

Sundown Towns

by James W. Loewen

Between 1890 and 1968, thousands of towns across the United States drove out their black populations or took steps to forbid African Americans from living in them. Thus were created “sundown towns,” so named because many marked their city limits with signs typically reading, “Nigger, Don’t Let The Sun Go Down On You In ____.” Some towns in the West drove out or kept out Chinese Americans. A few excluded Native Americans or Mexican Americans. “Sundown suburbs” developed a little later, mostly between 1900 and 1968. Many suburbs kept out not only African Americans but also Jews.

I learned of these towns gradually, over many years. Back in the 1960s, when going to college in Minnesota, I heard residents of Edina, the most prestigious suburb of Minneapolis, boast that their community had, as they put it, “Not one Negro and not one Jew.” The Academy Award-winning movie of 1947, *Gentleman’s Agreement*, taught me about the method by which Darien, Connecticut, one of the most prestigious suburbs of New York City, kept out Jews. Later I learned of the acronym that residents of Anna, Illinois, applied to their town: “Ain’t No Niggers Allowed.”

Each of these stories seemed outrageous. I resolved to write a book about the phenomenon. Initially, I imagined I would find maybe ten of these communities in Illinois (my home state, where I planned to do more research

than in any other single state), and perhaps 50 across the country.

To my astonishment, I found 472 sundown towns in Illinois, a clear majority of all of the 621 incorporated places of more than 1,000 population. (I made no systematic study of towns smaller than that.) Similar proportions obtained in Indiana, Missouri, Oregon and probably many other states. I found hundreds more across the United States and now estimate that probably 10,000 such towns exist. By 1970, *more than half* of all incorporated communities outside the traditional South probably excluded African Americans. (Whites in the traditional South were appalled by the practice—why would you make your maid leave?) Sundown towns ranged from hamlets like De Land, Illinois, population 500, to large cities like Appleton, Wisconsin, with 57,000 residents in 1970. Sometimes entire counties went sundown, usually when their county seats did. Independent sundown towns were soon joined by “sundown suburbs,” often even larger, such as Glendale, a suburb of Los Angeles, with more than 60,000; Levittown, on Long Island, more than 80,000; and Warren, a Detroit suburb with 180,000 residents.

The History

These towns and these practices do not date back to the Civil War. On the

contrary, between about 1863 and 1890, African Americans went everywhere in America. During this “springtime of freedom,” many communities, especially those with large Quaker, Unitarian or Republican populations, welcomed them. Then, between 1890 and 1940, blacks commenced a “Great Retreat.” This period is becoming known as the “nadir of race relations,” when lynchings peaked, white owners expelled black baseball players from the major (and minor) leagues, and flourishing unions drove African Americans from such occupations as railroad fireman and meat processor.

During this era, whites in many communities indulged in little race riots that until now have been lost to history. Whites in Liberty, Oregon, for example, now part of Salem, ordered their blacks to leave in 1893. Pana, Illinois, drove out its African Americans in 1899, killing five in the process. Anna,

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Illinois, followed suit in 1909, Pinckneyville probably in 1928. Harrison, Arkansas, took two riots by whites before the job was done—in 1905 and 1909. Decatur, Indiana, expelled its black population in 1902. White workers in Austin, Minnesota, repeatedly drove out African Americans in the 1920s and 1930s. Other towns that drove out their black populations violently include Myakka City, Florida; Spruce Pine, North Carolina; Wehrum, Pennsylvania; Ravenna, Kentucky; Greensburg, Indiana; St. Genevieve, Missouri; North Platte, Nebraska; Oregon City, Oregon; and many others. Some of these mini-riots in turn spurred whites in nearby smaller towns to have their own, thus provoking little waves of expulsions. White residents of Vienna, Illinois, set fire to the homes in its black neighborhood as late as 1954!

Many towns that had no African-American residents maintain strong oral traditions of having passed ordinances forbidding blacks from remaining after dark. In California, for example, the Civilian Conservation Corps in the 1930s tried to locate a company of African-American workers in a large park that bordered Burbank and Glendale. Both cities refused, each citing an old ordinance that prohibited African Americans within their city limits after sundown. Other towns passed ordi-

nances in Arizona, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Missouri, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Tennessee, Ohio, Maryland and probably many other states. Some towns believed their ordinances remained in effect long after the 1954 *Brown* decision and 1964 Civil Rights Act. The city council of New Market, Iowa, for example, suspended its sundown ordinance for one night in the mid-1980s to allow an interracial band to play at a town festival, but it went back into effect the next day. Other towns kept out African Americans by less formal measures, such as cutting off city water, having police call hourly all night with reports of threats, or assaulting African-American children as they tried to go to school.

Between about 1863 and 1890, African Americans went everywhere in America.

Some sundown towns allowed one exception. When whites drove African Americans from Hamilton County, Texas, for example, they allowed the elderly “Uncle Alec” and “Aunt Mourn” Gentry to remain. In about 1950, whites in Marshall, Illinois, even christened their exception, “Squab” Wilson, the barber, an “honorary white man.” Meanwhile, Marshall posted the traditional sundown signs. Other permitted exceptions included live-in servants in white households and inmates of mental and penal institutions.

Maintaining Sundown-ness

How have these towns maintained themselves all-white? By a variety of means, public and private. DWB, for example—“driving while black”—is no new phenomenon in sundown towns; as far back as the 1920s, police officers routinely followed and stopped black motorists or questioned them when they stopped. Suburbs used zoning and eminent domain to keep out black would-be residents and to take their property

if they did manage to acquire it. Some towns required all residential areas to be covered by restrictive covenants—clauses in deeds that stated, typically:

No lot shall ever be sold, conveyed, leased, or rented to any person other than one of the white or Caucasian race, nor shall any lot ever be used or occupied by any person other than one of the white or Caucasian race, except such as may be serving as domestics for the owner or tenant of said lot, while said owner or tenant is residing thereon. [from Edina]

Always, lurking under the surface, was the threat of violence or such milder white misbehavior as refusing to sell groceries or gasoline to black newcomers.

The Civil Rights Movement left these towns largely untouched. Indeed, some locales in the Border States forced out their black populations in response to *Brown v. Board of Education*. Sheridan, Arkansas, for example, compelled its African Americans to move to neighboring Malvern in 1954 after the school board’s initial decision to comply with *Brown* prompted a firestorm of protest. Having no black populations, these towns and counties then had no African Americans to test their public accommodations. For 15 years after the 1964 Civil Rights Act, motels and restaurants in some sundown towns continued to exclude African Americans, thus forcing black travelers to avoid them or endure humiliating and even dangerous conditions. Today, public accommodations in sundown towns are generally open. Many towns—probably more than half—have given up their exclusionary residential policies, while others still make it uncomfortable or impossible for African Americans to live in them.

