Aspen Institute’s Roundtable on Community Change (*Voices from the Field III*) acknowledges that although investments in neighborhoods targeted for this kind of revitalization have benefited individual residents who participated in new programs and helped build stronger community leadership and networks, few have produced the population-level transformation they sought.

One explanation for this disappointing outcome is that many of the forces that trap communities and families in distress are outside the control of neighborhood-level interventions—again highlighting the interdependence of policy at multiple scales. But consider an alternative vision of how neighborhoods should function for

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low-income residents: not as incubators but as launch pads. Like an incubator neighborhood, a launch pad would offer services and supports that poor people need to advance economically. But as families achieved greater economic security, they wouldn't be expected to stay in the neighborhood. Instead, many would move to more desirable (and expensive) neighborhoods, to be replaced by other needy

families. Even though the neighborhood as a whole wouldn't show big gains in employment, income, or wealth, people would benefit from having lived there. Neighborhoods that have historically served as entry points for successive waves of immigrants perform in this way, and Sharkey's analysis of neighborhoods that became less distressed (and less damaging) during the 1980s and 1990s confirms that immigrant neighborhoods may be good models of launch pads for low-

income families of color.

In the years ahead, policymakers, practitioners, and researchers who care about racial equity should work together to advance the effectiveness of both mobility and reinvestment strategies. We need to keep experimenting, learning, and adapting to make both these approaches more effective and more durable even though, in the near-term, political and fiscal constraints will keep the scale of investment tragically small. □

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them? Were they taunted by peers for their nonconforming behavior? Did they play too many violent video games? We don't, however, extrapolate from their behavior negative feelings toward the general population of young white men. And yet, when we hear of violence perpetrated by a young black man, we all too often associate such conduct with the majority of young black men. We do not inquire into their individual backgrounds. We simply shake our heads in disgust, even sadness, at the perceived bad behavior of others who look like them.

The reality hit harder more recently, when 17-year-old Trayvon Martin was murdered. There is little doubt that if Trayvon had been white, with his iced tea and his bag of Skittles, he would still be alive, and if George Zimmerman were black, he would have been arrested on the spot. I thought about my grandson, Michael Ian, now 11 and tall and husky for his age. Because of his skin color, he will undoubtedly face challenges that are foreign to young males with my skin color.

I will leave the authoritative explanations to experts in psychology and sociology. What I do know is that this stereotyping—dehumanizing black people—has its roots in efforts to justify slavery in the context of our founding principle that “all men are created equal.” And based on my own experiences and observations, it is self-perpetuating. Most children grow up

in homogeneous racial environments, and people from different racial backgrounds are relatively unknown to them. When they are bombarded by negative racial stereotypes from family and friends, from the inaccurate and incomplete version of American history taught in school, and from inaccurate portrayals by a media more interested in profit than in fairness, they do not have the knowledge or understanding to counteract the bombardment. So, they fall prey to the stereotyping. Even as adults, we have precious little meaningful interaction with people from different racial back-

We know innately that the world is ours.

grounds. These negative messages fuel fear and prejudice, which lead to discriminatory or dysfunctional behavior that is often unconscious. This makes meaningful interactions with the stereotyped group even less likely, and in turn, the separation widens and the stereotype intensifies each time we observe behavior that supports it. For example, if we harbor a stereotype that most young black males are dangerous, we will avoid them at all costs. By avoiding them, we give ourselves no opportunity to counteract the stereotype, and the next time we see a violent act by a young black male, our stereotype will be reinforced and our fear and desire for separation will grow. When we do encounter a young black male, we will likely act in ways that

reflect the stereotype, which further reinforces and perpetuates it.

Who Pays the Price?

But it's not only black people who pay a price for this negative stereotyping. Our nation also pays a heavy price, economically and politically. Negative stereotyping often causes us to avoid hiring people who could make valuable contributions to our businesses and our economic productivity. Such stereotyping contributes to the high level of unemployment for black people and to the cost of that unemployment to society: government assistance we must provide, productivity that is lost, increased crime rates that are often a consequence of unemployment, family dysfunction that arises due to a husband or father's inability to find a good job, and the skyrocketing costs of incarceration that limit government funding for such needs as better schools. In a labor force that is becoming increasingly diverse, this situation weakens our society and our ability to compete in the global economy. It contributes to budget deficits, lowers the standard of living for all of us, and increases racial divisions.

Politically, we pay a price because we are frequently scared into electing public officials whose motivation is victory rather than good public policy. Therefore, we often end up with bad public policies that further exacerbate racial and ethnic divisions and perpetuate societal problems. Perhaps the

greatest cost of stereotyping concerns the moral hypocrisy and self-deception we practice. We think of ourselves as a people committed to the principles of justice, fairness and freedom. But each time we unjustifiably discriminate against someone, we puncture our ideals and call our values into question.

Unfortunately, policies that could narrow the gap and strengthen our nation, such as affirmative action, individual development accounts, or even some form of collective reparations, are rejected out of hand by most white Americans. They believe that the playing field of opportunity is essentially level, that any failure to succeed is a matter of personal responsibility and therefore government action to move us closer to racial equity is unnecessary and undesirable. Given the white-washed (pun intended) version of American history we learn in school, the media's penchant for sensationalism without regard to fairness, and unscrupulous politicians whose win-at-any-cost attitudes border on the unpatriotic, our collective ignorance and our internalized sense of white superiority are not surprising.

If you are not white, the hurdles continue as one emerges from public education to either attend college or enter the workforce. Getting ready for college is an exciting time for young people. After 12 years of regimented schooling, freedom beckons. They'll decide what they want to study, choose their own classes, make their own schedules, decide whether to attend or skip class, and whether and when to do their homework. And they'll be held accountable for whatever consequences their behavior yields. Black children, if they've been able to surmount the hurdles and make it this far, have the added challenge of being marginalized in a predominantly white environment, unless they choose to attend a predominantly black university.

These hurdles continue in the world of work. When white people enter a company, they rarely worry about whether or not they will fit in. Most employees look like they do, grew up

in similar environments, and share similar experiences. Rarely does a white person have the experience of going to work in a company with predominantly black employees; rarely does a white person have to adjust to being the odd person out. Affirmative action has been effectively demonized as giving African Americans, women, and Hispanic Americans an

Stereotyping is virtually impossible to avoid.

unfair advantage. From my perspective, when one is evaluating people with similar qualifications, it is a valuable weapon for confronting the ever-present good-old-white-boy network and moving us closer to a level playing field.

Even African Americans who have successfully navigated the journey often pay an emotional and physical price that most white people do not pay. The effect of racism is insidious. It's like a worm coursing through your body. Gradually, it creeps through every cell and pore of your body, eating away at your sense of control over your life. Each incident can make you more wary, more suspicious, more agitated. The cumulative effect can make you seethe with resentment. You can't be-

lieve that white people are so oblivious to the indignities you endure, and it becomes difficult to view white people as friends or allies. The pressures affect both your emotional and your physical health. According to a recent study, 33% of African Americans suffer from hypertension (high blood pressure), which puts them at greater risk of heart attacks and strokes. Some people attribute this statistic to genetic differences. However, the same study found that only 16% of West Africans and 26% of people from the Caribbean suffer from hypertension. This strongly suggests that the stress is related to racism, as well as to the subtle yet significant consequence of white privilege.

