

Transportation: Regional Equity & Environmental Justice

by Karyn Rotker

In August, 2007, a bridge on an interstate highway came crashing down during rush hour in Minneapolis. Commentators seized upon the disaster as a sign of the need for more government spending on infrastructure. But conversations about “infrastructure” routinely focus on building, maintaining and expanding highways, treating public transit as an afterthought at best. For decades, the federal government (and many state governments) have lavished billions upon billions of dollars on highway construction, while funding for mass transit lags far behind.

The neglect of transit is discriminatory: The 2000 Census showed that nearly one in four African Americans, and large percentages of Latinos and Asians, live in households without vehicles available, compared to only 7% of non-Hispanic whites. Communities of color are far more likely than whites to depend on public transportation to get to work.

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Governmental disregard of transit strands low-income persons and communities of color, often in inner cities though also in rural areas, while job growth, economic development and housing migrate to wealthier, whiter suburbs. At the same time, federal mandates that require regional planning frequently limit the influence of central cities in transportation and regional development.

The precise structures vary from community to community. In some cities, activists have challenged the disproportionate amount of money pumped into modes of transit used by better-off, whiter communities, while transit modes used by inner-city residents are starved. The most well-known example was the case in which Los Angeles bus riders challenged how much money was going to the rail system.

In Milwaukee, a majority-minority city surrounded by a ring of overwhelmingly white suburbs, survival of the transit system is at issue. There are clear disparities in auto ownership and drivers licenses between the predominantly low-income and minority residents of Milwaukee’s central city and the predominantly white residents of suburban counties. Census data confirm that Milwaukee residents, especially those living in the central city, remain far more likely to rely on public transportation than do suburban resi-

dents. Yet while transit funding declines and the existing (inadequate) bus system is subjected to frequent service cuts and fare increases, the state (with the avid support of suburban legislators) wants to spend more than \$6.25 billion on highway reconstruction and widening. Meanwhile, many of the negative effects—including high levels of ozone pollution, suburban sprawl that leaves inner-city neighborhoods behind, the refusal to provide affordable housing in the suburbs, and the lack of transit connections to jobs in developing areas—hurt city residents.

Judicial rollbacks in the application of civil rights laws, especially Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, increase the importance of taking on these issues politically, not just in the courts. In Milwaukee, we are using Title VI and federal Orders on Environmental

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Justice to advocate for substantive change—such as more equity for transit projects and more affordable housing in the suburbs—in the plans that are being developed. We worked with community groups to organize a challenge to our federally-designated Metropolitan Planning Organization (MPO) and force creation of an Environmental Justice Task Force. We are also exploring potential litigation under civil rights and environmental laws. Our goal is to change the way in which planning and highway construction occurs—in an effort to change some of the structures that keep our community segregated.

Metropolitan Planning Organization Certification

Most urban communities are part of Metropolitan Planning Organizations, entities established under state law or federal rules, and designated with responsibility for planning transportation projects. The process is important, because highway plans that are not designated in transportation plans generally cannot be built. In addition, in Wisconsin as in many states, the MPO may also be responsible for land use planning, job access issues, economic

development and other matters that determine what will get built, where and for whom.

But MPOs are not elected bodies and are not subject to requirements of proportional representation. Instead, MPO commissions are routinely weighted in favor of suburban interests. For example, Milwaukee's MPO (the South-eastern Wisconsin Regional Planning Commission, or SEWRPC) covers seven counties. Milwaukee County, the largest of the seven and the only fully urbanized county, has ten times as many people as the smallest suburban county - yet both Milwaukee and the smallest suburban county (and every other county) each get three votes. The Commission's institutional bias towards suburban interests exacerbates

Conversations about infrastructure treat public transit as an afterthought at best.

the region's racial dynamics, because three-quarters of the region's minority and low-income households, and 85% of its African-American households, live in (grossly under-represented) Milwaukee County. The Commission's plans, the advisory committees it chooses to develop those plans, and the topics it chooses to study have all reflected that pro-suburban bias.

MPOs, however, are required to follow civil rights laws. Every four years, the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA) and, in certain cases, the Federal Transit Administration (FTA) review and certify MPOs. The review considers, among other issues, the MPO's compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, the Americans with Disabilities Act, the Older Americans Act and other civil rights requirements. The MPO can lose its certification (and up to 20% of its federal funding) or other conditions can be imposed upon it.

The certification review includes a public hearing. These are often poorly attended, so it made an impact in Mil-

waukee when we helped organize neighborhood associations, the NAACP, the Black Health Coalition, the Fair Housing Council, the Sierra Club, youth and other organizations to testify that SEWRPC had not been responsive to the needs of their communities.

Although the federal government recertified SEWRPC (loss of certification is rare, although imposing certification conditions is more common), the FHWA and FTA did criticize the Commission's relationships with urban communities. That gave activists leverage to push SEWRPC to set up an Environmental Justice Task Force, composed of representatives of communities of color, persons with disabilities, and other transit-dependent groups, to increase participation and to help identify potential benefits and adverse effects of regional planning programs and activities with respect to minority, low-income and disabled populations.

Title VI and Environmental Justice

At the same time, community advocates and attorneys continue to press for more equity in regional planning. Under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, "No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance."

Federal money is handed out by federal agencies, and these agencies have regulations that implement Title VI. The regulations prohibit recipients of federal funds from taking actions that discriminate based on race, whether or not that discrimination is intentional. (However, the U.S. Supreme Court, in *Alexander v. Sandoval*, 532 U.S. 275 [2001], has ruled that individuals cannot go to court to enforce these kinds of "disparate impact" regulations. Changing the Title VI law to

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In Search of a Just Public Housing Policy Post-Katrina

by Stacy E. Seicshnaydre

The post-Katrina New Orleans housing market, most agree, is characterized by a gross lack of affordable housing. But although our collective appreciation for affordable housing may have reached an all-time high, what has not changed is the collective resistance to having any of it, particularly near us. It might be tempting, given the magnitude of the current scarcity, to see Hurricane Katrina as the singular force behind the current affordable housing crisis. But it would be a mistake to fail to recognize the other, enduring forces that have worked to limit and segregate affordable housing throughout most of this century and the last. This fundamental contradiction in community interests—the acknowledged need for affordable (“workforce”) housing versus the desire to keep it out of particular neighborhoods—has helped to ensure, since the creation of federally-assisted housing programs, that affordable housing would be limited, isolated and racially segregated.

Remedying Public Housing Segregation Post-Katrina

This historic segregation is exemplified by New Orleans’ conventional public housing program. Virtually all of the over 5,000 households occupy-

ing public housing in New Orleans prior to Katrina were African-American. This segregation in public housing, advocates have argued, is not the result of random, free-market decision-making by public housing consumers, but rather is a vestige of government-sponsored policies and practices reinforced by discrimination in the private market.