Adverse Impacts

These towns also have an adverse impact on their own residents. When kids ask parents why they live in a given

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PRRAC has tried to be of assistance in the policy dialogue taking place on race, class, and the rebuilding of New Orleans and other areas devastated by the recent hurricanes. In September, we prepared several policy analyses on housing options for displaced families, and we recently co-hosted (with the New York-based Center for Social Exclusion) a meeting of racial justice organizations (both national organizations and groups from the Gulf region) to discuss long-term rebuilding principles for housing, education, health, employment and civic participation. Last week, Chester Hartman was invited, as both PRRAC's Director of Research and as a founder of Planners Network (a national organization of progressive urban planners) to participate in an ambitious "Community Forum on Rebuilding New Orleans," sponsored by the community organizing network ACORN. Herewith his report:

Report from New Orleans

by Chester Hartman

I was privileged to be invited to participate in ACORN's Nov. 7-8 Community Forum on Rebuilding New Orleans, held at LSU in Baton Rouge. Several dozen planners, architects and other resource people from around the country met with local and national ACORN (Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now) members and staff persons for a day and half, following a 6-hour bus tour of New Orleans. The thrust of the effort is to strengthen the role of displaced persons and the African-American community in general in planning and implementing what happens in post-hurricane New Orleans, and to ensure that those who want to return can and will.

The city—at least the four neighborhoods we toured (Gentilly, New Orleans East, the 9th Ward, Uptown/Carrollton—all poor or working-class)—staggeres the imagination: mile after mile of partially and totally destroyed homes, stores and other small businesses, with precious little sign of any rebuilding effort or human activity of any sort. Fallen trees and abandoned vehicles are everywhere. Whole sections of the city still have no electricity, water, sewer service, telephone service, traffic lights, daily mail service. Massive, massive heaps of debris—garbage, furniture, carpets, refrigerators and other appliances—are everywhere. Why, over two months after the storms, there could not be dozens of trucks and front-loaders, hundreds of workers to remove this dangerous, unhealthy and demoralizing garbage says volumes about the

failure (or is it intention) of government. In itself it is an insulting message to those who were forced out of their homes, a deterrent to return.

Because I've just returned and need to get the Nov./Dec. issue of *Poverty & Race* off to the printer, I've opted for a set of pithy, somewhat disjointed notes—partly due to time constraints,

It is estimated that of a pre-hurricane population of close to a half million, only 50-75,000 people now live in New Orleans.

but it also reflects a bit of the city's chaotic atmosphere; I hope these jottings can convey something about the city, the people who are and were there, and the impressive efforts ACORN and others are making to create a positive, progressive rebuilding process and product:

Our tour buses have on the windshield signs saying "No Bulldozing." All 50 of us on the bus briefly introduce ourselves. Every local ACORN member ends her/his introduction with words such as "and I'm ready to go home."

The city is something of a ghost town—little evidence of life. It is estimated that of a pre-hurricane population of close to a half million, only 50-75,000 people now live in New Orleans—counting the full range/types of abodes, temporary and permanent.

To be sure, it is the upper-income wards and neighborhoods that house most of these folks. The former population is widely scattered—to 44 states, one speaker told us. Some got one-way tickets to Chicago, Montana, Alaska....

The people we heard from want to move back now—but where, how? It's painful to hear that constant need and know how hard it will be to satisfy it. At the moment, there's no there there.

Hundreds of FEMA trailers are sited in open spaces distant from the city, creating depressing, anomic instant slums and isolation. The bus passes many open areas within the city—parking lots of closed shopping centers and big box stores, for example—and we wonder why FEMA could not at least place their trailers there so that displacees would be and feel closer to the city and their old neighborhoods.

Another good trailer idea that FEMA resists: Place a trailer on the lot of a family's house, so that they

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We join our voice with millions of others saying good-bye to **Rosa Parks**, who provided the spark that set the nonviolent civil rights movement ablaze, and history-maker to the end as the first woman (and second African American—Thurgood Marshall the first) ever to lie in state in the Capitol.

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can return to the neighborhood, begin to protect and salvage their old home, link back up to friends and neighbors. FEMA says it will do so only if and when electricity, water and sewer services are there. But why not provide, temporarily at least, portajohns, bottled water, generators? People want and need to return—now.

Evictions are rife, as landlords seek to get tenants out of the way to clear the path for redevelopment. With the court system in disarray, eviction actions are handled by courts all over the region, with judges unsympathetic to the plight of tenants, and in a Louisiana legal context where tenants have few rights. Some homeowners have secured forbearance and relief from their mortgage-holders, but most are forced to make monthly mortgage payments for houses they cannot live in, or even gain access to.

Health issues are prominent: unsafe conditions in the houses—mold, particularly, as well as lead and asbestos. Water is generally unsafe to drink. And with the widespread loss of jobs, given the destruction of businesses of all sizes and types, people have lost their health insurance as well.

One health issue that seems to be virtually unrecognized and unmet is mental health: the trauma of going through the hurricanes, losing one's home and social network, not having clarity about the near or long-term

future—all that creates a need for counseling, support and, for some, more serious services.

A universal complaint is lack of reliable information: Why, in this age of such sophisticated modes of communication, can the government not at least take it upon itself to keep people fully informed as to current conditions, available resources and how to access them, anticipated improvements?

With the city's economic base totally undermined, there is hardly any revenue—from sales taxes, property taxes, income taxes. Neither the state nor local government has the resources needed to provide badly needed services. FEMA is held in universal contempt: They let out huge contracts to big, politically favored firms, and forbid their contractors to talk with local people—city councillors included. They can't/won't give out blue roof tarps to all with broken or miss-

One health issue that seems to be virtually unrecognized and unmet is mental health.

ing roofs, so at least the next rain won't do further damage. Insurance companies as well are dissed—claims personnel and inspectors are in short supply, settlement offers are slow and inadequate, people don't have the funds to begin to restore their homes. And the

longer they wait, the more damage builds up from mold, rain and other factors.

Public transportation has been only partially restored. We are told that only 13 of the city's 57 bus routes are even operating—and at far less than regular service; only 33 of the city's 370 buses are running. So many households have lost their cars to the storms and will need to rely on public transportation to get to jobs, hospitals, friends.

Whether a house is salvageable or not is not an easy call. Red, yellow and green markers—based on what can only be cursory inspections—identify houses that, respectively, must be torn down, are rehabilitable, or (in very few cases we saw) habitable. It is estimated that some 50,000 housing units need to be built—who will do that, with what funds, where, for whom? Accurate estimates for salvaging houses are unavailable. Knowledgeable folks at the conference say that for houses that got “only” a few feet of water, we're talking \$40-50,000/unit; where the water rose above 6 feet, it will cost \$90-100,000/unit. Many houses have small mountains of debris right in front—the city, clearing the streets, just piled it there.

Schools are closed—a few parochial schools have just re-opened. The school board has just decided to re-open some 30 K-12 schools as charter schools. That undermines the teachers union. And, since these schools will be able to choose their students, it is almost certain that low-income and minority kids, especially those with behavioral problems, special ed kids, low-performing students, will not be high on the preference list. And to the extent that elite institutions like Tulane take responsibility for some of these schools, preference will be given to children of their faculty and staff. Class and race disparities just keep re-asserting themselves. The disruption to education caused by classroom/school changes (several times for many students) takes its toll—high classroom turnover has been shown to correlate with school dropouts, poor performance, behavioral problems, dis-

Katrina Resources

Katrina Information Network: www.katrinaaction.org

People's Hurricane Relief Fund: www.communitylaborunited.net

The Black Commentator: www.blackcommentator.com

ACORN Proposal for Hurricane Katrina Recovery and Rebuilding:
www.acorn.org/rebuilding

“Hurricane Recovery . . .” Act (HR 4197): www.congress.gov

PolicyLink's “Ten Points to Guide Rebuilding in the Gulf Coast Region”:
www.policylink.org

Reports from Brookings Institution: www.brookings.edu/metro/katrina.htm

Center on Budget & Policy Priorities: www.cbpp.org/11-2-05hou.htm

For information on the class action lawsuit against FEMA:
www.lawyerscommittee.org

rupted links to teachers and fellow students.

