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Can We Organize for Economic Justice Beyond Capitalism?

by LeeAnn Hall & Danny HoSang

In October 2008, former Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan shocked many observers when he acknowledged that the economic crisis had forced him to rethink his long-standing faith in the tenets of free markets. With the global economy in a tailspin, one of the most prominent advocates of unregulated markets publicly questioned the governing ideology of 21st Century capitalism.

Ironically, Greenspan broached two topics that community organizers in the U.S. often take pains to avoid: ideology and capitalism. A long tradition of “pragmatic” issue-based organizing has admonished organizers to be wary of all matters ideological. In *Rules for Radicals* (1971), Saul Alinsky explained that “no ideology should be more specific than that of America’s founding fathers: “For the general welfare,” Alinsky instead advised “real radicals” to focus on immediate, winnable issues that created concrete changes and built lasting organization; pragmatism was the only ideology that should concern organizers.

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In an October 2012 essay in the *Boston Review*, Michael Gecan of the Industrial Areas Foundation reiterated this ethos in extolling an organizing approach that is “non-ideological, focused, flexible, and short-term,” and rooted in “an effective freedom at odds with ideology.”

This approach—as practiced by the Industrial Areas Foundation and many other organizing formations—has produced countless improvements in cities and communities across the country, and engaged a broad group of people often excluded from traditional politics in the governance of their lives. Both of us were largely trained in this tradition and have spent many years attempting to build organizations around these principles.

At the same time, a growing segment of organizing groups are questioning whether pragmatism and competent organizing practice alone is capable of responding to the crises that are now a permanent feature of the contemporary economy: the collapse of the housing market, structural unemployment, massive incarceration, rising student and household debt, and deepening race and gender disparities.

The imperative to recreate and transform our economy comes from three fundamental dangers that we face today: the crisis of global inequity that thrives on racial hierarchies and bias; threats to democracy from increased militarization and corporate control;

and the global environmental crisis. Ignoring the confluence of these crises is not an option; we need to lay claim to innovation, ingenuity and inventiveness to advance new solutions.

In the face of large-scale migration, permanent war and an unprecedented concentration of wealth, how must organizing practice respond and evolve? Is it possible to imagine, articulate and implement new visions of economic life beyond capitalism? How can pragmatic, issue-based organizations engage such ideologically-driven challenges?

Learning from the Movement

The Alliance for a Just Society (AJS, formerly the Northwest Federa-

(Please turn to page 2)

CONTENTS:

Organizing Beyond Capitalism	1
Non-Citizens’ Rights . 3	
Immigration Enforcement	3
Community-Based Accountability for Schools	9
Resources	12

tion of Community Organizations), a national network of state and local organizing groups focused on economic, social and racial justice, has begun a long-term initiative to grapple with these questions. Part of this effort includes an effort to engage and learn from other social justice organizers, thinkers and activists around such challenges.

To this end, in September 2012, AJS convened a two-day gathering in Los Angeles titled “Our Economy: Envisioning and Organizing for Economic Justice Beyond Capitalism.” The meeting brought together organizers, trainers, academics and grassroots leaders to consider the alternative policies, practices, theories and worldviews that might create more ethical, equitable and sustainable economies.

Michael Leon Guerrero, who recently completed an eight-year tenure as National Coordinator of the Grassroots Global Justice Alliance (GGJA), opened the meeting with a talk describing lessons organizers in the U.S. might learn from contemporary social movements in Latin America. In most Latin American countries, Guerrero explained, broad sectors of the population are regularly engaged in discussions about neoliberal policy and ideology. Similarly, discussions of “21st Century socialism” adapted to the conditions, history and culture of

individual nations often reside at the center of national political debates.

Guerrero discussed the range of forces and conditions that gave rise to this consciousness and political engagement: a long history of struggle against structural adjustment and other neoliberal policies; traditions of liberation theology; the influence of socialism and communism on the region’s political culture; and the incorporation of anti-capitalist ideas and frameworks within electoral politics and the state. Guerrero concluded by explaining how organizations in the

Community organizers often take pains to avoid ideology and capitalism.

U.S., including GGJA and groups participating in the U.S. Social Forum, were working to frame economic justice campaigns in the U.S. in the larger context of neoliberalism and global justice.

Francis Calpotura, Executive Director of the Transnational Institute for Grassroots Research and Action (TIGRA), which focuses on winning fairness, equity and accountability in the global remittance (money transfer) industry, explained on a later panel that organizers should remain alert for the everyday ways that people can reconsider the legitimacy of capitalism and free markets. Rather than trying to imagine the wholesale transformation of global capitalism, Calpotura suggested that we can build from a variety of existing practices and habits—including co-ops, community credit systems, alternative remittance systems and even Craig’s List—to legitimate and make visible forms of economic activity not solely based on profit maximization and wealth accumulation.

On a panel examining the ways critiques of capitalism could be incorporated into everyday organizing campaigns, Dylan Rodriguez, a Professor of Ethnic Studies at UC Riverside, argued that organizers must acknowledge and confront the deeply conser-

vative orientation of Alinskyism. *Rules for Radicals*, Rodriguez maintained, was deeply dismissive of the mass-based anti-colonial and economic justice movements vying for legitimacy at the time, and this anti-radical underpinning continues to prevent many community organizers from discussing the impact of capitalism and genocide that many people can identify in their daily lives.

Steve Williams, co-founder of People Organized to Win Employment Rights (POWER) in San Francisco, reflected on his visits to South Africa in the 1990s to raise the importance of political education and discussion as an everyday practice within social justice organizations. Grassroots leaders, members and organizers must afford themselves the resources and space to understand the complexity of the economic and political structures they face in order to develop effective long-term campaigns.

Tammy Bang Luu of the Labor Community Strategy Center and Bus Riders Union (BRU) in Los Angeles described the uncertain ground on which their work for transformative organizing around mass transit takes place. On some days, she explained, the BRU’s work has the feeling of a mass-based social movement rooted in widely felt anti-racist principles and politics. At other times, they feel like modest efforts to simply win more buses. Luu argues that organizers must be comfortable with this contradiction, so that they can recognize and have the capacity to respond to opportunities for broader political transformation when they arise.

Ideas into Action

These insights, and the comments raised during other panels and workshops at the meeting, affirmed for the leadership of the Alliance for a Just Society that we must develop a capacity to imagine a world beyond capitalism that can be advanced in our campaigns for economic, racial and social justice. Creating this shift will not be

(Please turn to page 11)

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Perspectives on Immigration Enforcement

The conservative demand for stronger “immigration enforcement” continues to undermine the immigration policy reform debate, in spite of the fact that the current administration has engaged in stronger (and often over-vigorous) enforcement than its predecessor. The two articles below explore the immigration enforcement debate from different angles. The first, by PRRAC Research Fellow Silva Mathema, examines the local implementation of one of the most controversial immigration enforcement laws, which seeks to enlist local law enforcement to assist ICE in immigration enforcement. The second, by Angela Duger, lay out a progressive alternative to strict immigration enforcement policies.

— the editors

Lessons Learned from a Federal-Local Immigration Enforcement Program in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, North Carolina

by Silva Mathema

The post-election renewed fervor surrounding immigration policy reform and the bipartisan consensus to “fix” the “broken” system in the United States has opened up a window for a comprehensive solution. The President’s recent (Jan. 29) speech on immigration reform and the *Bipartisan Framework for Comprehensive Immigration Reform* released by a group of U.S. Senators show that enforcement, either border or local, is likely to be one of the components of this immigration overhaul. As policies are being crafted to appease both sides of the aisle, policymakers should not overlook that these policies have direct and

indirect consequences on how immigrants choose to or are able to live in their communities. Apart from the factors such as English language proficiency, financial capital (Nee & Sanders, 2001) and their social networks (Hagan, 1998), the processes of integration of every immigrant is influenced by the laws and socio-political environment of a receiving society (Berry, 2003). My research explores the impacts of a federal-local partnership called the 287(g) program on these processes of integration of Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, North Carolina.