Given the history of public housing in New Orleans, which mirrors that of the country generally, the question of how to use public housing to address the affordable housing crisis post-

Katrina is particularly thorny. Whereas a fair housing approach to affordable housing development post-Katrina would seek to increase the housing choices of African Americans and avoid the historic isolation that has plagued public housing programs for decades, the current plan to demolish public housing in New Orleans and redevelop it into mixed-income housing will be years in the making. This extreme makeover will prolong, and arguably make permanent, the displacement of thousands of families who oc-

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Oliver W. Hill and Irene W. Kirkaldy

We dedicate this issue of *P&R* to the life and good works of Oliver W. Hill and Irene W. Kirkaldy, important civil rights activists who died in August.

Hill, 100 at the time of his death, was a key member of the legal team (with Charles Hamilton Houston, Spottswood Robinson III and Thurgood Marshall) that won *Brown v. Board of Education*, the Supreme Court case that incorporated the earlier Virginia case (plus four others) for which he was a lead lawyer. After graduation from Howard Law School, he moved back to his native Richmond, where in 1948 he was the first Black person elected to the City Council in 50 years. Hill’s life was devoted to civil rights, including voting rights and redlining issues—at one point, he had 75 civil rights cases pending, and is estimated to have won \$50 million in better pay and infrastructure needs for the state’s Black teachers and students during his career. In 1999, Pres. Clinton awarded him the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation’s highest civilian honor.

Kirkaldy, as the *Wash. Post* Aug. 13 obituary noted, “quietly changed history in 1944”—11 years before Rosa Parks’ similar act in Montgomery, AL—when she, a 27-year-old mother of 2, just recovering from a miscarriage and wanting a comfortable seat for her lengthy ride home to see a doctor, was jailed for refusing to give up her seat to a white couple on a crowded Greyhound bus, traveling from her home in Gloucester, VA to Baltimore. The landmark Supreme Court decision in her case (*Irene Morgan* [her name then] *v. Commonwealth of Virginia*), challenging Virginia’s segregation laws for black passengers, outlawed as unconstitutional segregation in interstate transportation and sparked the first Freedom Ride in 1947, testing the decision (see “Freedom Riders,” the lead article in the July/Aug. 2006 *P&R*, the précis of Raymond Arsenault’s great history, *Freedom Riders: 1961 and the Struggle for Racial Justice* [Oxford Univ. Press].) In 2001, Pres. Clinton awarded her the Presidential Citizens Medal.

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cupied public housing in New Orleans pre-Katrina and who have suffered most from the vestiges of government's great segregation experiment.

Perhaps what makes the road from segregated housing to mixed-income housing so rocky is the staggering loss in absolute numbers of affordable housing units along the way. The public housing redevelopment agenda is essentially a density-reduction, mixed-income, privately-managed housing agenda. If fewer units are built back onto the original public housing site, if a majority of these units are designated as market-rate units, and if the subsidized units are subject to restrictive eligibility criteria, the redeveloped public housing community can be made virtually unusable by its former residents.

The False Dichotomy

Despite the historic proportions of the displacement that Katrina has wrought and the temptation to treat the choices as unprecedented, the housing policy considerations that have arisen in the aftermath of the storm are eerily familiar. Much like in the early days of affordable housing development, we confront a false dichotomy that would have us choose between affordable housing that is supplied on a segregated basis or none at all.

False Option 1: Get the Segregated Housing Now

The notion that segregated public housing is the most expeditious and feasible form of federal housing assistance available is not new. Arnold Hirsch, in his incisive assessment of federal housing policy in the New Deal and Cold War eras ("Containment" on the Home Front," published in Vol. 26 of the *Journal of Urban History*—2000), describes the way in which members of Congress opposed to the massive New Deal public housing program used an anti-segregation amendment (the Bricker-Cain Amendment)

Choosing between affordable housing supplied on a segregated basis or none at all is a false dichotomy.

to scuttle the legislation. Many New Deal-era, civil rights-minded legislators opted to save the public housing portion of the 1949 Housing Act by agreeing to help defeat the ban on segregation. The anti-segregation amendment failed.

The get-the-housing-now approach in the 1940s and 1950s helped facilitate the federal policy that has been dubbed "Negro containment"—referring to the operation of public housing for African-American residents solely in neighborhoods deemed appropriate for African Americans. This policy assumes, and in some ways concedes, private market and zoning bar-

riers that deny African Americans neighborhood choice.

The get-the-housing-now mindset resurfaced when remedies were sought for racial segregation in federally-assisted housing programs in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. Elizabeth Julian and Michael Daniel (in their article "Separate and Unequal," published in Vol. 23 of *Clearinghouse Review*—1989) made the following characterization of this pernicious argument:

Racial segregation in publicly funded low-income housing is an evil, but, given the vast number of low-income African-Americans who do not even have the benefits of segregated public housing, our efforts should be expended on increasing the total amount of subsidized housing available and ensuring that African-Americans receive at least their proportional share of that housing. Once we get the housing, we will deal with the discrimination.

Julian and Daniel point out that, rather than faring better under the get-the-housing-now approach, African Americans arguably fare worse, because segregation permits vast racial disparities in the quality and quantity of housing, services and facilities. Consider, for example, the way in which federal housing programs have largely "locked" families of color in the urban core while government mortgage subsidies have increased the housing mobility and homeownership levels of white middle-class Americans.

The get-the-housing-now arguments resound in post-Katrina New Orleans, most vividly demonstrated by the filing of a federal class action (*Anderson v. Jackson*) seeking to reopen public housing to those who occupied it before the storm. What is most urgent about the argument is the fear that if segregated public housing is lost, then no other housing in New Orleans will take its place. People then will lose not only their housing, but their right to return home. Being essentially blocked from returning to one's roots or home community is possibly the greatest deprivation of "choice"—ar-

Witt Internship

We are still accepting applications for PRRAC's 2007 Edith Witt Internship grant, "to help develop a new generation of community activists." The fund, established by her family, friends and co-workers, honors the memory of a wonderful human rights activist in San Francisco. To apply: send or email (to Chester Hartman at PRRAC, chartman@prrac.org) a letter from the sponsoring organization, describing the organization's mission and outlining the work to be done by the Edith Witt Intern; and a personal statement (250-500 words) from the proposed intern and her/his resume. Pass the word to relevant grassroots groups.

guably a first principle among fair housing advocates.

