

Count Them One by One: Black Mississippians Fighting for the Right to Vote

by Gordon A. Martin, Jr.

In 1962 in Forrest County, Mississippi, only 12 of the 7,500 adult black citizens were permitted to register to vote. That year, I made my first trip to the Deep South as one of the trial lawyers of Robert Kennedy's Civil Rights Division. I was less than two years out of law school. The Justice Department was about to try its first major case against a Mississippi registrar of voters for discrimination against blacks.

Together with my section chief Bob Owen, I first interviewed prospective African-American witnesses. We had been prepared to present our case solely through their testimony. They were a diverse, impressive group, including five teachers, three men and two women, all with master's degrees awarded or in process from prestigious Northern universities.

Every one of the small group of lawyers who made up the Southern trial staff of the Civil Rights Division had experienced certain particularly memorable events. One of Jim Groh's

was finding the man who would become our first witness, Jesse Stegall. Jim had worked on the Tennessee sharecropper cases with John Doar when John first became the Division's First Assistant in August 1960.

In September 1961, Jim, then 27, was, as he put it, "sent down to cruise Forrest County and make cold calls on possible sources/witnesses . . . We were still feeling our way around in Mississippi, having spent most of 1960 in Tennessee and then focusing on the Middle District of Alabama . . . with time out for the Freedom Riders for most of May 1961 . . .

"Hattiesburg was obviously a gold mine, and Jesse was the key to the mine. By that time I had probably visited fifty or so counties full of frightened, intimidated, and often very marginally educated people. To find a school principal and other teachers—people with graduate degrees—who were willing to try to register and to testify was like finding the Holy Grail. I also believe that Hattiesburg was the largest town we had tackled to date . . . Forrest County immediately became a hot prospect. I don't think it is any secret that the Kennedy Administration at the time was interested in early, dramatic and successful results, and I suspect that is why Forrest was put on the front burner."

Choosing the First Witness

In any multiple witness trial, a significant strategic decision is choosing the first witness. The first witness will likely get the longest, toughest, possibly nastiest cross-examination. The first witness will set the tone of the case, impressing or not impressing opposing counsel and, more important, the judge.

You don't want a witness you must protect excessively with objections, sound or not. That will only annoy the judge. One of your tasks also is building the record for an appeal, here to the far more receptive arena of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit.

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For us, the choice to lead off was not that hard. Jesse Stegall was an elementary school principal, married, a father, a man with a lot to lose in publicly seeking to vote in hostile Forrest County. What gave Stegall the necessary courage to step forward?

Jesse was the youngest of seven children born to the first Mrs. Stegall. Most of his siblings went in different directions—from Memphis to New York. The only other Mississippi voter applicant among them was Annie Kathryn, the only black registered nurse of her day at Hattiesburg's Forrest General Hospital.

Of the 54 in Jesse's graduating class at Laurel's Oak Park High School, over half went on to college. Besides working while a student at historically black Jackson State, Jesse was vice-president of the Student Council and business manager of the choir. He also managed his fraternity house. His fraternity was selective: a B average was required, as was persevering and helping those less fortunate. At a fraternity dance, Jesse won a membership to the NAACP.

Summer study was the only way he could later earn a master's degree. Jesse selected the University of Wisconsin, which offered tuition, room and board at a reasonable price. He studied in Madison summers from 1960 through 1963.

Jesse and his friends always wanted to vote. They didn't like paying the

two dollars a year poll tax just to be eligible to vote, but blacks who applied were able to vote in Jones County where he had grown up, and Jesse hadn't thought he would have a problem—until he arrived in Hattiesburg. John Doar told Stegall: "I think I'll put you on first." Stegall replied: "Well, okay."

But we had more than the teachers. There were seven workers from Hercules Powder, Hattiesburg's major employer, some of whom had broken the employment color line by being selected for skilled jobs previously reserved for whites. The importance of labor unions is often ignored to

Only 12 of the 7,500 adult black citizens were registered.

day, but the union shop steward at the Hercules plant could not have had greater impact for his black workers.

Raymond Ralph Dunagin, known to all as "Huck," was not given to calling meetings. He didn't have to. He always seemed to be everywhere as he walked the floor of the plant. Huck Dunagin was big and powerful, a former all-state lineman when in high school football. He was the steward the blacks had elected. And Huck Dunagin was white.

"I'm no integrationist," he told me years later. "If they wanted to keep the races separate in school, that was okay with me. But my men not be able to vote—my men not be able to hold any job they were capable of holding—I couldn't permit that." With Huck's encouragement and his commitment that their jobs were safe, the black Hercules workers went to Registrar Theron Lynd's office time after time, not deterred by delay or rejection.

Our black witnesses also included two full-time ministers, one Baptist and one Methodist; and two leaders of the county's tiny NAACP cell and of the county's black community as a whole, Vernon Dahmer and B.F. Bourn.

Forrest County Whites

In a late decision, we sought to add to their testimony that of Forrest County whites, one for each general time period when one of our black witnesses was either rejected after completing the state's literacy test, or not even permitted to take it. We were not seeking converts to the cause of racial justice. We just wanted white people who would tell the truth: that, making only one visit to Registrar Lynd's office, they were assisted in filling out the application and given one of the easier sections of the Mississippi constitution to interpret or just permitted to sign the registration book without being required to fill out a form at all. Lynd had been elected in February 1959 in an election where candidates literally addressed their campaign "TO THE WHITE DEMOCRATIC VOTERS OF FORREST COUNTY."

Judge Harold Cox, nominated by President Kennedy at the insistence of a fellow Delta native, the powerful chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, James O. Eastland, had handled the case since its filing in July 1961, the month he was sworn in as a judge. Cox had barred our presenting any testimony dealing with voting discrimination prior to the day Theron Lynd took office. Thus we had to focus on recent applicants for registration, who would have just become 21, the then voting age.

Cox had also dismissed the August 1960 demand the Attorney General had made for Forrest County's voting records pursuant to the 1960 Civil Rights Act, saying we had abandoned that action when we brought the basic voting rights discrimination suit under the 1957 Act eleven months later. There was no legal basis for his not having allowed our records demand, let alone having dismissed it. Nor was there any basis for his not allowing our standard discovery motion in the new case. We were confronted with what Appeals Court Chief Judge Elbert Tuttle would term the "well-nigh impossible task" of proving vot-

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Criminalization of Poverty

In August of last year, the U.N. Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights issued her report to the U.N. General Assembly on the criminalization of poverty. We were struck by how many of the U.N. report's findings are echoed in recent critiques of policy here in the U.S. Below, we present excerpts from the Special Rapporteur's report, along with excerpts of recent studies by the National Law Center on Homelessness & Poverty and Professor Kaaryn Gustafson's work on criminalization in the welfare system.

Selected Excerpts from the U.N. Report of the Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights

Report prepared by Magdalena Sepúlveda Carmona, Special Rapporteur; transmitted 11 August 2011 by the Secretary General to the U.N. General Assembly.

The full report is available at <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Poverty/Pages/PenalizationOfPoverty.aspx>.

Summary

In the present report, the Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights analyses several laws, regulations and practices that punish, segregate, control and undermine the autonomy of persons living in poverty. Such measures have been adopted with increasing frequency over the past three decades, intensifying in recent years owing to the economic and financial crises, and now represent a serious threat to the enjoyment of human rights by persons living in poverty.

The ways in which States and social forces penalize those living in poverty are interconnected and multidimensional, and cannot be analysed in isolation. For the purpose of this report, the Special Rapporteur identifies the following four areas of concern: (a) laws, regulations and practices which unduly restrict the performance of life-sustaining behaviours in public spaces by persons living in poverty; (b) urban planning regulations and measures related to the gentrification and privatization of public spaces that disproportionately impact persons living in poverty; (c) requirements and conditions imposed on access to public services and social

benefits which interfere with the autonomy, privacy and family life of persons living in poverty; and (d) excessive and arbitrary use of detention and incarceration that threatens the liberty and personal security of persons living in poverty.

* * *

10. In every country, developed or developing, historical social divisions and power structures ensure that the poorest and most excluded are at a constant disadvantage in their relations with State authorities. Asymmetries of power mean that persons living in poverty are unable to claim rights or protest their violation.

29. Increasingly, States are implementing laws, regulations and practices limiting the behaviour, actions and movements of people in public space, which greatly impede the lives and livelihoods of those living in poverty. These measures vary considerably across and within States, with the common denominator being the penalization of actions and behaviours which are considered “undesirable” or a “nuisance” in public spaces. States justify these measures by classifying the prohibited behaviours as dangerous, conflicting with the demands of public safety or order, disturbing the normal activities for which public spaces are intended, or contrary to the images and preconceptions that authorities want to associate with such places.

36. These laws are being implemented in a context in which the eco-

omic and financial crises have resulted in an unprecedented increase in foreclosures and evictions, forcing a growing number of families to live on the streets. Instead of using public funds to assist these families, States are instead carrying out costly operations to penalize them for their behaviour. Where there is insufficient public infrastructure and services to provide families with alternative places to perform such behaviours, persons living in poverty and homelessness are left with no viable place to sleep, sit, eat or drink. These measures can thus have serious adverse physical and psychological effects on persons living in poverty, undermining their right to an adequate standard of physical and mental health and even amounting to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment.

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Elouise Cobell

We dedicate this issue of *Poverty & Race* to **Elouise Cobell**, who passed away in October. A member of the Blackfeet tribe, she was the consistent and ultimately effective force that has forced the federal government, via litigation and political pressure over a 15-year period, to agree to the largest class action settlement ever: \$3.4 billion, benefiting some 500,000 people, in compensation for mismanagement of Indian trust funds since the late 1800s.

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49. It is becoming increasingly common for States to impose strict requirements and conditions on access to public services and social benefits. By imposing excessive requirements and conditions on access to services and benefits, and severe sanctions for non-compliance, States punish, humiliate and undermine the autonomy of persons living in poverty, exacerbating the challenges they face in overcoming their situation. Moreover, beneficiaries are kept in a state of uncertainty about their future and are unable to plan for the long term.

57. To ensure that beneficiaries comply with conditions and requirements, States often subject them to intensive examinations and intrusive investigations. Social benefit administrators are empowered to interrogate beneficiaries about a wide range of personal issues and to search their homes for evidence of fraudulent activity. Beneficiaries are required to report regularly and disclose excessive amounts of information whenever it is demanded of them. In some countries, they must even submit to mandatory screening for drug use. They must also give their consent to authorities to scrutinize every aspect of their lives and to question their friends, colleagues and acquaintances. Beneficiaries are encouraged to watch each other and report abuses to programme administrators through anonymous channels. These intrusive measures undermine beneficiaries' personal independence, seriously interfere in their right to privacy and family life, make them vulnerable to abuse and harassment, and weaken community solidarity.

61. Being excluded from social benefit assistance has an especially harsh effect on women, who make up the majority of social benefit beneficiaries, and who generally hold primary responsibility for the care of children and maintenance of the household. If women are denied access to social benefits, it will gener-

ally have implications for the whole family. Furthermore, there is an increased likelihood that women will remain in or return to abusive relationships, or be forced to live in other vulnerable situations, if they are unable to access social benefits.