Municipal elections are supposed to take place on February 4. How will those scattered around, without a regular address, without access to a polling place, vote? People are worried that Gov. Blanco will postpone the election. ACORN folks want to use the election as a way of ensuring accountability on the part of elected officials—punishing those who have not helped, running progressive, people-oriented candidates. Hearing/knowing that, the Governor may be more inclined to postpone.

Ever present is the broader picture and threat of the levee system and the River. Can/should the levee system be rebuilt to withstand a level 5 hurricane? What will it cost? When will/can it be done? Is the Corps of Engineers capable to carrying this out competently, given its past dereliction (“We need to think about a wrongful death suit against the Corps,” one person asserted.) Should people return if this is not done?

How to deal with, access, satisfy the needs of the evacuees? Houston has some 30,000. ACORN has established a Katrina Survivors Association, nationwide, to communicate and organize so that their voice is included in rebuilding plans.

The two dozen or so academics at the conference met a couple of times to see what kinds of research and other help we might offer (I have an academic persona as Adjunct Professor of Sociology at George Washington University). We came up with over 50 specific ideas, which are being handed over to the ACORN folks so they can identify what they regard as most urgent. Plans are being made and coordinated for architecture and planning studios to focus on reconstruction of New Orleans and other Gulf areas. Student spring semester and/or summer on-site projects are possible—some sort of “adopt a neighborhood” project by specific universities. Among the proposed research/service projects: who wants to return and what is needed for them to return, and how long can people be away before they begin to

lose their attachment to their former neighborhoods; monitoring expenditure of federal disaster-related spending; evaluating the performance of insurance companies; providing maps and GIS systems help; developing a

database for returning residents regarding procedures and programs for essential services. (Any academics who want to plug into this effort should contact me: chartman@prrac.org.) □

Chicago 1966

In coordination with the upcoming Chicago-based conference “**Fulfilling the Dream: The Chicago Freedom Movement, Fortieth Anniversary, 1966-2006**” (see conference description below), PRRAC is marking the event with an interactive chronology of that watershed summer in the fair housing movement.

It was in 1966 that Dr. King and other national civil rights organizers confronted the difficulties of organizing against Northern segregation and were reminded once again of the crucial role of local leadership and grassroots activism. Some of the same themes of the modern fair housing movement found their first expression here—the recurring dynamic of housing desegregation vs. community development, and the complex interplay between private discrimination and government policy. It was in the midst of the 1966 campaign that the landmark *Gautreaux v. Chicago Housing Authority* case was filed—a case that would eventually go to the U.S. Supreme Court and define the scope of constitutional protection against government-sponsored segregation. The lessons of the 1966 struggle in Chicago—including the eventual settlement brokered with Mayor Daley—still resonate today.

PRRAC’s chronology includes links to contemporaneous newspaper accounts of the marches, photographs, and first-person recollections of the events. See www.prrac.org/projects/chicago1966.php

“Fulfilling the Dream: The Chicago Freedom Movement, Fortieth Anniversary, 1966-2006” is a collaborative effort to commemorate the history of the Chicago Freedom Movement. Coordinated by the Center for Urban Research and Learning at Loyola University-Chicago, this project will focus on the history of the Movement as well as its impact on current life in Chicago. Co-sponsoring organizations include the Chicago Historical Society, Illinois Humanities Council, Du Sable Museum, Chicago Public Library, Newberry Library and the City of Chicago Department of Cultural Affairs. **A national conference is scheduled for July 22-26, 2006.**

For more information, contact Professor Kale Williams at kwilli5@luc.edu or visit the detailed fortieth anniversary website at <http://www.cfm40.org>.

“Gautreaux at Forty—A Four-Decade Retrospective”

This conference is a commemoration of the filing of Chicago’s landmark public housing desegregation case in 1966. It will be held at Northwestern Law School in Chicago, on **Friday, March 3, 2006**, and it is open to the public.

For more information, contact Professor Leonard Rubinowitz, at 312/503-8381 or l-rubinowitz@law.northwestern.edu.

(TOWNS: Continued from page 2)

town, especially if it is a suburb, parents are apt to reply that it is a good environment for raising children. The children know full well that their town is overwhelmingly white, making it logical to infer that an environment without blacks is “good.” While anti-racist whites can emerge from such settings, and some have, it is far easier to conclude that African Americans are bad and to be avoided. Young people from sundown towns often feel a sense of dread when they find themselves in racially mixed situations beyond their hometowns.

Still worse is the impact of sundown suburbs on the social system. The prestige enjoyed by many elite sundown suburbs—such as Edina, Darien or Kenilworth, the richest suburb of Chicago—makes it harder for neighboring suburbs to become and stay interracial. When a white family makes even more money than average for the interracial suburb of Oak Park, Illinois, say, they may want to express their success by moving to an even more prestigious (and more expensive) suburb, like Kenilworth. Such a family may not choose Kenilworth because it has no black families (as of the 2000 Census), but because of its prestige—but the two have been intertwined for a century.

What to Do?

What is to be done about sundown towns? Governmental action does help. Until 1968, new all-white suburbs were forming much more rapidly than old sundown towns and suburbs were caving in. In that year, Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act, along with the *Jones v. Mayer* decision, barring discrimination in the rental and sale of property, caused the federal government to change sides and oppose sundown towns. Since then, citywide residential prohibitions against Jews, Asians, Native Americans and Hispanics have mostly disappeared. Even vis-à-vis African Americans, many towns and suburbs relaxed their exclusionary policies in the 1980s and 1990s. As of

2005, however, *de facto* exclusion of blacks is still all too common.

At a minimum, any former sundown town should now be asked to make three statements: admit it (“We did this.”), apologize for it (“We did this, and it was wrong.”), and proclaim they now welcome residents of all races (“We did this; it was wrong; and we don’t do it anymore.”) Even George Wallace managed these statements before he died, after all!

The last chapter of my 2005 book *Sundown Towns* is titled “Remedies.” It suggests things that individual families can do, policies that local governments should put into effect, acts that corporations can take, and a new law that states or the federal government should pass. The last, titled “Residents Rights Act,” is modeled to a degree on

White residents of Vienna, Illinois, set fire to the homes in its black neighborhood as late as 1954.

the very successful 1965 Voting Rights Act. If a community has a provable sundown past (and this can be done, as my research shows), continuing overwhelmingly white demographics, and two or more complaints from recent black would-be renters or homebuyers, then the act would kick in. Among its provisions, residents would lose the ability to exempt mortgage interest payments and property tax payments from their incomes at tax time. After all, by this exemption the federal government, seconded by state governments, means to encourage homeownership in America, a fine aim. However, homeownership by whites in sundown towns is *not* so fine an objective and does not deserve encouragement in the tax code. The day after this act is applied to a given sundown town or suburb, its residents will be up in arms, requesting that their government and realtors *recruit* African Americans as residents so they can recover this important tax break.