The Program

Section 287(g), a provision of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), was introduced in 1996. By signing the Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) with the Immigration Control and Enforcement (ICE) agency, local jurisdictions were given the authority to identify and detain undocumented immigrants who are suspected of or charged with a criminal activity, who could then be processed by ICE for deportation. From 2002 to October 2012, there were 57

(Please turn to page 4)

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Using the Boston Principles: Fighting for the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of Noncitizens

by Angela Duger

With new state legislation aimed at undocumented immigrants, noncitizens residing in the United States are experiencing increasing violations of their economic and social rights. States legislation enacted over the past 15 years, like Alabama’s HB56 law, has limited the social and economic ser-

vices available to noncitizens. For example, when originally passed, HB56 barred undocumented immigrants from enrolling in state colleges and universities; authorized local police to inquire about the immigration status of any person stopped if the officer

(Please turn to page 7)

(ENFORCEMENT: Cont. from page 3)

active agreements across 21 states. Between January 2006 and October 2012, the program has identified more than 304,678 removable individuals from the local jails in the U.S. and invested approximately \$320 million (ICE, 2012a). The total number of individuals removed by the program from January 2006 to February 2012 is 168,171 (DHS, 2012). Previous research suggests that, like any other government program, 287(g) has several intended and unintended consequences on the community.

Focus on Hispanics

My research focused primarily on Hispanics, as they are thought to be most acutely affected by 287(g) (Nguyen, 2010), framing the impact of 287(g) in terms of three axes or processes of integration: social trust, interaction, and mobility. I also investigated the impacts of 287(g) through the lenses of local service providers who are instrumental in providing an infrastructure for newcomers to integrate into the community. More specifically, I sought to answer the following questions:

- How does the 287(g) program impact social trust that Hispanics place in the service providers as well as the community?
- How does the 287(g) program impact the interaction of Hispanics with the service providers and the community?
- How have mobility patterns of Hispanics shifted after the implementation of 287(g)?

Why Charlotte-Mecklenburg, North Carolina?

The demographic change in the United States is indisputable at the national level and even more so at the local level. Mecklenburg County, North Carolina was an ideal labora-

tory for assessing the impact of 287(g), as the rapidity of growth in immigrant population made Charlotte one of the top five pre-emerging immigrant gateways in the U.S. (Singer, 2004). Furthermore, the Charlotte metropolitan area became the fourth largest “Hispanic hypergrowth” area in the U.S. after an increase of 932% in its Latino population from 1980-2000 (Suro & Singer, 2002). From 2000 to 2010, the Census reports that the Hispanic population in Charlotte city continued to increase, from 39,800 to 95,688 (Census, 2010).

Accompanying the change in demography, the local perception of immigration had shifted negatively. In 2006, Mecklenburg County formally signed the Jail Enforcement Model of

The MOA of 287(g) articulates that its aim is to increase public safety by focusing on “criminal aliens who pose a threat to public safety or a danger to the community.”

287(g) agreement which authorizes a few trained local sheriff’s deputies to determine the legal status of individuals only after they have been arrested and brought to the jail for booking. The Mecklenburg County Sheriff’s Office sought a partnership with the Charlotte Mecklenburg Police Department (CMPD), but CMPD resisted these efforts and chose not to get involved in the 287(g) program (Furuseth & Smith, 2010). The Mecklenburg County Sheriff’s office reports that from 2006 to January 2013, they have processed 12,289 individuals for removal, among which 2,979 were arrested for Driving While Impaired (MCSO, 2013).

Another type of 287(g) agreement called the Task Force Model allows trained officers to ask about legal status of individuals as a part of their routine policing duties. On December 21, 2012, ICE released a statement that it

is not going to renew the partnerships that use the Task Force Model of 287(g) (ICE, 2012b).

The Data

The main data for this research come from the in-depth interviews conducted from November 2011 to April 2012 in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. The study used semi-structured, open-ended and in-depth interviews with a wide range of service providers – namely, law enforcement, advocacy organizations, community representative, health care and education. The sample has a total of 46 individuals (63% Hispanic). Due to the high Hispanic representation, many respondents were able to speak from both professional and personal experiences. (Throughout this article, “Hispanics” and “Latinos” are used interchangeably and denote individuals whose ethnic descent derives from South and Central America.)

All the interviews were transcribed verbatim, and a method called Framework Analysis was used to code and analyze the transcripts (Ritchie & Spencer, 2002).

Before summarizing the main findings, it is important to mention that 287(g) did not occur in vacuum. There are other exogenous events that may have impacted the lives of Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. For example, the recent economic downturn; the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks which may have created a general sense of anti-immigrant feelings in the communities; and other institutional changes at the state level may have contributed to cause or exacerbate the impacts of 287(g).

Differences in the Perception of the Intention of 287(g)

The MOA of 287(g) articulates that its aim is to increase public safety by focusing on “criminal aliens who pose a threat to public safety or a danger to the community” (ICE, 2009). Amidst

criticism from researchers and activists, 287(g) was reformed in 2009 and local partners were urged to prioritize serious criminals over minor ones in their proceedings. There is an indication that 287(g) provides local law enforcement officers with the tools that streamline the process of background checks of undocumented individuals and make identification a much easier process. Furthermore, law enforcement officers and other service providers agreed that Hispanics were careful about drinking and driving. However, the findings also suggest that there are other underlying intended consequences of 287(g) on the Hispanic community. There was variability in the perception of the law's impacts even among the law enforcement officers. Some law enforcement officers reasoned that in instances where infractions were not serious, if that individual did not have a proper form of identification, then there was no way of knowing whether the person was a dangerous criminal in his/her country. Other respondents, mostly advocates and public service providers, perceive that the intention of 287(g) is to identify and remove undocumented individuals, regardless of the severity of their crime. Respondents believed that although the situation had improved after the reform and local leadership changes, more individuals were still being processed for minor crimes.

The Mecklenburg County Sheriff Department's reports show that 287(g) has processed more individuals with misdemeanors than felonies. Since the inception of the program in 2006 up to 2011, the percentage of misdemeanors processed by 287(g) is consistently greater than 80%. By comparison, the percentage of individuals who have committed felonies rarely rises above 15% during this time frame (MCSO, 2012).

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Compounding Effect of 287(g) on the Erosion of Trust in the Law Enforcement and Other Governmental and Government-affiliated Organizations

Reaffirming previous research, the accounts of local law enforcement authorities and other service providers suggest that there is evidence of a decrease of trust in law enforcement after 287(g). These respondents perceive that Hispanics are more fearful of calling local law enforcement even when the need arises. For example, many respondents are concerned that crimes,

Involvement of local law enforcement in immigration enforcement may have an impact on immigrants' access to other municipal services.

domestic violence abuses, other types of abuses and even accidents go unreported because of the fear of interacting with law enforcement. If these concerns are valid, 287(g) may have made the larger communities unsafe.

Speaking before Congress, the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) reports that there is a chance that the 287(g) program may have a "chilling effect" on the immigrant community (*Testimony of IACP*, 2005, p. 11). However, some law enforcement officers state that they have not seen any changes in reporting of crimes and there was no "chilling effect" on the immigrant communities. One of the officers' comments on the relationship the law enforcement officers had with the Hispanic community was, "How can you chill something that is already frozen?" It may be that Hispanics have been unwilling to cooperate with law enforcement before 287(g), but the situation may have worsened after the program.

There were also concerns that misinformation about 287(g) among the law enforcement officers as well as the Hispanic community adds to the increase in impact.

Findings of this research also indicate that there may be a blanket erosion of trust, not only in sheriff's deputies who are directly involved in the program, but also in other law enforcement, such as CMPD officers who usually make the initial arrest. In his study of 287(g) and Secure Communities in Wake County, NC (see below), Coleman (2012) suggests that the role of law enforcement agencies that are not formally involved with federal authorities may be an important facet in studying the impacts of these immigration enforcement programs.

My research also provides evidence that the loss of trust in law enforcement authorities may have spread to other government-affiliated organizations. Organizations responsible for providing various services for city and county residents express views that Hispanics are fearful of accessing their services. These include the court, city services organizations and other government-affiliated organizations. The fear stems from the possibility that, from the misinformed Hispanics' perspective, these organizations may be a façade to catch and remove undocumented individuals. As one public service provider stated:

I think 287(g) created that distance between the government agencies and the needs of the Latino community ... but we believe that since the role [of the police] as protectors was affected by this mistrust, we also believe that some of that affected us too.

These results are in line with the findings of previous research, which suggests that involvement of local law enforcement in immigration enforcement may have an impact on immigrants' access to other municipal services (Khashu, 2009). Additionally, an interim report on immigration enforcement, especially 287(g), in Prince William County, Virginia concludes that the policy has decreased

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Hispanics' trust in government from 65% to 50% (Guterbock et al., 2009).

Government service providers are concerned that Hispanics are hesitant to give out personal information to access government or government-funded services because they do not know whether the information will be shared with law enforcement authorities. Similar fear about information-sharing is documented in schools and hospitals. This mistrust about information-sharing may have existed before the program, but again, the 287(g) program may have compounded the effect.

