

TH/FRI

- Bilingual Ed: DdL Rtg announces
3 year Inst (?)

- Immigration
(Naturalization)

~~Policy~~

oral
brief

TP on **H1B**

✓ ~~Welfare to Work~~

(including wfw housing vouchers)

~~OEZ/ECs~~

- CDFI

get \$ for the
get to fund
Rebecca
CEA
Peter Rundlet
COS

EASYLINK 5659773L001 3FEB98 18:07/18:07 EST
FROM: 62029160
AMERICAN EXPRESS TRAVEL
TO: 2024565581

SALES PERSON: 60
CUSTOMER NBR: 1695000023

ITINERARY
QCWRKR

DATE: 03 FEB 98
PAGE: 01

TO: WHITE HOUSE TRAVEL
1600 PENNSYLVANIA AVE
WASH DC 20500

FOR: FERNANDES/JULIE

10 FEB 98 - TUESDAY

AIR AMERICAN AIRLINES FLT:1881 COACH
LV WASHINGTON NATL 914A EQP: SUPER 80
DEPART: NEW TERMINAL
AR DALLAS FT WORTH 1148A NON-STOP
ARRIVE: TERMINAL 3E

FERNANDES/JULIE SEAT-14B

AIR AMERICAN AIRLINES FLT:1887 COACH LUNCH
LV DALLAS FT WORTH 1235P EQP: SUPER 80
DEPART: TERMINAL 3E
AR SAN JOSE CA SJC 219P NON-STOP
ARRIVE: TERMINAL A

FERNANDES/JULIE SEAT-14B

CAR SAN JOSE CA SJC NATIONAL CAR RENTAL CORP ID-5134144
PICK UP-1419 1-INTER CAR AUTO A/C
RETURN-12FEB/0809
RATE IS GUARANTEED
DAILY RATE-USD32.00 UNLIMITED MILEAGE
CONFIRMATION NUMBER 1499815627COUNT

12 FEB 98 - THURSDAY

AIR AMERICAN AIRLINES FLT:1684 COACH CONT BKFST
LV SAN JOSE CA SJC 809A EQP: SUPER 80
DEPART: TERMINAL A
AR WASHINGTON NATL 559P 1-STOP
ARRIVE: NEW TERMINAL

OTHER SAN JOSE CA SJC
SEAT ASSIGNED AT AIRPORT CHECK IN ONLY

09 AUG 98 - SUNDAY

OTHER WASHINGTON
THANK YOU FOR USING AMERICAN EXPRESS.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

SALES PERSON: 60
CUSTOMER NBR: 1695000023

ITINERARY
QCWRKR

DATE: 03 FEB 98
PAGE: 02

TO: WHITE HOUSE TRAVEL
1600 PENNSYLVANIA AVE
WASH DC 20500

FOR: FERNANDES/JULIE

. TOTAL AIR FARE USD 333.00

. SECURITY ALERT INFORMATION
DUE TO THE FAA MANDATED INCREASE IN AIRPORT SECURITY
~~YOU MAY BE REQUIRED TO PRODUCE A PHOTO IDENTIFICATION~~
AT AIRPORT CHECKIN.

FOR AFTER HOUR EMERGENCIES
CALL 800-847-0242/YOUR HOTLINE CODE IS S-KC52

. REMINDER
ALL FREQUENT FLYER BENEFITS EARNED ON OFFICIAL TRAVEL
ARE THE SOLE PROPERTY OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND CANNOT
~~BE REDEEMED FOR PERSONAL USE.~~

. ALL UNUSED TICKETS ARE TO BE RETURNED TO AMERICAN
EXPRESS OR YOUR TRAVEL COORDINATOR IMMEDIATELY UPON
RETURN FROM TRAVEL OR WHEN TRIP HAS BEEN CANCELED.

. THANK YOU FOR TRAVELING WITH AMERICAN EXPRESS.

.. THIS RESERVATION PREPARED BY MATIAS BOBENRIETH
THIS RESERVATION REQUESTED BY JULIE

~~Person~~
~~My~~

Paul & Cynthia

re: specific sites — welfare to work
or EZ/EC

+ Jacinta Ma

⊕ They will send us sites they are thinking
about to see if they work for us

Cynthia:

→ Local panelist from a ~~welfare~~ company that
does welfare-to-work

Conservative thinkers on poverty — race

AEI
Hudson
Heritage

have calls out,
but no response
yet

→ Cuomo may say no

Race Trier

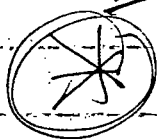
Terrible
negative
urban
very angry

Aida Alvarez will attend.

Will do closing remarks.

[SBA policy (2)]

3pm today



show all names related to welfare-to-work
w/ Cynthia

Paper on education agenda as well as
on

urban package

* Edu Opp Zones

[VP remarks]

re: link btm education and
economic development.

Brief Board Tuesday am

Scott Bushy

Leaving @ 1:10pm East Wing on shuttle

Peter/Scott/Karen Pelt/Alan Ehrenbaum

Karen Stevens

SBA

Feb 4, 1998

October: in Houston, met w/ ~~the~~ Hispanic groups

small Hispanic Initiative

Both are
outreach
programs

Last Thursday: 1st formal agreement
w/ Texas Chamber of Commerce

Partnerships in Nat. & State Level

Announcement re: African-American Initiative

Regional SBA office in San Francisco

African-American Initiative

outreach to the underserved

Identify organizations that can enhance
participation of minorities

Tues. evening: w/ VP to announcement of
Metropolitan Areas

Young African-American
who are politically astute
& business people.