Even if no government enacts the

Residents Rights Act, individuals can do the research to “out” sundown towns. Especially elite sundown suburbs, but even isolated independent sundown towns, rely upon deniability for their policy to work. I call this the “paradox of exclusivity.” Residents of towns like Darien, for instance, *want* Darien to be known as an “exclusive” community. That says good things about them—that they have the money, status and social savvy to be accepted in such a locale. They do *not* want to be known as “excluding”—especially on racial or religious grounds—for that would say *bad* things about them. So long as towns like Darien, Kenilworth, Edina and La Jolla, California, can appear “accidentally” all-white, they can avoid this difficulty. At the very least, then, making plain the conscious and often horrific decisions that underlie almost every all-white town and neighborhood in America is a first step toward ending what surely remains as the last major bastion of racial segregation in America.

James W. Loewen (jloewen@zoo.uvm.edu) is the author of Lies My Teacher Told Me and Lies Across America, both published by New Press, publisher of his just-released book, Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism—an important new tool for organizing around housing discrimination issues.

Loewen is planning to produce a registry of sundown towns on his website (www.uvm.edu/~jloewen/); contact him if you have information on towns that did or still do keep out blacks and other minorities. □

Thank\$

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Senate Apology

Last June 13, the United States Senate unanimously passed Senate Resolution 39 (see Resolution text in accompanying box), apologizing for that body's past failure to enact federal anti-lynching legislation—legislation the House had passed three times (1922, 1937, 1940). Each time the House-passed bill came to the Senate, Southern members used “states’ rights” arguments and the filibuster and other parliamentary maneuvers to prevent a floor vote—which most likely would have approved the bill.

Senate Resolution 39 was an extraordinary action, reported widely in the media. The effort was the result of several years of organizing/lobbying by The Committee For A Formal Apology—initiated by publication of *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America*, by James Allen (Twin Palms Twelve Trees Press, 2000), the mind-blowing and sickening collection of photos, not only of the victims but of the festive crowds that regularly attended these horrific acts.

Eighty of the Senate's 100 members were original co-endorsers of the resolution, introduced by Mary Landrieu (D-LA) and George Allen (R-VA); the remaining 20 took a lot of heat for their silence, leading 12 of them to add their names. The 8 holdouts, all Republicans, were both Mississippi Senators (Thad Cochran and Trent Lott), both Wyoming Senators (Craig Thomas and Michael Enzi), both New Hampshire Senators (Judd Gregg and John Sununu), Texas' John Cornyn and Lamar Alexander of Tennessee. Although Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist joined as a co-endorser, he acted to protect his holdout colleagues by preventing a roll call vote and by scheduling the bill's hearing on a Monday evening, a time when the Senate chamber is nearly empty.

In an effort to learn more about the work of the Committee For A Formal Apology, I interviewed Mark Planning, a DC-based lawyer who is pro bono counsel to the Committee.

Chester Hartman: Let me start off personally. You're another anti-racist white guy. How did you get involved in this? What's your background?

Mark Planning: I don't have an activist background. I've always been very sympathetic to race issues, however. I have a brother, a Jesuit priest, who's very involved in race and other social justice issues. I would say his work and

my becoming a parent in recent years really made me think more about these things. The project—the apology—was an opportunity to do something positive, to make a contribution.

CH: How did you get involved in it?

MP: The campaign was inspired by the publication of James Allen's groundbreaking book, *Without Sanctu-*

ary: Lynching Photography in America.

CH: Was he a key figure in starting the campaign?

MP: He was, along with Dick Gregory, the entertainer activist, and Dr. E. Faye Williams, another prominent human rights leader. Basically, after James Allen's book was published in 2000, a public dialogue began about what to do with these pictures. Do we as a country continue to sweep this period of history under the rug, or do we try to do something constructive? One of my passions, my avocations, is 20th Century political history. I was amazed to discover that there is very little historical scholarship, at least by mainstream historians, on lynching. Perhaps this is because there is so much institutional shame on the white side, and then, frankly, anger by African Americans that this was done to their immediate past ancestors. To try to rectify at least some of this, Mr. Gregory, who, by the way, is an incredible human being, pulled together Dr. C. DeLores Tucker, Dr. Dorothy Height, Martin Luther King III, and over time, people like Janet Langhart Cohen, another amazing person. She is best known, at least in the City of Washington, as the wife of William Cohen, the former Senator and Secretary of Defense. Following her marriage to Senator Cohen, she became the

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New “Best of P&R” Book

Poverty and Race in America: The Emerging Agendas, edited by Chester Hartman, with a Foreword by Rep. Jesse Jackson, Jr., will be published by Lexington Books—out in January or February. A collection of 60 articles/symposia that appeared from late 2001 right up to the present issue (we snuck Jim Loewen's lead piece in at the last minute), written by the nation's leading researchers, activists and policymakers. The articles are in 7 sections: Race, Poverty, Housing, Education, Health, Democracy & Miscellaneous. Each section ends with a heuristic quiz.

The 400+ -page book is \$34.95 pb, \$95 hb.

If you'd like to see the Table of Contents, email (chartman@prrac.org) or phone (202/906-8025) your request. It is a marvelous set of course readings for college, graduate school and high school students, and teachers can request examination copies from Cruel@rowman.com. Bulk orders will be available at a considerable discount, even larger if we get such orders before actual printing starts.

The first two such collections, published by M.E. Sharpe (*Double Exposure: Poverty and Race in America* [1997] and *Challenges to Equality: Poverty and Race in America* [2001]), still are in print and still are highly relevant for course adoptions and general reading.

(APOLOGY: Continued from page 7)

first African-American Senate spouse since Reconstruction. The second, and only other, is Senator Barack Obama's wife.

CH: Mrs. Cohen has a lynching in her family?

MP: Her cousin, Jimmy Gillenwater, was lynched in Kentucky around the time of the first anti-lynching filibuster. He refused to leave his land, so a mob hanged him from a tree. Mrs. Cohen did not personally know Jimmy, the victim, but she did know his mother, and the incredible

pain and devastation she endured for the rest of her life. Over time, other lynching descendants joined our Committee. One is Doria Johnson, whose great-great grandfather, Anthony Crawford, was lynched in South Carolina. One of the pleasant surprises following the Senate apology was that the community of Abbeville, where this lynching took place, came together and formally apologized to the Crawford family. Doria has been working on these issues for over 10 years. She has a web site and does quite a bit of public speaking on the subject.

CH: Where does she live?

MP: She is in Evanston, Illinois, but there are Crawford descendants living all over the country. In fact, Doria assembled in Washington—it was absolutely incredible—about 100 Crawford family members. On the day of the apology, they attended a reception at the Capitol in their honor. That evening they sat in the Senate gallery to witness the apology. Another Committee member who is an actual survivor—the only known survivor of a lynching—is Dr. James Cameron. After almost being lynched in Marion, Indiana during the 1930s, he dedicated his life to educating Americans about this history. He founded the Black Holocaust Museum in Milwaukee and has written extensively about his personal experience. Other Committee members include Dan Duster, the grandson of Ida B. Wells, and Emmett Till's cousin Simeon Wright, who was with Emmett in Mississippi when he was abducted and lynched in the 1950s. The Committee was very authentic and grassroots. Everybody and everything just came together in a beautiful way. You know, someone once said about James Allen's book, that when you view these pictures you are at once blessed and cursed to do "something" about them. For me, it was an opportunity to work with great civil rights leaders and hopefully inspire young people to learn *all* of their country's history.