Strengthening Trust in Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs)

Contrarily, trust in organizations that cater specifically to Hispanics seems to have increased in the wake of the program. These are mostly advocacy organizations, churches, Hispanic media, law firms and private service providers. The findings suggest that more Hispanics are coming to these organizations, either to participate in their activities or to take advantage of their programs. Some advocacy organizations have hired lawyers to meet the increased demand for legal counsel arising partly as a result of 287(g), while others have information sessions about procedures to follow in case a family member is deported. One advocacy organization reports that they serve as a liaison between law enforcement and the Hispanic community in terms of reporting crimes like domestic violence. These organizations seem to have positioned themselves as a safety net for the Hispanic community and provided an important network for Hispanics to find out information about basic living in Charlotte-Mecklenburg.

Adverse Impact on Daily Mobility

My findings suggest that the impact of 287(g) on the Hispanic community in Charlotte-Mecklenburg may have been exacerbated as a result of its intersections with other policy changes at the state and federal level. The issue goes back to the inability of law enforcement authorities to identify individuals without an identification card. Regardless of the severity of the crime, it is critical for law enforcement authorities to determine the identity of the individual with whom they are dealing. The action of the North Carolina DMV to stop issuing licenses to individuals who cannot provide all the required documentation has prevented many undocumented individuals from getting driver's licenses or other identification cards (Weissman et al., 2009). However, service pro-

While localities may not be able to internalize all the negative consequences . . . policy-makers can learn from the previous mistakes.

viders note that many Hispanics who need to drive to work to earn their living still take the risk and drive without driver's licenses. This action puts them at risk of being stopped for a minor violation, such as going over the speed limit or being stopped at a traffic checkpoint, where they may be asked to produce an identification card. Without any proof of identity, it will fall upon the officer to decide whether to take these individuals to jail to fingerprint them or issue him/her a citation. The prospect of getting arrested for a traffic violation may have made many Hispanics scared and uncomfortable to drive around Charlotte.

Other Unintended Consequences

The 287(g) program may also be having an impact on the general social interaction of Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. For example, interviews with service providers suggest that Hispanics maintain a low profile and rarely go out for recreational activities. 287(g) may sometimes separate families, causing more negative social consequences on children who are left behind. Even the prospect of a parent being deported impacts the well-being of a child and has the potential for affecting his/her academic performance. This research suggests that in the event of a parent being deported, there is a possibility that the child is vulnerable, financially as well as mentally. Future research should also investigate how these types of local immigration enforcement policies can potentially have a broader impact on children and immigrant families.

Lessons for Other Areas

Lessons learned from Charlotte-Mecklenburg can serve as a guideline for other areas, as Mecklenburg County is not only the first jurisdiction in the Southeast region to sign the agreement, but the language that the Mecklenburg County's MOA uses has served as a template for 54 other jurisdictions across the U.S. (Capps, Rosenblum, Rodriguez & Chishti, 2011).

Conclusions

These findings indicate that the unintended consequences of 287(g) stem from three factors: (1) Many individuals who are convicted of minor offenses, like traffic infractions, are processed by 287(g); (2) Misinformation among both the Hispanic community and local law enforcement; and (3) 287(g) may have compounded the mistrust, unwillingness to interact, and mobility issues that may have previously existed. These issues are even

more pronounced in pre-emerging gateways like Charlotte-Mecklenburg, which do not have special types of services that immigrants need to integrate into the larger community. While localities may not be able to internalize all the negative consequences and enhance the positive, policymakers can learn from the previous mistakes to minimize the negatives. Resolving these issues may assist in the implementation of such programs according to its intended goal.

Some Principal Recommendations

- There is a need to find a solution for the problem of identification to ensure that individuals do not get arrested for misdemeanors, such as traffic infractions. For example, jurisdictions can issue identification cards or accept other forms of identification.
- There should be a concerted effort to target misinformation about enforcement programs among Hispanics. The local law enforcement in Charlotte-Mecklenburg already does some outreach, but the efforts need to be strengthened.
- Other governmental service providers should reach out to these Hispanic communities and constantly spread the message that they are available to help them.
- Non-governmental organizations should act as a bridge between the government organizations and the Hispanic community.

- Communities should be involved during the policymaking process that affects them, and the lines of communication should be kept open even after the policy has been implemented.
- Along with educating Charlotte-Mecklenburg's Hispanic residents, other law enforcement officers who are not trained by ICE on 287(g) should also be educated about the program, as they are usually the ones who make the initial arrest.
- A program like 287(g) should have built-in transparency and accountability.

As this research indicates, many respondents agree with the core intentions of the 287(g) program. While the fate of the program is on the line, ICE has issued a guidance to refocus on serious undocumented criminals and believes that another program called Secure Communities is a much better option to target criminals (ICE, 2012b). Secure Communities, an information-sharing system between FBI and ICE piloted in 2008 and targeted to go nationwide in 2013, is still in its nascent phase and the impacts are beginning to be studied. However, this program is likely to simply perpetuate the problems inherent in the 287(g) program. If enforcement must be a part of comprehensive immigration policy reform, policymakers should be cautious in implementing these programs, as their implementation differs according to localities and have varying consequences on immigrants and their communities. □

(BOSTON: Continued from page 3)

has reasonable suspicion that they are an undocumented immigrant; criminalized knowingly renting an apartment to an undocumented immigrant; and required elementary and secondary schools to inquire about the immigration status of all students. (HB56 was subsequently challenged and most of the provisions were enjoined by the District Court in September 2011 and the 11th Circuit in August 2012. The Alabama Legislature also passed HB658 in May 2012, which amended many of the HB56 provisions.)

The changing nature of federal immigration enforcement and sub-national restrictions on the rights of non-citizens has spin-off effects. Consider, for example, that increasingly families living in the United States are mixed-status families, meaning families are comprised of both citizen and noncitizen members:

“An estimated 14.6 million people are living in some sort of mixed-status home where at least one member of the family is not authorized. Currently, *one in ten children* living in the United States is growing up in such a household. There are multiple patterns of mixed authorization: 41 percent have one documented parent with the other parent undocumented; 39 percent have two undocumented parents; and 20 percent live in households headed by a single undocumented parent. Within these mixed-status households are also a range of documentation patterns involving siblings: some born in the States with birthright citizenship, some in the process of attempting to obtain documentation, and some fully undocumented.” (emphasis in original) See Suarez-Orozco et al. citation in Resources Box.

State policies directed at noncitizens, in addition to directly denying a broad spectrum of the rights to noncitizens, also indirectly deny the rights of legally documented family members who are citizens.

For example, the fear of a parent's deportation could prevent a citizen child of a noncitizen parent from ac-

(Please turn to page 8)

Resources

For more information on reform of immigration enforcement policy, go to the Immigration Policy Reform page of the National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights [headed by PRRAC Board member Cathi Tactaquin] at www.nnirr.org/~nnirrorg/drupal/immigration-policy-reform (includes the “10 Principles for Ensuring Fair and Humane Immigration Policy” drafted through the Reform Enforcement Caucus).

Additional information on immigration policy reform can be found on the National Council of La Raza's Immigration page, available at http://www.nclr.org/index.php/issues_and_programs/immigration/ (covering a wide range of issues, including the DREAM Act, immigrant integration, immigration enforcement reform, naturalization, state and local initiatives, and agricultural jobs).

(BOSTON: Continued from page 7)

cessing public services like education. The first Monday after the passage of Alabama's HB56 law, news sources reported that 2,200 Latino students were absent from school. This is an estimated 7% of the Latino school population in Alabama. Institutional and targeted discrimination of noncitizens affects not only noncitizens themselves, but also their families, social circles and the communities in which they live.

The Boston Principles on the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of Noncitizens ("Boston Principles") were developed to provide a human rights framework to address the rights of noncitizens in response to the increasing pressures of federal and state policies. On October 14 and 15, 2010, a group of scholars, lawyers, practitioners and advocates met at Northeastern University for a two-day Institute, "Beyond National Security: Immigrant Communities and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights." The event was co-sponsored by the Program on Human Rights and the Global Economy (PHRGE) and the Human Rights Interest Group of the American Society of International Law. Participants engaged in writing the first draft of The Boston Principles, which was subsequently revised and released for public comment on December 10, 2010, International Human Rights Day. The final version of The Boston Principles was released on May 1, 2011.

The Boston Principles are 30 stan-

Thanks for your contributions to PRRAC!