False Option 2: Redevelopment as Blight Removal

If we reject the status quo of segregation in our public housing developments, the fallacy goes, then our only other alternative is to adopt a redevelopment strategy that severely limits, if not virtually eliminates, affordable housing as we know it. This 21st century public housing redevelopment agenda has been focused on removing blight and attracting market-rate tenants to formerly blighted neighborhoods. Any benefits that trickle down to the few former residents who are able to reoccupy these developments are, as we say in New Orleans, pure *lagniappe*. Never mind that the public subsidies allocated to these redevelopment programs are pitched as primarily benefiting low-income individuals.

The blight-removal approach echoes the federal policy of the 1940s and 1950s, dubbed by Hirsch as “negro removal.” In the 1940s and 1950s, this referred to the removal of African Americans from areas that might already have achieved some racial integration or from areas targeted for other development. Today, a policy of “minority clearance” would be furthered by a public housing redevelopment agenda focused primarily on blight removal. Here today, gone tomorrow, good luck, and good riddance. This policy represents an if-we-don’t-build-as-much-of-it, they-won’t-come strategy.

The cynical use in 1949 of the desegregation principle as a foil to advance a more sinister anti-public housing agenda perhaps lingers in the consciousness of modern-day public housing residents and their advocates. In a post-civil rights era, public housing residents might see the anti-public housing and desegregation rationales as one and the same. As such, the deconcentrating-poverty rationale would serve merely as political cover for persons seeking massive reductions in the number of housing units subsi-

dized for the community’s poorest residents or, worse, massive reductions in poor African Americans in a post-Katrina New Orleans.

A Just Public Housing Policy

We face this false dichotomy—take the segregated housing or leave it—not only in post-Katrina New Orleans, but in every major city where public housing redevelopment has been or is being contemplated. Neither policy can possibly further fair housing. Site-based, mixed-income redevelopment

A just public housing policy would be resident-driven.

is, by itself, an inadequate response to the displacement of thousands of low-income families, many of them working, from our community and our economy. But a return to the status quo of public housing pre-Katrina raises the following questions: Was public housing *a* choice or the *only* choice for each and every family who occupied it pre-Katrina? And to what extent did public housing represent a concrete ceiling—rather than a ladder of opportunity—for poor families? We at least have something that our forebears lacked in 1949. We have a Congressional mandate under the Fair Housing Act “to provide, within constitutional limitations, for fair housing throughout the United States.”

The following features would be required for a just public housing redevelopment policy — centered not on blight removal, but on furthering fair housing.

1. *Resident-Conscious.* A just public housing policy would be remedial and, as such, would be resident-driven and focused on the residents who lived in public housing before the makeover. It would focus on where the residents live during the makeover, through provision of housing assistance that does not perpetuate segregation. And it

Towards a Transformative Agenda Around Race

This Nov. 30-Dec. 2 conference, sponsored by the Kirwan Inst. for the Study of Race & Ethnicity at Ohio State Univ. (headed by PRRAC Board member John Powell), will be held in Columbus. Inf. from Hiram José Irizarry Osorio, 614/688-4498, irizarry-osorio1@osu.edu, www.kirwaninstitute.org

would focus on maximizing the success of the maximum number of former residents after the makeover, whether inside the redevelopment or outside, through management and other policies designed to help public housing residents succeed in the housing of their choice, including mixed-income housing.

2. *One-for-One Replacement.* A just public housing policy would not be “reverse redistributionist” in the sense of shifting more of the federal subsidy away from low-income African Americans towards middle- or upper-income whites. This would be the precise result if redevelopment were focused on reduction in overall numbers of units on the redeveloped site and reduction in the percentages of subsidized units on site (to achieve a mixed-income development), with no corresponding replacement units built off-site. No just redevelopment of public housing can occur without off-site replacement occurring at or near a one-for-one basis.

3. *Inclusionary Zoning.* A just public housing policy would not proceed without addressing—and eliminating—the myriad of zoning and market barriers restricting the mobility and neighborhood choice of former public housing residents, such as the ones that have arisen in post-Katrina New Orleans. The debate about mixed-income housing has focused far too heavily on the removal of low-income people from areas of concentrated pov-

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erty. Any honest and balanced discussion about public housing redevelopment must also focus on how to create greater neighborhood choice and access for the low-income people displaced by redevelopment. This neighborhood choice and access would require HUD to actually enforce its requirement that local jurisdictions receiving federal funds use these funds to further fair housing. Exclusionary zoning practices would be considered antithetical to HUD fair housing policy and would constitute grounds for HUD to withhold federal funds. It is also time for developers and all others who benefit from public housing redevelopment to clear the path for displaced residents by demanding a more inclusive neighborhood vision on the part of the city's private and public sectors and citizenry.

4. *Voucher and Project-Based Replacement Housing.* A just public housing policy would not seek to replace demolished units subsidized for low-income individuals solely through the use of the Section 8 voucher program. Voucher programs can, with the proper counseling and support networks, be a powerful means of achieving housing mobility and neighborhood choice. But those counseling and support networks do not currently exist for displaced New Orleanians. Even if they did, they would be of limited utility in New Orleans because of the dearth of housing alternatives generally and rental housing stock specifically. Further, as we have seen with the post-Katrina housing assistance programs, these subsidies can be eliminated abruptly, without adequate notice or explanation, and in the absence of sufficient unsubsidized, market-rate alternatives.

Conclusion

It is time to reject false dichotomies and embrace a just public housing policy that is resident-conscious. The pre-Katrina status quo represented a system whereby residents lacked true housing choice and were locked into segregative decisions made decades earlier. The efforts proposed by government agencies post-Katrina to "remedy" the failed policies of the past, however, are focused on blight removal. These efforts instead must be focused on the long-suffering residents in whose name redevelopment funding is procured, whose lives will be on hold during the redevelopment, and who are desperately needed to help restore New Orleans and its soul. □

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expressly allow "disparate impact" lawsuits would make a significant difference in strengthening access to the courts for disadvantaged communities—and not just in transportation policy. While this civil rights fix has been proposed, more advocacy on this issue is needed.) The regulations also "expect" recipients to take affirmative action, and prohibit recipients from denying persons the opportunity to participate in planning, advisory or similar bodies. In the transportation context, these protections apply to any recipient of money from FHWA, and the regulations impose specific civil rights obligations on state highway agencies.

In addition to these regulations, in 1994, President Clinton issued Executive Order 12898, *Federal Actions to Address Environmental Justice (EJ) in Minority Populations and Low-Income Populations*. While the Environmental Justice Order does not itself create rights enforceable in a court, it is based upon Title VI. The Order is also useful in public education and in advocating for changes in the planning pro-

cess—and the products that come out of that process.