Core
business
is guaranteed
business
loans.
but
provide other
services

Alvarey
8:50 am

San Fran airport

Keynote @ end of 1st panel

Alvarey will amplify what is in the Pres.'s budget



U. S. SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

DARRYL H. DENNIS
Counselor to the Administrator

409 3rd Street, S.W., 8th Floor
Washington, D.C. 20416

(202) 205-6459
Fax: (202) 205-7652
Internet: darryl.dennis@sba.gov



U.S. Small Business Administration

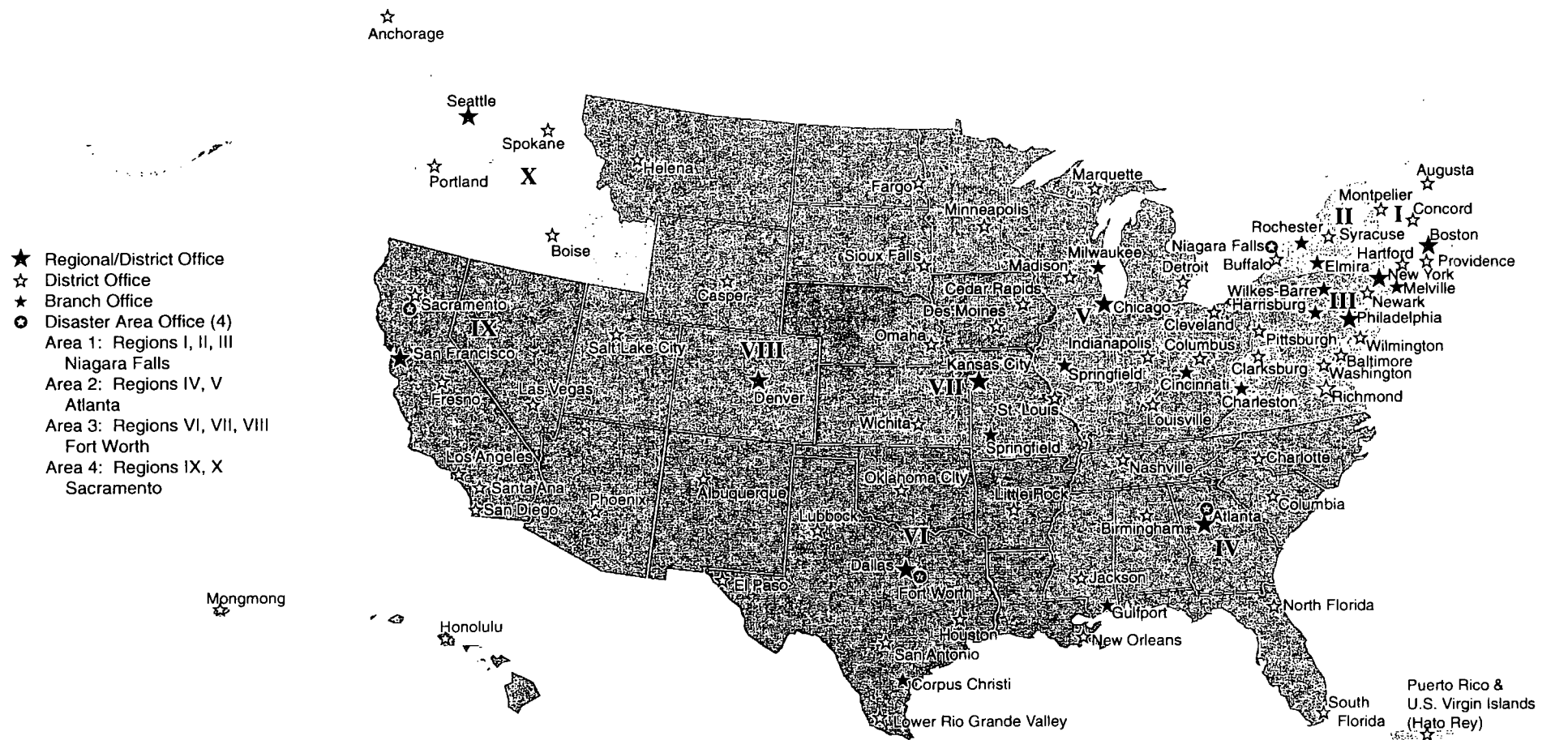
Eugene Carlson
Associate Administrator

409 Third Street, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20416

Tel: 202-205-6606
Fax: 202-205-6818
E-mail: eugene.carlson@sba.gov



U.S. Small Business Administration Regional, District, Branch & Disaster Area Offices



Region	Regional Administrator	Phone	Fax	City	Address
I	Patrick McGowan	(617) 565-8415	(617) 565-8420	Boston	10 Causeway St., 8th Fl., Boston, MA 02222-1093
II	Thomas Bettridge	(212) 264-1450	(212) 264-0038	New York	26 Federal Plaza, Suite 31-08, New York, NY 10278
III	Susan McCann	(610) 962-3710	(610) 962-3743	King of Prussia	475 Allendale Rd., Suite 201, King of Prussia, PA 19406
IV	Billy Max Paul	(404) 347-4999	(404) 347-2355	Atlanta	1720 Peachtree Road, NW, Suite 496, South Tower, Atlanta GA 30309-2482
V	Peter Barca	(312) 353-0357	(312) 353-3426	Chicago	500 West Madison, Suite 1240, Chicago, IL 60661-2511
VI	James Breedlove	(817) 885-6581	(817) 885-6588	Dallas	4300 Amon Carter Blvd., Suite 108, Fort Worth, TX 76155
VII	Bruce Kent	(816) 374-6380	(816) 374-6339	Kansas City	323 W. 8th St., Suite 307, Kansas City, MO 64105
VIII	Thomas Redder	(303) 844-0500	(303) 844-0506	Denver	721 19th St., Suite 400, Denver, CO 80202-2599
IX	Viola Canales	(415) 744-1958	(415) 744-2119	San Francisco	455 Market St., Suite 2200, San Francisco, CA 94105
X	Gretchen Sorensen	(206) 553-5676	(206) 553-4155	Seattle	Park Place Bldg., 1200 6th Ave., Suite 1805, Seattle, WA 98101-1128

SBA Resources Available in the Top 30 SBA Districts Ranked by Number of Hispanic Businesses