CH: How does the Committee function or meet, or is it really amorphous?

MP: Most of us are here in Wash-

**109th CONGRESS - 1st Session
S. RES. 39**

RESOLUTION

Apologizing to the victims of lynching and the descendants of those victims for the failure of the Senate to enact anti-lynching legislation.

Whereas the crime of lynching succeeded slavery as the ultimate expression of racism in the United States following Reconstruction;

Whereas lynching was a widely acknowledged practice in the United States until the middle of the 20th century;

Whereas lynching was a crime that occurred throughout the United States, with documented incidents in all but 4 States;

Whereas at least 4,742 people, predominantly African-Americans, were reported lynched in the United States between 1882 and 1968;

Whereas 99 percent of all perpetrators of lynching escaped from punishment by State or local officials;

Whereas lynching prompted African-Americans to form the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and prompted members of B'nai B'rith to found the Anti-Defamation League;

Whereas nearly 200 anti-lynching bills were introduced in Congress during the first half of the 20th century;

Whereas, between 1890 and 1952, 7 Presidents petitioned Congress to end lynching;

Whereas, between 1920 and 1940, the House of Representatives passed 3 strong anti-lynching measures;

Whereas protection against lynching was the minimum and most basic of Federal responsibilities, and the Senate considered but failed to enact anti-lynching legislation despite repeated requests by civil rights groups, Presidents, and the House of Representatives to do so;

Whereas the recent publication of "Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America" helped bring greater awareness and proper recognition of the victims of lynching;

Whereas only by coming to terms with history can the United States effectively champion human rights abroad; and

Whereas an apology offered in the spirit of true repentance moves the United States toward reconciliation and may become central to a new understanding, on which improved racial relations can be forged: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate—

(1) apologizes to the victims of lynching for the failure of the Senate to enact anti-lynching legislation;

(2) expresses the deepest sympathies and most solemn regrets of the Senate to the descendants of victims of lynching, the ancestors of whom were deprived of life, human dignity, and the constitutional protections accorded all citizens of the United States; and

(3) remembers the history of lynching, to ensure that these tragedies will be neither forgotten nor repeated.

Please donate to PRRAC!

PRRAC was founded in 1989 by national civil rights and poverty law organizations to better connect social science researchers and advocates whose work involved the intersection of race and poverty in the United States. The goal was to make our advocacy more effective and our research more meaningful in the struggle to understand and address the continuing effects of structural racism in this country.

One important part of PRRAC's work is this publication, which has been published continuously six times a year since 1992 (back issues are available and fully searchable on our website/database). In addition, PRRAC is involved in a number of important substantive projects in housing, education and health. In the housing area, we are focusing on continuing barriers to housing mobility and desegregation in our two largest housing programs, the Section 8 voucher program and the Low Income Housing Tax Credit Program, and we are participating in an exciting metropolitan-wide housing campaign in Baltimore arising out of the landmark *Thompson* case. We have also been helping to frame the policy discussion in the wake of the Hurricane Katrina disaster. In the area of education, we are continuing to promote and disseminate two major publications, *Fragmented* (our handbook on student turnover in high-poverty schools) and *Putting the Movement Back Into Civil Rights Teaching*. Our major health-related project is a new national directory of organizers, researchers and advocates working on issues of minority health disparities, supported by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. You can read about all of these projects on our website, www.prrac.org (under "current projects").

Most of PRRAC's small budget is supported by private foundation grants. But foundation support is not enough: To continue our work, and to diversify our funding base, we also need more financial support from individual contributors. PRRAC is a small but meaningful part of our national civil rights infrastructure, and we need your support to continue. We hope you will consider mailing in a contribution in the attached envelope today.



Philip Tegeler
PRRAC Executive Director

ington so we were able to meet regularly. Initially, we put up a web site that included information about the campaign and a Senate petition that the public could sign. Then we just started knocking on Senators' doors.

CH: Was it difficult?

MP: Mr. Gregory wrote two or three separate letters to every Senator. Eventually, Senator Landrieu saw a copy of *Without Sanctuary* in connection with one of these letters and immediately contacted us about serving as the lead sponsor. She thought it best to proceed in a bipartisan manner and requested that we help her find a Republican sponsor. So we started down the alphabet, first calling on Senator Allard from Colorado, then Senator Alexander from Tennessee. Senator Allen from Virginia was third, and he said yes.

CH: Any idea what motivated him?

MP: Apparently he has been very involved the last couple of years with Congressman John Lewis' Faith and Politics Institute, which organizes civil rights pilgrimages for Senators and others. He told us that visiting these sites with Mr. Lewis was something of a life-altering experience. It also turns out he was a history major in college but, like most people, knew very little about this history, especially the Senate's unique culpability for these crimes.

CH: Are you the convener, the initiator?

MP: I would say Dr. E. Faye Williams and I are. She and I did most of the Hill visits. We also took care of the mundane, day-to-day chores that go with running a campaign like this.

Until Dr. C. DeLores Tucker's death a few weeks ago, Dr. Williams served as her counsel. Now we're hoping that she will replace Dr. Tucker as the head of the National Congress of Black Women, a wonderful organization that was started by the late Representative Shirley Chisholm. Dr. Williams is an impressive person and one of the authentic foot soldiers in the contemporary Civil Rights Movement.

CH: I understand Majority Leader Bill Frist tried to undercut your efforts.

MP: We requested a roll call vote on the apology. For starters, other groups who received an apology from Congress got one. But more importantly, we wanted Senators to be in Washington so they could come to the floor and speak on behalf of the resolution. Plenty of Senators, Democrats

(Please turn to page 10)

(APOLOGY: Continued from page 9)

and Republicans, expressed to us a desire to speak. Additionally, we requested daylight business hours on a Tuesday, Wednesday or Thursday when most of the Senators are around. Instead, Senator Frist gave us a Monday, starting at 6 pm. It was a big disappointment. This was the first time African Americans ever received from Congress any kind of apology or amends for past historical crimes committed against them by the federal government. Numerous Senators wanted to participate but were prevented from doing so because of the scheduling.

CH: The lobbying that was done—you described going door to door to find co-sponsors. What else was done to produce 80 sponsors?

MP: As I mentioned, we obtained thousands of signatures on a petition that was delivered to the Senate. We also had other groups and individuals contact Senators on their own. The letters from Mr. Gregory had to be hand-delivered to the Hill because of the anthrax contamination at the Hart Building. That ended up taking a great deal of time. Then, over a two-year period, we just called on Senate offices. It was good old-fashioned knocking on doors and getting lots of strange looks. Eventually, after we visited enough offices and staff saw the lynching pictures and reviewed the history, they got it.

CH: Was the book sent to all of the Senate offices?

MP: We brought it with us on our visits.

CH: I saw the exhibit at the New York Historical Society.

MP: I first saw it in Atlanta at the King Center. Just last week I saw it again in Chicago at the Historical Museum. James Allen and John Littlefield have, at their own expense, taken it all over the country, including Jackson State University in Mississippi and the Charles Wright Museum in Detroit. We would like to bring it to Washington next year.

CH: Where?

MP: Janet Cohen and I met with the folks at the Smithsonian, the

American History Museum. We were told, and it may be true, that they have exhibits already lined up for the next couple of years.