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dards articulating the basic rights of noncitizens, including fundamental human rights concepts such as equality, non-discrimination, human dignity and due process. Recognizing that rights are interdependent, intersectional and collective, a human rights framework accounts for the rights of noncitizens, as well as those of their families and communities. The Boston Principles incorporate the rights to health, education, employment, hous-

ing, family life, accountability of government and the protection of vulnerable populations. In outlining the basic, universal human rights of noncitizens, The Boston Principles provide a framework to aid practitioners, lobbyists and advocates in addressing institutional and targeted discrimination against non-citizens.

It has been almost a year since The Boston Principles were finalized, and they are now an operational advocacy framework for advancing the economic, social and cultural rights of noncitizens and combating violations. The Boston Principles are effective because they can be applied to awareness and education campaigns, lobbying efforts and grassroots organizing at both the community and government levels. Holding government authorities accountable for domestic human rights standards requires a concerted effort by human rights practitioners at all levels, and The Boston Principles aids in this effort by providing a unified human rights framework. □

Resources

Carola Suarez-Orozco et al., "Growing Up in the Shadows: The Developmental Implications of Unauthorized Status" 81 *Harv. Educ. Rev.* 438 (2011), available at <http://her.hepg.org/content/g23x203763783m75/fulltext.pdf> (internal citations omitted).

For more information on The Boston Principles, see <http://www.northeastern.edu/law/academics/institutes/phrge/publications/boston-principles.html>.

For a detailed discussion of The Boston Principles, see "The Boston Principles: An Introduction," by Hope Lewis & Rachel Rosenbloom, available at http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1975816.

Community-Based Accountability: Best Practices for School Officials

by Jason Langberg, Taiyyaba Qureshi & Eldrin Deas

Accountability in education must include the idea that school systems have certain obligations to their stakeholders. Traditional notions of accountability are mostly focused on measuring performance outputs of students, teachers and principals, and fail to identify metrics by which elected and appointed policymakers can be held accountable for their actions. Unfortunately, this trend has become even more prevalent as so-called market-based reforms (e.g., expanded high-stakes testing, merit pay, privatization) are adopted on the federal, state and local levels. These policy changes in fact “de-form” democratic principles of good governance and fairness, which require that school system leaders be held accountable to the community. Over the past four years, education policymakers and community advocates in Wake County, North Carolina demonstrated that such accountability is essential to creating a healthy relationship between the school district and the community it serves, and to producing high-quality, equitable outcomes for students.

To promote diversity and student achievement, the Wake County Public School System (WCPSS) implemented a student assignment plan in 2000 which minimized concentrations of low-wealth or low-performing students by limiting each school in the district to a maximum of 40% of stu-

dents eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch and no more than 25% of students performing below grade level. Along with the district’s award-winning magnet schools, the policy made the WCPSS a nationally acclaimed leader in high-quality education. However, the WCPSS also faced significant challenges, including huge achievement gaps, a massive school-to-prison pipeline, inadequate funding, rapid growth and instability in school assignment.

Courage, integrity and honesty are essential to accountability.

In 2009, a staunchly conservative majority took over the WCPSS Board of Education. The new Board removed the diversity mandate from the student assignment policy and began moving the district to a “neighborhood schools” model that increased racial and socioeconomic segregation. Moreover, new members’ campaign promises to higher-income and predominantly White neighborhoods to dismantle the diversity-conscious student assignment policy gave the public the impression that the Board only sought to please its electoral base instead of engaging in research-based decision-making that serves the interests of all the district’s students. The Board also failed to adequately address repeated concerns about excessive suspension rates and severe racial disparities in student discipline. The Board’s regressive actions and its reluctance to meaningfully engage with advocates soured prospects for amicable political and policy solutions.

In 2010, the first interim student reassignments produced predictable segregative outcomes. Advocates

quickly formed a coalition of student and parent activists, education experts and civil rights attorneys who shared a commitment to diversity in education, eliminating the school-to-prison pipeline, narrowing achievement gaps, and holding the Board publicly and legally responsible. This diverse coalition of advocates pushed to hold the Board accountable through several means, including: (1) direct action, such as marches, rallies, pickets and civil disobedience; (2) lobbying by testifying at School Board meetings and communicating regularly with staff and policymakers; (3) public education through media, workshops, publications and regular community meetings; and (4) electoral advocacy.

Further, as the Board continued to resist mounting public pressure to address resegregation and the school-to-prison pipeline, the coalition initiated legal actions, including Title VI complaints to the Office for Civil Rights of the U.S. Department of Education; complaints about special education to the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction; an AdvancED accreditation complaint; and individual representation to students for suspension and special education matters. By filing a lawsuit over the district’s violation of North Carolina open meetings laws, the coalition also challenged the Board’s undemocratic, non-transparent governance that made community-based accountability more difficult.

Committed advocates slowly succeeded in making the Board more accountable and responsive to public demand for an integrated and equitable system with fair discipline policies. Strong electoral advocacy resulted in the most conservative Board member—the Chairperson—being replaced and the election of more moderate members willing to engage broader com-

(Please turn to page 10)

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community concerns. The WCPSS also responded to pressure from advocates for more public input by conducting online surveys, holding community hearings and forming special committees. In July 2012, WCPSS passed a resolution supporting diversity in school assignment, thereby demonstrating a commitment to reversing the system's regression towards high-poverty, racially isolated schools (masquerading as "school choice"). Additionally, over the last three years, suspensions declined, the Student Code of Conduct was revised, and alternative education expanded.

Wake County's education advocates learned several lessons from this experience. When community concerns first arose, the Board had the opportunity to gain allies through meaningful engagement with stakeholders. Instead, the Board spent years and precious human and financial resources in media and legal battles, rather than working with the community toward a high-quality, equitable education for all students. As education law attorneys and researchers who assisted advocates in the push for community-driven, democratic accountability, the authors offer the following suggestions as best practices for elected and appointed school officials:

1. **Commit to honest and comprehensive engagement by reaching out to all segments of the community. Take the initiative to involve stakeholders early in policy development and implementation processes to create trust and buy-in.**

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- Solicit diverse viewpoints by engaging with the whole community—across geographic, age, socioeconomic and racial groups. Even in systems with district-based elections (rather than district-wide elections), each Board member should be conscious of needs across the whole district. Avoiding the impression that the Board serves particular interest groups creates trust in the Board as a body with the best interests of all children at heart.
- Provide regular, open, diverse forums (e.g., online and phone surveys, public hearings, community meetings and task forces) to solicit

Schedule important meetings during times and places where stakeholders can attend.

- feedback from stakeholders, rather than relying only on time-constrained public comments at regularly scheduled meetings. Short time limits may increase meeting efficiency, but more importantly, they frustrate advocates and prevent the Board from hearing the whole story.
- Involve students, parents, knowledgeable community members and trained educators in both the creation and implementation of policies and practices, including significant financial decisions. This will help the Board create evidence-based policies, promote community buy-in and avoid the impression that the Board is making political decisions without adequate consideration of or to the detriment of students.
2. **Act with transparency and ensure due process for discipline,**

- employment and all other grievances.**
- Develop and implement transparency policies, including requirements for open meetings, adequate notice, publicly available and timely copies of Board materials, thorough and quickly-released minutes, and prompt and easy access to public records.
 - Be sensitive about scheduling important meetings during times and places where stakeholders can attend. Some Boards rotate meeting times and locations and repeat important hearings to attract parents and students with inflexible work or transportation schedules. Anticipate interest in issues and choose venues that have size and sound capacity to allow everyone to attend and hear. Provide daycare and translation to facilitate full engagement.
 - Enact and comply with policies for fair dispute resolution and appeals for employees and students, including grievances, suspension and expulsion appeals, misconduct by law enforcement officers and security officers assigned to schools, and special education.
3. **Enact prospective policies to promote equitable student assignment and discipline at the district, school and classroom level for students and teachers.**
 - Implement policies that position a district to succeed with a high-quality, racially and socioeconomically diverse educational experience at every school. Setting up schools, teachers and students to succeed in this way enriches the educational experience, reinforces community engagement and prevents legal confrontations.
 - Implement policies and practices that prevent the push-out

of students, such as Positive Behavior Interventions and Supports, ample support services (e.g., psychologists, social workers and mentors), restorative justice and high-quality alternative education.

- Employment policies, including recruitment, benefits and fair grievance procedures, must be tailored to attract and retain highly-effective and culturally-sensitive teachers and administrators.
- Seek advice from law firms or organizations qualified to objectively advise the Board on legally sound, equity-based policies, not just risk management. Given the Supportive School Discipline Initiative (a joint effort of the U.S. Departments of Education and Justice), voluminous research from civil rights organizations, recent Title VI findings, and the December 2011 “Guidance on the Voluntary Use of Race to Achieve Diversity and Avoid Racial Isolation in Elementary and Secondary Schools,” school districts have clear legal and policy paths to create diverse, fair and safe educational environments.