Region	Rank	City	District Director	Phone	Fax	Address	Resources
1	22	Boston	Mary McAleney	(617) 565-5561	(617) 565-5597	10 Causeway St., Room 265, Boston MA 02222-1093	BIC, SBDC, OSCS, USEAC, WBC, D1
1	28	Hartford	JoAnn VanVechten	(860) 240-4670	(860) 240-4659	330 Main St., 2nd Floor, Hartford, CT 06106.....	BIC, SBDC, D1
2	3	Hato Rey	Ivan Irizarry	(809) 766-5572	(809) 766-5309	252 Ponce de Leon Ave., Hato Rey, PR 00918.....	SBDC, WBC, D1
2	11	Newark	Francisco Marrero	(201) 645-2434	(201) 645-6265	2 Gateway Center, 4th Floor, Newark, NJ 07102	BIC, SBDC, D1
2	4	New York	Aubrey Rogers	(212) 264-2454	(212) 264-7751	26 Federal Plaza, Suite 31-08, New York, NY 10278	OSCS, SBDC, USEAC, WBC, D1
3	27	Philadelphia	Clifton Toulson, Jr.	(215) 962-3804	(215) 962-3795	475 Allendale Rd., Suite 201, King of Prussia, PA 19406.....	OSCS, SBDC, USEAC, WBC, D1
3	19	Washington	Cal Jenkins	(202) 606-4000	(202) 606-4225	1110 Vermont Ave., NW, Suite 900, Washington, DC 20036.....	BIC, SBDC, D1
4	23	Atlanta	Laura Brown	(404)347-4147	(404) 347-4745	1720 Peachtree Rd., NW., 6th Floor, Atlanta GA 30309	BIC, OSCS, SBDC, USEAC, WBC, D2
4	26	N. Florida	Willie Gonzalez	(904) 443-1970	(904) 443-1912	7825 Baymeadows Way, Suite 100-B, Jacksonville, FL 32256-7504	SBDC, D2
4	2	S. Florida	Charles Anderson	(305) 536-5533	(305) 536-5058	1320 S. Dixie Highway, 3rd Floor, Coral Gables, FL 33146-2911	BIC, SBDC, USEAC, WBC, D2
5	15	Chicago	John L. Smith	(312) 353-4508	(312) 886-5688	500 West Madison St., Suite 1250, Chicago, IL 60661-2511	BIC, SBDC, USEAC, WBC, D2
5	24	Detroit	Dwight Reynolds	(313) 226-6075	(313) 226-4769	477 Michigan Ave., Room 515, Detroit, MI 48226	OSCS, SBDC, D2
6	12	Albuquerque	Bob Blaney	(505) 766-1870	(505)766-1057	625 Silver Ave., SW, Suite 320, Albuquerque, NM 87102	SBDC, WBC, D3
6	10	Dallas	James Reed	(817) 885-6500	(817)885-6516	4300 Amon Carter Blvd., Suite 114, Forth Worth, TX 76155	BIC, SBDC, USEAC, WBC, D3
6	17	El Paso	Carlos Mendoza	(915) 540-5676	(915) 540-5636	10737 Gateway West, Suite 320, El Paso, TX 79935	BIC, SBDC, D3
6	9	Harlingen	Sylvia Zamponi(A)	(956) 427-8533	(956) 427-8537	222 East Van Buren St., Room 500, Harlingen, TX 78550-6855	BIC, OSCS, SBDC, D3
6	8	Houston	Milton Wilson	(713) 773-6500	(713) 773-6550	9301 Southwest Freeway, Suite 550, Houston, TX 77074.....	BIC, SBDC, USEAC, D3
6	21	Lubbock	Tommy Dowell	(806) 472-7462	(806) 472-7487	1611 Tenth St., Suite 200, Lubbock, TX 79401-2693	SBDC, D3
6	25	New Orleans	Abby Carter	(504) 589-6685	(504) 589-2339	1 Canal Place, Suite 2250, New Orleans, LA 70130.....	SBDC, USEAC, WBC, D3
6	5	San Antonio	Rodney Martin	(210) 472-5900	(210) 472-5935	727 E. Durango, 5th Floor, San Antonio, TX 78206	SBDC, D3
8	18	Denver	Patricia Barela Rivera	(303) 844-4028	(303) 844-6468	721 19th St., Suite 426, Denver, CO 80202-2599.....	BIC, SBDC, WBC, D3
9	14	Fresno	Tony Valdez	(209) 487-5189	(209) 487-5636	2719 North Air Fresno Dr., Suite 200, Fresno, CA 93727-1547	SBDC, D4
9	29	Las Vegas	John Scott	(702) 388-6611	(702) 388-6469	301 East Stewart St., Room 301, Las Vegas, NV 89125-2527	SBDC, WBC, D4
9	1	Los Angeles	Alberto Alvarado	(818) 552-3289	(818)552-3260	330 N. Brand Blvd., Suite 1200, Glendale, CA 91203-2304	BIC, SBDC, WBC, USEAC, D4
9	16	Phoenix	Phil Mahoney	(602) 640-2400	(602) 640-2360	2828 N. Central Ave., Suite 800, Phoenix, AZ 85004-1025.....	SBDC, WBC, D4
9	20	Sacramento	Teresa Bellmore(A)	(916) 498-6432	(916) 498-6422	660 J St., Room 215, Sacramento, CA 95814-2413.....	SBDC, D4
9	13	San Diego	George Chandler	(619) 557-7252	(619) 557-5894	550 West "C" St., Suite 550, San Diego, CA 92101	BIC, SBDC, D4
9	7	San Francisco	Mark Quinn	(415) 744-8474	(415) 744-6812	455 Market St., 6th Floor, San Francisco, CA 94105	BIC, OSCS, SBDC, WBC, D4
9	6	Santa Ana	Sandy Sutton	(714) 550-7420	(714) 550-0191	200 W. Santa Ana Blvd., Suite 700, Santa Ana, CA 92701	SBDC, D4
10	30	Seattle	Bob Meredith	(206) 553-7310	(206) 553-7099	Park Place Bldg., 1200 6th Ave., Suite 1700, Seattle, WA 98101-1128....	BIC, OSCS, SBDC, USEAC,D4

Key to Resources

BIC	Business Information Center	OSCS	One-Stop Capital Shop	SBDC	Small Business Development Center
USEAC	U.S. Export Assistance Center	WBC	Women's Business Center	D#	Disaster Area

1998

SBA OUTREACH
FOR THE
UNDERSERVED



OBJECTIVE

To create and maintain strategic partnerships between SBA & organizations focused on economic empowerment within the Underserved communities, including the Black community for the purpose of :

- Enhancing Black Americans' Access to Capital.
- Developing technical capabilities of Black Owned Businesses
- Increasing the participation of Black Owned Banks/ Financial Institutions as PLPs/CLPs.
- Including Black Owned Investment Firms in SBA Securitization project
- Increasing the participation of Black Owned Firms in SBIC programs