68. The economic and social costs of detention and incarceration can be devastating for persons living in poverty. Detention not only means a temporary loss of income, but also often leads to the loss of employment, particularly where individuals are employed in the informal sector. The imposition of a criminal record creates an additional obstacle to finding employment. Detention and incarceration, even for minor non-violent offences, will often result in the temporary or permanent withdrawal of social benefits or the denial of access to social housing, for both the detainee and his or her family.

* * *

23. In many cases, the cost of employing reactive penalization measures greatly outweighs the costs that would be incurred in addressing the root causes of poverty and exclusion. If resources dedicated to policing, surveillance and detention were instead invested in addressing the causes of poverty and improving access to public services, including social housing, States could drastically improve the lives of persons living in poverty and ensure that the maximum available resources are dedicated to increasing the levels of enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights.

75. Measures that result in the penalization of those living in poverty do nothing to tackle the root causes of poverty and social exclusion. They serve only to entrench further the multiple deprivations faced by those living in poverty and create barriers to poverty reduction and social inclusion. Consequently, they greatly undermine the ability of States to comply with their obligations to respect, protect and fulfill human rights. □

Can We Think about Poverty without Thinking about Criminality?

by Kaaryn Gustafson

Every September, the Census Bureau releases updated statistics on the poverty rate in the United States. For a day or two I will read media reports about poverty, and then poverty disappears from the news until the next September. The poverty rate varies a bit from year to year but remains consistently—and shamefully—high.

According to a 2009 study drawing upon data from the Luxembourg Income Study, a project that gathers

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comparative economic information from various nations, the only upper-income countries with child poverty rates equal to or higher than United States (22%) were Russia (also 22%) and Mexico (27%). Some level of economic inequality within a population may be inevitable, but poverty—and the stress, hunger, homelessness, and daily chaos that go with it—are not. How much attention a country gives poverty, how a country tolerates poverty, and how a country allocates the resources targeted for the poor are political decisions. The United States has become poverty-tolerant and, increasingly, tax dollars are going to police the poor rather than to address

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Reshaping the Social Contract: Demographic Distance and Our Fiscal Future

by Manuel Pastor & Vanessa Carter

The 2010 Census brought some startling news: a 43% increase in the number of Latinos since 2000, a 43% increase in those of Asian and Pacific Islander heritage over the same period, an 11% increase in the African-American population, and a barely perceptible increase of 1% in the number of non-Hispanic whites. With that, two days of reckoning have come closer: the moment in which we become a “majority-minority” nation and the moment in which we align our tax and fiscal decisions with our real American tomorrow.

The two are related. While the future always seems a long way off, it is usually right here right now. While most have focused on the growth rates noted above, the really important news is the difference between the median age of various racial/ethnic groups: For non-Hispanic whites, the median age is 42, for Asian Pacific Islanders, it is 35, for African Americans, it is 32, and for Latinos, it is 27. That’s a 15-year gap—and the relational gulf between those with whiter hairs (and lighter skin) and the younger and browner future workforce will eventually come back to hurt us all.

After all, the Census Bureau estimates that we will cross over the “majority-minority” line sometime around 2042; the year has been moving forward steadily in the estimates, despite a fall in immigration projections due

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to declining birth rates in sending countries and the effects of a faltering economy on the attraction to job-seekers. By 2050, 45% of us will be non-Hispanic white, 12% black, 31% Latino, 8% Asian, and 4% some other race. And it’s clear from where the growth is emanating: In the past decade, a full 92% of population growth came from people of color.

For our youth, this demographic reality has more or less already arrived. Nearly half (46.5%) of those under 18 are children of color. Between 2000 and 2010, the number of

The racial generational gap widens.

non-Hispanic white children dropped by more than 4.3 million while the number of Latino children rose by nearly 5 million. Asian/Pacific Islander children also saw more modest gains (near 1 million), as did Others (including Native Americans and those classified as multiracial). Meanwhile, the number of black children actually dropped slightly (by about 250,000).

The Widening Generational Gap

All this action on the young side has widened the racial generation gap. In the 2010 Census, 80% of those who were 65 years and older were non-Hispanic white, compared to a 54% figure for those below the age of 18. That’s a gap between seniors and youth of 26%, up from 12% in 1975. It was increasing just as public investment was retrenching, and this is one reason why that famous Tea Party sign, “Keep your government hands off my Medicare,” is interpreted by some not just as a sign of silliness (af-

ter all, Medicare is a government program) but also as a signal that some want to lift the drawbridge as new generations are arriving.

While this might seem like an aggressive interpretation of a time trend, the impact of the racial generation gap holds in cross-section analysis as well. Those states with the largest generation gaps (the whitest old and the brownest young) also tend to have less state-level capital outlays per capita, as well as less education spending per student (with both figures adjusted for the state’s per capita income to control for ability and thus focus on political will). While the causality is still to be determined, one possibility is that when the old do not see themselves in the young, underinvestment in physical and human capital results.

Consider Arizona, a state of (mostly white) snowbirds and (mostly Mexican) immigrants. Here, 82% of those 65 and over are non-Hispanic white while 58% of youth are people of color. This racial demographic gap is the largest of any state, using 2009 American Community Survey data. The Grand Canyon state also came in 49th (of 51, including DC) in terms of public school expenditures per pupil, according to data from 2007-2008. Wracked by political conflicts over undocumented immigrants and ethnic studies, and distressed by foreclosures and a weakened economy, Arizona has become a poster child for a larger trend of racial disconnection resulting in more tension, less spending and diminished futures for everyone.

After all, the nation’s economy relies on young workers becoming as productive as possible. However, in pooled 2008-2011 data, 37% of black children, 32% of Latino children and 14% of Asian children were below the poverty level—a conservative estimate of well-being in some places—com-

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pared to 12% for non-Hispanic white children. This could be turned around with proper investments in education, social services and health. Yet schools in poor neighborhoods are typically of the worst quality—lacking funding because of modest property values, operating under harmful zero tolerance policies, and, as a result, failing to graduate many. Six of every 10 black, Latino and Native-American high-school students graduate, compared with 8 of 10 non-Hispanic white students.

Our Future Workforce

Partly as a result, while youth of color make up 40% of youth ages 16 to 24, they comprise 51% of disconnected youth—neither working nor in school. Lacking a successful work or educational experience by the age of 25 increases the risk of lifelong poverty and reduces the probability of making a positive contribution to the nation's wealth. Nationally, of those who are working age (25-64 years old), 34% of non-Hispanic whites, 19% of blacks, 18% of U.S.-born Latinos and 10% of immigrant Latinos have Bachelor's degrees—and this is happening just as the need for an educated workforce is on the rise. By 2020, the share of adults with some advanced education is projected to decline in all but six states, while the population of dropouts will swell well beyond the pool of jobs for people without a high-school education; the Educational Testing Service calls this a "perfect storm of demographic, labor market, and educational trends that threatens the American dream."

We don't expect these data to be shocking, or even particularly new to this audience. What we think is new is the argument: What has been a racial divide is now a generational divide, and this divide is weakening us all. Current retirees and the baby boomers quickly on their heels will rely on the strength of the nation's economy—read, current and future generations of workers. They will

need nurses and doctors to care for their bodies—sure to ail with age. They will need workers in good jobs to pay into the Social Security coffers. And as Dowell Myers has insisted in *Immigrants and Boomers: Forging a New Social Contract for the Future of America* (Russell Sage Foundation, 2007), they will need families with some amount of wealth to buy their excessively large homes, now empty of children.

A New Social Contract

But crossing the divide is not just a matter of issuing a bland call for a unified America. William Julius Wilson, once a proponent of universalist, race-neutral strategies, suggested in his most recent book and related writing that to really get to solutions, we will need to engage in conversa-

The generational gap is weakening us.

tions that expose the gravity of race in America. It may be our mutual self-interest that will keep us at the table when these conversations approach a breaking point, but a new and deeper social consensus will have to deal with the taboo reality of race, since it is the undercurrent of our disconnection.

Dealing honestly with race may help us secure new revenues and new expenditures. But it will also help us get the policies right. John Powell and his colleagues, for example, have called for "targeted universalism," an approach that would stress common goals but nuanced strategies (*P&R*, March/April 2009). Workforce development, for example, should address both joblessness (important to the African-American community) as well as paying livable wages (important to immigrant Latinos who are often working but at the bottom of the labor market). Such an approach would also emphasize the importance of cradle-to-career pathways to reverse the school-to-prison pipeline, as well as the centrality of the DREAM Act as both a signal and a reality to immi-

grant youth. Because race, place and poverty (i.e. underinvestment) are so highly correlated, coordinated place-based efforts like the Neighborhood Revitalization Initiative, the Sustainable Communities Initiative, and Promise Neighborhoods are part of any race-sensitive policy package, as well.

But stepping back from the specifics to the bigger picture, a simple point is clear: With the benefits for an older generation, such as Social Security and Medicare, seemingly shielded by strong lobbies and the Boomer generation resisting any increase in taxes while in their prime earning years, it feels like the ladder of opportunity is being pulled up just as a new generation, disproportionately of color, is entering the labor market and coming to social and political influence. This might seem viable in the short run, but it cannot last.

Those who have pulled up the ladder may find themselves temporarily protected on the house roof as the floodwaters rise—but we've seen this picture before and we know how it turns out. Eventually, the foundation erodes and the house comes tumbling down. It's time to invest in the next generation, building new bridges across race, place and age that can help meet our demographic, economic and fiscal future with confidence and cohesion. □

Further Readings:

Sarah Treuhaft, Angela Glover Blackwell & Manuel Pastor, *America's Tomorrow: Equity Is the Superior Growth Model*, available at <http://dornsife.usc.edu/pere/publications/equity.cfm>.

Andrew Sum et al., "Still Young, Idle and Jobless: The Continued Failure of the Nation's Teens to Benefit from Renewed Job Growth" (Boston: Ctr. for Labor Market Studies, Northeastern Univ., 2006).

Patrick J. Kelly, "As America Becomes More Diverse: The Impact of State Higher Education Inequality" (Boulder, CO: National Ctr. for Higher Education Mgmt. Systems, 2005), available at <http://www.higheredinfo.org/race/ethnicity/InequalityPaperNov2005.pdf>

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poverty.

There have been moments in American history when poverty has been an issue of public and political concern, but those moments are distant memories. Since the War on Poverty in the 1960s, the public and politicians have become complacent about ameliorating poverty. Political concern about the poor has, indeed, remained, but it has taken a new form. Over the last few decades, federal and state governments have instituted a host of policies and practices that equate receipt of certain public benefits with criminality, that police the everyday lives of the poor, and that weave the criminal justice system into the fabric of the welfare system.

The first few chapters of my recently released book, *Cheating Welfare: Public Assistance and the Criminalization of Poverty*, trace the ways that tactics for crime control have crept into welfare administration in the United States. From fingerprinting and mug shots to suspicionless home searches, from welfare bans on adults with drug convictions to aggressive prosecutions of welfare recipients

who underreport income, and from increased access of law enforcement officials to welfare records to a flurry of new legislative proposals to drug-test welfare recipients, we can see government policies that increasingly treat the poor as criminals.