Over 20 years ago, I took a creative writing class and became friendly with a white woman in the class. Over coffee one day, we talked about our respective ambitions. I said I wanted to write a book, but I despaired I'd ever get around to it or that anyone would ever publish it. I must have sounded whiny, because after a minute or two, she snapped at me. "Michael, you're a white male. You're the most privileged person in this society. You can do anything you want. So, don't complain to me." She was, of course, correct. □

Resources

- Alexander, Michelle. *The New Jim Crow: Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*, The New Press, 2012.
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The 50th Anniversary of the March on Washington August, 2013

The August 28, 1963 March on Washington was a watershed event in the Civil Rights Movement, and commemorative events are being planned by the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and several other national civil rights groups. Check our website after July 15 for the latest information on planned events. In the meantime, we have highlighted some useful historical materials below:

Branch Taylor (1988) *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years 1954-63* (New York: Simon & Schuster)

In this first installment of his seminal three-volume chronicle, Taylor Branch focuses particularly on the ascension of Martin Luther King, Jr. to his position of national leadership, but also weaves in the interacting narratives of key organizations and political figures. See Chapter 22 for an extensive exploration of the March on Washington that highlights contentious political gamesmanship between civil rights leaders, the Kennedy Administration and Congress.

Robinson, Cleveland and Rustin, Bayard (1963) "Organizing Manual No. 2: Final Plans for the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom" (New York: March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom). (Accessed at:

"Unfinished March" symposium

On July 22, 4:30-7:30, the Economic Policy Institute (EPI) will host a 50th anniversary symposium to reflect upon successes and setbacks in civil rights. The symposium is part of EPI's project, "The Unfinished March," exploring policy measures needed to advance the goals of the 1963 March on Washington. Contact Arlene Williams, awilliams@epi.org, for more information.

<http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/>)

This primary source, an organizing brochure compiled by the directors of the original March on Washington, provides a telling snapshot of the logistics behind the massive demonstration and documents the marchers' central political demands and strategies. For those wishing to review other primary sources pertaining to the Civil Rights Movement, the King Center provides a thematically organized and interactive archive of major correspondence, speeches, interviews and articles from the era (see link above).

Civil Rights Movement Veterans. "The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom" (Accessed at: <http://www.crmvet.org/info/mow.pdf>)

This descriptive timeline underscores the internal organizational politics behind the March and the differing philosophies that major organizers and activists brought to the table. Additions are regularly posted.

Goduti, Philip A., Jr. (2013) *Robert F. Kennedy and the Shaping of Civil Rights, 1960-1964* (Jefferson, NC: Mcfarland & Company)

Philip Goduti, Jr. profiles Robert F. Kennedy and explores the decisive impact he had on his brother, John F. Kennedy, and the Civil Rights Movement at large. In doing so, Goduti surveys the central political and moral challenges the Kennedy Administration faced in negotiating America's social landscape and provides a telling "behind-the-scenes" glimpse into the back rooms of Congressional politics during the height of civil rights legislation. See Chapter 18 for an account of Robert Kennedy's role in shaping both JFK's civil rights proposal and the Administration's response to the March on Washington.

Keith, Damon J. (1984) "What Happens to a Dream Deferred: An Assessment of Civil Rights Law Twenty Years After the 1963 March on Wash-

ington" (Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review 19(2), 469-95)

Thirty years ago, Judge Damon J. Keith (U.S. Court of Appeals, Sixth Circuit) reflected on the progress that civil rights legislation has made in fulfilling the aspirations expressed during the original March on Washington. Judge Keith focuses on federal legislation and court rulings in the areas of housing discrimination, the desegregation of public facilities, education, and employment.

Weisbrot, Robert (1990) *Freedom Bound: A History of America's Civil Rights Movement*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company)

In this classic retelling of the Civil Rights Movement, Robert Weisbrot highlights the role upper-level leaders and activists played in shaping the movement and the social climate of the time. Chapter 3 focuses on the lead-up to the March on Washington and contextualizes the March in broader currents of social reform and political change.

Austin, Algernon (2013) "The Unfinished March: An Overview" (Accessed at: <http://www.unfinishedmarch.com/>)

This report is the first installment of a ten-part project launched this June by the Economic Policy Institute (EPI) in order to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the March on Washington. Each of the EPI's reports will highlight the unfinished work of the Civil Rights Movement and outline specific policy proposals to achieve the goal of full racial equality. In particular, the report echoes the March's often overlooked demands for economic opportunity and explores some of the many economic disadvantages that blacks still experience today, including segregated education, high unemployment, and low wages.

(Resources prepared by PRRAC Policy Intern Jiayan Yu)

Haven't Learned Very Much (a few proverbs for progressives)

S.M. Miller

1. Organization, administration and implementation are fateful, especially for programs to benefit the poor.
2. As important as what an executive knows, equally important is what s/he doesn't want to know.
3. Behind every agreement lurks a misunderstanding.
4. Every act of selection is an act of exclusion.
5. If unattended, the best off of the worst off are the most likely to be helped by a program (creaming).
6. The rise in educational levels leads very frequently to credentialism, the inappropriate raising of standards for access to jobs.
7. Originality largely depends upon a poor memory and ignorance.
8. More difficult than knowing what to do in a situation is moving into a position to do it.
9. Harder than making a decision is recognizing when you have made it.
10. The U.S. is basically a conservative country with brief liberal remissions.
11. The U.S. is a nation easy to disturb but difficult to change.
12. Many (most?) Americans have highly compartmentalized views so that they can live with contradictory attitudes (compartmentalization is not ambivalence).
13. Few people think of themselves as hypocrites; they believe in what is necessary for them.
14. Committees proliferate in the presumption of democracy and the operation of autocracy.
15. Believing is perception. People see and hear what they first believe.
16. Externalizers ("The media were against us") outnumber internalizers ("we made big mistakes").
17. Implementation determines impact more than do mission and funding.
18. Inclusion requires transformation of the institution rather than simply adding in the excluded.
19. Neglect the burdens of change and the vulnerable suffer.

S.M. Miller (fivegood@aol.com) is a PRRAC Board member and Professor Emeritus of Sociology at Boston University. He has worked with poverty and policy organizations in the U.S. and abroad. This article first appeared in Social Policy (Spring 1999).

PRRAC Update

● A big **Thank You** to our departing Board Member **Janis Bowdler** of the National Council of La Raza, who is moving on to a new position as Managing Director of the JP Morgan Chase Foundation, where she will be pursuing her commitment to financial empowerment and affordable housing. Janis has been an active and engaged Board member and played an important leadership role in PRRAC's recent strategic planning and self-evaluation process. She will be missed!