VALUE TO THE FIRM

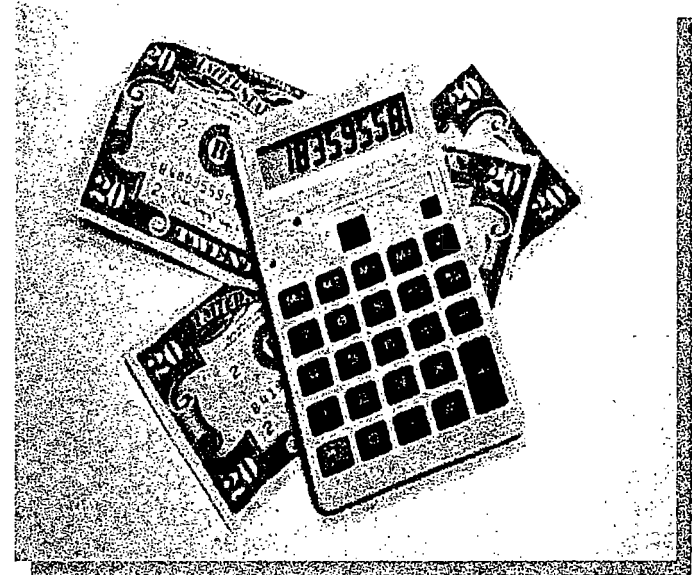
Introduction to SBA Programs:

---SCORE

---Current PLP

---SBDC

---Current CLP



Enhance capabilities of Black Owned Firms in:

---Marketing

---Management

---Accounting

Increase Access to One Stop Capital Shops

OUTREACH

Identify organizations with a record of working with Underserved Communities and Financial Institutions

Negotiate and execute Memoranda Of Understanding with the following organizations:

Organization For A New Equality

MBELDEF

NAACP

National Association of Black Accountants, Inc.

National Council of Negro Women, Inc.

National Bankers Association

National Baptist Convention of America

National Black Chamber of Commerce

National Urban League

National Organization of Black County Officials

Phelps Stokes Fund

National Association of Minority Contractors

NCMB

PUSH

SCLC



OUTREACH

Target top 30 cities with the largest concentration of Black Americans and/or Black American Mayors.

Coordinate counseling and workshops with/RAs & DDs and MOU partners.

CORPORATE SPONSORSHIPS

Develop web sites.

Loan executives to mentor entrepreneur.

Provide marketing/accounting expertise to start ups.

Increase procurement opportunities for Black American firms (domestic and foreign markets).





Darryl H. Dennis (202) 205-6459

Counselor to the Administrator

Bringing SBA and African American Organizations together to achieve a “WIN WIN” relationship by facilitating economic empowerment within the African American community.



EMPOWERMENT



Assemble all MOU partners, SBA Administrator and White House (President or Vice President) to announce SBA's effort to kickoff project to enhance participation by the "Underserved."

During Black History Month - An event per week with each partner.

SBA Administrator, Aida Alvarez

DRAFT AGENDA (as of February 4, 1998, 11:38am)
President's Advisory Board On Race
Northern California, February 10-11, 1998

Questions (?)

Theme: *Race and Poverty in America*

The purpose of this meeting is to examine the relationship between race, poverty, and public policy in both urban and rural America. While whites are over 45% of the population living in poverty in the United States, minorities are disproportionately represented among people living in poverty. We will examine the racial characteristics of the poor, the persistence of poverty, its causes including the role of discrimination, and we will assess the nature of concentrated areas of poverty.

Further, we will examine the need for and effectiveness of public and private sector responses to the persistence and concentration of race-based poverty, including breaking the well-documented cycle of poverty. Recommendations made thirty years ago by the Kerner Commission in addressing race will be reviewed for their relevance. We will identify some promising practices aimed at reducing poverty in minority communities including housing and community development projects.

Key Questions:

- To what extent are poverty and race related? Is there a link between race and concentrated poverty?
- What are the main causes of continuing and concentrated poverty among whites and minorities? Does discrimination continue to affect opportunities for minorities to move out of poor, segregated neighborhoods? What are the connections between racial isolation and poverty and how can we alter the negative aspects of these connections?
- What governmental and non-governmental programs and policies are most effective in addressing minority group poverty and racial segregation? Should such policies and programs differ in order to address the distinctive position and needs of different racial/ethnic groups? How should they do this?

February 10: Promising Practices and Community Forum (see attached site descriptions)

The day will begin with Board member visits to Promising Practices sites in San Francisco, Oakland, and East Palo Alto. The day will end with a community forum held in San Jose. [We have invited Administrator Aida Alvarez to visit a site with the Board members.]

San Francisco:

10:00 am - 12:30 pm: Dr. Franklin visits local Promising Practice, Glide Memorial. Department of Education Secretary Riley is confirmed to attend.

Oakland:

10:00 am - 12:30 pm: Governor Winter and Angela Oh visit local Promising Practices, OCCUR and A.N.D.

East Palo Alto:

Noon - 2:00 pm [Definite time TBD]: Bob Thomas visits local Promising Practice, Start-Up.

Meet and Greet in San Jose: 5:30 - 6:00 pm

The Board will meet with local elected officials and community leaders by invitation only at Independence High School.

Community Forum in San Jose: 6:00-7:30 pm

The day will conclude with a community forum in which Board members listen and learn about issues related to race in the San Jose area [see attached proposal for this event].

February 11: Advisory Board Meeting in San Jose

9:00 am - 9:10 am Welcome and review of agenda by Chairman Franklin.

9:10 am - 9:15 am Welcoming remarks from local official.

Possible speaker: San Jose Mayor Susan Hammer [confirmed]

9:15 am - 11:25 am **Poverty and Race: Facts, Causes, and National Issues**

This round table discussion will bring together national experts to discuss if there is a link between race and poverty, as well as the status and causes of continuous and concentrated poverty in urban and rural communities. Economic inequality and race will be assessed as will the role of housing discrimination and how it limits opportunities to move out of neighborhoods with concentrated poverty. The key controversies have been the extent to which the causes are racial or non-racial and the extent to which the poor themselves bear responsibility for their continued impoverishment. The focus will also be on national policies, programs, and legislative issues. [Administrator Alvarez has been invited to participate in the roundtable.]

Possible panelists:

Professor William Julius Wilson [confirmed], Harvard; author of *The Declining Significance of Race*, and *When Work Disappears* and a nationally recognized expert on race and the urban “underclass.”

Professor Douglas Massey [confirmed], University of Pennsylvania; Author of the book *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*, and a long-term analyst of differences between whites, blacks, Hispanics and Asian-Americans in their spatial and economic progress and isolation. He is also a major analyst of immigration and race issues.

Robert Woodson [confirmed], National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise; Proponent of African Americans developing their own communities; critic of welfare programs.

Professor Matthew Snipp [confirmed], Stanford University; A nationally known demographic expert on the socio-economic condition of American Indians, including analyses of their poverty, housing conditions, and cultural situation. He is the author of a forthcoming book, *American Indians and Economic Dependency*, and author of the 1989 book, *American Indians: The First of the Land*.