The central chapters of my book, which draw upon interviews with welfare recipients in Northern California, examine the thoughts and experiences of adults who use public benefits. Their stories revealed that these parents needed the benefits they received but could not survive on welfare benefits alone. Many of them broke the rules—some of them knowingly, some of them unknowingly. They struggled to understand and follow the complicated welfare rules and requirements and also struggled to juggle family caretaking, job searches, employment obligations and unmet financial needs. What became clear during the study was that the federal welfare reforms instituted in 1996 were not serving to transition these parents from welfare to work. Moreover, some of the punitive aspects of the policies were making life for these parents and their children more difficult rather than providing a minimal

level of security.

Surprisingly, most of the welfare recipients I interviewed, even while breaking the welfare rules themselves, embraced popular beliefs about “welfare queens” and the need to have punitive welfare rules to police the poor. Rather than translating their own difficult experiences with the welfare system into critiques of the system, they instead neutralized their own rule-breaking and lodged their support for get-tough policies aimed at the poor. In short, even the poor could not talk about poverty without shifting the discussion to issues of criminality and punishment.

One of the questions the book raises is whether it is possible to disentangle criminalization, which includes latent assumptions of criminality among the poor and efforts to police them, from the issue of poverty. To have meaningful public conversations about how to address poverty and its effects, rather than discussions about how to punish the poor, would mark a dramatic shift in discourse. It is my hope that readers will avoid the distractions of the rhetoric of criminalization and become part of a new public conversation about poverty. □

The following is an excerpt from the National Law Center on Homelessness & Poverty’s June 2011 report, “Simply Unacceptable: Homelessness & the Human Right to Housing in the United States 2011,” available at http://nlchp.org/view_report.cfm?id=357. The excerpt, prepared by Eric Tars of the Center, had in its original submission nearly two dozen footnotes supporting the text; as P&R eschews footnotes, readers who want to obtain that can contact Tars at 202/638-2535, etars@nlchp.org, who will provide a copy of his original submission. Post-dating this report, the Law Center also organized a ground-breaking meeting with the U.N. Rapporteur and officials from the Departments of Housing & Urban Development, Justice, and State to discuss the Rapporteur’s report and actions the U.S. can take domestically and abroad to implement its recommendations.

The Criminalization of Homelessness

Despite our nation's treaty commitments and obligations to uphold the basic human dignity of every person, many states have enacted laws or ordinances that target homeless individuals by making it illegal to sleep or sit on the sidewalk, ask for money or “camp” outside. These ordinances are being enacted even though nationally, as well as in cities enacting them, there is a severe shortage of shelter space to meet even the emergency needs of

the homeless population. Other ways that cities have criminalized homelessness include: sweeps of areas in which homeless people sleep, laws that restrict their freedom of movement, search and seizure of their personal property, selective enforcement of general provisions, and anti-panhandling laws.

In Orlando, Florida, for example, an anti-camping law prohibits camping on all public property without au-

thorization. “Camping” is defined as “sleeping or otherwise being in a temporary shelter out-of-doors, sleeping out-of-doors, or cooking over an open flame or fire out-of-doors.” Similarly, police in Fresno, California engaged in targeted sweeps of areas in which homeless individuals were known to congregate. In the sweeps, police destroyed homeless peoples' property, including medicine, identification

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documents, and clothing.

Many of the individual laws targeting homeless individuals have faced Constitutional challenges. In *Pottinger v. City of Miami*, for instance, homeless individuals brought a class action suit against the city of Miami, Florida, claiming that police were harassing them for performing life-sustaining activities in public when no alternative shelter or location was available. They argued in part that such harassment was unconstitutional under the Eighth Amendment bar against cruel and unusual punishment and a violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, and the City of Miami was ordered to provide redress. The decision of the district court survived on appeal.

Similarly, in *Jones v. City of Los Angeles*, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals struck down as unconstitutional a Los Angeles city ordinance,

which prohibited sleeping, sitting or lying on the street at any time of day and was selectively enforced in the downtown area of Los Angeles known as “Skid Row.” The Ninth Circuit held that the ordinance violated the Eighth Amendment’s prohibition on cruel and unusual punishment for criminalizing conduct that is unavoidable.

Despite the decision in *Jones*, Los Angeles has continued its trend of criminalization of homelessness through the so-called “Safer Cities Initiative.” This policy has sent hundreds more police officers to Skid Row, but rather than addressing violent crime, the officers have been targeting homeless and poor African Americans for minor violations such as jaywalking and littering. This program has drawn the attention of both the UN Special Rapporteur on Racism and the Special Rapporteur on Housing, prompting recommendations to cease the disparate enforcement and allow homeless persons to shelter

themselves in public when there is inadequate shelter space.

During a mission in March, 2011, the UN Independent Expert on the Right to Water & Sanitation heard testimony from the Law Center and visited a homeless encampment in Sacramento, CA. The Independent Expert released her preliminary report on March 4. She noted the increase in criminalization of homelessness and detailed the story of Tim, a homeless man who facilitates the removal of hundreds of pounds of human wastes from the homeless encampment each week. The Expert stated, “The fact that Tim is left to do this is unacceptable, an affront to human dignity and a violation of human rights that may amount to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment. An immediate, interim solution is to ensure access to restrooms facilities in public places, including during the night.” This is the strongest, clearest statement by a UN expert to date on the issue of criminalization, and given its condem-

Selected Resources

Catarina de Albuquerque, UN Independent Expert on the right to water and sanitation: Mission to the United States of America from 22 February to 4 March 2011, (Mar. 4, 2011), available at <http://www.ohchr.org/en/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=10807&LangID=E>, (last visited Mar. 31, 2011).

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Rukmalie Jayakody, Sheldon Danziger, Kristin Seefeldt, & Harold Pollack, “Substance Abuse and Welfare Reform,” National Poverty Center Policy Brief (April 2004). Available at: http://www.npc.umich.edu/publications/policy_briefs/brief02/brief2.pdf

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nation in terms similar to our own Eighth Amendment's protection from cruel and unusual treatment, one that may lend itself to protecting homeless persons rights in the courts.

In 2009, Congress passed the HEARTH Act, which required the Federal Interagency Council on Homelessness to produce a plan to end and prevent homelessness; that Plan was published in June, 2010. The Plan includes the following quote from Maria Foscarinis, Executive Director of NLCHP: "Criminally punishing people for living in public when they have no alternative violates human rights norms, wastes precious resources, and ultimately does not work. In a separate provision, the Act requires the Interagency Council to promote alternatives to the criminalization of homelessness. Although the Council has to date held a national Summit, bringing together cities, providers and advocates to discuss constructive alternatives to criminalization of

homelessness, it has to date not taken concrete steps to prevent their enactment.

Several cities have had great success in combating homelessness by finding creative alternatives to criminalization. "A Key Not a Card program," enacted by the city of Portland, Oregon, enables outreach workers at various city-funded agencies to offer permanent housing immediately to people living on the street. The funding is flexible and can be used to pay rent, back rent and security deposits. From the program's inception in 2005 through Spring 2009, 936 individuals in 451 households have been housed, including 216 households placed directly from the street. At twelve months after placement, at least 74% of households remain housed.

Puyallup, Washington responded positively to a national trend of "tent cities" by passing an ordinance that provides permits to religious organizations for the specific purpose of

hosting tent encampments for homeless individuals. The ordinance is part of a Comprehensive Plan drawn up by the Puyallup City Council describing various objectives for eliminating homelessness in Puyallup. The ordinance provides a critical first step because it offers religious organizations the ability to host one encampment for up to 40 people at any given time. However, there are numerous areas for improvement, such as granting this right to non-religious organizations as well as religious ones and expanding the size and number of the camps, given that one encampment of 40 individuals is insufficient to meet the needs of the hundreds of homeless individuals in Puyallup. Moreover, as advocates and the Comprehensive Plan make clear, legalized tent cities are not a long-term solution to homelessness—that is something only adequate, affordable housing can provide. □

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ing discrimination by the registrar without access to any of his records.

Judge Cox's barring testimony as to Lynd's predecessors had at least targeted the white population we had to reach. The yearbooks of Hattiesburg High School and of the county high school were obvious first steps. Testifying before the United States Civil Rights Commission three years later, Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall referred to Bob Owen's and my being "in Hattiesburg for almost three weeks sifting through newspapers, graduation yearbooks, city directories and other documents in order to identify and locate white persons who were placed on the rolls by the Mississippi registrars."

FBI Assistance

With names from the yearbooks, we were ready to bring on special agents from the New Orleans office of the FBI to interview them. It was a

sensible division of labor. The FBI would get on better with white Southerners, and we certainly got on better with prospective black witnesses.

FBI reports needed direction, the dotting of every "i" and crossing of every "t". With Bureau Director J. Edgar Hoover no enthusiast for our work, that was the only way we could

The first witness sets the tone of the case.

ensure that the work product of his agents would be what we wanted. We set forth in a lengthy memorandum to the Bureau the exact language of every question we wanted asked, in the order we wanted them asked, from name and address to what was said to and by the women who serviced Theron Lynd's registration counter. Much of the New Orleans regional office of the Bureau was soon working the white residents of Forrest County, asking those questions about their registration experience, in order, in our words.

After we reviewed the reports of the Bureau interviews, we did some follow-up visits to whites we anticipated calling. About 7 p.m., the father of a 25-year-old man I was trying to interview ordered me out of their house in no uncertain terms. I did not delay, but decided to make one final stop, driving to the outskirts of the city to see a young man another Division lawyer had talked to briefly.

I was greeted by his angry parents, who accused four FBI agents, as well as my colleague, of having harassed their son, also 25, several times throughout the day. It took a long time, but finally they agreed with me that the agents had not intentionally ganged up on their son.

Bureau agents always worked in pairs (as we were also supposed to). It turned out that two agents had called on his brother in the morning, and two other agents had come back in the afternoon to see him. By the time I had agreed that they were all "100% Americans" and certainly not "out-

(Please turn to page 11)

Fighting Today's Voter Suppression Laws

The 2008 Presidential election saw record turnout by Black and Latino voters: Black turnout increased from 60% in 2004 to 65%, nearly matching White turnout (66%), and Latino turnout rose from 47% to 50%. In response, conservative activists are pushing laws—modeled on legislation crafted by the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), a group supported by the Koch brothers—that requires voters to present a government-issued photo identification card in order to cast a regular ballot on Election Day. Voter ID requirements will adversely affect African-American and Latino voters, who are less likely to possess the identification cards required, when compared to Whites.

Recognizing the serious threat to democracy created by the spread of voter suppression laws—particularly those imposing a photo ID requirement in order to vote—diverse groups from across the social justice spectrum have banded together to fight against these anti-democratic efforts. This threat is well-orchestrated and well-financed, but, thankfully, the fight against it has been well-coordinated and strong. Voting rights groups, civil rights groups, civil liberties groups and democracy groups are coming together in unique partnerships to fight against this threat. This is seen most clearly in those states in the South that are required to obtain pre-approval for changes in voting procedures under the federal Voting Rights Act (through the “Section 5 preclearance” process, which can be conducted administratively through the Department of Justice or through federal court, as the State elects).