4. **Speak up! Fulfill ethical and professional obligations to promote transparency and equity in the system.**

- Even if representing minority viewpoints, Board members and administrative staff should not be afraid to voice their opinions and “blow the whistle” when necessary, including when budget cuts and resource starvation force them into a position of violating the law. Courage, integrity and honesty are essential to accountability and to the struggle for equity. □

(JUSTICE: Cont. from page 2)

easy—it will require a cultural, power and policy shift—to move in waves across our country and the world, resulting in the re-imagining and transformation of our economy and society.

Such a transformation depends less on a change in rhetoric and more on an examination of the way all of us interact with profit-generating practices and institutions in our lives. For example, most organizing groups now have a well-developed critique of the role the banking industry has played in producing the current economic crisis, yet many families and communities are absolutely dependent on this same system to meet their daily needs. Retailers like Wal-Mart decimate wage standards and destabilize local economies, but also furnish a large portion of the (meager) jobs and access to goods on which many people depend.

Organizing groups are questioning whether pragmatism and competent organizing practice alone is capable of responding to the current crises.

This is the deep contradiction and challenge of our moment. In order to address the current crisis, we are often forced to rely on the very structures, institutions and ideas that wreaked havoc on so many families and communities in the first place. How can we reframe our existing campaign fights to advance alternative economic perspectives? What new forms of political education, leadership development and approaches to campaign strategy are necessary to support such a transformation?

We see at least three short-term imperatives. First, we must continue to ratchet up direct action campaigns that directly confront corporations and challenge and limit their growing power. For example, AJS affiliates

joined a wave of actions against big banks in 2012 designed to further highlight their role in the foreclosure crisis and the economic collapse. The next phase of the campaign involves winning support for partnership banks, modeled after the North Dakota State Bank, that ensure public funds are invested and controlled for the public good. These campaigns have the potential to challenge the financial and political capital of big banks by redirecting state funds to more accountable institutions. The efforts have required both compromise and partnership—including with small businesses, community banks and the local agricultural sector—to help build support for the proposition that the interests of big banks often run counter to the economic development and job creation needs of local communities.

Second, we must build our power by investing in building strong active civic and political organizations and creating a truly participatory democracy. For AJS, this means continuing to challenge the claim that “corporations are persons” and that corporate interests are compatible with a robust and active citizenry. Campaigns that highlight the corrupting influence of corporate money in politics, highlight the connection between corporate formations like the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) and voter suppression efforts, and invest in long-term voter education and mobilization are critical.

Finally, we must push out an alternative and broad-based worldview, sharing bold ideas and constructing a new foundation for an economy that functions in the public interest and does more than simply ameliorate the worst of market excesses. This cannot be an exercise in doctrinaire thinking, nor simply focus-group-tested turns of phrase. Instead, we have to engage one another in a process of specifying the practices, values and outcomes within the dominant system that we reject, and in generating (and re-generating) the characteristics of the one we imagine.

AJS has developed a working document
(Please turn to page 12)

ment, “Building a Movement for a Constructive Commonwealth,” that seeks to highlight some attributes of this worldview—clear limitations on the political, economic and cultural authority of corporations; an exploration of the value of public ownership of resources; and a particular commitment to analyzing the role of race and racism in structuring and legitimating inequalities—as an initial step in this process.

In short, capitalism and ideology can no longer be taboo topics in the world of issue-based community organizing. They affect every aspect of our lives, and we do a disservice to our constituencies and our politics if we refuse to engage them, even if we don’t always know the best way to do it. □

New on PRRAC’s website

Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing at HUD: A First Term Report Card (Part I: HUD Housing Programs) (January 2012). This report looks at the Obama Administration’s progress during the first term in implementing fair housing goals in nine major HUD initiatives and program areas, as well as the Low Income Housing Tax Credit, where HUD shares regulatory authority with the Treasury Department. Our conclusion: Despite some important progress, most of the important regulatory reform work remains to be completed in the Obama Administration’s second term. Available at www.prrac.org/pdf/HUDDFirstTermReportCard.pdf.

Expanding Choice: Practical Strategies for Building a Successful Housing Mobility Program (February, 2012). This report and “toolkit,” co-published by PRRAC and The Urban Institute, is designed to assist public housing agencies, fair housing groups, local foundations, and others in designing new or improved regional housing mobility programs. The report grew out of the successful Fifth National Conference on Assisted Housing Mobility in June 2012. Available at www.prrac.org/projects/expanding-choice.php.

Both reports are also currently available on our homepage, www.prrac.org

Resources

Most Resources are available directly from the issuing organization, either on their website (if given) or via other contact information listed. Materials published by PRRAC are available through our website: www.prrac.org.

Prices include the shipping/handling (s/h) charge when this information is provided to PRRAC. “No price listed” items often are free.

When ordering items from PRRAC: SASE = self-addressed stamped envelope (46¢ unless otherwise indicated). Orders may not be placed by telephone or fax. Please indicate from which issue of P&R you are ordering.

Race/Racism

- “Assessment of Biases Against Latinos and African Americans Among Primary Care Providers and Community Members,” by I.V. Blair et al. (6 pp.), appeared in the Jan. 2013 *American Journal of Public Health*. [13752]
- *The Persistence of the Color Line: Racial Politics and the Obama Presidency*, by Randall Kennedy (2011), was published by Pantheon. [13755]
- *The Fall of the House of Dixie: The Civil War and the Social Revolution That Transformed the South*, by Bruce Levine (464 pp., 2013), has been

published by Random House. Terry Gross of NPR’s “Fresh Air” had a terrific interview with this Univ. IL-Chicago historian on Jan. 9, 2013. [13760]

- *Speaking of Race and Class: The Student Experience at an Elite College [Amherst]*, by Elizabeth Aries with Richard Berman (240 pp., 2012, \$29.95), has been published by Temple Univ. Press. [13779]

- “AP Poll: A slight majority of Americans are now expressing negative view of blacks” is the disturbing Oct. 27, 2012 Associated Press report, available at <http://surveys.ap.org>. An academic analysis is

available at <http://tinyurl.com/8pzbebm> [13782]

- “Critical Perspectives on Race and Equity” is the title of a special 2012 issue of *The Review of Higher Education*, published by and available (no price listed) from the Center for Urban Education, Univ. of So. Calif., Waite Phillips Hall, #702, Los Angeles, CA 90089, 213/740-3889, rsocue@usc.edu [13783]
- **Congressional Gold Medal for 4 Girls Killed in Birmingham, 1963:** A bill being introduced in Congress, backed by the entire Alabama Congressional delegation, would award The Congressional Gold Medal posthumously to the four young girls

killed 50 years ago by KKKers at Birmingham's 16th Street Baptist Church. [13808]

- **Envisioning Emancipation**, by Barbara Krauthamer & Deborah Willis, published in 2013 by Temple Univ. Press, brings together more than 150 images depicting the many ways slavery, Emancipation and freedom were represented by photography during the Civil War era and beyond. [13827]

- **"The Struggle in Black and Brown: African American and Mexican American Relations during the Civil Rights Era,"** by Alberto Rodriguez, appeared in the Jan. 2013 issue of *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (Vol. 116, No. 3) [13839]

- **My Black Family, My White Privilege: A White Man's Journey Through the Nation's Racial Minefield**, a memoir by Michael Wenger, is available from Amazon in hb, pb and e-book formats.

- **"Integration: Are We There Yet? How the Graduate Center's CUNY Mapping Service Shows the Changing Face of Urban America"** is a 9-page article in the Winter 2013 issue of *Folio*, a periodical of the CUNY Grad. Center. Available (possibly free) from the Center, 365 Fifth Ave., NYC, NY 10016, 212/817-8215.

- **"Inequality - it matters"** is a 5-page interview with Janet Gornick, Prof. of Political Science and Sociology, in the Winter 2013 issue of

Folio, a periodical of the CUNY Grad. Center. Available (possibly free) from the Center, 365 Fifth Ave., NYC, NY 10016, 212/817-8215.