CH: What now? There was one reference in the press accounts to a follow-up activity of having Senator Richard Russell's name taken off the Senate office building. Russell, of course, was the Senator from Georgia who blocked all of the anti-lynching legislation during the 1930s, 40s and 50s.

MP: We think that's a logical and respectful thing to do. Russell, more than any other single Senator, not only led all the campaigns to defeat anti-lynching legislation, but he fought to delay and weaken all other civil rights measures considered by the Senate between 1933 and 1971.

CH: I imagine the Russell name change would be a tough sell.

MP: It is. Senator Lott chairs the Rules Committee, and Senator Byrd is the senior Democrat. And it is really too bad. There were many Southern Senators, perhaps more than you are aware of, who traveled heroic personal and political journeys to finally embrace civil rights. Richard Russell, unfortunately, was not one of these Senators. He went to his grave still believing this white supremacist garbage. It is an indignity and an incredible insult to African Americans that the oldest, most prestigious Senate office building is named for him. A new book just came out on the Senate called *The Most Exclusive Club: A History of the Modern Senate*. It is written by a history professor from the University of Texas who really tears into the Senate Russell myth. On page 260, for example, he writes: "Russell's virulent and unrelenting racism went largely unmentioned in the summaries of his career and contributions. On that issue, he allowed race and his hatred for black Americans to guide his decisions. The qualities for which his Senate colleagues admired him were ones that he extended to them as fellow white Americans. Had Russell had his way, African Americans would always have been excluded from full equality. That such a

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section.**

cramped spirit attained 'greatness' in the Senate says more about the institution than about Russell himself."

CH: Are you working on removing the Russell name?

MP: No. We are looking instead at taking the political good will that has been created and possibly pursuing a joint resolution from Congress that would formally acknowledge and apologize for slavery. We believe it would represent another important step in furthering an honest dialog on race in this country. The issue of slavery, of course, is a good deal more complicated and controversial. It involves both the House and the Senate. It also brings in issues like reparations.

CH: Are you doing anything on the reparations issue at this point?

MP: No. In addition to possibly pursuing the apology for slavery, we are interested, I think I mentioned, in bringing the *Without Sanctuary* exhibit to Washington during February, Black History Month. These are things that can be achieved now. When people like Bill Clinton oppose reparations, it is a non-starter.

CH: Have you received any offers to host the *Without Sanctuary* exhibit in Washington?

MP: The Smithsonian has said they would display it at the African American History Museum in Anacostia, but we feel very strongly that African Americans know all about these pictures and this history. It is white Americans who need to see it. We just don't believe many of them will view the exhibit if they have to travel to Anacostia.

CH: The lynching apology got marvelous publicity. Did you have a PR person or did it just spin itself?

MP: It spun itself, really. I'd like to tell you we had brilliant PR instincts, but the truth is the *Without Sanctuary* book did most of the work

for us. It also turned out that the general press knew very little about this history and, consequently, recognized the newsworthiness of the apology. Really all one has to do is view these lynching photographs and read the filibusters from the *Congressional Record* and it will absolutely make you cringe. It is just nonstop ranting and raving about mongrelization and how blacks deserve to be lynched when they lay a

hand on a white woman. It is almost too unbearable to read. You can barely turn to the next page of the *Record*.

CH: Well, you folks are to be congratulated on a great, inspiring victory. I hope you all will be able to do the follow-up tasks.

MP: Thank you, Chester. We really appreciate the interest and support of the Council.

Mark Planning can be reached at mark@rpum.com.

See also W. Fitzhugh Brundage, Lynching in the New South; James H. Madison, A Lynching in the Heartland; Laura Wexler, Fire In A Canebrake: The Last Mass Lynching in America; Adam Fairclough, Better Day Coming; George C. Wright, Under Sentence of Death: Lynching in the South. □

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 (37¢ 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

- **"The Portrayal of Latinos & Latino Issues on Network Television News, 2004, With a Retrospect to 1995,"** by Federico Subervi, the Network Brownout Report 2005 (24 pp., June), is available (possibly free) from the Natl. Assn. of Hispanic Journalists, 1000 Natl.

Press Bldg., Wash., DC 20045-2100, 202/662-7145, nahj@nahj.org, <http://www.nahj.org/> [9593]

- **"What Democracy Looks Like: Springfield, Illinois"** — "Where conversations about race create ripples of community" — is an 8-page, 2005 pamphlet from Study Circles Resource Center. Available from them (possibly free), PO Box 203, Pomfret, CT 06258, 860/928-2616, <http://www.studyircles.org/> [9603]

- **Call for Papers:** The *Harvard Journal of African American Public Policy* is seeking submissions for its 12th (2005-06) volume, "A Nation Exposed: Rebuilding African American Communities." Dec. 16 deadline for submissions (with some flexibility). Contact Bria.Gillum@ksg06.harvard.edu [9608]

- **"Pathway D: Walking Through the Valley"** (88 pp., 2005) is one of a series of Faith & Life Resources — "A Peace Journey for Congregations" — Topic Three is "All God's People:

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.

Confronting Racism"; Topic Five is "Restorative Justice: Responding to Crime." Available (no price listed) from the Mennonite Publishing Network, Scottsdale, PA 15683, 800/245-7894. [9613]

- **Amerasia Journal** (published by the UCLA Asian American Studies Ctr., headed by PRRAC Bd. member Don Nakanishi) plans "An Asian Canadian Issue" for Fall 2007 and is soliciting contributions. 2-page abstract had a Nov. 30, 2005 deadline — but perhaps flexible — to guest co-editor Henry Yu, henryyu@ucla.edu [9614]

- **New DVD & Teachers Guide to the Civil Right Movement** can be found at school.

discovery.com/freedom/. Inf. from 800/769-8715 [9621]

- **Racial Stigma and Its Consequences**, by Glenn C. Loury (2005?); inf. from www.irp.wisc.edu/publications/focus/pdfs/foc241a.df [9624]

- **"Slavery in New York"** is a remarkable exhibit at the NY Historical Society, until **March 5, 2006**. Before the Revolution there were more slaves in NY than any other city except Charleston, SC; 40% of NYC's households owned slaves; even after NY abolished slavery in 1827, the business of the City was still tied to the slave trade. Inf. at <http://www.nyhistory.org/> [9597]

Poverty/ Welfare

- **“State of Awareness: The Effects of State Characteristics on Awareness & Uptake of the Earned Income Tax Credit,”** by Rebecca Epstein, Robert Espinoza, Jodie Harris & Kasey Wiedrich (May 2005), is a 2-page summary of a report — both available from co-author Espinoza, at rje220@nyu.edu [9622]

- **“Why Is U.S. Poverty Higher in Non-metropolitan Areas,”** a 2005 report from the Rural Poverty Research Center, is available by calling 541/737-1441; downloadable at www.rprconline.org/WorkingPapers/WP0504.pdf [9623]

- **“The Fourth World Movement/USA”** annual report (April 2004-March 2005) is available (likely free) from Aude Seigneur at the Movement’s DC office, 734 15th St. NW, #525, Wash., DC 20005, 202/393-2822, a.seigneur@4thworldmovement.org, <http://www.4thworldmovement.org/> [9627]

Criminal Justice

- **“Dismantling the School-to-Prison Pipeline”** is a 14-page, 2005 pamphlet, available (possibly free) from the NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund, 99 Hudson St., #1600, NYC, NY 10013, 212/965-2200, school2prison@naacpldf.org [9598]