The Environmental Justice Order requires that "each Federal agency shall make achieving environmental justice part of its mission by identifying and addressing, as appropriate, disproportionately high and adverse human

Governmental disregard of transit strands low-income persons and communities of color.

health or environmental effects of its programs, policies, and activities on minority populations and low-income population federal agencies...." Environmental Justice applies to entities that receive funding from the federal government—not just to the federal agencies themselves. While the national administration has changed, the Environmental Justice Order still exists. (However, it is important to note that, ten years after its adoption in 2004, the EPA's Office of the Inspector General concluded that the agency still had largely failed to implement

its requirements.)

In compliance with the Executive Order, the FHWA issued its own Environmental Justice Order. It imposed requirements on the transportation planning process, including requiring local planners to "provid[e] public involvement opportunities and consider the results thereof," "provid[e] meaningful access to public information concerning the human health or environmental impacts," and to "solicit input from affected minority and low-income populations in considering alternatives during the planning and development of alternatives and decisions." The FHWA Order also requires extensive data collection on race and income.

But the Environmental Justice Order also encompasses outcomes, not just processes. It requires those who receive federal funds to discuss the steps to be taken to "guard against disproportionately high and adverse effects on persons on the basis of race, or national origin." The Order's list of possible adverse effects is long, and goes well beyond what many persons think of when they hear the term "Environmental Justice":

Adverse Effects means the totality of significant individual or cumulative human health or environmental effects, including interrelated social and economic effects, which may include, but are not limited to: bodily impairment, infirmity, illness or death; air, noise, and water pollution and soil contamination; destruction or disruption of man-made or natural resources; destruction or diminution of aesthetic values; destruction or disruption of community cohesion or a community's economic vitality; destruction or disruption of the availability of public and private facilities and services; vibration; adverse employment effects; displacement of persons, businesses, farms, or nonprofit organizations; increased traffic congestion, isolation, exclusion or separation of minority or low-income individuals within a given community or from the broader community; and the denial of, reduction in, or significant delay in the receipt of benefits of FHWA programs, policies or activities.

The breadth of the requirement can be helpful in pushing back against regional planners—and state and federal transportation officials—who ignore impacts that, for example, policies facilitating exclusionary suburban sprawl while reducing transit and ignoring affordable housing can have on low-income and minority communities. And if planners refuse to address the adverse effects that activists raise,

New Reports on PRRAC's Website www.prrac.org

Housing Cost Burden as a Civil Rights Issue: Revisiting the 2005 American Community Survey Data (analyzing racial disparities in extreme cost burdens for low-income renters)

Improving and Expanding Hartford's Project Choice Program, by Erica Frankenberg (an analysis of a voluntary school integration program, prepared for the "Sheff Movement" community coalition in Hartford)

it may set the stage for stronger legal claims of intentional discrimination in the future.

Highway Project and Environmental Laws

Environmental laws may also provide additional tools to challenge the decision-making process.

For example, federal law requires that "possible adverse economic, social, and environmental effects relating to any proposed project on any Federal-aid system have been fully considered in developing such project, and that the final decisions on the project are made in the best overall

The voices of minority and low-income communities must be heard.

public interest." The segregation and inequities imposed on communities of color are "economic and social effects" that must be considered in project planning.

Highway projects also must be consistent with clean air act requirements. Because Milwaukee has very high rates of some pollutants and we are concerned that air pollution is disproportionately affecting people who live near the highways (i.e., communities of color), we are researching and monitoring this issue to determine whether building bigger highways will worsen air quality for adjacent neighborhoods.

In addition, the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) requires federal agencies to evaluate the environmental impacts of and alternatives to proposed "major Federal actions significantly affecting the quality of the human environment." The law explicitly requires agencies to consider indirect, growth-inducing and cumulative effects of projects. Those are precisely the kinds of effects that can have a discriminatory impact on minority communities, and they are ones we are pushing to ensure are addressed.

Resources

"Title VI and Environmental Justice," in Briefing Notebook for Transportation Decisionmakers, Officials, and Staff (Federal Highway Administration and Federal Transit Administration)—<http://www.planning.dot.gov/documents/BriefingBook/BBook.htm#6BB>

An Overview of Transportation and Environmental Justice (Federal Highway Administration, June 2006)—<http://www.fhwa.dot.gov/environment/ej2.htm>

Thomas W. Sanchez, "An Inherent Bias? Geographic and Racial-Ethnic Patterns of Metropolitan Planning Organization Boards" (Brookings Institution, Jan. 2006)—http://www.brookings.edu/metro/pubs/20060124_mpos.pdf

Thomas W. Sanchez, Rich Stolz, and Jacinta S. Ma, "Moving to Equity: Addressing Inequitable Effects of Transportation Policies on Minorities" (The Civil Rights Project and the Center for Community Change, June 2003)—http://www.civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/transportation/trans_paper03.php

"Highway Health Hazards," Sierra Club (Summer 2004)—http://www.sierraclub.org/sprawl/report04_highwayhealth/report.pdf

Who Benefits, Who Pays?

As the federal, state and local governments decide how much money to spend on infrastructure and what projects to choose, the voices of minority and low-income communities must be heard. But process is not enough. A fair proportion of the benefit of our public investments must go towards meeting the transportation, housing and other needs of under-represented communities, needs that for decades have been as overlooked as the infrastructure of our bridges. □

The Social Science Evidence on the Effects of Diversity in K-12 Schools

by Roslyn Arlin Mickelson

Racial segregation of students in public schools is increasing. Ironically, schools are resegregating just as the responsibility to provide high-quality, equitable education to all children is becoming more complicated because of the ongoing demographic transformation of our society. Findings from recent social science research are consistent and persuasive: Integrated schools are an important component of high quality, equitable education. In the Supreme Court's recent Louisville and Seattle cases, the four-Justice plurality opinion dismissed the social science evidence on the benefits of integration as insufficiently com-

PELLING to support race-conscious school integration practices. A majority of five Justices, drawing upon the corpus of social science research that shows school racial composition influences outcomes, decided that race-conscious school integration and reduction of racial isolation are important goals (while a different 5-4 majority rejected two voluntary school plans that achieved these goals by giving preference to *individual* students on the basis of their race).

PRRAC's Small Grants program supported part of my work in compiling hundreds of scholarly articles on the effects of school and classroom

composition on educational outcomes and translating the findings from this compilation for public access and dissemination. This work allowed me to contribute to the amicus brief of 553 social scientists submitted by the Harvard Civil Rights Project, as well as the amicus briefs filed by the American Educational Research Association, the Swann Fellowship and the NAACP.