- **"Honoring Overlooked Civil Rights Heroes":** The Fred Korematsu Day Heroes Celebration was held Jan. 25, 2013 in San Francisco, honoring overlooked civil rights personalities. Inf. at www.korematsuinstitute.org [13767]

- **"Blacks' and Whites' Experiences of Neighborhood Racial and Ethnic Diversity: Intercultural Variation in Neighborhood Diversity and Integration in Early and Early Middle Adulthood,"** by Robert L. Wagmiller (32 pp., Jan. 2013), appeared in *Urban Affairs Review* 49 (1). Contact author at rw26@buffalo.edu

- **"Racial Fluidity and Inequality in the United States,"** by Aliya Saperstein & Andrew M. Penner (52 pp., Nov. 2012), appeared in *American Journal of Sociology* Vol. 118, No. 3. Available at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/667722>

Poverty/ Welfare

- **The Wealth Inequality Reader**, eds. Linda Pinkow, Sam Pizzigati and Dollars & Sense Collective (4th ed., 2012, \$35.95), is available from Dollars & Sense, 617/447-2177. [13812]

- **"Living on the Edge: Family Insecurity and**

Policies to Rebuild Prosperity in America: Findings from the 2013 Assets & Opportunity Scorecard," by Jennifer Brooks & Kasey Wiedrich (30 pp., Jan. 2013), is available (no price given) from Corp. for Enterprise Development, 1200 G St. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20005, 202/408-9788 [13833]

Civil Rights History

- **"Suburban Diversity in Postwar America,"** by Matthew D. Lassiter & Christopher Niedt, appeared in the Jan. 2013 issue of *The Journal of Urban History* (Vol. 39, No. 1) [13840]

Criminal Justice

- **"State-Level Estimates of Felon Disenfranchisement in the United States, 2010,"** by Christopher Uggen, Sarah Shannon & Jeff Manza, is available (no price given) from The Sentencing Project, 1705 DeSales St. NW, 8th fl., Wash., DC 20036, 202/628-0871, staff@sentencingproject.org, www.sentencingproject.org [13776]

- **"The State of Sentencing 2012: Developments in Policy and Practice,"** by Nicole D. Porter (24 pp., Jan. 2013), is available (no price listed) from The Sentencing Project, 1705 DeSales St. NW, 8th fl., Wash., DC 20036, 202/628-0871, www.sentencingproject.org [13809]

- **Phone Charges for Prisoners' Outgoing Calls:** The FCC announced it will seek to protect the poorest families in the nation (with disproportionate impact on racial minorities) from the predatory monopoly rates phone companies charge to families of incarcerated people. Inf. from Peter Wagner, Prison Policy Initiative, 413/527-0845, pwagner@prisonpolicy.org [13823]

- **"Police in Schools Are Not the Answer to the Newtown Shooting"** (20 pp., Jan. 2013) is a joint issue brief from Advancement Project, Alliance for Educational Justice, Dignity in Schools Campaign & NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund. Available at <http://www.advancementproject.org/content/home> [13834]

- **"Racial Disproportionality in the Criminal Justice System: A State Legislative Response to the Problem,"** by Arthur J. Lurigio, Lorena Roque & Pamela Rodriguez, appeared in the Jan. 2013 issue of *Race and Justice*, Vol. 3, No. 1 [13842]

- **"The First Amendment, Equal Protection, and Felon Disenfranchisement: A New Viewpoint,"** by Janai S. Nelson, appeared in the *Florida Law Review* 65 (2013) [13854]

Economic/ Community Development

- **Investing in What Works for America's**

Communities is a 419-page, 2012 book produced by the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco & the Low Income Investment Fund. 29 essays by such experts as [former PRRAC board member] Angela Glover Blackwell, Paul Grogan, Xavier de Souza Briggs, Ellen Seidman, one jointly penned by Cabinet Secretaries Shaun Donovan, Arne Duncan & Kathleen Sibelius, and many others. Available (possibly free) from FRBSF, 101 Market St., SF, CA 94105 and/or LIIF, 100 Pine St., #1800, SF, CA 94111. [13764]

- **Economic Development Reform Model Legislation** (2012) has been released by Good Jobs First. Available from them at goodjobs@goodjobsfirst.org, www.goodjobsfirst.org [13815]

- **“From Toxic Tours to Growing the Grassroots: Tensions in Critical Pedagogy and Community Development,”** by Celina Su & Isabelle Jagninski (Jan. 2013), is available at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/juaf.12003> [13846]

- **“The Anchor Mission: Leveraging the Power of Anchor Institutions to Build Community Wealth,”** by Farzana Serang, J. Phillip Thompson & Ted Howard (2013), is available (no price listed) from thoward@democracycollaborative.org

- **“‘Non-White’ Gentrification in Chicago’s Bronzeville and Pilsen: Racial Economy and the Intraurban Contingency**

of Urban Redevelopment,” by Matthew B. Anderson, & Carolina Sternberg (Dec. 2012), appeared in *Urban Affairs Review*. Contact author at matthew.anderson35@msubillings.edu

- **“Celebrate California Reinvestment and Honor Community Heroes,”** sponsored by The California Reinvestment Coalition, will take place **April 25, 2013** at The Rotunda Bldg. in Oakland. Inf. from Lisa Wong, 415/864-3980, www.calreinvest.org [13774]

Education

- **“The Importance of Being There: A Report on Absenteeism in the Nation’s Public Schools,”** by Robert Balfanz & Vaughan Byrnes (May, 2012), is available (no price given) from Get Schooled, 206/467-4863, info@getschooled.com [13788]

- **“Looking to the Future: Legal and Policy Options for Racially Integrated Education in the South and the Nation”** is a special issue (Vol. 88, Issue 3, 2010) of *The North Carolina Law Review*, available (no price listed) from benitajn@email.unc.edu [13791]

- **Study of For-Profit Colleges:** Sen. Tom Harkin, Senate Comm. on Health, Education, Labor & Pensions, recently completed a two-year investigation that confirmed suspicions that the rapidly growing industry is focused more on profits than on its students. Presumably available from Sen. Harkin or the Committee. [13801]

- **Lessons from the Heartland: A Turbulent Half-Century of Public Education in an Iconic American City [Milwaukee],** by Barbara Miner (4th ed., 320 pp., 2012, \$27.95), has been published by New Press, 212/629-8802. [13813]

- **“Handcuffs on Success: The Extreme School Discipline Crisis in Mississippi Public Schools”** (2013) is available (no price given) by calling 601/248-2190. Advancement Project and Mississippi ACLU were among the groups preparing the report. [13816]

- **Students First** is a relatively new organization, founded by former Wash., DC Chancellor of Public Schools Michelle Rhee (who is CEO of the new entity), whose mission is “to build a national movement to defend the interests of children in public education and pursue transformative reform.” Contact them at 916/287-9220, admin@studentsfirst.org [13830]

- **“Poverty, Politics, and a ‘Circle of Promise’: Holistic Education Policy in Boston and the Challenge of Institutional Entrenchment,”** eds. Jeremy Levine & William Julius Wilson (Jan. 2013), is available at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/juaf.12003> [13843]

- **“Dual Language Learner Teacher Competencies”** (56 pp., Dec. 2012), co-produced by Alliance for a Better Community & National Council of La Raza, is available (free copy) at www.afabc.org [13859]

- **“Successful School Turnarounds: Research and Experience”** (3 pp., 2013[?]) is available at <http://www.citizenseffectiveschools.org/successforschoolturnaround.pdf>

- **“Postforeclosure Mobility for Households with Children in Public Schools,”** by Ryan Allen (111 pp., Jan. 2013), appeared in *Urban Affairs Review* 49 (1). Contact author at Allen650@umn.edu

- **“School Stratification in New and Established Latino Destinations,”** by Molly Dondero and Chandra Muller (26 pp., Dec. 2012), appeared in *Social Forces* 91 (2).

- **“How Teacher Turnover Harms Student Achievement,”** by Matthew Ronfeldt, Susanna Loeb & James Wyckoff (33 pp. Feb. 2013) appeared in *Am Educ Res J* vol. 50 no. 1.

- **“Does an Urban Teacher Residency Increase Student Achievement? Early Evidence From Boston,”** by John P. Papay, Martin R. West, Jon B. Fullerton & Thomas J. Kane (22 pp., Dec. 2012), appeared in *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* 34.

- **“Executive Function Skills and School Success in Young Children Experiencing Homelessness,”** by Ann S. Masten, Janette E. Herbers, Christopher David Desjardins, J. J. Cutuli, Christopher M. McCormick, Julianna K. Sapienza, Jeffrey D. Long & Philip David Zelazo (10 pp., Dec. 2012), appeared in *Educational Researcher*

41.