Professor Tarry Hum [confirmed], New York University. She conducted recent research on Asian-American poverty and community economic development, as well as research on migration, economic development and residential segregation. She has argued that ethnic-niche economies serve to “protect” Asian-Americans against discrimination and economic

instability. Prior to receiving her doctorate in urban planning, she was the executive director of the Asian Community Development Corporation as well as the Chinatown-South Cove neighborhood Council in Boston, MA.

Professor Raquel Rivera Pinderhughes [confirmed], Urban Studies Program, San Francisco State University. She is an expert on Latino poverty issues in California and nationally and has used census data to compare white, Black, Asian, and Latino poverty from 1970 to the present; has written about the relevance of Professor Wilson's concepts to Latinos.

Professor Yoland Padilla [available], Professor Social Work, University of Texas at Austin and expert on Latino poverty.

This session will conclude with 45 minutes of Q&A. *from the audience* (?)

Moderator possibilities:

Professor Manuel Pastor [confirmed], Director of Latin American Studies, University of California at Santa Cruz. Professor Pastor has researched poverty and community development/housing issues in L.A. He has also researched the impacts of the L.A. riots and offered recommendations on Latino poverty. In 1989, he founded the New Majority Task Force which is a group of African-American, Asian American, and Latino urban planners to promote more equitable economic growth in L.A. He has also done research and applied work on environmental justice issues.

[11:25 am - 11:45 am Keynote Address

Small Business Administration, Administrator Aida Alvarez.

11:45 am - 1:00 pm Lunch Break

1:00 pm - 3:00 pm **Poverty and Race: Local Policy Issues and Solutions**

Opening remarks: Santa Clara County Supervisor Blanca Alvarado [invited].

[We will invite Administrator Alvarez to participate on this roundtable.] This panel discussion will focus on the main State and local options for addressing the causes of poverty and possible programs and policies to address race-based poverty. The panel will consist largely of state and area program experts. The discussion will likely include a focus on welfare-to-work as well as community and housing deconcentration and "integration" efforts from HUD, including Enterprise Zones/Community Development banks as they are being implemented at the local level. The objective is to learn how various local strategies may have broader implications for reducing poverty and its racial effects.

Possible Panelists:

Denise Fairchild [confirmed], President, Community Development Technologies Center in LA; worked extensively with the Rebuild LA Project; currently heading up an anti-poverty organization in Los Angeles; can speak to solutions for California.

Gordon Chin [available], Executive Director of the Chinatown Community Development Center; the organization has been in existence for 20 years and mainly dealt with the Asian American community; the organization is now being faced with not only serving that community but the growing Russian immigrant and African-American communities; one of the largest affordable housing developers and is now moving into larger economic development issues; San Francisco.

Rose Amador [confirmed], is President of the Center for Training and Careers in San Jose. The center works heavily with families on welfare and is beginning a welfare to work program.

Jose Padilla [confirmed], Executive Director California Rural Legal Services; San Francisco; an advocate for rural and farm worker issues.

Martin Waukazoo, Executive Director, Urban Indian Health Board works on housing and health care in the Oakland area OR Dennis Turner of the Southern California Tribal Chairman's Association. He works at this organization based in San Diego on welfare-to-work issues in the American Indian community.

[We are still trying to identify a local Silicon Valley business leader who is involved with a Welfare-to-Work or other poverty-reducing program. Chandler is following up with John Doerr.]

This session would conclude with 45 minutes of Q&A from the audience.

Moderator possibilities:

Lorna Ho, Channel 11;
Isabel Duran, Channel 4;
Barbara Rodgers, KPIX;
Selina Rodriguez, Channel 48.

RACIAL RECONCILIATION INITIATIVES AT SBA

The Small Business Administration's (SBA) overall mission is to maintain and strengthen the Nation's economy by aiding, counseling, assisting, and protecting the interests of small businesses. SBA Administrator Alvarez has made a commitment to increasing access to SBA's programs and services by businesses and entrepreneurs who have been underserved by the private marketplace in the past – especially minority-owned businesses and women-owned businesses.

The Small Business Administration (SBA) has developed a series of initiatives that will serve to increase economic opportunities for members of these underserved business communities. Each of these initiatives will also serve to highlight the President's commitment to promote racial reconciliation through increased economic opportunity.

1. **Memorandum of Understanding with the Big Three Automakers.** SBA has completed an MOU with General Motors, Chrysler, and Ford that increase their subcontracting activities with minority-owned small businesses by \$3 billion. The MOU is ready; SBA is coordinating with the Vice President's Office on an announcement in February.
2. **Strengthening the Section 8(a) program.** SBA is ready to roll out regulatory changes to the Section 8(a) business development program. Under 8(a), SBA assists in the development of small disadvantaged businesses through access to federal contracting opportunities. The rule changes will allow successful firms to partner with new 8(a) firms through a mentor-protégé relationship. The rule changes will also increase small business access to federal contracting opportunities by making it easier for small firms to affiliate in order to compete for larger contracts. These changes were very well received when published in a proposed rule last year. In addition, the rule changes provide for a more equitable distribution of 8(a) contracts.
3. **African American Outreach Initiative.** SBA has developed an initiative aimed at increasing African American-owned business participation in its programs. The initiative includes aggressive three-year performance goals for SBA managers and formal partnerships with national African American business and civic groups. Under the performance goals, SBA will increase the number of loans to African American-owned businesses from 1,903 loans in 1997 to more than 3,900 loans in 2000. If achieved, SBA will provide more than \$1.8 billion in new loans to African American businesses. SBA would anticipate rolling out local events creating new partnerships among SBA, our lenders, and local business and civic groups. SBA plans to announce its 3-year goals for African American lending at an event with the Vice President on Tuesday, February 10th in Washington, D.C.

4. **Hispanic-American Outreach Initiative.** In Houston last Fall, the Administrator announced an outreach initiative to the Hispanic business community with a goal of providing \$2.5 billion in new loans to Hispanic-owned businesses over the next three years. Under the initiative, SBA plans to increase loans to Hispanic-owned businesses from 3,371 loans in 1997 to nearly 5,200 loans in the year 2000. On January 26th, in San Antonio, the Administrator signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Texas Mexican American Chamber of Commerce. The MOU outlines a partnership arrangement among 27 Hispanic Chambers of Commerce in Texas and the SBA District Offices. The new partnership will serve to increase our loan volumes there.