● And **Welcome** to two new mem-

bers of our Social Science Advisory Board: **Maria Krysan** of the University of Illinois-Chicago whose recent research focuses on the factors underlying racial residential preferences, trends in racial attitudes, and the dynamics of housing choice (work that has been very helpful to PRRAC in framing our policy recommendations) and **William Trent** of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, whose research on educational inequality has looked at school desegregation effects at the K-12 and post-secondary levels, college access and social organization of schools. Pro-

fessor Trent is also on the Research Advisory Panel of the National Coalition on School Diversity.

● We have a great group of summer interns at PRRAC this year—including Law & Policy Interns **Gwen Coleman** (George Washington Law School), **Lizzy Vogel** (Georgetown Law School), Policy Intern **Jiayan Yu** (Princeton University, class of 2015), and Summer Research Fellow **Merik Mulcahy**. Thanks also to our Spring 2013 Law & Policy Intern, **Elizabeth Paukstis** (Georgetown Law School).

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

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 (46¢ 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

- **Bombingham**, by Anthony Grooms, is a 2002 novel about the racially violent Alabama city, published by Random House, along with a Teacher's Guide. [13972]
- **"The Racial Wealth Gap in America"** is the title of a series of recent studies from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/833-7200. Downloadable at <http://urban.org/changing-wealth-americans/> [13977]
- **The National Museum of African American History and Culture**, a Smithsonian institution scheduled for 2015 completion (ground-breaking was Feb. 2012),

is to be located on a 5-acre tract adjacent to the Washington Monument and the Natl. Museum of American History, Founding Director Lonnie G. Bunch. Inf. at PO Box 96832, Wash., DC 20090-6832, AAHCmember@si.edu, AfricanAmerican.si.edu [13985]

- **"The Human Development Index: How Do Puerto Ricans Measure Up?"**, a 6 pp., May 2013 Research Brief, is available (no price listed) from The Center for Puerto Rican Studies, Hunter College, 695 Park Ave., NYC, NY 10065, 212/772-5688, centropr@hunter.cuny.edu [14009]
- **The Racial Healing and Equity Network** has been recently formed. Inf. from dushaw@thespacesproject.org, 202/360-7787. [14018]
- **"Race vs. Class: The False Dichotomy"**, a first-rate op-ed by Sherrilyn A. Ifill, Pres. & Director-Counsel for the NAACP Legal Defense & Educ. Fund, appeared in the June 14, 2013 *NY Times*. [14024]
- **The Unfinished March** is a new Economic Policy Inst. project, marking the 50th anniv. (Aug. 28) of The March on Washington for Jobs & Freedom. Content/events available at epi@epi.org [14027]
- **"Our Generation Had Nothing to Do with Discrimination': White Southern Memory of Jim Crow and Civil Rights,"** by Kristen Marie Lavelle (356 pp., May 2011), is

her Texas A&M dissertation. Available at <http://hdl.handle.net/1969.1/ETD-TAMU-2011-05-9402>. Author may be contacted at kristen.lavelle@montana.edu [14048]

- **Modern Minority: Asian American Literature and Everyday Life**, by Yoon Sun Lee (240 pp., 2013, \$74), has been published by Oxford Univ. Press. [14066]
- **"Race and Beyond: Witness to Whiteness,"** by Sam Fulwood III, is a short, very good piece (June 2013) on what it means to be white in America (a good companion piece to Michael Wenger's cover story). Available (possibly free) from The Center for American Progress, 1333 H St., NW, 10th flr., Wash., DC 20005 or downloadable at www.americanprogress.org/issues/race/news/2013/06/18/66991/witness-to-whiteness [14069]
- **Detroit: Race, Riots, Racial Conflict, and Efforts to Bridge the Racial Divide**, by Joe T. Darden & Richard W. Thompson (2013), has been published by Michigan State Univ. Press. [14071]
- **"Public Sector Transformation, Racial Inequality and Downward Occupational Mobility,"** by George Wilson, Vincent J. Roscigno, & Matt L. Huffman (32 pp., March 2013), appeared in *Social Forces* 91(3). Authors contactable at gwilson1@miami.edu [14087]

- **"'Non-White' Gentrification in Chicago's Bronzeville and Pilsen: Racial Economy and the Intraurban Contingency of Urban Redevelopment,"** by Matthew B. Anderson & Carolina Sternberg (33 pp., May 2013), appeared in *Urban Affairs Review* 49(3). Author contactable at matthew.anderson35@msubillings.edu [14135]

Poverty/Welfare

- **"Reconsidering the Urban Disadvantaged: The Role of Systems, Institutions, and Organizations"** appeared in the May[?] 2013 *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. [14010]
- **The Half-in-Ten Act of 2013 (H.R.2182)** has been introduced by Reps. Steny Hoyer (D-MD) and Barbara Lee (D-CA), with 42 co-sponsors, setting up the Federal Interagency Working Group on Reducing Poverty, to develop and implement actions to cut poverty in half in 10 years. [14016]
- **"Financial Security of Elderly Americans at Risk,"** by Elise Gould & David Cooper (June 2013, 24 pp.), is available (no price listed) from The Economic Policy Inst., 1333 H St. NW, #300 E. Tower, Wash., DC 20005, 202/775-8810, epi@epi.org [14023]
- **Chasing Gideon: The Elusive Quest for Poor People's Justice**, by

Karen Houppert (2013, 288 pp., \$26.95), has been published by New Press. [14064]

- **"The Race to Get In, and the Struggle to Get Out: The Problem of Inter-Generational Poverty in Federal Housing Programs,"** by Matthew Shin (26 pp., 2012), appeared in 40 *Wash. U. J.L. & Pol'y.* [14120]

- **"Integration and Exclusion: Urban Poverty, Public Housing Reform and the Dynamics of Neighborhood Restructuring,"** by Robert J. Chaskin (30 pp., May 2013), appeared in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.* Author can be contacted at jc3@uchicago.edu [14122]

- **Confronting Suburban Poverty in America,** by Elizabeth Kneebone & Alan Berube (169 pp., May 2013), has been published by Brookings Institution Press. More inf. about book at www.confronting-suburbanpoverty.org. Authors contactable at EKneebone@brookings.edu, aberube@brookings.edu [14133]

- **"Concentrated Poverty and Regional Equity: Findings from the National Neighborhood Indicators Partnership Share Indicators Initiative,"** by Thomas Kingsley & Rob Pitingolo (17 pp., April 2013), is available at www.urban.org/publications/412813.html. Authors contactable at The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC, 20037, 202/261-5709, publicaffairs@urban.org [14134]

- **"Concentrated Affluence: Notes for a Research Project"** is a short, May[?] 2013 paper by Herbert Gans; available from him at hjg1@columbia.edu [14007]

- **"Where You Live Matters: Addressing Concentrated Poverty"** was a June 25, 2013 Audio conference sponsored by PRRAC and several other organizations. Inf. from CLASP, 202/906-8000. [14021]