- In Texas, the Governor signed into law SB14, one of the strictest photo ID laws in the country. The State submitted the new law to the Department of Justice for preclearance, and groups immediately came out in droves to urge the Department not to preclear it. Advancement Project, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), the Asian American Justice Center, Demos, and the Southwest Workers Union, a local Latino organizing and advocacy organization, jointly submitted a comprehensive Comment Letter under Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act to oppose preclearance of SB14.
- Diverse groups have come out to object to the preclearance of South Carolina's photo ID law,

R54, as well. One coalition included the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, the ACLU, the ACLU of South Carolina, the Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law (Brennan Center), and the League of Women Voters of South Carolina. After the submission and review of the objections raised by this coalition and others, the Department of Justice was unable to preclear R54 and called for more information from the State.

- Several groups are also opposing preclearance of Florida's new voting law, HB 1355 (best known for its extreme restrictions on voter registration), in a Section 5 lawsuit seeking preclearance. The Florida State Conference of NAACP Branches, the Brennan Center, the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, the National Council of La Raza, and the League of Women Voters of Florida sought and were granted the right to intervene in this judicial action to enable them to oppose preclearance.
- We also anticipate broad-based opposition to Mississippi Initiative #27, another restrictive photo ID law that just passed via a ballot initiative in the November 2011 elections. As Mississippi is subject to Section 5 preclearance, this initiative will no doubt be challenged by a similarly diverse group of national and local organizations.
- To supplement these targeted efforts, the Election Protection Coalition has established a hotline for reporting voting problems, reachable at 1-866-OUR-VOTE. The NAACP and the National Urban League are also running a voter protection hotline: 1-866-MYVote1.

Anti-democratic forces such as ALEC could not have anticipated the mobilization of so many national and local activists fighting to preserve the right to vote. And, they surely have not heard the last of these groups, which will continue to challenge at every juncture their efforts to deny Black and Brown voters the right to vote.

— Judith Browne Dianis, Co-Director, Advancement Project

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laws," I had been invited to stay for dinner and to "come back and shoot a bird sometime," both of which I politely declined.

Black Registration Denied

When a black person came into Theron Lynd's office to try to register, he or she was generally turned away. The women who worked in the outer office never even gave an application to a black man, claiming it made them uncomfortable to deal with them, so blacks had to return when Lynd was available. The application (uniform throughout the state) asked for various personal information, including one's precinct, had more than one line for a signature, and required a written section on the rights and duties of a citizen. Then the applicant was given a section of the state constitution and told to copy it out and explain in writing what it meant. Black applicants were given long and complicated sections, best dealt with by a lawyer, but they often did an excellent job despite this. Nevertheless, they were rejected. Sometimes the registrar gave as a reason for rejection an error such as having written the wrong precinct number. White applicants, if they had to fill out the application at all, were given such information on the spot.

Without Lynd's voting records, when we began the trial we had no knowledge of who had applied or what they had written, except for the FBI investigation and what our witnesses told us. Only when the witnesses testified did we get to see their applications.

The opposing lawyers, Justice's John Doar, Lynd's M. M. Roberts and Mississippi Assistant Attorney General Dugas Shands, were in many ways larger than life. When we all, lawyers and witnesses alike, reached Judge Cox's courtroom on March 5, 1962, it had not taken long for M. M. to paint for the court his picture of

how we prepared our witnesses: "Swarms of federal government employees, they go in the nighttime to see them, everybody in the nighttime under cover of night, without a moon..." Actually, we generally worked from early morning to early evening. Nighttime was reserved for dinner and planning the next day.

The Trial

Over a three-day period, our 16 courageous African-American witnesses who had been rejected for registration testified, along with the 16 contrasting white witnesses who had

We just wanted white people who would tell the truth.

either been registered without being subjected to the literacy test or been asked to interpret a brief easy section of the Mississippi Constitution—typically, "There shall be no imprisonment for debt." When Judge Cox granted a 30-day continuance to the defendants, refusing to enter an injunction against Lynd, Doar immediately appealed to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. Eisenhower appointees Elbert Tuttle, John Brown and John Minor Wisdom, along with Truman appointee Richard Rives, had changed the outlook of that court, which ruled against Lynd in a detailed opinion by Tuttle. It would be nice to say that resolved things, but Theron Lynd violated the order within days of its being served upon him.

It took three more trials, two for contempt, to deal just with Forrest County. It became painfully clear that with 82 counties in Mississippi, 128 in Georgia and the multiple parishes of Louisiana and counties of Alabama, the county-by-county, case-by-case approach would not work in our lifetimes. The radical answer, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, enacted by the 89th Congress and strongly supported by President Lyndon Johnson, abolished the scam of the discrimina-

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tory literacy test and authorized federal registrars in place of county officials. There was some resistance, but before the end of the decade the shame of the caste system in Southern racial voting had ended.

Revisiting Mississippi

I returned home to be a federal prosecutor and then practice law in Boston and ultimately became a judge, but I never forgot the witnesses in *United States v. Lynd* and the courage they showed in attempting to register and testifying about their rejection. I returned to Mississippi and renewed my acquaintance with them, and also talked with the relatives of those who had died, including Vernon Dahmer, who had been murdered in an attack engineered by Sam Bowers, the Imperial Wizard of the White Knights of the Klan. In 1998, 32 years later, Bowers would be convicted of Dahmer's murder in a moving state

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Likely, most P&R readers have either read or seen the movie of *The Help*, and with its recent DVD re-release, we expect the controversy over the film's depiction of Black domestic workers will resurface. Here is one of the best summaries we have seen, from the Association of Black Women Historians, reachable at ABWHTheHelp@gmail.com.

The Help

On behalf of the Association of Black Women Historians (ABWH), this statement provides historical context to address widespread stereotyping presented in both the film and novel version of *The Help*. The book has sold over three million copies, and heavy promotion of the movie will ensure its success at the box office. Despite efforts to market the book and the film as a progressive story of triumph over racial injustice, *The Help* distorts, ignores and trivializes the experiences of black domestic workers. We are specifically concerned about the representations of black life and the lack of attention given to sexual harassment and civil rights activism.

During the 1960s, the era covered in *The Help*, legal segregation and economic inequalities limited black women's employment opportunities. Up to 90% of working black women in the South labored as domestic servants in white homes. *The Help*'s representation of these women is a disappointing resurrection of Mammy—a mythical stereotype of black women who were compelled, either by slavery or segregation, to serve white families. Portrayed as asexual, loyal and contented caretakers of whites, the caricature of Mammy allowed mainstream America to ignore the systemic racism that bound black women to back-breaking, low-paying jobs where employers routinely exploited them. The popularity of this most recent it-

eration is troubling because it reveals a contemporary nostalgia for the days when a black woman could only hope to clean the White House rather than reside in it.

Both versions of *The Help* also misrepresent African-American speech and culture. Set in the South, the appropriate regional accent gives way to a child-like, over-exaggerated "black" dialect. In the film, for example, the primary character, Aibileen, reassures a young white child that, "You is smat, you is kind, you is important." In the book, black women refer to the Lord as the "Law," an irreverent depiction of black vernacular. For centuries, black women and men have drawn strength from their community institutions. The black family in particular provided support and the validation of personhood necessary to stand against adversity. We do not recognize the black community described in *The Help*, where most of the black male characters are depicted as drunkards, abusive or absent. Such distorted images are misleading and do not represent the historical realities of black masculinity and manhood.

Furthermore, African-American domestic workers often suffered sexual harassment as well as physical and verbal abuse in the homes of white employers. For example, a recently discovered letter written by Civil Rights activist Rosa Parks indicates that she, like many black domestic workers, lived under the threat and sometimes reality of sexual assault. The film, on the other hand, makes light of black women's fears and vulnerabilities, turning them into moments of comic relief.

Similarly, the film is woefully silent on the rich and vibrant history of black Civil Rights activists in Mississippi. Granted, the assassination of

Medgar Evers, the first Mississippi-based field secretary of the NAACP, gets some attention. However, Evers' assassination sends Jackson's black community frantically scurrying into the streets in utter chaos and disorganized confusion—a far cry from the courage demonstrated by the black men and women who continued his fight. Portraying the most dangerous racists in 1960s Mississippi as a group of attractive, well-dressed society women, while ignoring the reign of terror perpetuated by the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Council, limits racial injustice to individual acts of meanness.

We respect the stellar performances of the African-American actresses in this film. Indeed, this statement is in no way a criticism of their talent. It is, however, an attempt to provide context for this popular rendition of black life in the Jim Crow South. In the end, *The Help* is not a story about the millions of hard-working and dignified black women who labored in white homes to support their families and communities. Rather, it is the coming-of-age story of a white protagonist who uses myths about the lives of black women to make sense of her own. The Association of Black Women Historians finds it unacceptable for either this book or this film to strip black women's lives of historical accuracy for the sake of entertainment. □

Ida E. Jones is National Director of ABWH and Assistant Curator at Howard University. Daina Ramey Berry, Tiffany M. Gill and Kali Nicole Gross are Lifetime Members of ABWH and Associate Professors at the University of Texas at Austin. Janice Sumler-Edmond is a Lifetime Member of ABWH and a Professor at Huston-Tillotson University.

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prosecution.

For the first time, I met the white shop steward at the Hercules Powder plant, Huck Dunagin, who had stood behind the black workers who tried to vote, guaranteeing to them that their jobs would be safe. At a time when unions are under siege, it is important to recall his example of how much a union leader who cares about his workers can accomplish.

In the Mississippi State Archives and McCain Library of the University of Southern Mississippi, I found documents such as reports of the State Sovereignty Commission and incendiary letters from attorney Roberts, which further illuminated the tensions in the society the Civil Rights Division lawyers confronted. *Count Them One by One: Black Mississippians Fighting for the Right to Vote* is the account of those 16 African-American men and women who testified, of the trial that led to passage of the Voting Rights Act, and of how Mississippi has changed.

Hattiesburg Today

Today, Hattiesburg has a black mayor who had enough clout on a statewide level to become the Democratic nominee for Governor in 2011. In the racial polarization that exists

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between the parties in today's Deep South, he, of course, could not succeed. On a more personal level, I recently met Reggie Howze, the grandson of one of our witnesses and a graduate of the formerly all-white Hattiesburg High School. Learning that I was from Boston, he told me that his classmate and "best friend in the world" was also living in Boston. When I met his friend Jeremy, he repeated the same phrase about Reggie. Jeremy is white. Neither of them seemed to find this fact significant. We cannot be complacent about the access achieved then. The ballot must

be intelligible to all, particularly new citizens. Voter ID laws such as those in Georgia and Indiana, and proposed in Wisconsin and many other states since the 2010 election, must be scrutinized carefully. Felon disenfranchisement laws that are an impediment to meaningful re-entry to society should be eliminated. And each generation of new voters must recognize the efforts that had to be made by many of their forebears in order to be able to vote, and understand that their vote does count and may make a difference. □

Further Readings

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Branch, Taylor. *America in the King Years trilogy* (New York: Simon & Schuster)

Doar, John. "The Work of the Civil Rights Division in Enforcing Voting Rights Under the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960", 25 *Fla. St. L. Rev.* 1 (1997)

Elliff, John. *The United States Department of Justice and Individual Rights, 1937-1962* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1987)

Katagiri, Yasuhiro, *The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission* (Jackson: Univ. Press of Mississippi, 2001)

Roberts, Gene & Hank Klibanoff, *The Race Beat: The Press, The Civil Rights Struggle, and the Awakening of a Nation* (New York: Knopf, 2007)

United States v. Lynd, 301 F. 2d 818 (5th cir.), cert. denied 371 U.S. 893 (1962); #19576 (5th cir. Sept. 17-21, 1962); (S. D. Miss., Jan. 20, 1965) reversed 349 F. 2d 785 (5th cir., June 16, 1965)

CBS Reports: Mississippi and the Fifteenth Amendment, shown Sept. 26, 1962, distributed by Films for the Humanities and Sciences

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.