5. **Lender Best Practices.** SBA is preparing to sign "best practices" agreements with the major trade associations that represent the lenders who participate in the SBA's loan guarantee programs. The National Association of Government Guaranteed Lenders and the National Association of Development Companies are both working to develop programs to increase their outreach to minority business communities through their organizations' membership.

6. **Low Doc and SBA Express Loan Programs.** SBA is ready to roll out a revamped version of its highly successful Low Doc program and an expansion of another pilot program – SBA Express (previously known as FASTRAK). Both of these programs improve access to SBA's 7(a) business loan guarantee program for smaller borrowers by reducing paperwork requirements and making it easier for lenders to execute an SBA loan. Smaller loans are correlated with increased participation by minority-owned businesses.

7. **Native American Initiative.** SBA has developed an initiative to increase small business development on Indian reservations and in remote Alaskan Native villages. The SBA approach would coordinate the Agency's training and information services, its loan guarantee programs, and its procurement assistance programs to increase entrepreneurial development in these locations.

8. **HUBZones.** This year, SBA will roll out a new procurement initiative to promote economic development in distressed communities. Firms with 35 percent of their employees located in Historically Underutilized Business Zones will have the ability to access sole source federal contracts. The statutory deadline for completion of the HUBZone rule is May 29th.

9. **One Stop Capital Shops.** This year, SBA will expand the number of One Stop Capital Shops it supports. One Stop Capital Shops consolidate the panoply of SBA services in a single location for the benefit of entrepreneurs in distressed communities. SBA has generally coordinated the program with the Administration's Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Community initiative. SBA will also coordinate the One Stop Capital Shops with the HUBZone Initiative.

10. **Delegation of 8(a) Processing Authority.** SBA will improve the delivery of the Section 8(a) program by delegating increased processing authority to other federal agencies. SBA launched a pilot program with the Department of Transportation last year. SBA is now ready to sign agreements with most of the Cabinet Agencies to delegate 8(a) processing to these agencies, including the Department of Defense. The improved processing should make 8(a) more attractive as a contracting vehicle for these other agencies and help advance the Administration's initiatives to streamline the government-wide procurement process.
11. **Electronic 8(a) Applications.** SBA has developed an on-line application process for the 8(a) business development program that could cut the processing time for the average 8(a) application from current average of 54 days to 15 days. The Agency has already cut the processing time from an average of 208 days in 1993. Improved application time will save 8(a) firms money and increase their ability to compete for federal contracts. SBA has tested the approach in a successful pilot; the Office of Government Contracting and Minority Enterprise Development expects to implement the new system in about three months.
12. **\$100,000 Procurement Demonstration.** SBA is ready to roll out a pilot program with the Office of Federal Procurement Policy that will greatly streamline agency procurement for contracts with values below \$100,000. Under the pilot, agencies can bypass time-consuming publication requirements if they use the newly developed PRO-Net on-line procurement system to identify 5 bidders – one of whom is a woman-owned business and one of whom is a minority-owned business.
13. **Minority Enterprise Development Week (MEDWeek).** In the late Fall, the SBA and the Minority Business Development Agency at Commerce co-sponsor a conference that celebrates achievements by minority-owned businesses and addresses public policy issues of particular interest to minority-owned businesses.

Cathy:

I have made reservations for my trip to California next week. They are as follows:

Leave Tuesday, February 10th at 9:14am from Washington National

Arrive Tuesday, February 10th at 2:20pm in San Jose, CA

Return Thursday, February 12th at 8:09am from San Jose, CA

Arrive Thursday, February 12th at 5:59pm in Washington, D.C.

American Airlines RT fare: \$333

I have also reserved a compact car with National Car Rental at \$32 per day.

I will be staying at the San Jose Hilton & Towers

The rate is \$165/day. This rate is higher than the per diem, but was chosen by the Race Initiative because it is a union hotel.

That's it.

Thanks.

Please let me know if you need more info.

According to the Travel Office, as soon as I get an authorization #, they can issue the tickets.

Julie

ONE AMERICA IN THE 21ST CENTURY

President Clinton's Initiative on Race

YOU ARE INVITED

WHAT: Meeting of the Advisory Board to the President's Initiative on Race; and Community Forum with Advisory Board Members

WHEN: Tuesday, February 10, 1998 **Community Forum**
6:00 pm to 7:30 pm

Wednesday, February 11, 1998 **Advisory Board Meeting**
9:00 am to 3:00 pm

TOPIC: Race and Poverty in America

WHERE: Independence High School
Luiz Valdez Center for the Performing Arts Auditorium
1776 Educational Park Drive
San Jose, California

The Advisory Board to President Clinton's Initiative on Race will meet in San Jose, California, on February 10 and 11, 1998. The Initiative is a year-long effort, led by the President, to engage the nation in moving toward a stronger, more just, and unified America, one that offers opportunity and fairness for all Americans.

On February 10, from 6:00 pm to 7:30 pm, the Advisory Board members will host an open community forum. The forum will serve as an opportunity for members of the community to raise issues of general concern related to race and racial reconciliation.

On February 11, the Advisory Board will hold its sixth meeting. The meeting will begin with a morning roundtable discussion from 9:00 am to 11:45 am. The discussion will bring together national experts who will offer insight into the relationship between race and poverty. The Advisory Board will examine public and private sector responses to race-based poverty. The session will conclude with a question-and-answer period in which the public will be able to participate.

From 1:00 pm to 3:00 pm the Advisory Board will reconvene for a roundtable discussion. The discussion will focus on evaluating regional and local programs and policies aimed at reducing poverty, such as welfare-to-work, community and housing deconcentration programs and Enterprise zones. This session will also include a question-and-answer period.

For more information, please call: (202) 395-1010.

All events are open to the public.