Civil Rights History

- **Ann Braden: Southern Patriot** is a 77-min. documentary (available as a DVD) from the Ann Braden Inst. for Social Justice at the Univ. of Louisville, 502/852-6142; available at <http://appalshop.org/store> [14014]

- **Bending Towards Justice: The Voting Rights Act and the Transformation of American Democracy,** by Gary May (336 pp., April 2013), has been published by Basic Books. [14108]

Community Organizing

- **"5 Evaluation Resources for Community Organizing"** is available from bolderadvocacy@afj.org [13966]

Criminal Justice

- **Race to Incarcerate: A Graphic Retelling** is an April 2013 interview with the Truthout editor by

Marc Mauer, following publication of his 2006 book of the same title. Further inf. from Mauer at The Sentencing Project, 1705 DeSales St. NW, 8th flr., Wash., DC 20036, 202/628-0871. [13959]

- **"The War on Marijuana in Black and White"** (June 2003, 133 pp.), subtitled, "Billions of Dollars Wasted on Racially Biased Arrests," is available (no price listed) from The American Civil Liberties Union, 125 Broad St., 18th flr., NYC, NY 10004, 212/549-2666 and at <http://www.aclu.org/files/assets/aclu-thewaronmarijuana-rel2.pdf> [14110]

- **"Opportunities for Cost Savings in Corrections Without Sacrificing Service Quality: Inmate Health Care,"** by Phil Schaeffer, Elizabeth Davies, Reed Jordan & Reena Chakraborty (44 pp., April 2013), is available (no price given) from The Urban Inst., 202/833-7200, <http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/412754-Inmate-Health-Care.pdf> [14034]

- **"Predicting Erroneous Convictions: A Social Science Approach to Miscarriages of Justice,"** by Jon B. Gould, Julia Carrano, Richard Leo & Joseph Young (433 pp., Dec. 2012), is available at <http://www.american.edu/spa/dils/prevent/upload/Predicting-Erroneous-Convictions.pdf>. Authors reachable at gould@american.edu, carrano@american.edu, rleo@usfca.edu, jyoung@american.edu [14054]

- **"Costs of Criminal Justice Involvement Among Persons With**

Serious Mental Illness in Connecticut" (44 pp., March 2013), by Jeffrey W. Swanson et al., is available at <http://ps.psychiatryonline.org/Article.aspx?ArticleID=1668301>. Authors contactable at jeffrey.swanson@duke.edu [14080]

- **"The Sentencing Reform Act: Reconsidering Rehabilitation As a Critical Consideration in Sentencing"** (32 pp., Winter 2013) appeared in 39 *New Eng J on Crime & Civ. Confinement.*

- **"Dream Deferred: Prosecutorial Discretion Allows Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals,"** by Mike Warley (4 pp., Winter 2012), appeared in 26 *Geo.Immig.L.J.*

- **Duane Buck Case** is a June 2013 video from the NAACP Legal Defense & Educ. Fund, available at <http://www.naacpldf.org/update/ldf-video-broken-promise-texas-race-death-penalty-and-duane-buck-case> [14112]

Economic/Community Development

- **"Renewing the American Social Contract: A New Vision for Improving Economic Security"** (2012-2013) is available (no price listed) from The New America Fdn., 1899 L St. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20036, 202/986-2700. Among the more than a dozen contributors are Robert Kuttner, Michael Lind, Dean Baker, Bruce Stokes. Inf. from freedman@newamerica.net [13971]

- **"Pillar Talk: Local Sustainability Initiatives**

and Policies in the United States -- Finding Evidence of the 'Three E's': Economic Development, Environmental Protection, and Social Equity," by Susan M. Opp & Kyle L. Saunders (40 pp., Jan. 2013), appeared in *Urban Affairs Review*. Lead author contactable at susan.opp@colostate.edu [14056]

● **"Great American City: Chicago and the Enduring Neighborhood Effects,"** by Robert J. Sampson (552 pp., Feb. 2012), has been published by Univ. Chicago Press. [14125]

● **"Collaborative Strategies for Suburban Community Development"** was a June 18, 20013 Webinar put on by the Metropolitan Planning Council, 140 S. Dearborn, #1400, Chicago, IL 60603. [14013]

Education

● **"State U Online,"** by Rachel Fishman (April 2013), examines the history of distance learning at public colleges dating back to the 18th Century. Available (no price given) from The New America Fdn., 1899 L St. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20036, 202/986-2700. [13952]

● **"Settle for Segregation or Strive for Diversity? A Defining Moment for Maryland's Public Schools,"** by Jennifer B. Ayscue et al. (April 2013), is the 2nd in a series of 12 reports analyzing school segregation in Eastern states, from the UCLA Civil Rights Project. Inf. from the Project, 8370 Math Sciences, Box 951521, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA

90095-1521, crp@ucla.edu [13982]

● **"Brown Fades: The End of Court-Ordered School Desegregation and the Resegregation of American Public Schools,"** by Sean F. Reardon, Elena Tej Grewal & Demetra Kalogrides, appeared in *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 31, 2012. [13997]

● **"Bridging the Higher Education Divide: Strengthening Community College and Restoring the American Dream"** (164 pp., May 2013, \$19.95), by The Century Foundation Task Force on Preventing Community Colleges from Becoming Separate and Unequal, is available from the Foundation, One Whitehall St., 15th fl., NYC, NY 10004, 800/537-5467. [14001]

● **"Schools, Superbullies and the Surveillance State,"** by Deborah Ahrens (45 pp., Fall 2012), appeared in *49 Am. Crim. Law Rev.*

● **Expanded Learning Opportunities:** The Community Schools organization is sponsoring a series of blogs with local practitioners, starting June 12, 2013, in the following cities: Ogden, Cincinnati, Vancouver BC, Tulsa, Lehigh Valley PA, Boston, New Haven, Hartford, Philadelphia, Los Angeles. Inf. from Reuben Jacobson, jacobson@iel.org [14015]

● **"It Pays to Invest in Early Education"** was a Feb. 2013 PBS News Hour interview with Nobel economist James Heckman, who boosts kids' IQ. Available at <http://www.pbs.org/>

newshour/rundown/2013/02/it-pays-to-invest-in-early-education-says-a-nobel-economist-who-boosts-kids-iq-html [14030]

● **"Impacts of a Prekindergarten Program on Children's Mathematics, Language, Literacy, Executive Functions and Emotional Skills,"** by Chistina Weiland & Hirokazu Yoshikawa (March 2013), is available at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/cdev.12099.pdf> [14031]

● **"How Diverse Schools Could Help Fight the Worst Effects of Gentrification,"** by Emily Badger (April 2013) available at <http://www.theatlanticcities.com/neighborhoods/2013/04/how-diverse-schools-could-help-fight-worst-effects-gentrification/5294> [14045]

● **"Continuing Inequity: The Conveyance of White Supremacy in the Education Policy Speeches of President Barack Obama"** is the title of Thomas William Hairston's 253-page, May 2012 dissertation submitted to the Grad. School of Missouri. Available at <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10780-013-9180.4> [14051]