Economic/ Community Development

- **“Building Communities”** is a March 28, 2006 conf. in DC, co-sponsored by Policy America, the New America Fdn., Washington Univ. Ctr. for Social Development, Brandeis Univ. Inst. for Assets & Social Policy, and Capitol Advantage. Inf. from David Stoesz, davestoesz@aol.com [9615]

Education

- **“Adding the Critical Voice: A Dialogue With Practicing Teachers on Teacher Recruitment & Retention in Hard-to-Staff Schools”** (61 pp., Sept. 2005) is available (possibly free) from Learning Point Associates, 1120 E. Diehl Rd., #200, Naperville, IL 60563-1486, 630/649-6500, www.learningpt.org/evaluation.voice/htm [9595]

- **“Cracks in the Education Pipeline: A Business Leader’s Guide to Higher Education Reform”** (40 pp., May 2005) is available (likely free) from the Comm. for Economic Development, 2000 L St. NW, #700, Wash., DC 20036, 202/296-5860, <http://www.ced.org/> [9596]

- **“Saving Money & Improving Education: How School Choice Can Help States Reduce Education Costs,”** by David Salisbury, is an Oct. 2005, 33-page Policy Analysis report, available (possibly free) from The Cato Inst., 1000 Mass. Ave. NW, Wash., DC 20001, 202/842-0200. [9599]

- **“High-Stakes Testing & Student Achievement: Problems for the No Child Left Behind Act”** (2005), from the Educational Policy Studies Laboratory at Arizona State Univ. & the Great Lakes Center for Education Research & Practice, is available at www.asu.edu/educ/eps/EPRU/documents/EPSSL-0509-105-EPRU.pdf [9600]

- **“Education Could Do More”** is a 2005 GAO study asking the US Dept. of Education to take a bigger role in promoting successful interventions at the high school level. Available at [www.gao.gov/new.items.d05879.pdf](http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d05879.pdf) [9601]

- **“Reading to Achieve: A Governors’ Guide to Adolescent Literacy”** (2005), from the National Governors Association, is available at www.nga.org/Files/pdf/510GOVGUIDE_LITERACY.PDF [9604]

- **“Reading at Risk: The State Response to the Crisis in Adolescent Literacy,”** from the National Association of State Boards of Education (2005), is available at www.nasbe.org/recent_pubs/reading_at_risk.htm [9605]

- **“The Nation’s Report Card”** — results of the 2005 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) testing of 4th- and 8th-graders are available at nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/ [9607]

- **“Mayhem in the Middle,”** a 2005 report from the Thomas Fordham Fdn., argues for high standards and accountability for student achievement in middle grades. Available at www.edexcellence.net/

[doc/2690_Mayhem_FINAL.pdf](#) [9616]

- **“Organizing Family & Community Connections With Schools: How Do School Staff Build Meaningful Relationships With All Stakeholders?”** (2005?) is available (no price listed) from The Prichard Committee, 167 W. Main St., #310, Lexington, KY 40507, [9617]

- **“Inequality in Children’s School Readiness and Public Funding,”** by Katherine Magnuson, Marcia Meyers, Christopher J. Ruhm & Jane Walldvogel (2005?), is available at www.irp.wisc.edu/publications/focus/pdfs/foc241c.pdf [9625]

- **Postsecondary Education Opportunity** devotes its 16-page Oct. 2005 issue to “Segregation of Higher Education: Enrollment by Family Income and Race/Ethnicity, 1980 to 2004.” Subs. to the monthly are \$164; contact them for single issues: PO Box 415, Oskaloosa, IA 52577-0415, 641/673-4301, subscription@postsecondary.org, <http://www.postsecondary.org/> [9629]

- **“Moving Forward: Helping New York’s High Mobility Students to Succeed,”** by Sheila Kaplan, an 8-page, June 2005 policy paper, is available (possibly free) from 917/693-1041, educationny@aol.com [9631]

- **Rethinking Schools** has available its Fall/Winter 2005 catalog (“Education Resources for Equity and Justice”). 800/669-4192, <http://www.rethinkingschools.org/> [9632]

- **The Color of Success: Race & High-Achieving Urban Youth**, by Gilberto Conchas (168 pp., 2005, \$23.95), is available from Teachers College Press, 800/575-6566, <http://www.tcpress.com/> [9635]

- **Un-Standardizing Curriculum: Multicultural Teaching in the Standards-Based Classroom**, by Christine E. Sleeter (224 pp., 2005, \$23.95), is available from Teachers College Press, 800/575-6566, <http://www.tcpress.com/> [9636]

- **Critical Literacy/Critical Teaching: Tools for Preparing Responsive Teachers**, by Cheryl Dozier, Peter Johnston & Rebecca Rogers (224 pp., 2005, \$27.95), is available from Teachers College Press, 800/575-6566, <http://www.tcpress.com/> [9637]

- **Why Are So Many Minority Students in Special Education? Understanding Race & Disability in Schools**, by Beth Harry & Janette Klingner (224 pp., 2005, \$28.95), is available from Teachers College Press, 800/575-6566, <http://www.tcpress.com/> [9638]

- **Breaking Through: Transforming Urban School Districts**, by John Simmons (264 pp., 2005, \$25.95), is available from Teachers College Press, 800/575-6566, <http://www.tcpress.com/> [9640]

Employment/ Jobs Policy

- **Restoring the American Dream: A Working Families**

Agenda for America, by Thomas Kochan (247 pp., 2005, \$28), has been published by MIT Press, 800/405-1619. [9609]

- **Pain on Their Faces: Testimonies on the Paper Mill Strike, Jay, Maine, 1987-1988**, by the Jay-Livermore Falls Working Class History Project, Peter Kellman, Coordinator, was published by Apex Press, 800/316-2739. Another excellent treatment of the strike and the many important issues it raised about communities, the relationship of union locals to the national, the limits of the National Labor Relations Act is **The Betrayal of Local 14**, by Univ. of Texas Law Prof. Julius Getman (259 pp., 1998), published by ILR/Cornell Univ. Press. Lots of relevance to the current tensions/divisiveness in the US labor movement. [9618]

- **Union Communication Services** has available its 2006 books catalog: 165 Conduit St., Annapolis, MD 21401-2512, 800/321-2545, ucsbooks@unionist.com, <http://www.unionist.com/> [9633]

Environment

- **“Thirsty for Justice: A People’s Blueprint for California Water”** (132 pp., June 2005) is available from the Environmental Justice Coalition for Water, 654 13th St., Oakland, CA 94610, 510/286-8400, downloadable at www.ejcw.org/blueprint.html [9594]

Families/ Women/ Children

- **“The Family Permanent Supportive Housing Initiative: Family History & Experiences in Supportive Housing,”** by Clare Nolan, Cathy ten Broeke, Martha R. Burt & Michelle Magee (2005), is available from The Urban Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/261-5709, www.urban.org/url/cfm?ID=311224 [9620]

- **Building on Strength: Language & Literacy in Latino Families & Communities**, ed. Ana Celia Zentella (224 pp., 2005, \$23.95), is available from Teachers College Press, 800/575-6566, <http://www.tcpress.com/> [9634]

Health

- **Measuring Health Disparities** is a 2005 interactive CD-ROM based course, available (free) from the Michigan Public Health Training Center, 734/615-9439, dkurz@umich.edu, www.sitemaker.umich.edu/mhd [9611]