The Larger Research Project

The work supported by PRRAC is part of a larger project I began in late 2005 with support from the American Sociological Association's Spivack Program in Applied Social Research and Social Policy. The Spivack Project is a survey and synthesis of research about the effects of school and classroom composition on educational outcomes. Currently, this work continues with support from the National Science Foundation's REESE program.

During the last few decades, the social science evidence on the educational benefits of integrated education for all students has become more definitive. Social science research methods have improved our ability to investigate the complexity of the real world in which students learn. For example, we all know that a "3.8 GPA" from one high school is not necessarily the same as a "3.8 GPA" at

A Forum on Housing Mobility and Education: Improving the Transition to New Communities and Schools

**December 3, 2007 ~ 10:00-4:00 ~
Baltimore, MD**

"Housing Mobility and Education: Improving the Transition to New Communities and Schools" is co-sponsored by the Baltimore Regional Housing Campaign and PRRAC. It is being held in concert with an innovative regional housing mobility program in Baltimore dedicated to helping low-income families voluntarily make the transition to higher-opportunity communities, as part of a court-ordered housing desegregation remedy in *Thompson v. HUD*.

The forum will bring together researchers, advocates and practitioners in education and housing to help us envision how to improve the housing-education connection, especially for low-income children moving into lower-poverty, higher-performing schools.

Panel 1: Schools as the key to family success in new communities: how to effectively connect children and parents to new schools and encourage school stability.

Panel 2: Helping connect teenage boys to their new schools and communities.

Panel 3: Integrating federal and state housing and school policies.

For more information, please contact Phil Tegeler at PRRAC, ptegeler@prrac.org

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another high school. Schools differ in ways that matter for achievement.

These new research tools model the fact that students are nested in schools. They allow us to examine the interrelationships amongst the student, family, classroom and school factors that shape achievement. One of the most valuable of these statistical tools is called multilevel modeling (or hierarchical linear modeling). Multilevel modeling offers a clearer interpretation of the relative effects of school characteristics (including racial composition) and family background (including race/ethnicity and social class) on students' academic outcomes. The preponderance of findings from this newer social science, behavioral and educational research indicates racial composition matters for educational outcomes in the following ways:

- Desegregated schools and classrooms have positive effects on achievement. Critical thinking and problem-solving skills of all students are likely to improve in racially diverse classrooms.
- Positive effects can occur at the elementary, middle and high school levels.
- Desegregated learning environments can have positive effects on mathematics and language achievement.
- Students from all racial and social class backgrounds are likely to demonstrate higher achievement in racially balanced schools. To be sure, there are variations in the size of the effects by state, by subject matter, school level and ethnic group.
- Racial isolation has harmful effects on the achievement of African-American and many Latino students. Research is less clear about harmful effects of racial isolation on Whites and Asian Americans, although there are some studies that indicate racially-isolated White schools may not be optimal for Whites either.
- The ways that schools and classrooms are organized contribute to the opportunities to learn within them. Compared to racially-isolated minority schools, diverse

PRRAC Update

- With this issue, we say goodbye and thank-you to **Nkiru Azikiwe**, our 2006-07 Health Policy Fellow. Nkiru has entered a full-time medical education program at SUNY-Buffalo, on her way to medical school. Nkiru was instrumental in developing our health disparities docket, including an exciting May 2007 forum on Housing Mobility and Health; a working group on health disparities that is currently drafting a "shadow report" on U.S. health disparities and environmental health for the U.N. CERD Committee (see March/April 2007 *P&R*); and a successful conference on health disparities that we cosponsored in Newark. Nkiru was also a co-editor of our recent report, *Rebuilding a Healthy New Orleans: Final Conference Report of the New Orleans Health Disparities Initiative*. Please watch our website for an announcement of the 2007-08 Health Policy Fellowship.

- PRRAC Board member **Maria Blanco** has joined the UC Berkeley Law School as the first Executive Director of the Chief Justice Earl Warren Institute on Race, Ethnicity and Diversity. Until recently, Maria was Executive Director of the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights of the San Francisco Bay Area.

schools and classrooms are more likely to offer higher quality and greater equity in opportunities to learn in terms of:

- o Teacher quality and material resources.
- o Depth and breadth of curricular coverage, including more AP courses and other forms of enrichment.
- o A positive academic climate in terms of higher expectations from teachers and peers.
- o Stability of teaching staff and

- PRRAC Board member **S.M. (Mike) Miller** was honored at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Assn. in NYC by a panel discussion of his writings and influence as an activist academic and networker. Speakers included Frances Fox Piven and Herbert Gans, past ASA presidents. Mike spoke on "Ideas for Action – Ideas from Action." And in June, he was the inaugural lecturer at the Jean Baker Miller Lecture Series at the Jean Baker Miller Training Inst., Wellesley College, where he spoke of his late wife's "double consciousness" as a feminist psychiatrist and activist.

- Former PRRAC Board member **Bill Tamayo** (now Regional Atty. for the US Equal Employment Opportunity Commn.) is Keynote Speaker at the 1st Annual Dinner (Oct. 6) of the Manilatown Heritage Foundation, founded by community activists and former tenants of San Francisco's International Hotel following the infamous 1977 eviction. (An excellent new book on the struggle and its eventually positive outcome, by Estella Habal, has just been published by Temple Univ. Press— see the Resources Sec. in this issue.)

student populations.

- Academic tracking, ability grouping and special education programs (including those for gifted children) often re-segregate desegregated schools. Tracking within desegregated schools can dilute the effects of school integration on achievement because African-American and Latino students are more likely to be found in lower tracks than their White and Asian-American peers with comparable prior

(Please turn to page 10)

achievement, family background and other characteristics.

- A school's racial composition is related to but not equivalent to its socioeconomic composition. Both the racial and socioeconomic composition of a school affect achievement outcomes.
- In the long term, diverse schools and classrooms reduce prejudice and fears while they foster interracial friendships and understanding. Integrated schooling inhibits the intergenerational perpetuation of racial hatred, prejudice and fear.
- Adults, especially members of disadvantaged minority groups, who attended desegregated K-12 schools are more likely to attain higher education, to have higher status jobs, and to live and work in racially diverse settings compared to their counterparts who attended racially isolated minority schools.

The Social Scientists' Statement

The findings summarized above are presented in great detail in the social science statement signed by 553 scholars whose expertise covers the issues of race, education and life course opportunities. The social science statement concluded:

- Racially integrated student bodies are essential if K-12 public schools

Resources

Available on PRRAC's website—www.prrac.org—are:

Prof. Mickelson's PowerPoint presentations on the educational benefits of integration and the importance of diversity.

The Supreme Court Amicus Brief of 553 social scientists in *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1*.

are to prepare children to be global citizens in our increasingly diverse society.