● **"Introduction: Contesting Equity in the Twenty-First Century,"** by Kathryn A. McDermott, Erica Frankenberg & Sheneka M. Williams (9 pp., Jan. 2013), appeared in *Peabody Journal of Education*, Vol. 88, Issue 1. Available at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0161956X.2013.752311>. Authors contactable at mcdermott@educ.umass.edu [14081]

● **"Poverty, Politics, and a 'Circle of Promise': Holistic Education Policy in Boston and the Challenge of Institutional Entrenchment,"** by Jeremy Levine & William Julius Wilson (18 pp.), appeared in *Journal of Urban Affairs* 35(1). Authors contactable at jrlevine@fas.harvard.edu [14082]

● **"Civic Capacity and School/Community Partnerships in a Fragmented Suburban Setting: The Case of 24:1,"** by Todd Swanstrom et al. (18 pp., 2013), appeared in *Journal of Urban Affairs* 35(1). Authors contactable at swansttf@gmail.com [14083]

● **"Recent State Higher Education Cuts May Harm Students and Economy for Years to Come,"** by Phil Oliff et al. (March 2013), published by The Center on Budget and Policy Priorities (headed by former PRRAC Bd. member Robert Greenstein), is available at www.cbpp.org. The Center is at 820 First St. NE, #510, Wash., DC 20002, 202/408-1080, center@cbpp.org [14085]

● **"Why Race? Understanding the Importance of Foregrounding Race and Ethnicity in Achieving Equity on College Campuses,"** by Cheryl D. Ching (25 pp., 2013), is available (no price listed) from the Univ. So. Calif. Rossier School of Education, Waite Phillips Hall, #702, Los Angeles, CA 90089, 213/740-5202. [14104]

● **"Reflections: Toward a Social and Cultural History of Brown,"** by Waldo E. Martin, Jr. (7

pp., 2004), appeared in 6 *Afr.-Am. L. & Pol'y Rep.*, available at <http://scholarship.law.berkeley.edu/bjalp/vol6/iss2/8> [14106]

- "What Schools Can Do to Increase Racial Acceptance," by Bob Pettapiece & Sabrina Smith (8 pp., Spring 2013), appeared in *Social Studies Research and Practice*, Vol. 8, No. 1, available at http://www.socstrpr.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/MS_06506_no8.pdf [14116]

- "Remedial Education: Federal Education Policy - Progress Report and Scorecard" (26 pp., June 2013), from the Council on Foreign Relations, is available at <http://www.cfr.org/united-states/remedial-education-federal-education-policy/p30141> [14117]

- "New Organizations, New Voices: The Landscape of Today's Teachers Shaping Policy," by Kaitlin Pennington (64 pp., June 2013), from The Center for American Progress, is available at <http://www.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/TeacherVoice.pdf> [14118]

- "The MetLife Survey of the American Teacher: Challenges for School Leadership" was a March 3, 2013 panel presentation sponsored by The Alliance for Excellent Education. Inf. from jamos@all4ed.org [14077]

- "Honoring Our Nation's Mothers and Children through Investments in Early Childhood Education" was a May 7, 2013 event held by the Center for American Progress. Inf. from events@american

progress.org [13967]

- "The Future of Assessment: Implications for Practice" was a May 8, 2013 seminar held by the Alliance for Educational Excellence, 1201 Conn. Ave. NW, #901, Wash., DC 20036. [13953]

- "Absenteeism in Middle Schools: The Prevalence, the Impact and Turning It Around" was a June 26, 2013 Capitol Hill briefing put on by The Alliance for Excellent Education and several partner organizations. Inf. from Fred Jones, fjones@all4ed.org [14105]

Employment/ Labor/ Jobs Policy

- "The U.S. Labor Movement and the U.S. Civil Rights Movement" is a paper presented mid-2012 by Ira Grupper at a conf. in Cuba. Contact him at 502/459-2171, irag@iglou.com [13958]

- *Labor Paeans* is a bimonthly newspaper column, recently restarted after a hiatus, by Ira Grupper. Inf. from him at 502/459-2171, irag@iglou.com [13961]

- The Aspen Institute's Workforce Strategies Initiative "identifies and advances strategies that help low-income Americans gain ground in today's labor market." Inf. from Maureen Conway, 202/736-1071. [13974]

- *Jobs with Justice/American Rights at Work* has issued its 2012 Annual Report. Available (likely free) from the

organization, 1616 P St. NW, #150, Wash., DC 20036, 202/822-2127. [14000]

- "State Union Membership, 2012," by John Schmitt, Janelle Jones & Milla Sanes (9 pp., Jan. 2013), is available (possibly free) from the Center for Economic Policy Research, <http://www.cepr.net/documents/publications/state-union-numbers-2013-01.pdf>. Authors contactable at schmitt@cepr.org [14086]

- "The Impact of Budget Cuts on Workforce Training," by Alicia Criado (March 2013), is part of a Monthly Latino Employment report published by the National Council of LaRaza. Free copy available from them, Raul Yzaguirre Bldg., 1126 16th St. NW, #600, Wash., DC 20036-4845, 202/785-1670, comments@nclr.org [14097]

- "Don't Ask, Don't Tell: Employment Discrimination as a Means for Social Cleansing," by E. Gary Spitko (30 pp., July 2012), appeared in 16 *Employee Rts. & Emp. Pol'y J.* Available on line at <http://digitalcommonslaw.scu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1574&context=facpubs>

- "Help Wanted: 23.5 Million Unemployed Americans Need Not Apply," by E. Ericka Kelsaw (54 pp., 2013), appeared in 34 *Berkeley J. Emp. & Lab. L.*

- "Collective Bargaining in Public Education: 'It Was the Best of Times, It Was the Worst of Times' for Teacher Unions," by Charles J. Russo (15 pp., June

2013), appeared in 291 *Ed. Law Rep.*

- "Ripe with Change: Evolving Farm Labor Markets in the United States, Mexico and Central America," by Philip Martin & J. Edward Taylor (36 pp., Feb. 2013), is a collaboration betw. The Wilson Center and The Migration Policy Inst. Free copy available at www.migrationpolicy.org. The Inst. is at 1400 16th St. NW, #300, Wash., DC 20036, 202/266-1940. [14101]

Environment

- "Suburban Sprawl or Urban Centres: Tensions and Contradictions of Smart Growth Approaches in Denver, Colorado," by Andrew Goetz (March 2013), appeared in *Urban Studies*. Author is contactable at agoetz@du.edu [14057]

- "Bright Green: Five Metropolitan Areas Where the Latino Workforce and the Clean Economy Overlap," by Catherine Singley Harvey (26 pp., Feb. 2013), has been published by The National Council of La Raza. Free copy available from them, Raul Yzaguirre Bldg., 1126 16th St. NW, #600, Wash., DC 20036-4845, 202/785-1670, comments@nclr.org [14099]

- "What Does Environmental Justice Mean in an Era of Global Climate Change?," by Michael B. Gerrard (14 pp., Spring 2013), appeared in 19 *J. Envtl. & Sustainability*.