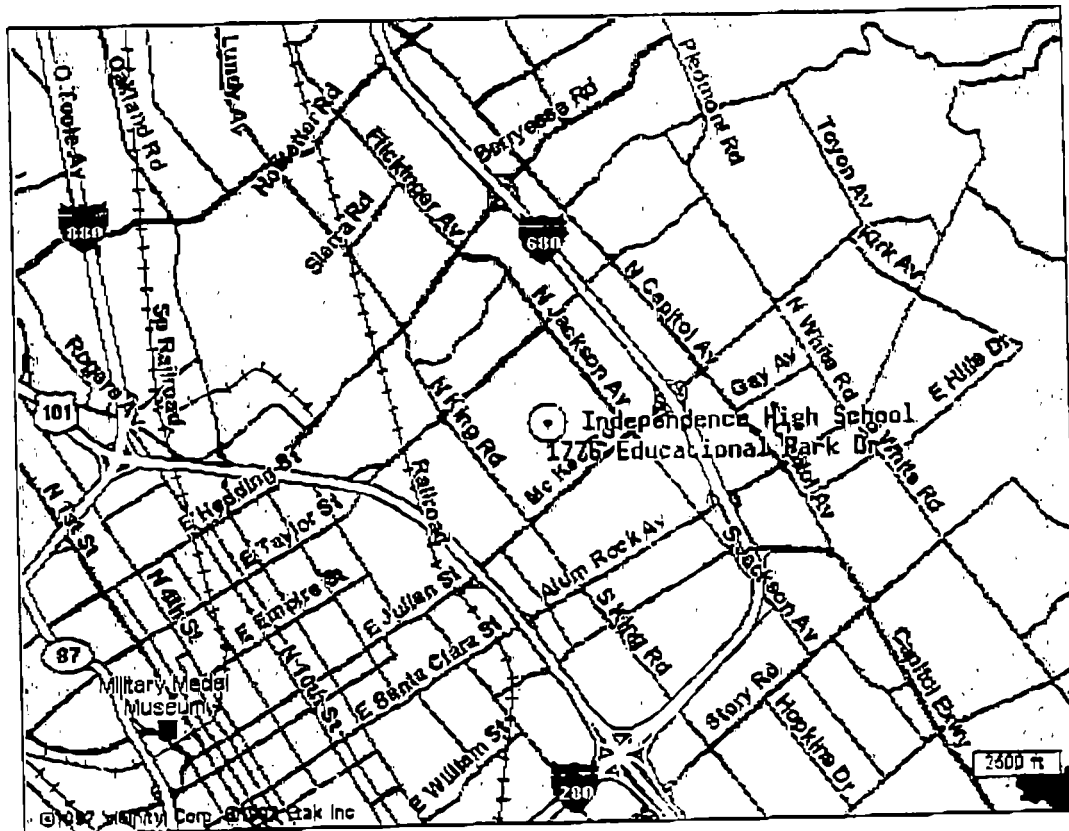
Please feel free to post this invitation and share it with others who may be interested.

Please visit our Website and learn more about the Initiative: www.whitehouse.gov/Initiatives/OneAmerica

MAP TO INDEPENDENCE HIGH SCHOOL LUIZ VALDEZ PERFORMING ARTS CENTER AUDITORIUM

Independence High School is located between Highway 101 and Highway 680. Exit at McKee Road from either highway. Turn north on Jackson Avenue. There will be Advisory Board signs in Parking Lot #2 which is located next to the Independence High School Auditorium. There is plenty of parking.

Independence High School, 1776 Educational Park Dr, San Jose, CA 95133-1795





Cynthia A. Rice

01/30/98 09:08:43 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Julie A. Fernandes/OPD/EOP
cc: Andrea Kane/OPD/EOP, Diana Fortuna/OPD/EOP
bcc:
Subject: Re: Promising practices, etc.

I'm still hesitant to entangle any discussion of race and poverty with welfare reform. However, I'm told that the best known effort in the area is San Francisco Works, which is a joint effort of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce and the United Way of the Bay Area. I'm not sure there's a site to visit, but here are the people to ask:

* [Roberta Achtenberg
Senior Vice President for Public Policy
San Francisco Chamber of Commerce
415/352-8810]

*nature of partnership
is impressive, but unclear
on deliverables.*

[She was part of the Clinton Administration in the first term as an appointee at HUD. She went back to San Francisco to run for mayor, but lost to Willie Brown.]

Sheila Hill-Fajors
President
United Way of the Bay Area
415/772-4389

Julie A. Fernandes

*CA is county-based
Santa Clara welfare office
* San Mateo is more on
message.*

► Julie A. Fernandes
01/29/98 07:51:26 PM
.....

Record Type: Record

To: Cynthia A. Rice/OPD/EOP
cc:
Subject: Promising practices, etc.

Do you know of any welfare-to-work sites in the Bay area that would be good for the Board to visit when they are out there on Feb. 10th? The PIR folks are trying to identify a welfare-to-work promising practice and any guidance that you could give on a good one would be helpful. Either way, they will let us know ahead of time where they plan to go so that we can evaluate whether it is a place that we think is good to highlight. Thanks.

Julie.

*Reporter
Welfare reform in CA is behind
other states in implementation.
Co. plans were just done
last Dec. (or Jan.)
Co.s weighed in a lot on
specifics.*

*Havent really
implemented TANF
per se.*

North Carolina Law Review

June, 1993

Symposium

The Urban Crisis: The Kerner Commission Report Revisited

***1519 CAN THE KERNER COMMISSION'S HOUSING STRATEGY IMPROVE EMPLOYMENT, EDUCATION, AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION FOR LOW-INCOME BLACKS?**

James E. Rosenbaum [FNa]

Nancy Fishman [FNaa]

Alison Brett [FNaaa]

Patricia Meaden [FNaaaa]

Copyright © 1993 by the North Carolina Law Review Association; James E.

Rosenbaum, Nancy Fishman, Alison Brett, and Patricia Meaden

The Kerner Commission placed a heavy emphasis on racial integration, calling it "the only course which explicitly seeks to achieve a single nation rather than accepting the present movement toward a dual society." [FN1] And, as the introductory Essay to this Symposium indicates, "only in the housing area did the Commission prescribe solutions tailored to address the urban/suburban racial isolation that had been central to its analysis of the underlying problem." [FN2] Calling for the elimination of "the racial barrier in housing," the Commission stated: "Residential segregation prevents equal access to employment opportunities and obstructs efforts to achieve integrated education. A single society cannot be achieved so long as this cornerstone of segregation stands." [FN3]

But were these hopes for integration, expressed twenty-five years ago, actually workable? Were they attainable? Does residential integration lead to employment gains, educational gains, and social integration? *1520 Given the persistence of de facto racial segregation in this country, our ability to address these questions and assess the Kerner Commission's aspirations for this strategy has been limited. In this paper, we attempt to overcome this limitation by examining evidence from ten years of research on a program which in many ways embodies the approach advocated by the Commission: Chicago's Gautreaux Program. Gautreaux gives low-income blacks [FN4] housing vouchers to move to many different kinds of communities, including white middle-income suburbs and low-income black city neighborhoods. This paper reports the program's impact on the employment of participating adults and on the education, employment, and social integration of their children.