- Racially integrated schools enhance students' learning, expand their future opportunities and benefit society at large.
- Racially integrated schools promote social cohesion and reduce prejudice.
- School districts that have not been able to implement race-conscious policies have not achieved the racial integration necessary to obtain the short-term and long-term benefits of integrated education.

As part of my work for PRRAC, I developed several PowerPoint presentations on the benefits of school and classroom diversity and the harms of racial isolation (see Resources box).

These can be used by local researchers and trainers to help spread the word on the continuing importance of school and classroom diversity. The PowerPoint presentations include resources for school leaders seeking to implement diversity programs.

The Spivack Archive

When the Spivack Project is completed in 2008, a searchable electronic database—called the Spivack Archive—with detailed summaries of all the social, behavioral and educational research surveyed will be available at the American Sociological Association's website, www.asanet.org. The Spivack Archive will serve as a resource for people who wish to use social science evidence in efforts to foster diverse, integrated schools.

The Supreme Court has given a green light to school districts to continue to support racial diversity in education. Justice Kennedy's controlling opinion in the Louisville and Seattle cases means the majority of the Justices accepted the vital principle that overcoming racial isolation in public schools is a compelling interest. Local communities and their school district leaders should respond to the invitation from Justice Kennedy and take the actions necessary to foster diversity in their schools and the classrooms within them. □

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 (41¢ unless otherwise indicated). Orders may not be placed by telephone or fax. Please indicate from which issue of P&R you are ordering.

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

Race/Racism

- ***Muslims in the United States: Identity, Influence, Innovation***, ed. Philippa Strum, the 232-page proceedings of two conferences (June 2003, May 2005) sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Internatl. Ctr. for Scholars' Div. of U.S. Studies, is available (possibly free) from the Center, 1300 Penn. Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20004-3027, [10463]

- ***American Arabs and Political Participation*** ed. Philippa Strum, the 155-page proceedings of a May 2006 conference sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Internatl. Ctr. for Scholars' Div. of U.S. Studies, is available (possibly free) from the Center, 1300 Penn. Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20004-3027, [10464]

- ***Dealing With Race: The Quest for Regional Cooperation***, ed. Philippa Strum, the 40-page proceedings of a Feb. 2005 conference (on the New Detroit Coalition), sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Internatl. Ctr. for Scholars' Div. of U.S. Studies, is available (possibly free) from the Ctr., 1300 Penn. Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20004-3027, [10465]

- ***Diversity Democracy*** is a 7-min. DVD introducing the National Diversity Education Program of the Japanese American National Museum (369 E. First St., LA, CA 90012, 213/625-0414, <http://www.janm.org/> [10474]

- **"Trailblazers in Justice Gala,"** sponsored by the Thelton E. Henderson Center for Social Justice at the Univ. of Calif. School of Law,

will be held **Sept. 20, 2007** in Oakland. Trailblazer Honoree is John Doar, Boalt '49, and there will be a screening of Abby Ginzberg's new documentary on Doar. Inf. from 510/643-5723, [10475]

- ***Miss Navajo*** is a new film by Billy Luther — "the Miss Navajo competition is an opportunity for young women to honor and strengthen Navajo culture." **Oct. 3, 2007**, 7pm, at the Natl. Geographic Society, 1600 M St. NW, Wash., DC; **Oct. 4, 2007**, 7pm, at Busboys & Poets, 2021 14th St. NW, Wash., DC. [10478]

- **"Innovation at the Speed of Diversity"** is the theme of the **Nov. 8-11, 2007** National Multicultural Inst. conf., at the Natl. Airport Marriott Crystal City, right outside Wash., DC. Inf. from NMCI, 3000 Conn. Ave. NW, #438, Wash., DC 20008-2556, 202/483-0700, [10496]

- **"The Paradoxes of Race, Law and Inequality in the United States,"** co-sponsored by *Law & Society Review* and the Ctr. for Law, Society and Culture at the Univ. of Calif.-Irvine will be held **May 2-3, 2008** at Irvine. They've issued a call for papers —title/abstract/ c.v. by Oct. 31 to paradox@uci.edu. Further inf. from scoutin@uci.edu

Poverty/ Welfare

- ***Impossible Democracy: The Unlikely Success of the War on Poverty Community Action Programs***, by Noel Cazanave (264 pp.,

2007), has been published by State Univ. of NY Press. [10462]

- **"Exploring Class Workshop"**— "an opportunity for intensive dialogue about a taboo topic!," sponsored by Class Action, will be held in Philadelphia, **Sept. 30, 2007**. Inf. from 413/585-9709, info@classism.org

Community Organizing

- **"Basic Social Change Strategizing"** is a **Oct. 3, 2007** evening class at the Wash., DC Institute for Policy Studies' Social Action and Leadership School for Activists. Inf. from 202/234-9382, x229, netfa@hotsalsa.org [10477]

- **"Organizing for Social Change"** are training sessions held by the Midwest Academy. In Chicago, **Oct. 22-26, 2007**; in Baltimore/ Wash., **Nov. 12-16, 2007**. Inf. from the Academy, 28 E. Jackson Blvd., #605, Chicago, IL 60604, 312/427-2304, mwacademy1@aol.com, <http://www.midwestacademy.com/> [10499]

Criminal Justice

- **"Uneven Justice: State Rates of Incarceration by Race and Ethnicity,"** by Marc Mauer & Ryan S. King (23 pp., July 2007), is available (no priced given) from The Sentencing Project, 514 10th St. NW, #1000, Wash., DC 20004, 202/628-0871, <http://www.sentencingproject.org/> [10483]

- **"The Persistent Problem of Racial Disparities in the Federal Death Penalty"** (8 pp., June 2007), from the ACLU Capital Punishment Project and the Racial Justice Project, is available at <http://www.sentencingproject.org> [10484]

- **Early Childhood Lead Exposure Can in Result in Juvenile and Adult Criminal Behavior** is the conclusion of a 2007 study by Rick Nevin of the Center for Healthy Housing. Available under "What's New" at <http://www.centerforhealthyhousing.org/> [10487]

- **"Civil Legal Aid in the United States — An Update for 2007,"** by Alan Houseman (30 pp., Aug. 2007), is available (likely free) from the Center for Law & Social Policy, 1015 15th St. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20005, 202/906-8000, [10513]

Education

- **"The Essential Guide to Pilot Schools: Leadership and Governance"** (120 pp., 2007) is available (\$19) from the Ctr. for Collaborative Education, 1135 Tremont St., #490, Boston, MA 02120, 617/421-0134, x230. A prior publication in this series is subtitled "Overview," offering an introduction to Pilot/ Horace Mann Schools, a group of 20 autonomous Boston public schools. Same price. [10469]

- **"Rethinking Our Classrooms: Teaching for Equity and Justice"** has been issued, a new, expanded edition of the original 1994 version.