- "Collateral Damage: Turning a Blind Eye to

Environmental and Social Injustice in the Coalfields,” by Patrick McGinley (65 pp., Spring 2013), appeared in 19 *J. Env'tl. & Sustainability*.

Families/ Women/ Children

● **Doing the Best They Can: Fatherhood in the Inner City,** by Kathryn Edin & Timothy J. Nelson (294 pp., 2013), has been published by Univ. Calif. Press. [13955]

● **"The Hell of American Daycare,"** by Jonathan Cohn, is an article in a 2013 issue of *The New Republic*, examining the current under-regulated state of daycare in the U.S. Available at <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/112892/hell-american-day-care/> [14033]

● **"From Fragmentation to Integration: A Comprehensive Policy Approach to Serving Young Mothers and Their Families Through School-Based Intervention,"** by Liz Watson and Peter Edelman (28 pp., Winter 2013), appeared in 20 *Geo J. on Poverty L. & Pol'y* [14119]

● **"Lessons Learned: Reflections on Four Decades of Fighting for Families"** was an April 23, 2013 Center for American Progress event. Inf. from events@americanprogress.org [14078]

● **"It's Complicated: Privacy and Domestic Violence,"** by Kimberly D. Bailey (32 pp., Fall 2012), appeared in 49 *Am. Crim. Law Rev.*

● **"Off-Balance: Obama and the Work-Family Agenda,"** by Rona Kaufman Kitchen (56 pp., 2012), appeared in 16 *Employee Rts. & Emp. Pol'y J.*

● **"Unwed Dads in the Inner City: What's Changed and Why It Matters"** was a May 8, 2013 natl. audio conf., sponsored by several orgs. Inf. from jodie@clasp.org, www.clasp.org [13956]

● **"The National Council of LaRaza and National Latino Family Expo"** are holding their annual conference **July 20-23, 2013** in New Orleans. Register at <http://www.nclr.org/index.php/events/> [14132]

Food/ Nutrition/ Hunger

● **"Map the Meal Gap: Child Food Insecurity 2012: A Report on County and Congressional District Level Child Food Insecurity in the United States 2010"** (26 pp., 2012) is available (no price listed) from Feeding America, 35 E. Wacker Dr., #2000, Chicago, IL 60601, 800/771-2303, www.feedingamerica.org [14061]

Health

● **Community Campus Partnerships for Health** "provides health equity and social justice." Inf. from Susan Lee, susan.lee@ccph.org; programs@gmail.com [13951]

● **"New Perspectives on Transforming States' Health and Human**

Services" (40 pp., June 2013), Olivia Golden et al., eds., is available (no price listed) from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, publicaffairs@urban.org [14008]

● **"Black Patients More Likely than Whites to Undergo Surgery At Low-Quality Hospitals in Segregated Regions,"** by Justin Dimick, Joel Ruhter, Mary Vaughan Sarrazin & John D. Brickmeyer, appeared in the June 2013 issue (Vol. 32, No.6) of *Health Affairs*. healthaffairs.org [14060]

● **"Tipping the Scale: A Place for Childhood Obesity in the Evolving Framework of Child Abuse and Neglect,"** by Shauneen M. Garrahan & Andrew W. Eichner (28 pp., Summer 2012), appeared in 12 *Yale J. Health Pol'y L. & Ethics*.

Homelessness

● **"Pushing to the Goal: Three Ways to Accelerate Ending Veteran Homelessness"** (2013?) is available (no price given) from the Interagency Council on Homelessness, 202/708-4663. [13960]

● **"Rapidly Rehousing Homeless Families: NYC-A Case Study"** (April 2013) is available (no price given) from the Inst. for Children, Poverty & Homelessness, 44 Cooper Sq., 4th flr., NYC, NY 10003 [13969]

● **"Stabilizing Homeless Adults in Crisis: Public Costs for Homeless Clients of San Francisco's Collaborative Courts"** (March 2013[?]) can be downloaded from the Economic Roundtable

website: <http://www.economicrt.org/>
Contact is ER Pres. Daniel Flaming, danflaming@economicrt.org [13978]

● **Ears Up, Ears Down: A Dog's Journey Home,** by Ralph da Costa Nunez & Margaret Menghini (2013[?]), is part of "Stories for children ... about homelessness" from the Inst. for Children, Poverty & Homelessness, 44 Cooper Sq., 4th flr., NYC, NY 10003, www.ICPHusa.org/homeatlat. For K-5 children. \$14.95 for the storybook, \$1.95 for the accompanying activity book. [13983]

● **International Homelessness Research Conf:** The first-ever such gathering was held at the Univ. of Penn. in June 2013. Inf. from philip.f.magano@abolitionistroundtable.com [14025]

Housing

● **"The Housing Characteristics of the Puerto Rican Population in the U.S.,"** by Anna Rosofsky (4 pp., April 2013), is available (no price given) from the Ctr. for Puerto Rican Studies, Hunter College, CUNY, 695 Park Ave., NYC, NY 10065, 212/772-5688. [13954]

● **"More Than a Quarter of Working Rental Households Spend at Least Half of Income on Housing"** was the heading for the Center for Housing Policy's *Housing Landscape* 2013. Inf. from info@nhc.org [13973]

● **"Residential Segregation, Socioeconomic Status, and Disability: A**

Study of Puerto Ricans in the U.S.," by Giovanni Burgos & Fernando I. Rivera (2013[?]), is available (no price given) from The Center for Puerto Rican Studies, Hunter College, CUNY, 695 Park Ave., NYC, NY 10065, 212/772-5688, centroev@hunter.cuny.edu [13979]

- **"Mobility Works"** is an April 2013 report from The Inclusive Communities Project, headed by PRRAC Bd. member Betsy Julian, with another PRRAC Bd. member, Demetria McCain, as a key Project staff member. Available (no price listed) from the Project, 3301 Elm St., Dallas, TX 75226, 214/939-9239 [13989]

- **"Veterans Permanent Supportive Housing: Policy & Practice"** is a 16-page, May 2013 guide published by The Natl. Housing Conf. and the Ctr. for Housing Policy. Available at nhc.org/vetsguide [13991]

- **"Six Months Post-Relocation: Former Atlanta Public Housing Resident Views and Destination Neighborhood Characteristics"** (12 pp., July 2011), from the Georgia St. Univ. Urban Health Initiative, is available (no price listed) via doakley@gsu.edu. Downloadable at http://www2.gsu.edu/FILES/SOC/RESEARCH_public_housing_sixmonthpost.edu [13999]

- ***Social Justice in Diverse Suburbs: History, Politics, and Prospects*** (268 pp., 2013), by Christopher Niedt, has been published by Temple Univ. Press. [14003]