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Race/Racism

- **Racism on Trial: The Chicano Fight for Justice**, by Ian F. Haney Lopez (324 pp., 2003), was published by Belknap Press/Harvard Univ. Press. [13060]
- **Invisible Enemy: The African American Freedom Struggle after 1965**, by Greta de Jong (248 pp., 2010), has been published by Wiley-Blackwell. [13068]
- **"Racial Formation in Theory and Practice: The Case of Mexicans in the United States,"** by Douglas Massey (15 pp., 2009), is available from the author, dmassey@princeton.edu [13077]
- **The UCLA Asian American Studies Center** (until recently headed by PRRAC Bd. member Don Nakanishi) has launched a quarterly e-newsletter. Inf. from mli@aasc.ucla.edu [13086]
- **"Race on the 2010 Census: Hispanics & the shrinking white majority,"** by Ian F. Haney Lopez (11 pp.), appeared in the Winter 2005 issue of *Daedalus*. [13118]
- **The End Racial Profiling Act of 2011 (S.1670)** has been introduced by Sen. Ben Cardin (D-MD). [13132]
- **"Restoring a National Consensus: The Need to End Racial Profiling"** (39 pp., March 2011) -- an update of their 2003 report, "Wrong Then, Wrong Now: Racial Profiling Before and After September 11, 2001" -- is available (no price given) from The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, 1629 K St. NW, 10th fl., Wash., DC 20006, 202/466-3311 [13133]
- **Who's Afraid of Post-Blackness? What It Means to Be Black Now**, by Touré (249 pp., 2011, \$25), has been published by New Press, 38 Greene Street, 4th fl., NYC, NY 10013, 212/629-8802 [13141]
- **The Accidental Slaveowner: Revisiting a Myth of Race and Finding an American Family**, by Mark Auslander (376 pp., 2011, \$24.95), has been published by Univ. Georgia Press. [13144]
- **A Time for Justice: America's Civil Rights Movement**, digitally restored 38-min. film, with new lessons in a teacher's guide, is available, free, to teachers grades 6-12 from Teaching Tolerance, tolerance.org/justice. Julian Bond is the narrator and Rep. John Lewis is featured. [13146]
- **Black in Latin America**, by Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (2011, \$26.95), has been published by NYU Press. [13147]
- **"The Japanese-American Internment Experience"** is an hour-long documentary about the Heart Mountain, Wyoming internment camp, now a new museum. Produced/presented by Tom Ashbrook's "On Point" -- <http://onpoint.wbur.org/2011/08/26/internment-examined> [13153]
- **"The How of an Internment, but Not All the Whys"** is a review, by Edward Rothstein, in the Dec. 10, 2011 *NY Times* of the new Heart Mountain Interpretive Learning Center in Powell, WY -- one of the several isolated internment camps to which Japanese-Americans were forcibly relocated at the beginning of WWII. If you can't locate it on the Internet, we'll be happy to mail you a copy of the clip if you provide a SASE. [13225]
- **"The National Asian American Political Almanac (14th ed.)"** has been published by the UCLA Asian American Studies Center (formerly headed by PRRAC Bd. member Don Nakanishi). It reports that the U.S. has more Asian-American elected and appointed officials than ever. Review copies of the 260-page document and further inf. from 310/825-2968, aascpress@aasc.ucla.edu [13156]
- **American Oracle: The Civil War in the Civil Rights Era**, ed. David W. Blight (314 pp., 2011), has been published by Harvard Univ. Press. Robert Penn Warren, James Baldwin & Bruce Catton are among the authors of the 6 chapters contained therein. [13180]
- **A Celebration of Music From The Civil Rights Movement** -- in performance at the White House -- is available at http://video.pbs.org/video/1410865290?utm_source=YouTube&utm_medium=pbschannel&utm_campaign=pbs [13187]
- **The 2010-2011 Annual Report of the Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity** (until recently headed by PRRAC Bd. member John Powell) is available (likely free) from the Institute, 433 Mendenhall Laboratory, 125 S. Oval Mall, Columbus, OH 43210, kirwaninstitute@osu.edu [13228]
- **"Forging the Future: The Role of New Research, Data, and Policies for Asian Americans, Native Hawaiians, and Pacific Islanders"** is a special double issue of *Nexus*, the journal of the UCLA Asian American Studies Center (until recently headed by PRRAC Bd. member Don Nakanishi). Downloadable at http://www.aasc.ucla.edu/archives/nexusv9n1_2.asp. Or contact Melanie De La Cruz-Viesca, 310/825-2974. [13229]
- **"We Still Live Here: As Nutayunean"** is a 2011 documentary film, from Independent Television

Service, telling the story of the return of a Native-American language (the Wampanoags of Cape Cod & Martha's Vineyard, Mass.) that was silenced for more than a century. Contact info@itvs@communitycinema-dc.org, 202/939-0794, press 1, or 202/855-1234.

- **"Jews and Race Relations in the South"** was an Oct. 10, 2011 event put on by The Lincoln Legacy Project, a 5-year Ford's Theatre effort dealing with the issues of tolerance, equality and acceptance. (In 2011, the Theatre produced the Tony-winning musical "Parade," about the historical trial and lynching of Jewish factory manager Leo Frank in the 1910s Atlanta.) Participants were former NAACP Chair Julian Bond, author/historian Eli Evans, playwright Alfred Uhry & Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Cynthia Tucker. C-SPAN's entire video of the event is available at <http://www.c-spanvideo/program/JewsandR> [13102]

- **"Why Latino/a History Matters to U.S. History"** was an Oct. 18, 2011 lecture by Prof. Vicki Ruiz of the U.C.-Irvine History & Chicano/Latino Studies Dept., co-sponsored by the National Women's History Museum and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, United States Studies. Inf. (it may have been recorded) from 703/461-1920, swinston@nwhm.org [13159]

- **"New Research and Policy on Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders and Native Hawaiians: Meeting the Needs of the Fastest Growing Group in America"** was an Oct. 28, 2011 presentation by The Center for American Progress & The UCLA

Asian American Studies Center (formerly headed by PRRAC Bd. member Don Nakanishi). Inf. from CAP, 1333 H St. NW, 10th flr. Wash., DC 20005, 202/682-1611, events@americanprogress.org

- **"Governing for Racial Equity Conference"** will be held in Seattle, **Jan. 20, 2012**. Inf. from Glenn Harris, Seattle Office for Civil Rights, 810 Third Ave., #750, Seattle, WA 98104, 206/233-5199, Glenn.Harris@seattle.gov

- **"Transforming Race 2012: Visions of Change"** will be held **March 15-17, 2012** at the Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity (until recently headed by PRRAC Bd. member John Powell). Ohio State Univ. (Columbus). Van Jones is one of the keynote speakers. Inf./registration from 614/688-5429, kirwaninstitute@osu.edu, www.kirwaninstitute.org [13168]

- **"The Black List"** Is an exhibit of fine photos by Timothy Greenfield-Sanders of 50 living men and women, "a visual 'who's who' of African American men and women whose intelligence, talent and determination have propelled them to prominence in fields as diverse as religion, performing arts, medicine, sports, art, literature and politics." Among the 50: Whoopi Goldberg, Sean Combs, Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, Susan Rice, Deval Patrick, Tony Morrison, Gordon Parks, Al Sharpton. Short taped interviews accompany the photos. At the National Portrait Gallery (8th & F St., WDC, 202/633-1000, npg.si.edu) until **April 22, 2012**.

Poverty/Welfare

- **"Restoring Shared Prosperity: Strategies to Cut Poverty and Expand Economic Growth"** (118 pp., Oct. 2011) is available (no price listed) from The Center for American Progress, 1333 H St. NW, 10th flr., Wash., DC 20005, 202/682-1611, www.halfintn.org [13064]

- **"The Basic Economic Security Tables for the United States"** (38 pp., 2010) is available (possibly free) from Wider Opportunities for Women, 1001 Conn. Ave. NW, #930, Wash., DC 20036, 202/464-1596 [13070]

- **Child poverty in detail** is the focus of a 2011 report by Columbia University's National Center for Children in Poverty, providing a state-by-state breakdown of risk factors faced by children. Available at www.nccp.org/tools/risk/ [13081]

- **"The Re-Emergence of Concentrated Poverty: Metropolitan Trends in the 2000s,"** by Elizabeth Kneebone, Carey Anne Nadeau & Alan Berube (Nov. 2011), is available (no price listed) from The Brookings Institution, 1775 Mass. Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20036, 202/797-6000; downloadable at http://www.brookings.edu/papers/2011/1103_poverty_kneebone_nadeau_berube.aspx [13138]

- **"Wealth Gaps Rise to Record Heights Between Whites, Blacks and Hispanics,"** by Paul Taylor, Rakesh Kochhar, Richard Fry, Gabriel Velasco & Seth Motel (39 pp., July 2011), has been issued by the Pew Research Center. Contact Pew Social

& Demographic Trends., 1615 L St. NW, #700, Wash., DC 20036, 202/419-4372, http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/files/2011/07/SDT-Wealth-Report_7-26-11_FINAL.pdf.