240 pp., 2007, \$16.95 from Rethinking Schools, 1001 E. Keefe Ave., Milwaukee, WI 53212, 800/669-4192, <http://www.rethinkingschools.org/> [10470]

- **“Education after Katrina: Time for a New Federal Response”** (29 pp., 2007) is available (\$15, free online) from the Southern Education Foundation, 135 Auburn Ave. NE, 2nd fl., Atlanta, GA 30303-2503, 404/523-0308, www.southerneducation.org [10472]

- **Good Schools in Poor Neighborhoods: Defying Demographics, Achieving Success**, by Beatriz Chu Clewell, Patricia B. Campbell & Lesley Perlman (280 pp., 2007), has been published by Urban Inst. Press, <http://www.uipress.org/> [10481]

- **Widening Disparities Between State and Federal Gauges of Student Progress** is the finding of a paper by Bruce Fuller and Joseph Wright, presented at the April 2007 American Educational Research Assn. meeting, b_fuller@berkeley.edu, pace.berkeley.edu [10490]

- **“Meeting the Challenge: Recruiting and Retaining Teachers in Hard-to-Staff Schools,”** a 2007 American Federation of Teachers report, is available at aft.org/presscenter/releases/2007/071307.htm [10502]

- **“Literacy Instruction in the Content Areas: Getting to the Core of Middle and High School Improvement,”** a 2007 Alliance for Excellent Education report, is available on the Carnegie Corp. of New York’s

Advancing Literacy website, www.carnegie.org/literacy/index/html [10503]

- **Advancing Literacy** is a Carnegie Corp. of NY website listing recently released reports on adolescent literacy - www.carnegie.org/literacy/index/html [10504]

- **“No Child Left Behind Act: Education Should Clarify Guidance and Address Potential Compliance Issues for Schools in Corrective Action and Restructuring Status,”** a 64-page, Sept. 2007 GAO report, finds that 42% of such schools didn’t receive all the required types of assistance from their school districts. Available at <http://www.gao.gov/> [10516]

- **“From No Child Left Behind to Every Child a Graduate,”** the Alliance for Excellent Education’s Fourth Annual High School Policy Conf., will be held **Oct. 4-5, 2007** in Wash., DC. Inf. from the Alliance, 1201 Conn. Ave. NW, #901, Wash., DC 20036, 202/828-0828, Alliance@all4ed.org, www.all4ed.org [10501]

- **“Closing the Achievement Gap: Linking Families, Schools, and Communities through Complementary Learning,”** co-sponsored by the Harvard Grad. School of Education and the Harvard Family Research Project, will be held **Nov. 1-3, 2007** in Cambridge. Inf. from the Grad. School, 14 Story St., 3rd fl., Cambridge, MA 02138, 800/545-1849, www.gse.harvard.edu/ppe [10500]

- **“Equal Educational Opportunity: What Now? Reassessing the Role of the Courts, the Law and School Policies after Seattle and CFE [Campaign for Fiscal Equity],”** sponsored by The Campaign for Educational Equity at Teachers College, Columbia Univ., will be held **Nov. 12-13, 2007** at Teachers College. Among the many first-rate presenters are (PRRAC Bd. member) John Powell, (former PRRAC Bd. members) Ted Shaw and Angela Glover Blackwell, and Lani Guinier, Inf. from CEE, Teachers College, 525 W. 120 St., Box 219, NYC, NY 10027, 212/678-8362, www.tcequity.org/symposium [10505]

Employment/ Jobs Policy

- **“Hard-to-Employ Parents: A Review of Their Characteristics and the Programs Designed to Serve Them,”** by Sheila R. Zedlewski, Pamela Holcomb & Pamela Loprest (31 pp., June 2007), is available (likely free) from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/261-5709, <http://www.urban.org/> [10480]

- **“Opportunity at Work: Improving Job Quality,”** by Elizabeth Lower-Basch (24 pp., Sept. 2007), is available (possibly free) from the Ctr. for Law and Social Policy, 1015 15th St. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20005, 202/906-8000, [10515]

Families/ Women/ Children

- **“Trends in Work Supports for Low-Income Families with Children,”** by Sheila R. Zedlewski & Seth Zimmerman (7 pp., June 2007), is available (likely free) from The Urban Institute, 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/261-5687, [10476]

- **“The 2007 Kids Count Data Book”** (196 pp.), from the Annie E. Casey Foundation, publications@aecf.org, is available at <http://www.kidscount.org/> [10485]

- **“Maze of Injustice: The Failure to Protect Indigenous Women from Sexual Violence in the USA”** is a 2007 Amnesty International report. More than one in three Native American women will be raped in their lifetimes, making them more than 2.5 times more likely to be raped or sexually assaulted than other women in the US. Available at www.amnestyusa.org/women/maze/report/pdf [10510]

- **“The Future Rests on Working Moms: Unequal Opportunity and Policies to Help Them Realize The Dream for Their Children,”** a newly established project of the UCLA Civil Rights Project, has issued a call for papers—upcoming (Sept. 24) deadline and other inf. from 310/267-5562. Proposals should be sent to Gary Orfield at orfield@gmail.com, cc_larussman@gmail.com, <http://www.civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/> [10512]

- **“The 9th Annual Caring for Children Awards Gala,”** sponsored by The Coalition for Asian American Children and Families, will be held **Nov. 7, 2006** in NYC. Inf. from 212/809-4675, x103, kto@cacf.org [10473]

Health

- **“The Future is Now: Transforming Clinical Capacity”** is the theme of the California Primary Care Assn. Annual Conf., **Oct. 4-5, 2007** in Sacramento. Inf. from the Assn., 1215 K St., #700, Sacramento, CA 95814, 916/440-8170, www.cpcsa.org/programs/events [10497]

Housing

- **San Francisco’s International Hotel: Mobilizing the Filipino-American Community in the Anti-Eviction Movement,** by Estella Habal (227 pp., 2007, \$54.50), has been published by Temple Univ. Press, www.temple.edu/tempres [10466]

- **“Increasing Access to Low-Poverty Areas by Creating Mixed-Income Housing,”** by Diane L. Houk, Erica Blake & Fred Freiberg (95 pp., June 2007), has been published by The Fair Housing Justice Center, a program of HELP USA, http://www.fairhousingjustice.org/ [10468]

- **“Leveraging Federal Funds for Housing, Community Development, and Economic Development”** (27 pp., May 2007), a U.S. Government Accountability Office report, is available at http://www.gao.gov/ [10486]