- **"Residential Mobility and Neighborhood Change: Real Neighborhoods Under the Microscope,"** by Claudia Coulton, Brett Theodos & Margery Austin Turner (36 pp., Nov. 2012), appeared in *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research*, Vol. 14, No. 6. Available at http://www.huduser.org/portal/periodicals/cityscape/vol14num3/Cityscape_Nov2012_res_mobility_neigh.pdf [14036]

- **"Addressing Residential Instability: Options for Cities and Community Initiatives,"** by G. Thomas Kingsley, Audrey Jordan & William Traynor (24 pp., Nov. 2012), appeared in *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research*, Vol. 14, No. 3. Available at http://huduser.org/portal/periodicals/cityscape/vol14num3/Cityscape_Nov2012_addr_res_insta.pdf [14037]

- **"Public Housing Transformation and Crime: Making the Case for Responsible Relocation,"** by Susan J. Popkin, Michael J. Rich, Leah Hende, Chris Hayes, Joe Parilla & George Galster, appeared in *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research*, Vol. 14, No. 3. Available at http://www.huduser.org/portal/periodicals/cityscape/vol14num3/Cityscape_Nov2012_pub_hous_trans.pdf [14038]

- **"Expanding Housing Opportunities Through Inclusionary Zoning: Lessons From Two Counties [Montgomery Cty, MD & Fairfax Cty, VA],"** by Diane Levy, Gerrit J. Knapp, Kaitlin Franks, Jason K. Sartori,

Kassie Bertumen, Mariela Garcia-Colberg & Martin D. Abravanel (140 pp., Dec. 2012), is available (no price listed) from The Urban Inst., 202/833-7200, http://huduser.org/Publications/pdf/HUD-496_new.pdf [14039]

- **"How Chicago's Public Housing Transformation Can Inform Federal Policy,"** by Susan J. Popkin (4 pp., Jan. 2013), is available (no price given) from The Urban Inst., 202/833-7200, <http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/412760-How-Chicagos-Public-Housing-Transformation-Can-Inform-Federal-Policy.pdf> [14040]

- **"CHA Residents and the Plan for Transformation,"** by Susan J. Popkin, Megan Gallagher, Chantal Hailey, Elizabeth Davies, Larry Buron & Chris Hayes (Jan. 2013, 6 pp.), is available (no price given) from The Urban Inst., 202/833-7200, <http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/412761-CHA-Residents-and-the-Plan-for-Transformation.pdf> [14041]

- **"An Improved Living Environment, but...,"** by Larry Buron, Chris Hayes & Chantal Hailey (9 pp., Jan. 2013), is available (no price given) from The Urban Inst., 202/833-7200, <http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/412762-An-Improved-Living-Environment-But.pdf> [14042]

- **"Improving the Lives of Public Housing's Most Vulnerable Families,"** by Susan J. Popkin & Elizabeth Davies (10 pp., Jan. 2013), is available (no price given) from The Urban Inst., 202/833-7200, <http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/412763-Improving-the-Lives-of-Public-Housings-Most-Vulnerable-Families.pdf> [14043]

org/UploadedPDF/412763-Improving-the-Lives-of-Public-Housings-Most-Vulnerable-Families.pdf [14043]

- **"Chronic Violence: Beyond the Developments,"** by Chantal Hailey & Megan Gallagher (10 pp., Jan. 2013), is available (no price given) from The Urban Inst., 202/833-7200, <http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/412764-Chronic-Violence-Beyond-the-Developments.pdf> [14044]

- ***Pruitt-Igoe Myth*** is available in DVD form (\$20.96), for sale on <http://firstrunfeatures.com/pruittigoedvd.html> Inf. from Linnea Goderstad, 212/243-0600, x27, Linnea@firstrunfeatures.com [14073]

- **"Evicting Children,"** by Matthew Desmond, will appear in a mid-2013 issue of *Social Forces*. Inf. from the author, mdesmond@fas.harvard.edu [14079]

- **"Public and Subsidized Housing as a Platform for Becoming a United States Citizen,"** by John I. Carruthers, Natasha T. Duncan & Brigitte S. Waldorf (31 pp., 20013), appeared in the *Journal of Regional Science* 53(1). Authors contactable at jic@gwu.edu [14090]

- **"Out of Reach 2013"** (244 pp., 2013), from the National Low Income Housing Coalition (headed by former PRRAC Bd. member Sheila Crowley) is available free at www.nlihc.org. The Coalition is at 727 15th St. NW, 6th flr., Wash., DC 20005, 202/662-1530. [14091]

- "PRRAC's Analysis of NLIHC's 'Out of Reach 2013 Report'" (4 pp., March 2013), a PRRAC Policy Brief, is available (free) from the Council, 1200 18th St. NW, #200, Wash., DC 20036, 202/906-8023, info@prrac.org [14092]

- "Affordability: An Evaluation of the Bloomberg Housing Program and Recommendations to Strengthen Affordable Housing Policy" (61 pp., March 2013) has been published by The Association for Neighborhood and Housing Development. Free copy available from them, 50 Broad St., #1125, NYC, NY 10004-2376, 212/747-1117, info@anhd.org, www.anhd.org [14094]

- "The Gentrification Trigger: Autonomy, Mobility, and Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing," by Rachel Godsil (21 pp., May 2013), appeared in *Brooklyn Law Review*, Vol. 78, No. 2, available at http://papers.ssrn.com/so13/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2271670 [14124]

- "Special Report: The Complete Approach to Funding Affordable Housing" (8 pp., May 2013) is available from Housing Works RI, available at <http://www.housingworksri.org/sites/default/files/SpecialReport-AH-Funding.pdf>. Contact inf: 150 Washington St., #304, Providence, RI 02903, 401/276-4806, info@HousingWorksRI.org [14126]

- "Relocation Counseling and Supportive Services to Prevent Negative Spillover Effects: A Review," by

David Varady & Reinout Kleinhans (21 pp., March 2013), appeared in *Housing Studies* 28(2). Authors contactable at david.varady@gmail.com and r.j.kleinhans@tudelft.nl [14128]

- "How Can the Housing System Promote Broad Access and Affordability?" was a June 5, 2013 event organized/hosted by The Center for American Progress, 1333 H St. NW, 10th fl., Wash., DC 20005, 202/682-1611. [14019]

Immigration

- **Border Security, Economic Opportunity & Immigration Modernization Act** was introduced in April, 2013 by a bipartisan group of 8 U.S. Senators. Contact Sen. Charles Schumer for more inf. [13957]

- "Immigrant Organizations in Pursuit of Inclusive Planning: Lessons from a Municipal Annexation Case," ed. Michelle Kondo (2012?), appeared in *The Journal of Planning Education and Research*. Available at Online First, <http://jpe.sagepub.com/content/early/recent> [13962]

- "Influences of Gender and Race on Immigrant Political Participation: The Case of Trusted Advocates," by Michelle Kondo (2012?), appeared in *International Migration*, available at Online First, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111%28ISSN%291468-2435/earlyview> [13964]