- “Early Reading Skills and Academic Achievement Trajectories of Students Facing Poverty, Homelessness, and High Residential Mobility,” by Janette E. Herbers, J. J. Cutuli, Laura M. Supkoff, David Heistad, Chi-Keung Chan, Elizabeth Hinz & Ann S. Masten (9 pp., Dec. 2012), appeared in *Educational Researcher* 41.
- “The Unique and Combined Effects of Homelessness and School Mobility on the Educational Outcomes of Young Children,” by John W. Fantuzzo, Whitney A. LeBoeuf, Chin-Chih Chen, Heather L. Rouse & Dennis P. Culhane (10 pp., Dec. 2012), appeared in *Educational Researcher* 41.
- “Early Warning Indicator Systems: A Tool for High-Performing Middle Grades Schools” was a June 20, 2012 Capitol Hill Briefing, co-organized by The Alliance for Excellent Education & 3 other organizations. Inf. from The Alliance, 1201 Conn. Ave. NW, #901, Wash., DC 20036. [13792]
- “Beyond School Improvement: Partnering to Strengthen Educational Opportunities for Urban Children and Youth” was a Dec. 12, 2012 Forum held by Chapin Hall at the Univ. of Chicago. Inf. from them at 1313 E. 60 St., Chicago, IL 60637, info@chapinhall.org [13775]

Employment/ Labor/ Jobs Policy

- The Lucy Gonzalez Parsons Inst. for Education and Leadership is a new DC-based political education project, initiated by the Metro Washington AFL-CIO Council, which “aims to build leadership and deepen analysis in the local labor movement.” Schedule of classes and registration information at <http://www.dclabor.org/ht/display/Article/Details/i/104538> [13820]
- “The Effects of Budget Battles on Latino Employment,” by Catherine Singley (Feb. 2013) is available at www.nclr.org [13857]
- “Now Hiring? Orlando Roundtable Proceedings” was a Jan. 2013 National Council of La Raza briefing on Latinos and job creation. Summary available at www.nclr.org [13858]
- “Hiring as Cultural Matching: The Case of Elite Professional Service Firms,” by Lauren A. Rivera (24 pp., Dec. 2012), appeared in *American Sociological Review* 77(6). Available at <http://www.asanet.org/journals/ASR/Dec12ASRFeature.pdf>

Environment

- “The Benefits of Development and Environmental Injustice,” by Alex Geisinger, appeared in *37Colum J. Envtl. L.* (2012) [13847]

Families/ Women/ Children

- *Kids First: Five Big Ideas for Transforming Children’s Lives and America’s Future* (270 pp., 2011), by David L. Kirp, has been published by Public Affairs. [13770]
- **Public-Private Partnership Directs \$35 Million to Stabilize Highest-Risk Families:** The Robert Wood Johnson Fdn. announced a new partnership with HHS’ Administration for Children and Families and 3 other foundations to demonstrate how supportive housing can stabilize highly vulnerable families and keep children out of foster care. The NOFA closed July 30, 2012, but inf. is available from RWJF, PO Box 2316, Rt. 1 & College Rd. E., Princeton, NJ 08543 or mdrummonds@msn.com [13796]
- *Uncensored* is the periodical of the Inst. for Children, Poverty & Homelessness. The 33-page Spring 2012 issue (Vol. 3, Issue 1) is sub-headed “American Family Experiences with Poverty and Homelessness.” Available (no price given) from the Institute, 44 Cooper Sq., NYC, NY 10003, 212/358-8086, www.ICPHusa.org [13804]
- *Giving Our Children A Fighting Chance: Poverty, Literacy and the Development of Information Capital*, by Susan Neuman & Donna Celano (2012), has been published by Teachers College Press.

- **The Working Poor Families Project** is a national initiative, funded by the Annie E. Casey, Ford, Joyce & Kresge Foundations, focused on state workforce development policies involving education/skills training for adults; economic development; income and work supports. Inf. at 301/657-1480, wpfp@starpowew.net [13828]

Food/ Nutrition/ Hunger

- *Food Movements Unite!*, ed. Eric Holt-Gimenez (Nov. 2011, \$24.99), is available from Perseus Distrib., 800/351-5073. [13806]

Health

- “Addressing Health Disparities through Civil Rights Compliance and Enforcement,” from the HHS Office of Civil Rights, is available at <http://services.choruscall.com/links/hrsa120919.htm>. [13780]
- “The Affordable Care Act and Beyond: Opportunities for Advancing Health Equity and Social Justice,” by Rene Bowser, appeared in *10 Hastings Race & Poverty L. J.* (2013) [13849]
- “Residential Segregation and Lung Cancer Mortality in the United States,” by Awori J. Hayanga, Steve B. Zeliadt & Leah M. Backhus (6 pp.), appeared in the Jan. 2013 issue of *JAMA Surg*, Vol. 148, No. 1

Homelessness

- **“Louisville Metro Homelessness Prevention & Rapid Re-Housing Program: Evolution & Impact 2009-2012”** is a 2012 report by the Louisville Urban League. Available (no price given) from the Metropolitan Housing Coalition, PO Box 4533, Louisville, KY 40204; downloadable at http://www.metropolitanhousing.org/wp-content/uploads/member_docs/HPRP%20Report%20Final.pdf [13814]
- **“Homeless Rates Held Level Amid Recession, Study Says, but Big Gains Are Elusive”** details HUD’s annual report to Congress. See Dec. 10, 2012 *NY Times*. [13826]
- **“Understanding Homelessness,”** by Peter Somerville, appeared in the Jan. 10, 2013 issue of *Housing, Theory and Society*. Available at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14036096.2012.756096> [13845]
- **“Are California’s Homeless Children Being Left Behind? Analyzing the Implementation of McKinney-Vento Education Rights in California,”** by Taylor Pospichel, appeared in *10 Hastings Race & Poverty L.J.* (2013) [13851]
- **“HUD Point in Time Estimates Slight Decline [in Homelessness] in 2011”** is available at <http://bit.ly/Zrlhns> [13794]

Housing

- **“Housing Spotlight: Who Lives in Federally Assisted Housing?”** is a

new (2012) publication from The National Low Income Housing Coalition (headed by former PRRAC Bd. member Sheila Crowley). Available (no price listed) from the Coalition, 727 15th St. NW, 6th fl., Wash., DC 20005, 202/662-1530 and on their website: <http://nlihc.org/sites/default/files/HousingSpotlight2-2pdf> [13781]

- **“Tenants’ Rights** (aka The Green Book), 4th ed., 2012, is available (no price given) from The National Housing Law Project, 703 Market St., #2000, SF, CA 94103, 415/546-7000, x 3110, sstern@nhlp.org [13790]

- **“The Importance of Representation in Eviction Cases and Homelessness Prevention”** (40 pp. + Apps., 2012) is available (no price given) from the Boston Bar Assn., 617/778-1902 [13802]

- **“City of American Dreams: A History of Home Ownership and Housing Reform in Chicago, 1871-1919,”** by Margaret Garb (280 pp., 2005, \$25), has been published by Univ. of Chicago Press. [13807]

- **“The Pruitt-Igoe Myth,”** an independently produced documentary, “tells the story of the transformation of the American city in the decades after World War II, through the lens of the Pruitt-Igoe housing development and the St. Louis residents who called it home.” www.pruitt-igoe.com [13819]

- **“From Urban Renewal and Displace-**

ment to Economic Inclusion: San Francisco Affordable Housing Policy 1978-2012,” by Marcia Rosen & Wendy Sullivan (58 pp., 2012), a publication of PRRAC & The National Housing Law Project. Can be downloaded at <http://www.prrac.org/pdf/SanFranAffHsing.pdf>. A hard copy can be mailed to you by contacting Chester Hartman at PRRAC – include \$3 to cover shipping. [13822]

- **“Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing at HUD: A First Term Report Card (Part1:HUD Housing Programs)”** (Jan. 2012). This detailed report looks at the Obama Administration’s progress in advancing fair housing in its own housing programs during the first term. Available at www.prrac.org/pdf/HUDFirstTermReportCard.pdf [13824]

- **“Expanding Choice: Practical Strategies for Building a Successful Housing Mobility Program”** (Feb. 2012). This report and “toolkit,” co-published by PRRAC and The Urban Institute, is designed to assist public housing agencies, fair housing groups, local foundations, and others in designing new or improved regional housing mobility programs. Available at www.prrac.org/projects/expandingchoice.php [13825]

- **“Progress and Peril: A Status Report on the Compact for Home Opportunity”** (Jan. 2013), tracking government’s responses to the foreclosure crisis, is available at <http://opportunity>

agenda.org/progress_peril [13836]