- **Income is No Shield Against Racial Disparities in Lending** is the conclusion of a July 2007 National Community Reinvestment Coalition report, available at http://www.ncrp.org/ [10488]

- **“The Housing Landscape for America’s Working Families 2007,”** from the National Housing Conference, looks at the trend in severe housing cost burden and other critical housing problems over the past two decades, using American Housing Survey data. The reports finds that critical housing needs worsened in 27 of 31 metropolitan areas. The report can be found at www.nhc.org/pdf/pub_landscape2007_08_07.pdf [10507]

- **“Preserving Rural Rental Properties”** is the theme of the Summer 2007 issue of *Rural Voices*, the magazine of the Housing Assistance Council. Subs. to the quarterly are free, from HAC, 1025 Vermont Ave. NW, #606, Wash., DC 20005, 202/842-8600, hac@ruralhome.org, http://www.ruralhome.org/ [10508]

- **“City of Cleveland Community Lending Fact book”** (2007) from the Housing Research & Advocacy Center (as well as their complementary “Cuyahoga County Community Lending Fact book”) are available at http://www.thehousingcenter.org/ [10509]

- **Vital Links: Housing’s Contributions to the Nation’s Health and Education Objectives** is a new resource from the Center for Housing Policy. For each topic (health, education) there is a *Research Summary*,

Literature Review and *Annotated Bibliography*. Available at www.nhc.org/housing/intersections [10518]

- **“One DC Shaw Gentrification Tour”** will take place **Oct. 1, 2007**, 6-8pm, illustrating how this Wash., DC neighborhood is organizing itself to control the negative impact of development on long-time residents. 202/232-2915. [10479]

- **“The 2007 National Community Land Trust Network Annual Meeting & National CLT Academy”** will be held **Oct. 9-12, 2007** in Minneapolis. Inf. from 888/845-8759, http://www.lincolnst.edu/ [10471]

- **“The California Coalition for Rural Housing 2007 Summit 2007”** will be held **Oct. 25-26, 2007** in Pacific Grove. Inf. from the Coalition, 717 K St., #400, Sacramento, CA 95814, [10506]

Immigration

- **“Immigration and Housing in Rural America”** (2007) is available (\$5, downloadable free) from the Housing Assistance Council, 1025 Vermont Ave. NW, #606, Wash., DC 20005, 202/842-8600, http://www.ruralhome.org/ [10514]

Rural

- **Farmers of Color Shut Out from Farm Bill Programs** is the conclusion of a 16-page, July 2007 Oxfam America report, carried out by researchers at Tuskegee Univ. and the Univ. of Minnesota, lrusu@oxfamamerica.org, http://

www.oxfamamerica.org/ [10489]

Miscellaneous

- **Building Commons and Community**, by Karl Linn (222 pp., 2007), has been published by New Village Press, press@newvillage.net, [10467]

- **City Limits Investigates** is a new periodical (actually a reincarnation of their former *City Limits*), available from them at 120 Wall St., 20th fl., NYC, NY 10005, 212/479-3344, http://www.citylimits.org/ [10491]

- **“The National Lawyers Guild Law for the People Convention 2007”** will be held **Oct. 31-Nov. 4, 2007** in Washington, DC. Congressman John Conyers is the Keynote Speaker, and among the major panels are “A Tale of Two Cities: The Intersection of Race and Class Oppression in the District of Columbia” and “America’s Oldest Colony: The D.C. Struggle for Statehood.” Inf. from the Guild, 132 Nassau St., #922, NYC, NY 10038, kgage@verizon.net, nlg.org/convention [10495]

- **“Consumer Rights Litigation Conf.,”** sponsored by the Natl. Consumer Law Center, will be held **Nov. 8-11, 2007** in DC. Inf. from Conference@NCLC.org [10492]

- **“Claiming Democracy 2007 Conf.,”** co-sponsored by FairVote, Demos, the Berrigan Center and others, will be held **Nov. 9-11, 2007** at the Univ. of the District of Columbia Law School. Inf. from 301/270-4616,

rossm@fairvote.org,
http://www.
claimdemocracy.com/
[10494]

● **“The Amnesty International Mid-Atlantic Regional Conf.”** will be held **Nov. 16-18, 2007** in Baltimore. Inf. from www.amnestyusa.org/Mid-Atlantic/Regional-Conference [10493]

2007 Mississippi Justice Weekend, hosted by the Mississippi Center for Justice, will be held **Oct. 12-14** in Jackson. Included is day-long road trip to the Miss. Gulf Coast, co-hosted by the Lawyers Comm. on Civil Rights Under Law. Inf. from 601/352-2269, mgalloway@mscenterforjustice.org

Job Opportunities/ Fellowships/ Grants

● **The Center for Law and Social Policy** is seeking a **Communications and Publications Coordinator**. Resume/writing sample/3 refs. by Oct. 1 to Steve Thorngate, CLASP, 1015 15th St. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20005, [10517]

● **The Commonwealth Fund/Harvard Univ. Fellowship in Minority Health Policy** is offered (\$50,000+) for MD's only, July 2008-June 2009. Jan. 2 applic. deadline. 617/432-2922, mfdp_cfhuf@hms.harvard.edu, www.mfdp.med.

harvard.edu/fellows_faculty/cfhuf/index.htm

● **The Sentencing Project** is hiring a **Research Analyst** (Oct. 19 applic. deadline). Letter/resume/writing sample to Nia Lizanna at the Project, 514 10th St. NW, #1000, Wash., DC 20004, nlizanna@sentencingproject.org .

● **Los Angeles County Neighborhood Legal Services** is hiring a **Staff Atty.** for its Housing/Consumer Advocacy Group. \$46-71,000. Resume/ltr. to them at 1102 E. Chevy Chase Dr., Glendale, CA 91205, employment@nls.-la.org .

● **Beyond Shelter Housing Development Corp.** (Los Angeles) is seeking an **Executive Director**. Resume/salary

reqs. to Tanya Tull, 213/252-0772, ttull@beyondshelter.org

● **The Asian Law Caucus** (San Francisco) is seeking an **Executive Director** (J.D. preferred but not required). Ltr./salary history/brief writing sample (3-5 pp. max.)/3 prof. refs. to CaucusWA@aol.com — put “Asian Law Caucus Executive Director” in subject line.

● **Children's Defense Fund-California** (offices in LA and Oakland) is seeking an **Executive Director**. Ltr./salary history/brief writing sample (3-5 pp. max.)/3 prof. refs. to CaucusWA@aol.com—put “CDF-CA Executive Director” in subject line. Oct. 15 closing date.

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