- **Immigration Reform Survey: A 7-page**, May 2013 Chicago Council on

Global Affairs nationwide survey showed the need for lots of grassroots work to break down stereotypes and bias against Mexican immigrants. Inf. from co-author Dina Smeltz, dsmeltz@thechicago council.org 312/821-6860 [13981]

- "Immigration Advocacy as Labor Advocacy," by Kati L. Griffith & Tamara L. Lee (2012), appeared in 33 *Berkeley Journal of Employment & Labor Law*. [14072]

- "Latino Immigration and the Low-Skill Urban Labor Market: The Case of Atlanta," by Cathy Yang Liu (27 pp., 2013), appeared in *Social Science Quarterly* 94(1). Author contactable at cylieu@gsu.edu [14096]

- *Immigrants in a Changing Labor Market*, eds. Michael Fix, Demetrios Papademetriou & Madeleine Sumption (200 pp., March 2013, \$29.95), has been published by Migration Policy Institute's Labor Market Initiative. Inf./ordering at the Inst., 202/266-1940 or www.migrationpolicy.org [14102]

- "The Rising Latino Impact" is the subtitle of the 2012 Annual Report from the National Council of La Raza, available at http://www.nclr.org/images/uploads/publications/2012ar_webready_final_med.pdf. Other contact inf.: Raul Yzaguirre Bldg., 1126 16th St. NW, #600, Wash., DC 20036-4845, 202/785-1670, comments@nclr.org [14127]

- *Governing Immigration Through Crime: A*

Reader, eds. Julie Dowling & Jonathan Xavier Inda (320 pp., March 2013), published by Stanford Social Sciences, is available for purchase at <http://www.sup.org/book.cgi?id=21744> [14130]

- *Black Ethnicities: Race, Immigration, and the Pursuit of the American Dream*, by Christina M. Greer (224 pp., June 2013), has been published by Oxford Univ. Press and is available for purchase at <http://global.oup.com/academic/product/black-ethnicities-9780199989317?cc=us&lang=en&tab=overview> [14131]

- "Changing Dynamics: Immigration, Mexico, and the United States" was an April 5, 2013 event sponsored by the Migration Policy Inst. Inf. from 202/266-1929, events@migrationpolicy.org [13984]

- "Stranded Migrants: A New Challenge for the International Community" was a May 9, 2013 event sponsored by and held at the Migration Policy Inst. More inf. at 202/266-1929, events@migrationpolicy.org [13980]

Miscellaneous

- *Citizenship and Governance in a Changing City* [Somerville, MA], by Susan Ostrander (2013), has been published by Temple Univ. Press, 1852 N. 10th St., Philadelphia, PA 19122 [14004]

- "Measuring Performance: A Guidance Document for Promise Neighborhoods on Collecting Data and

Reporting Results," by Jennifer T. Comey, Peter A. Tatian, Lesley Freiman, Mary K. Winkler, Chris Hayes, Kaitlin Franks & Reed Jordan (Feb. 2013, 270 pp.), is available (no price given) from The Urban Inst., 202/833-7200, <http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/412767-Measuring-Performance.pdf> [14032]

● **Urban Alchemy: Restoring Joy in America's Sorted-Out Cities,** by Mindy Thompspon Fullilove, has been published by New Village Press. [14067]

● **Middle Way: Freedom & Progressive Social Change Since World War II,** by Alan Rabinowitz (20013, \$19, \$9 ebook), is available from Quansoo Press, 3400 E. Laurelhurst Dr. NE, Seattle, WA 98105, ateam9@comcast.net [14070]

● **Community-Wealth.org E-Newsletter** is available by contacting ted@democracycollaborative.org [14074]

● **"Turning the Corner: Restoring Balance and Reinvesting in California's Future"** was the Calif. Budget Project's 2013 Policy Conf., held March 14, 2013 in Sacramento. Among the many workshops were those that dealt with education and health care. Inf. from the Project, 1107 9th St.,

#310, Sacramento, CA 95814, 916/444-0500, www.cbp.org [13988]

● **"National Celebration of Pro Bono,"** sponsored by the Amer. Bar Assn. Pro Bono staff, will take place **Oct. 20-26, 2013.** Inf. from celebrateprobono@americanbar.org or nura.maznav@americanbar.org [14062]

● **"Planting People, Growing Justice: The Three Pillars of New Social Justice Lawyering,"** by Artika R. Tyner (29 pp, Summer 2013), appeared in 10 *Hastings Race & Poverty L.J.*

Job Opportunities/ Fellowships/ Grants

● **The Mental Health Advocacy Project** (San Jose, CA) is seeking a **Housing Rights Staff Atty.** Ltr./resume to JOBS@LAWFOUNDATION.ORG [13968]

● **The Greater New Orleans Fair Housing Action Center** is seeking a **Senior Staff Atty.** Ltr./resume/refs. to Leonard Lewis, GNOFHAC, 404 S. Jefferson Davis Pkwy., New Orleans, LA 70119. June 1, 2013 closing date. [13970]

● **Relman, Dane & Colfax,** a leading civil rights law firm (located in DC), is hiring 2 attys: a

Litigation Atty and a **Litigation Counsel.** Ltr./resume/legal writing sample/law school transcript/ names+emailaddresses & telephone # of 3 refs. either by email: career@relmanlaw.com or mail to Debbie Adoline, Relman/Dane/Colfax, 312 Louisiana Ave., Perrysburg, OH 43551. More inf. at 202/728-1888. [13992]

● **The American Civil Liberties Union Foundation** (NYC) is seeking an **Advocacy & Policy Coordinator.** Send ltr.+salary reqs+resume to hrjobsasad@aclu.org ref. ASD-28/36/ACLU-W in Subject line, or mail to Nicole Bucherd, RE:[ASD-28/36/ACLU-W], ACLU, 125 Broad St., 18th flr, NYC, NY 10004. [13998]

● **The Wikimedia Foundation** (SF) is looking for an **Executive Director.** The Foundation, which hosts Wikipedia, wants someone who can guide this non-profit through its next phase of innovation and growth. Details from m/OppenheimAssociates, 221 Main St., #540, SF, CA 94105 - Lisa Grossman, 650/323-3565 [14005]

● **The Center for Reproductive Rights** is seeking a **Human Rights Fellow** (2 yr. appt., NYC based). Ltr./salary reqs./resume/1 writing sample/contact inf. (email

preferred) for 3 refs. to resumes@reprorights.org [14017]

● **The Center for Law & Social Policy** (DC) is seeking a **Policy Analyst/Sr. Policy Analyst** for its Ctr. for Postsecondary and Economic Success project and a **Research Asst.** for its Welfare Div. and Postsecondary Success Project. For former: Resume/refs/writing sample/cover ltr. to jobs@clasp.org or mail to Michelle Vinson, CLASP, 1200 18th St. NW, #200, Wash., DC 20036. For latter: Ltr./resume/3 refs. to either of above 2 addresses. [14022]

● **The Center for American Progress** is accepting applications (July 19, 2013 deadline) for its **Leadership Fellows** program. Inf. from sfulwood@americanprogress.org [14028]

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