- **"Welfare Rules Databook: State TANF Policies as of July 2010,"** by David Kassabian, Tracy Vericker, David Searle & Mary Murphy (220 pp., Aug. 2011), is available (no price given) from The Urban Institute, 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037-1231, 202/833-7200, pubs@urban.org [13149]

- **"Poverty by the Numbers: What New Measures Say About At-Risk Groups and the Social Safety Net"** was held by The Urban Institute Dec. 6, 2011. A video recording and resources related to the event are posted at <http://www.urban.org/events/Poverty-by-the-Numbers.cfm> [13157]

Community Organizing

- **Parent Power: Education Organizing in New York City, 1995-2010,** a 35-min. film by Norm Fruchter, is available (no price given) from The Annenberg Institute for School Reform, Brown Univ., Box 1985, Providence, RI 02912, 401/863-7990, AISR_info@brown.edu [13222]

Criminal Justice

- **"Post-Racial Racism: Racial Stratification and Mass Incarceration in the Age of Obama,"** by Ian F. Haney Lopez (51 pp.), appeared in the June 2010

(Vol. 98, No. 3) issue of *California Law Review*. [13072]

● **Why Our Drug Laws Have Failed and What We Can Do About It**, by James P. Gray (2nd ed., 2011), A Judicial Indictment of the War on Drugs, has been published by Temple Univ. Press, 800/621-2736. [13076]

● **"Breakthrough in U.S. Drug Sentencing Reform: The Fair Sentencing Act and the Unfinished Reform Agenda,"** by Kara Gotsch (11 pp.), has been published by The Washington Office on Latin America, 1666 Conn. Ave. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20009, 202/797-2171, info@wola.org, www.wola.org [13079]

● **"State Reforms Promoting Employment of People with Criminal Records: 2010-11 Legislative Roundup,"** by Michelle Natividad Rodriguez, Elizabeth Farid & Nicole D. Porter (23 pp.), from The National Employment Law Project, The Sentencing Project, and National HIRE Network, is available (no price listed) from NELP, 75 Maiden Ln., #601, NYC, NY 10038, 212/285-3025, www.nelp.org [13106]

● **Blind Goddess: A Reader on Race and Justice**, ed. Alexander Papachristou (Fall 2011, 368 pp., \$25.95), has been published by New Press, 38 Greene St., 4th fl., NYC, NY 10013, 212/629-8802. [13120]

● **"American Murder Mystery Revisited: Do Housing Vouchers Households Cause Crime?"** (35 pp., Oct. 2011) is available (no price given) from NYU's Furman

Center for Real Estate & Urban Policy, 139 MacDougal St., 2nd fl., NYC, NY 10012, 212/998-6713, www.furmancenter.org [13121]

● **"Impact of Mandatory Minimum Federal Sentencing Penalties"** is the subject of a new (likely Nov. 2011), 645-page report by the United States Sentencing Commission. Contact the Commission's Office of Public Affairs, One Columbus Circle NE, Suite 2-500, Wash., DC 20002-8002, 202/502-4568. [13134]

● **Correlation Between Race and Corrections Spending** is shown in a study by Christian Breunig and Rose Ernst in the July 2011 *Race and Justice*. Co-author Ernst can be contacted at ernstr@seattleu.edu [13136]

● **Racial Disparities and Perceptions of Legitimacy of Law Strongly Related** is shown in a review of the literature by Michael Rocque in the July 2011 *Race and Justice*. Author can be contacted at m.rocque@neu.edu [13137]

● **"Advocate Training: Reducing Employment Barriers for People with Criminal Records"** was held Nov. 22, 2011, co-hosted by The Sentencing Project, the National Employment Law Center and the National H.I.R.E. Network. Inf. from The Sentencing Project, 1705 DeSales St. NW, 8th fl., Wash., DC 20036, staff@sentencingproject.org

Economic/Community Development

● **"The New Native American Community Development Track,"** a

NeighborWorks Training Institute, was held Dec. 12-16 in DC. Inf. from Lee Anne Adams, 202/220-2433, ladams@nw.org [13200]

● **The National Community Reinvestment Annual Conference** will be held **April 18-21, 2012** in DC. Inf. from the Coalition, 727 15th St. NW, #900, Wash., DC 20005, www.ncrc.org [13130]

Education

● **"Effective Teaching as a Civil Right"** (58 pp., Fall 2011) is available (possibly free) from The Annenberg Inst. for School Reform, Brown Univ., Box 1985, Providence, RI 02912, 401/863-7990, AISR.info@brown.edu, www.annenberginstitute.org [13083]

● **"Teacher Diversity Matters: A State-by-State Analysis of Teachers of Color,"** by Ulrich Boser (19 pp., Nov. 2011), is available (no price listed) from The Center for American Progress, 1333 H St. NW, 10th fl., Wash., DC 20005, 202/682-1611, www.americanprogress.org [13108]

● **"Trends in Chicago Schools Across Three Eras of Reform: Full Report,"** by Stuart Luppescu, Elaine Allensworth, Paul Moore, Marisa de la Torre, James Murphy & Sanja Jagesic (112 pp., Sept. 2011), is available (no price listed) from The Consortium on Chicago School Research, 1313 E. 60 St., Chicago, IL 60637, 773/702-3364. [13110]

● **"Rethinking Teacher Evaluation in Chicago: Lessons Learned from Classroom Observations, Principal-Teacher Confer-**

ences, and District Implementation" (64 pp., 2011) is available (no price given) from The Consortium on Chicago School Research, 1313 E. 60 St., Chicago, IL 60637, 773/702-3364 [13116]

● **"U.S. Urges Campus Creativity to Gain Diversity,"** a cover article in the Dec. 3, 2011 *NY Times*, reported on guidelines from the Justice Dept. and Dept. of Education on acceptable methods of producing diversity in light of recent Supreme Court decisions -- essentially reinterpreting those rulings. If you can't find it on the Internet, we'll be glad to mail you a copy of the clip if you provide a SASE. [13131]

● **Older Than America**, a film by Georgina Lightning, about Indian boarding schools, is available via www.tribalalliance.com [13145]

● **"Federal and State Roles and Capacity for Improving Schools,"** by Michael A. Gottfried, Brian M. Stecher, Matthew Hoover & Amanda Brown Cross (50 pp., 2011), is available from The RAND Corp., http://www.rand.org/pubs/technical_reports/TR989.html [13154]

● **"Do Charter Schools Improve Student Achievement? Evidence from a National Randomized Study,"** by Melissa Clark & Philip Gleason (Dec. 2011), is a Working Paper available (no price given) from Mathematica Policy Research, PO Box 2393, Princeton, NJ 08543-2393, 609/799-3535, communications@mathematica-mpr.com [13166]

● **"False Performance Gains: A Critique of Successive Cohort Indica-**

tors," by Steven Glazerman -- re using student test scores for school accountability -- is a Working Paper available (no price given) from Mathematica Policy Research, PO Box 2393, Princeton, NJ 08543-2393, 609/799-3535, communications@mathematica-mpr.com [13167]

- "Views on the News" is a bi-monthly online commentary and analysis produced by the External Affairs team at Teachers College. Contact them at 212/678-3412, views@tc.columbia.edu [13177]

- *Mendez v. Westminster: For All the Children/Para Todos los Niños*, a documentary by Sandra Robbie, is available for purchase at <http://shop.wmht.org/shop/search.php?mode=search&page=1>. Contact her at 714/222-0449, sandra.robby@yahoo.com [13188]

- "ARRA's Actual Per Pupil Expenditure Data Reveal Inequities in School Funding," by Jennifer Cohen (2 pp., Dec. 2011), is available (likely free) from The New America Foundation, 1899 L St. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20036, www.newamerica.net [13192]

- "Comparability of State and Local Expenditures Among Schools Within Districts: A Report From the Study of School-Level Expenditure" (Dec. 2011) is available from the Office of Planning, Evaluation and Policy Development of the U.S. Dept. of Education, <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/opepd/ppss/reports.html#title> [13210]

- "Expanding the Learning Day: An Essential Component of

the Community Schools Strategy," by Reuben Jacobson & Martin J. Blank (12 pp.), appeared in *New Directions for Youth Development*, Fall 2011. Reprints likely available from co-author Blank, BlankM@iel.org [13227]

- "Breaking Schools' Rules: A Statewide [TX] Study on How School Discipline Relates to Students' Success and Juvenile Justice Involvement," by Tony Fabelo et al. (106 pp., July 2011), co-produced with the Texas A&M Policy Research Institute, is available (no price listed) from the Council of State Governments' Justice Center, 100 Wall St., 20th fl., NYC, NY 10005, 212/482-2320, <http://www.justicecenter.csg.org/resources/juveniles>

- "Diverse Schools Need Diverse Teachers: Strategies to Increase Diversity in the Teacher Workforce" was held Nov. 9, 2011 at The Center for American Progress. Inf. from them at 202/682-1611, events@americanprogress.org [13213]

- "Dropping Out: Why Students Drop Out of High School and What Can Be Done About It" was a Nov. 18, 2011 Forum held by The American Youth Policy Forum. Inf. from them, 1836 Jefferson Pl. NW, Wash., DC 20036, 202/775-9731, www.aypf.org [13078]

- "Professional Development and Teacher Evaluation in Improving Teacher Effectiveness" was a Nov. 29, 2011 event sponsored by The Center for American Progress. Inf. from them at 1333 H St. NW, 10th fl., Wash., DC 20005, 202/682-1611, events@americanprogress.org. [13085]

- "Using Data to Improve Quality in City-wide Afterschool Systems: Lessons from Providence and Boston" were events sponsored by The American Youth Policy Forum on Providence (Dec. 9, 2011) and Boston (Dec. 19, 2011), both held in DC. Inf. from The Forum, 202/775-9731, www.aypf.org [13128]

- "Expanded Learning Opportunities: A More Comprehensive Approach to Preparing High School Students for College and a Career" was a Dec. 12, 2011 Webinar organized by The Alliance for Excellent Education. Inf. from them at 1201 Conn. Ave. NW, #901, Wash., DC 20036, jamos@all4ed.org [13084]

- "Using Data and Inquiry to Build Equity-Focused College-Going Cultures" was a Dec. 14, 2011 Webinar organized by The American Youth Policy Forum. Inf. from them at AYPF@aypf.org [13107]

- "Getting and Staying on Track: The Economic Benefits of Ensuring Success for the Nation's Most Off-Track Students," sponsored by The Alliance for Excellent Education, was held Dec. 14, 2011 in DC. Inf. from 202/828-0828, all4ed@all4ed.org [13143]

- "Core Standards: Common in Their Development; Wholly Owned By States and Districts in Their Implementation" was a Dec. 15, 2011 Webinar held by The Coalition for a College and Career Ready America. Inf. from www.collegeandcareerreadyamerica.org [13129]

- "Going to Scale: Comprehensive Birth-Through-Grade-Twelve State Literacy Plans" is a

Jan. 5, 2012 Webinar hosted by the Alliance for Excellent Education. Inf. from Alliance@all4ed.org.