- **Barbara Jordan Health Policy Scholars Program at Howard University: A 47-page, 2005 five-year report** on this program, sponsored by the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, is available (likely free) from the Foundation, 1330 G St. NW, Wash., DC 20005, 202/347-5270, <http://www.kff.org/> [9641]

- **The Cost of Being Poor: Poverty, Lead Poisoning & Policy Implementation**, by

Jeanita W. Richardson (222 pp., 2005, \$119.95), has been published by Greenwood, 800/225-5800, <http://www.greenwood.com/> [9643]

Housing

- **Making a Better World: Public Housing, the Red Scare & the Direction of Modern Los Angeles**, by Don Parson (289 pp., 2005), has been published by Univ. Minn. Press. [9590]

- **“State of Metropolitan Housing Report 2005”** (22 pp.) is available (possibly free) from the Metropolitan Housing Coalition, PO Box 4533, Louisville, KY 40204, 502/584-6858, <http://www.metropolitanhousing.org/> [9592]

- **A Place to Live, A Means to Work: How Housing Assistance Can Strengthen Welfare Policy** is a 2005 compilation of studies by experts at HUD, the Center on Budget & Policy Priorities, Fannie Mae Fdn. & other institutions. Limited number of free copies are available from pierre@cbpp.org [9626]

Immigration

- **Immigrants, Unions & the New U.S. Labor Market**, by Immanuel Ness (230 pp., 2005), has been published by Temple Univ. Press. [9591]

- **“A Profile of Low-Income Working Immigrant Families,”** by Randy Capps, Michael Fix, Everett Henderson & Jane Reardon-Anderson, is a 7-page, June 2005 Urban Inst. policy brief,

(Please turn to page 15)

Poverty & Race Index, Vol. 14 (2005)

This Index includes the major articles in the six 2005 issues of Poverty & Race (Vol. 14). The categories used frequently overlap, so a careful look at the entire Index is recommended. Each issue also contains an extensive Resources Section, not in the Index below, but available in database form cumulatively for all 14 volumes. We are happy to make available photocopies of any of the articles listed in the Index. We also can send an Index for any or all of the first 13 volumes of P&R (1992-2004). Please order by number and article name and include a self-addressed, stamped envelope. You can also find these articles on our website, www.prrac.org.

Race/Racism

- 443. "Apologies/Reparations," Jan./Feb.
- 444. "Language as Oppression: The English-Only Movement in the United States," Andrew Hartman, May/June
- 445. "Sundown Towns," James W. Loewen, Nov./Dec.
- 446. "New Orleans," Chester Hartman, Nov./Dec.
- 447. "Senate Lynching Apology," Mark Planning/Chester Hartman, Nov./Dec.
- 448. "Chicago Freedom Movement Anniversary," Nov./Dec.

Poverty/Welfare

- 449. "Children Get Social Security, Too," William E. Spriggs, March/April
- 450. "Minority Exclusion in Small Town America," James H. Johnson, Jr., Ann Moss Joyner & Allan Parnell, March/April

Criminal Justice

- 451. "Skewing Democracy: Where the Census Counts Prisoners," Peter Wagner, March/April
- 452. "Re-Directing the School to Prison Pipeline," Daniel J. Losen, July/Aug.
- 453. "Ending the Schoolhouse to Jailhouse Track – Lawyers and Organizers Partnering for Change," Judith A. Browne & Monique L. Dixon, July/Aug.
- 454. "The Cradle to Prison Pipeline Crisis," Morna Murray, July/Aug.

Education

- 455. "The O'Connor Project: Intervening Early to Eliminate the Need for Racial Preferences in Higher Education," Lisbeth B. Schorr, July/Aug.
- 456. "Transformation" (poem), Ronald F. Ferguson, July/Aug.

Families/Women/Children

- 457. "Life Options for Young African-American Males," Michael R. Wenger, July/Aug.

Health

- 458. "Towards a 'Fair Health' Movement," Gail Christopher, Sept./Oct.
- 459. "The Contribution of Black-White Health Differences to the Academic Achievement Gap," Richard Rothstein & Tamara Wilder, Sept./Oct.
- 460. "Very Low Birthweight in African-American Infants: The Role of Maternal Exposure to Interpersonal Racial Discrimination," James W. Collins, Jr., Richard J. David, Arden Handler, Stephen Wall & Steven Andes, Sept./Oct.

- 461. "Reducing Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Medicare," Ellen O'Brien, Sept./Oct.
- 462. "Community Health Strategies to Improve the Life Options of Young Men of Color," Jorielle R. Brown, Sept./Oct.
- 463. "The Right to Health Under International Law and Its Relevance to the United States," Alicia Ely Yamin, Sept./Oct.

Housing

- 464. "Why Housing Mobility? The Research Evidence Today," Margery Austin Turner & Dolores Acevedo-Garcia, Jan./Feb.
- 465. "National Gautreaux Program: Symposium," Jan./Feb.
 - "The Conflict Behind Our Racial Conflict," Paul L. Wachtel
 - "Needed: More Focus on Whiteness," John A. Powell
 - "We Must Acknowledge How Poor People Live," Sudhir Alladi Venkatesh
 - "Getting the Politics Rights on a National Gautreaux Program," Sheryll Cashin
 - "Making a Nationwide Gautreaux Program More 'Neighborhood Friendly'," George Galster
 - "Needed Element: Laws Prohibiting Source of Income Discrimination," Libby Perl
 - "Inclusionary Zoning – Gautreaux by Another Pathway," David Rusk
 - "Polikoff Responds [to Jan./Feb. Symposium]," Alex Polikoff, March/April
- 466. "The CLT Model: A Tool for Permanently Affordable Housing and Wealth Generation," Gus Newport, Jan./Feb.
- 467. "Predatory Lending: Undermining Economic Progress in Communities of Color," Mike Calhoun & Nikitra Bailey, Jan./Feb.
- 468. "Victory in Baltimore Housing Desegregation Case," Philip Tegeler, March/April
- 469. "The Power and Limits of Place: New Directions for Housing Mobility and Research on Neighborhoods," Xavier de Souza Briggs, May/June

Voting

- 470. "Bringing American Democracy to America's Capital," Zainab Akbar, May/June

PRRAC Activities & News

- 471. "Witt Internship Report," March/April
- 472. "New Witt Internship Award," July/Aug.
- 473. "PRRAC Research/Advocacy Grants Again Available," Sept./Oct.
- 474. "New 'Best of P&R' Book," Nov./Dec.

(RESOURCES: Continued from page 13)

available (likely free) from the Inst., 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202/261-5709, <http://www.urban.org/> [9619]

Job Opportunities/ Fellowships/ Grants

• **The Fair Housing Justice Center** (NYC) is seeking a **Legal Director**. Ltr./resume/list of case litigation by email to the Center's Exec. Dir.,

Diane Houk, dhok@helpusa.org [9612]

• **ACORN** is seeking a full-time, short-term **Policy Analyst/Research Analyst** (based in New Orleans/Baton Rouge), to help investigate & produce reports and other written materials on a variety of topics related to rebuilding N.O. — housing, education, insurance, mortgage debt, jobs, job-training, neighborhood safety, etc. Resume/brief sample of policy analysis work to Lisa Donner, acorncampaign@acorn.org [9642]

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*[Organizations listed for
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