- **“Energy Transparency in the Multifamily Housing Sector: Assessing Energy Benchmarking and Disclosure Policies,”** by Andrea Krokowski & Andrew C. Burr (41 pp., Dec. 2012), is available at http://www.imt.org/uploads/resources/files/Energy_Trans_MFSector_IMT_Final.pdf [13838]

- **“Household Location and Race: A 20-Year Retrospective,”** by Stuart A. Gabriel & Gary D. Painter (19 pp., 2012), appeared in *Journal of Regional Science* 52 (5). Contact authors at stuart.gabriel@anderson.ucla.edu and gpainter@usc.edu, <http://www.anderson.ucla.edu>

- **“Investors: The Missing Piece in the Foreclosure Racial Gap Debate,”** by John I. Gilderbloom, Joshua D. Ambrosius, Gregory D. Squires, Matthew J. Hanka & Zachary E. Kenitzer (23 pp., Dec. 2012), appeared in *Journal of Urban Affairs* 34 (5). Contact author at jjilde02@sprynet.com

- **“Public Housing Units Vs. Housing Vouchers: Accessibility, Local Public Goods, and Welfare,”** by Charles Ka Yui Leung, Sinan Sarpaça & Kuzey Yilmaz (310 pp., Dec. 2012), appeared in *Journal of Housing Economics* 21 (4).

- **“The Nuances of NIMBY: Context and Perceptions of Affordable Rental Housing Development,”** by Corianne Payton Scally (Dec. 2012), appeared in *Urban Affairs Review*.

Contact author at
cscally@albany.edu

- **“Responding to the Foreclosure Crisis in Appalachia: A Policy Review and Survey of Housing Counselors,”** by J. Rosie Tighe (43 pp., Feb. 2013), appeared in *Housing Policy Debate* Vol. 23, Issue 1. Available at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10511482.2012.751931>

- **“Who Are the Foreclosed? A Statistical Portrait of America in Crisis,”** by Christopher Niedt & Isaac William Martin (18 pp., Dec. 2012), appeared in *Housing Policy Debate* Vol. 23, Issue 1. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10511482.2012.702119>

- **The 8th Annual Anne Braden Memorial Lecture**, sponsored by the Metropolitan Housing Coalition in Louisville, was held Nov. 8, 2012, featuring Robin D.G. Kelley as the keynote speaker and unveiling a 20-Year Fair Housing Action Plan. An audio recording of his talk is available from Amber Duke at 502/852-6142, agduke01@louisville.edu [13784]

Immigration

- **The National Center on Immigrant Integration Policy**, run by The Migration Policy Inst., has several recent papers available (no price given). Contact them at 1400 16th St. NW, #300, Wash., DC 20036, 202/266-1940. [13793]

- **A Piece of the Pie: Black and White Immi-**

gration Since 1880, by Stanley Lieberson (420 pp., 1981), was published by Univ. of Calif. Press. [13831]

- **“A Portrait of the Adult Children of Immigrants”** (310 pp., 2013) has been published by and is available (no price given) from the Pew Research Center, 1615 L St. NW, #700, Wash., DC 20036, 202/417-4300.

- **“Immigration Advocacy as Labor Advocacy,”** by Kari L. Griffith & Tamara L. Lee, appeared in *Berkeley J. Emp. & Lab. L.* 73 (2012) [13852]

- **“Undocumented and Unprotected: Solutions for Protecting the Health of America’s Undocumented Mexican Migrant Workers,”** by Michael A. Celone, appeared in *Contemp. Health L. & Policy* (2012) [13853]

- **“The Expected Impact of State Immigration Legislation on Labor Market Outcomes,”** by Julie L. Hotchkiss & Myriam Quispe-Agnoli (34 pp., 2013), appeared in *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 32 (1).

- **“Learning in Place: Immigrants’ Spatial & Temporal Strategies for Occupational Advancement,”** by Natasha Iskander, Christine Riordan, and Nichola Lowe (23 pp., Jan. 2013) appeared in *Economic Geography* Vol. 89, Issue 1. Available at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1944-8287.2012.01171.x/pdf>

- **“After the Election: Policies Affecting Young**

Children of Immigrants” was a Jan. 17, 2013 event sponsored by The Migration Policy Institute. Inf. from them at 202/266-1949, events@migrationpolicy.org. Watch and listen to the event here: <http://bit.ly/COIconf> [13778]

International Human Rights and U.S. Civil Rights Policy

- **“Blowing the Whistle on Civil Rights: Analyzing the False Claims Act As an Alternative Enforcement Method for Civil Rights Laws,”** by Ralph C. Mayrell, appeared in the *Texas L. R.91* (2012) [13856]

- **“Human Rights and Environmental Regulation,”** by Rebecca M. Bratspies, appeared in *19N.Y.U. Envtl. L.J.* (2012) [13848]

Miscellaneous

- **Roll on Columbia**, a fine documentary about the life and career of Woodie Guthrie, accompanied by seeing/hearing him perform lots of his well-known songs, can be found at <http://www.woodyguthrie.org/events/filmsonwoodie.htm> [13771]

- **“The Democracy Road: Toward a More Racially Just City, a Sustainable Economy, Good Jobs for All, and Relevant, Equitable Education - Greenboro, North Carolina”** (7 pp.) is available (possibly free) from the Beloved Community Center, 417 Arlington

St., Greensboro, NC 27406, 336/230-0001, www.belovedcommunitycenter.org [13772]

- **Rights Gone Wrong: How Law Corrupts the Struggle for Equality**, by Richard Thompson Ford (288 pp., 2012, \$17), has been published by Picador. [13777]

- **“Minority Football Coaches’ Diminished Careers: Why Is the ‘Pipeline’ Clogged?”** by Barry Bozeman & Daniel Fay (29 pp., March 2013), appeared in *Social Science Quarterly* 94 (1). Contact authors at dfay@uga.edu and bbozeman@uga.edu

- **Bringing Citizen Voices to the Table: A Guide for Public Managers**, by Carolyn J. Lukensmeyer (2012), is available (no price listed) from Demos, 220 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl., NYC, NY 10001, 212/633-1405, info@demos.org [13789]

- **The Courage to Hope: How I Stood Up to the Politics of Fear**, by Shirley Sherrod with Catherine Whitney (240 pp., 2012, \$24.99), has been published by Atria. [13797]

- **GEAR (Getting Equity Advocacy Results)**—created by PolicyLink[headed by former PRRAC Board member Angela Glover Blackwell—is the “new online suite of benchmarks, methods, and tools to help advocates, organizers, and their allies track the results of their equity campaigns.” www.policylink.org/gear [13818]

- **Participatory Budgeting:** To learn more about this progressive citizen participation tool, contact its key advocate, Alderman Joe Moore of Chicago's 49th Ward, 773/338-5796, ward49@cityofChicago.org [13829]

- **"Billion Dollar Democracy: The Unprecedented Role of Money in the 2012 Elections,"** by Blair Bowie & Adam Lioz (38 pp., Jan. 2013), a Demos report, is available at <http://www.demos.org/publication/billion-dollar-democracy-unprecedented-role-money-2012-elections> [13835]

- **"The Case for Voter Registration Modernization"** (Jan. 2013), a Brennan Center for Justice report, is available at <http://www.brennancenter.org/publication/case-voter-registration-modernization> [13837]

- **"Indian Country Budget Request,"** published annually by the National Congress of American Indians, is available (no price given), 202/466-7767 [13860]

- **"Equity and the Future of the American Economy"** was a Feb. 4, 2013 conference, co-hosted by PolicyLink [headed by former PRRAC Board Member

Angela Glover Blackwell] and SEIU. Report available at www.policylink.org/EquityandEconomy [13832]

Job Opportunities/ Fellowships/ Grants

- **The Neighborhood Funders Group** is seeking a new **Executive Director**. 202/652-2400. [13761]

- **The Constitutional Accountability Center** (DC) is looking for a **Director of Impact Litigation**. Ltr. to kanessa@theconstitution.org [13765]

- **The Fair Housing Justice Center** (NYC) is seeking an **Executive Director**. Contact Gene Capello, Pres., 5 Hanover Sq., 17th fl., NYC, NY 10004, www.fairhousingjustice.org [13766]

- **The National Council of LaRaza** (DC) is hiring a **Senior Policy Advisor** to work on economic justice issues, with emphasis on housing & finance issues. Ltr./writing sample/resume to NCLR, 1126 16th St. NW, Wash., DC 20036, attn: Darcy Eischea, Eisch@nclr.org [13811]

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