- "Scaling Up School and Community Partnerships: The Community Schools Strategy," the Community Schools National Forum, will take place **May 16-18, 2012** in SF. Inf. from the Inst. for Educational Leadership, 4455 Conn. Ave. NW, #310, Wash., DC 20008. [13211]

Employment/Labor/Jobs Policy

- "Putting America Back to Work," by Ross Eisenbrey, Lawrence Mishel, L. Josh Bivens & Andrew Fieldhouse (Sept. 2011), outlining 11 policy proposals to create jobs, is available (no price listed) from The Economic Policy Inst., 1333 H St. NW, #300, E. Tower, Wash., DC 20005, 202/775-8810, www.epi.org [13197]

- "Hidden in Plain Sight: Workers at Baltimore's Inner Harbor and the Struggle for Fair Development," by United Workers & National Economic and Social Rights Initiative (NESRI) -- 44 pp., Spring 2011 -- is downloadable at <http://unitedworkers.org/fair-development/report-hidden-in-plain-site/>; hard copy available (no price listed) from United Workers, PO Box 41547, Baltimore, MD 21203, 410/230-1998, info@unitedworkers.org [13220]

- "Going to Scale: Comprehensive Birth-Through-Grade-Twelve State Literacy Plans" is a Jan. 5, 2012 Webinar hosted by The Alliance for Excellent Education. Inf.

from alliance@all4ed.org

- **"Can't Scare Me, the Story of Mother Jones,"** a 1-woman play written and acted by Kaiulani Lee, will be performed **Feb. 17, 2012** at the George Mason Univ. Center for the Arts (Fairfax, VA). Inf. from TheateroftheFirst Amendment.org [13223]

Families/ Women/ Children

- **"Learning Together: How Families Responded to Education Incentives in New York City's Conditional Cash Transfer Program,"** by David Greenberg, Nadine Dechausay & Carolyn Fraker (May 2011, 84 pp.), is available (no price listed) from MDRC, 16 E. 34 St., NYC, NY 10016-4326, 212/532-3200, www.mdrc.org [13063]

- **"The Child Well-Being Index,"** a national research-based composite measure updated annually, from the Foundation for Child Development, is available at <http://fcd-us.org/our-work/child-well-being-index-cwi>

- **"Living Below the Line: Economic Insecurity and America's Families"** (12 pp., 2011) is available (possibly free) from Wider Opportunities for Women, 1001 Conn. Ave., NW, #930, Wash., DC 20036, 202/464-1596. [13069]

- **"Speaking Out: Latino Youth on Discrimination in the United States,"** by Patricia Foxen (56 pp., 2010), is available (no price listed) from National Council of La Raza, 1126 16th St. NW, Wash., DC 20036, 202/785-1670, www.nclr.org [13071]

- **"African -American Children Are Less Likely to Abuse Drugs and Alcohol"** is the conclusion of a study by Dan Blazer and others of the Duke Univ. Dept. of Psychiatry, appearing in the Nov. 2011 *Archives of General Psychiatry*. [13135]

- **"Today's Children, Tomorrow's America: Six Experts Face the Facts,"** by C. Eugene Steuerle, Robert D. Reischauer, Margaret Simms, Olivia Golden, Kim Rueben & Lisa Dubay (Oct. 2011), is available (no price listed) from The Urban Institute, 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/261-5687. Downloadable at <http://www.urban.org/url.cfm?ID=412427> [13198]

- **"Moving America's Children Into the Spotlight: The Presidential Election As An Opportunity for Dialogue about America's Future,"** by Charles Bruner & Brenda Chenchar (30 pp., Nov. 2011), is available (no price listed) from Voices for America's Children, 202/380-1781, heine@voices.org [13201]

- **"The Changing Child Population of the United States: Analysis of Data from the 2010 Census,"** by William O'Hare (25 pp., 2011), is available (possibly free) from The Annie E. Casey Foundation, 701 St. Paul St., Baltimore, MD 21202, 410/547-6600, www.aecf.org [13202]

- **"The State of Young America: Economic Barriers to the American Dream,"** by Tamara Draut, Robert Hiltonsmith, Catherine Ruetschlin, Aaron Smith, Rory O'Sullivan & Jennifer Mishory (103 pp., Nov. 2011), in 3 sections

(Databook, Poll, Stories), from Demos, is downloadable at <http://www.demos.org/state-of-young-america> [13221]

Food/ Nutrition/ Hunger

- **"Map the Meal Gap: Child Food Insecurity 2011"** (22 pp., March 2011) is available (possibly free) from Feeding America, 35 E. Wacker Dr., #2000, Chicago, IL 60601, 800/771-2303, www.feedingamerica.org [13150]

Health

- **The Center for School, Health and Education**, a unit of the American Public Health Assn., is reachable through its Director, Terri D. Wright, 202/777-2482, terri.wright@apha.org [13124]

- **School-Based Health Care: Advancing Educational Success and Public Health**, eds. Jeanita W. Richardson & Terri D. Wright (300 pp., 2011, \$35), has been published by American Public Health Assn. Press, 800 Eye St. NW, Wash., DC 20001-3710, 202/777-APHA, www.aphabookstore.org [13169]

- **"Neighborhoods, Obesity, and Diabetes – A Randomized Social Experiment"** appeared in Oct. 20, 2011 issue of *The New England Journal of Medicine*, using data from HUD's study, Moving to Opportunity for Fair Housing Demonstration Program: Final Evaluation.

- **The 2012 Association of Maternal and Child Health Programs Conf.**

will be held **Feb. 12-13, 2012** in Wash., DC -- preceded on Feb. 11 by its Adolescent and Young Adult Health Institute. Inf. from AMCHP, 2030 M St. NW, #350, Wash., DC 20036, 202/775-0436. [13115]

- **"Healthy Communities: Green solutions for safe environments"** is the 30th National Pesticide Forum, held by Beyond Pesticides, **March 30-31, 2012** at Yale Univ. Inf. from jkepner@beyondpesticides.org

Homelessness

- **"Criminalizing Crisis: The Criminalization of Homelessness in U.S. Cities"** (Nov. 2011, 57 pp., plus a 151-page Advocacy Manual) is available (no price given) from The National Law Center on Homelessness & Poverty, 1411 K St. NW, #1400, Wash., DC 20005, 202/638-2535, www.nlchp.org [13082]

- **"The Homeless Children Youth Act of 2011: Proposals to Promote Economic Independence for Homeless Children and Youth"** was a Dec. 15, 2011 hearing by the House Financial Services Subcommittee on Insurance, Housing and Community Opportunity. An archived hearing webcast and all witness testimony are available at <http://financialservices.house.gov/Calendar/EventSingle.aspx?EventID=271819>

- **"Banking on Vacancy: Homelessness and Real Estate Speculation"** is a 2012 report from Picture the Homeless, in partnership with the Hunter College Center for Community Planning and Development. Inf. from 646/314-

6423, adrian@picture
thehomeless.org

● **"Beyond Housing: A National Conversation on Child Homelessness and Poverty,"** sponsored by The Institute on Children, Poverty & Homelessness, will be held **Jan. 19-20, 2012** in NYC. Keynote speaker is Jonathan Kozol. Inf. from the Institute, 44 Cooper Sq., NYC, NY 10003, www.ICPHusa.org/Conference2012/ [13226]

Housing

● **"Housing Rights for All: Promoting and Defending Housing Rights in the United States"** (4th ed., 2009, 159 pp.), A Resource Manual on International Law and the Human Right to Adequate Housing, is available (no price listed) from The National Law Center on Homelessness & Poverty, 1411 K St. NW, #1400, Wash., DC 20005, 202/638-2535, info@nlchp.org, www.nlchp.org [13073]

● **"More Unequal and More Separate: Growth in the Residential Segregation of Families by Income, 1970-2009,"** by Sean F. Reardon & Kendra Bischoff (33 pp., Nov. 2011), is available (no price listed) from The Stanford Univ. Center for Education Policy Analysis, 520 Galvez Mall, CERAS Bldg., 5th fl., Stanford, CA 94305-3084, 650/736-1258. [13105]

● **"Housing Preservation Guide"** (101 pp., n.d. [2011?]) is available (no price given) from The City of Seattle's Office of Housing, Seattle Municipal Tower, 700 Fifth Ave., #5700, Seattle, WA 98124-4725, 206/684-0721, Seattle.Housing@seattle.gov [13161]

● **"An Annual Look at the Housing Affordability Challenges of America's Working Families"** (2011) is available (no price given) from The Center for Housing Policy, 1900 M St. NW, #200, Wash., DC 20036, 202/466-2121. [13173]

● **"Resilience in the Face of Foreclosures: Six Case Studies on Neighborhood Stabilization,"** by Roger L. Williams, Mark Weinheimer & James A. Brooks (38 pp., 2011[?]), is available (no price given) from The National League of Cities, 1301 Penn. Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20004, 202/626-3000. The six cities are Camden, Dayton, Milwaukee, Oakland, Phoenix & Tampa. www.nlc.org [13181]

● **"Rent Burden, Housing Subsidies and the Well-Being of Children,"** by Yumiko Aratani, Michelle Chau, Vanessa R. Wright & Sophia Addy (12 pp., Nov. 2011), is available from The National Center for Children in Poverty at Columbia University's Mailman School of Public Health, http://www.nccp.org/publications/pub_1043.html [13193]

● **Stewards of Affordable Housing for the Future** is a relatively new entity. Its 9 member orgs. (to date) include The National Housing Trust, Mercy Housing and Volunteers of America. Contact them at 555 11th St. NW, #525, Wash., DC 20004, 202/737-5970. [13215]

● **"Finding Common Ground: Coordinating Housing and Education Policy to Promote Integration,"** ed. Philip Tegeler (72 pp., Oct. 2011), is available from PRRAC: pdf at www.prrac.org; hard

copies: \$1/copy to cover postage; for bulk orders, contact egayles@prrac.org. Among the authors of the 10 articles: (PRRAC Soc. Sci. Adv. Bd. members) Stefanie DeLuca & Roslyn Arlin Mickelson, Ingrid Gould Ellen, David Rusk, Robert C. Embry, Jr. [13230]

● **"Profiles of Risk: Characterizing Housing Instability,"** a 4-page, June 2011 Issue Brief, is available (possibly free) from The Institute for Children, Poverty & Homelessness, 44 Cooper Sq., NYC, NY 10003, 212/358-8086, mwww.ICPHusa.org

● **"Tenants' Rights in Massachusetts: Private Housing"** is downloadable at <http://masslegalhelp.org/housing/legal-tactics1>

● **"Tenants' Rights in Massachusetts: Public Housing"** is downloadable at <http://masslegalhelp.org/housing/tenants-rights-in-public-housing>

● **"The Foreclosure Crisis and Its Impact on Communities of Color,"** by James Carr, Katrin B. Anacker & Michelle L. Mulcahy (55 pp., Sept., 2011) is available (no price given) from The National Community Reinvestment Coalition, 727 15th St. NW, #900, Wash., DC 20005, JCarr@nrc.org

● **The National AIDS Housing Coalition Summit** was held Sept. 21, 2011 in New Orleans. Briefing materials and a searchable bibliography of 300+ peer-reviewed journal articles related to HIV/AIDS and housing are available on their website, www.nationalaidshousing.org; or contact Nancy Bernstine at nancy@nationalaidshousing.org [13224]

● **"How Housing Matters"** was a Nov. 2, 2011 conference held at the National Building Museum, co-sponsored by the MacArthur Foundation and HUD. A video of all the panel discussions (including a keynote conversation between HHS Sec. Kathleen Sibelius and HUD Sec. Shaun Donovan) and the original case studies can be found at www.nbm.org. [13075]

● **"State of Housing in Black America Issues Forum,"** "to offer solutions to preserving the legacy of homeownership in minority communities," was held Nov. 19, 2011 in Atlanta. Inf. from Joyce BeLynda Russaw of the Selmore Foundation, 770/892-2576, russaw@bellsouth.net [13158]

● **"The Right to Adequate Housing"** is Fact Sheet No. 21 (52 pp., 2011?), available (no price listed) from the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, NYC, NY 10017. [13170]

● **"Connecting the Dots: Smart Growth, Public Health and Affordable Housing,"** by Jeffrey Lubell (Dec. 2011, 2 pp.), is available (likely free) from The Center for Housing Policy, 1900 M St. NW, #200, Wash., DC 20036, 202/466-2121, info@nhc.org [13209]

● **"Subsidized Housing: A Basic Overview for Advocates"** was a Nov. 30, 2011 Webinar organized by The National Housing Law Project. Inf. from Meliah Schultzman at the Project, 703 Market St., #2000, SF, CA 94103, 415/546-7000, x3116, mschultzman@nhlp.org, www.nhlp.org [13114]

● **The National Low Income Housing**

Coalition's 2012 Housing Policy Conference will take place **March 25-28, 2012** in DC. Inf. on it from the Coalition (headed by former PRRAC Bd. member Sheila Crowley), 727 15th St. NW, 6th fl., Wash., DC 20005, 202/662-1530. [13182]

Immigration

● **"Shattered Families: The Perilous Intersection of Immigration Enforcement and the Child Welfare System"** (65 pp., Nov. 2011) is available (no price listed) from The Applied Research Center, spena@arc.org, www.arc.org [13112]

● **"Shared Challenges and Opportunities for EU and US Immigration Policymakers,"** by Philippe Fargues, Demetrios Papademetriou, Giambattista Salinari & Madeleine Sumption (23 pp., Nov. 2011), is available (no price given) from The Migration Policy Institute, 1400 16th St. NW, #300, Wash., DC 20036, 202/266-1940. [13113]

● ***Roots of Migration***, by Mikel Barton, reveals the global forces that have pushed millions of people to migrate to the United States. Shot entirely on location in Oaxaca, Mexico. Available (no price listed) from Witness for Peace, www.WitnessForPeace.org [13127]

International Human Rights and U.S. Civil Rights Policy

● **"The Right to Vote Under Attack"** (Oct. 2011, 7 pp.) is available (no price listed) from People for the

American Way. Contact Miranda Blue, 202/467-2335, mblue@pfaw.org. [13142]

● **"Human Rights in State Courts 2011"** (57 pp.) is available (no price given) from The Opportunity Agenda, 568 Broadway, #302, NYC, NY 10012, 212/334-5977, www.opportunityagenda.org [13163]

● **"Economic Opportunity, Human Rights, and the Role of Government,"** by Jill Mizell (July 2011), is a short brief, available (no price given) from The Opportunity Agenda, 568 Broadway, #302, NYC, NY 10012, 212/334-5977, www.opportunityagenda.org [13164]

● **Local Human Rights Lawyering Project:** The Center for Human Rights & Humanitarian Law at the American Univ. Washington College of Law is accepting applications for this new project, which will consist of training workshops, collaborative litigation strategy sessions, ongoing coaching and continuous litigation support. Jan. 10, 2012 application deadline. Applic. & full project description at <http://www.wcl.american.edu/humright/center/LocalLawyering.cfm>

● **Washington, DC: Human Rights City:** In December 2008, the City Council of the District Columbia officially so designated the city, the first such city in the U.S. to do so. For background and progress, contact Jean-Louis Peta Ikambana of the American Friends Service Committee, 202/544-0324, PIkambana@afsc.org

● **"Assessing Human Rights in the United States: Domestic Human**

Rights Indicators" (15 pp., May 2011) is available (no price given) from The Opportunity Agenda, 568 Broadway, #302, NYC, NY 10012, 212/334-5977, www.opportunityagenda.org [13165]

● **"The 2012 Human Rights Institute,"** sponsored by the Human Rights Project at the Urban Justice Center, will be held **March 28-30, 2012** in NYC. Inf. from 646/602-5626, hri@urbanjustice.org [13152]

Transportation

● **"Transit Civil Rights & Economic Survival in Los Angeles: A Case for Federal Intervention in LA Metro"** (24 pp., Oct. 2011) is available (no price listed) from The Bus Riders Union/Labor Community Strategy Center, 3780 Wilshire Blvd., #1200, LA, CA 90010, 213/387-2800, www.thestrategycenter.org [13199]

● **"Does Access to Public Transit Affect Housing Costs?,"** by Keith Wardrop (12 pp., Aug. 2011), is available (no price listed) from The Center for Housing Policy, 1900 M St. NW, #200, Wash., DC 20036, 202/466-2121, www.nhc.org

Miscellaneous

● **"America Is Not Broke,"** by Sarah Anderson & John Cavanagh (15 pp., 2011), is available (likely free) from The Inst. for Policy Studies, 1112 16th St. NW, #600, Wash., DC 20036, 202/234-9382, www@ips-dc.org [13080]

● **"The State of Young America & Young Invisible Economic Barriers to the American Dream"** (Nov. 2011) is

available (no price given) from Demos, 220 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl., NYC, NY 10001, 212/633-1405, info@demos.org [13111]

● ***Baltimore '68: Riots and Rebirth in an American City***, eds. Jessica I. Elfenbein, Thomas L. Hollowak & Elizabeth M. Nix, all faculty members at the Univ. of Baltimore (294 pp., 2011, \$29.95), has been published by Temple Univ. Press. [13151]

● **"You've Got to Move: Stories of Change in the South,"** a 1985, 87-min. documentary by Lucy Massie Phenix & Veronica Selver, about Highlander Center, has been released on DVD in time for the 80th Anniversary of this wonderful progressive Tennessee institution. Order from 865/933-3443, x229, <http://www.highlandercenter.org/r-b-new.asp>

● ***My Storm: Managing the Recovery of New Orleans in the Wake of Katrina***, by Edward J. Blakely (2011), has been published by U. Penn. Press.

● ***The Divine Comedy of Carlo Tresca***, by F.S. Rosa (567 pp., 2011, \$25), has been published by Ithuriel's Spear Press. A novel based on true life of Tresca, a labor activist murdered in Manhattan in 1943. Rosa is a long-time student of labor and left history, living in SF. Reachable at fsrosa@earthlink.net [13175]

● ***Searching for the Just City: Debates in Urban Theory and Practice***, eds. Peter Marcuse, James Connolly, Johannes Novy, Ingrid Olivo, Cuz Potter & Justin Steil (264 pp., 2009), has been published by Routledge. Among contributors to the 14 chapters

are Susan Fainstein, David Harvey & J. Phillip Thompson. [13196]

- **"Voting Law Changes in 2012,"** by Wendy R. Weiser & Lawrence Norden (56 pp., 2011), is available (no price listed) from The Brennan Center for Justice, NYU School of Law, 161 Ave. of the Americas, 12th fl., NYC, NY 10013, www.brennancenter.org [13212]

- **"Why Tuesday? Fixing Our Voting System, One Question at a Time"** was a Nov. 7, 2011 panel event at The Newseum, featuring "Creating the Voting Rights Act of 2012." Inf. from info@whytuesday.org [13139]

- **"Context and Consequences: The Hill-Thomas Hearings Twenty Years Later"** was an Oct. 6, 2011 event at Georgetown Univ. Law Center, featuring Anita Hill, Charles Ogletree, Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton and many others. A full webcast is available at <http://www.law.georgetown.edu/webcast/eventDetail.cfm?eventID=1533> [13174]

- **The Bipartisan Policy Center** held its Third Annual Political Summit Nov. 15-16 in New Orleans. Co-hosts were James Carville and Mary Matalin; participants included Stan Greenberg, New Orleans Mayor Mitch Landrieu, former Sens. Bob Bennett & Trent Lott, former USDA Sec. Dan Glickman. Inf. from the Center, 1225 Eye St. NW, #1000, Wash., DC 20005, 202/204-2400. [13155]

- **The Center for Leadership Innovation** is holding its 2012 National

Summit **Jan. 17-20, 2012** in New Orleans. Inf. from the Center, 3300 N. Ridge Rd., #100, Ellicott City, MD 21043, 410/418-5181, info@CenterforLeadershipInnovation.org [13172]

- **"From Port Huron to Wall Street: 50 Years of Student, Worker, and Social Justice Struggles"** is the 2012 UCLA Institute for Research on Labor and Employment conference, **March 13, 2012**. Abstracts due Jan. 27. Inf. from Prof. Chris Tilly, 10945 LeConte Ave., #2107, LA, CA 90095-1478, 310/267-4738, chris_tilly@irle.ucla.edu

- **The MPSA Political Science Conference** will take place **April 12-15, 2012** in Chicago. Inf./reg/proposal submissions at ConfReg@mpsnet.org, www.mpsnet.org [13214]

Job Opportunities/ Fellowships/ Grants

- **The Annie E. Casey Foundation** is seeking a **Vice President, Civic Sites and Community Change**. Applications/nominations (resume/ltr.) to AECF@imsearch.com. Inquiries to 617/262-6500. [13041]

- **The National Law Center on Homelessness & Poverty** (DC) is seeking a **Housing Staff Attorney**. Ltr./resume/short writing sample ("Housing Attorney" in subject line) to lweissman@nlchp.org [13061]

- **The National Council of La Raza** (DC) is seeking a **Wealth-Building Policy**

Fellow to join the team directed by (PRRAC Bd. member) Janis Bowdler. Ltr./resume/writing sample to the Council, 1126 16th St. NW, Wash., DC 20036, attn. Julie Perez; or fax to 202/776-1775, hmail@nclr.org [13062]

- **The Inst. for Community Economics** (DC) is hiring an **Investor/Borrower Coordinator**. ICE is a non-profit, federally-certified CDFI that pioneered development of community land trusts in the U.S. and has been lending nationally for development of shared equity housing. Resume/ltr. to aslettebak@nhtinc.org [13148]

- **The Fair Share Housing Center** (Cherry Hill, NJ) is hiring an **Outreach Coordinator**. Ltr./resume w. refs./writing sample to jobs@fairsharehousing.org [13162]

- **The Harvard Family Research Project** is hiring a **Senior Research Analyst - Expanded Learning**. Applic. inf. from them: Harvard Grad. School of Education, 3 Garden St., Cambridge, MA 02138, 617/495-9108, www.hfrp.org [13191]

- **The Right to the City Alliance** is seeking a **National Organizer-Civic Engagement**. \$42,500-52,000. Ability to locate in NYC preferred but will consider other locations. Feb. 8 deadline. Ltr./resume/salary history/3 refs. to info@righttothecity.org, "National Organizer-CE" in subject line. [13194]

- **Latino Justice PRLDEF** (NYC) is seeking a **Senior Associate Counsel**. Ltr./resume/

writing sample (5-15 pp.)/3 refs. to sorna@latinojustice.org ("Senior Associate Counsel" in subject line). [13218]

- **Community Renewal Society** (Chicago) is hiring a new **Executive Director**. Inquiries/applies./nominations to Andrew Smerczak-Zorza, 312/896-8892, ajs@campbellcompany.com [13219]

- **The Civil Society Section of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights** has issued a call for applications for its 2012 Fellowship Programme for People of African Descent. Jan. 15, 2012 deadline. Programme will meet March 12-30 in Geneva. Submit in a single email (africandescent@ohchr.org) or fax to +41 22 928 90 59: c.v./completed Application Form bearing original signature of both the candidate and nominating organization - <http://goo.gl/IDNkQ/> + Personal Statement (max. 500 words) + Official Letter of Support from nominating organization or community + copy of applicant's passport.

- **The Domestic Employers Association** is seeking a **Coordinator of Organizational Operations and Development**. Half-time, location: NY of California Bay Area. Resume/ltr./writing sample/3 refs. (incl. 2 willing to talk about your writing proficiency) to HandinHandhire@gmail.com. Jan. 9, 2012 deadline.

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