I. THE KERNER COMMISSION'S PREMISES

In its study of cities where civil disorder had broken out, the Kerner Commission found "widespread discontent with housing conditions and costs. In nearly every disorder city surveyed, grievances related to housing were important factors in the structure of Negro discontent." [FN5] Recommending that six million new low- and middle-income housing units be made available over the next five years, the Kerner Commission stated: "If the effort is not to be counter-productive, its main thrust must be in nonghetto areas, particularly those outside the central city." [FN6] Part of this wariness stemmed from the Commission's belief that "future jobs are being created primarily in the suburbs." [FN7] This assumption has been borne out since the Commission's report was issued. In recent decades, large numbers of employers have left the central cities and relocated in the suburbs. [FN8] For example, between 1975 and 1978, 2380 firms in Chicago, Illinois moved from the city to its suburban ring. [FN9] More recently, Cook County experienced a 1.5% decline in jobs over the 1980-1988 period, while the surrounding counties gained from 7.6% to 59.5%. [FN10] *1521 "Chicago's share of metropolitan employment is also forecast to decline from 38.4% in 1986 to 32.8% in 1995.... This ... pattern represents a

serious labor market barrier for inner-city residents, especially those with minimal education and work skills." [FN11]

In spite of the stronger job market in the suburbs, low-income blacks have not followed jobs to the suburbs. Because of housing discrimination, housing costs, and personal preferences, low-skilled workers have not left the cities as rapidly as low-skilled jobs have. [FN12] Long commutes between home and work impede employment for low-income blacks, who, because of existing patterns of residential segregation, are largely restricted to central cities. [FN13] This fact may also reduce the effectiveness of job training programs, most of which have only modest success at improving employment for low-income people, perhaps because job training cannot help people become employed if the employers have moved away. [FN14]

The Commission's assertion that a failure to build new housing accessible to low-income blacks outside of the central cities would be "counter-productive" seems to stem also from the Commission's belief that "racial and social-class integration is the most effective way of improving the education of ghetto children." [FN15] That analysis has been supported empirically. A nationwide study found that blacks in predominantly black schools achieve at lower levels than blacks in integrated schools, and that socioeconomic segregation has similar effects. [FN16] Studies also indicate that desegregation has positive effects on black achievement. [FN17]

II. THE GAUTREAUX PROGRAM

The Gautreaux program is the result of a 1976 Supreme Court decision*1522 in a lawsuit brought against the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) on behalf of public housing residents. [FN18] The suit charged "that these agencies had employed racially discriminatory policies in the administration of the Chicago low-rent public housing program." [FN19] Administered by the non-profit Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities in Chicago, the Gautreaux program allows public housing residents and those who had been on the waiting list for public housing since 1981 to receive Section 8 housing certificates and move to private apartments either in mostly white suburbs or in the city of Chicago. [FN20] The agency finds landlords willing to participate in the program, notifies families as apartments become available, and counsels them about the advantages and disadvantages of the move; counselors accompany them to visit the units and communities. Since 1976, over 4500 families have participated, and over half have moved to middle-income, predominantly white suburbs.

Because of its design, the Gautreaux program presents a singular opportunity to test the effect of helping low-income people move to areas with better labor markets, better schools, and better neighborhoods. Racial and economic homogeneity remains the rule in most neighborhoods in the United States. It can be argued that those who break the residential barriers of race and class are themselves exceptional people, so their subsequent attainments may reflect more about themselves than about the effects of neighborhoods. Thus, when researchers study black employment in suburbs, they must assess whether the suburbs facilitated black employment or whether the blacks who happen to live in suburbs are different, perhaps moving to the suburbs after getting a job. [FN21] Similarly, most studies of black achievement in suburban schools cannot determine whether black children's achievement is due to the suburban environment or to some unmeasured family assets or values that may have drawn their families to the suburbs.

The Gautreaux program circumvents racial and economic barriers to living in the suburbs. The program offers rent subsidies permitting participants to live in suburban apartments for the same cost to them as *1523 public housing. Moreover, unlike the usual case of black suburbanization-working-class blacks living in working-class suburbs-Gautreaux gives low-income blacks access to middle-income white suburbs. [FN22] Participants move to a wide variety of over 100 suburbs throughout the six counties surrounding Chicago. Predominantly black suburbs were excluded because of the desegregation goals, and very high-rent suburbs were excluded by funding limitations of Section 8 certificates.

The program tries to avoid overcrowding, late rent payments, and building damage by not admitting families

with more than four children, large debts, or unacceptable housekeeping. [FN23] These criteria are only slightly selective, however, and all three only reduce the eligible pool by less than thirty percent. [FN24] Most participating families are very low-income, are current or former welfare recipients, and have lived most of their lives in impoverished inner-city neighborhoods.

The program's procedures create a quasi-experimental design. While all participants come from the same low-income, black city neighborhoods (usually public housing projects), some move to middle-income white suburbs, while others move to low-income black urban neighborhoods. In theory, participants have choices about where they move, but in practice, participants are assigned to city or suburban locations in a quasi-random manner. Apartment availability is determined by housing agents who do not deal with clients; counselors offer units as they become available according to the clients' position on the waiting list, not according to their locational preference. Although clients can refuse an offer, very few do because they are unlikely to be offered another in the six months that they remain eligible. As a result, participants' preferences for city or suburbs have little to do with where they later move.

A. Suburban Obstacles: Four Questions

Despite the superior economic and educational opportunities in the suburbs, there may be obstacles to participants benefitting from these opportunities. Virtually all the mothers in Gautreaux have received public aid (most for five years or more), many have never had a job, and half grew up in families on public aid. They may lack the skills, motivation, or work experience necessary to obtain work. Moreover, they may face racial discrimination in the suburban labor market. Similarly, the children *1524 lack the home advantages of their suburban classmates, and their city schools may not have prepared them for the more demanding suburban schools. This raises the following questions: Will they be able to compensate for these disadvantages? Will these low-income black youths face rejection and harassment or whether they interact with and receive support from their middle-income white classmates? The following sections outline the questions this Essay will explore.

1. Will Low-Income Blacks Get Jobs in the Suburbs?

There are a number of reasons to expect that low-income blacks may not find jobs in the suburbs. After living in low-income environments for many years, these adults and children may have motivational problems that prevent them from doing well even after their opportunities improve. Some scholars contend that the primary problem of the urban underclass is a lack of motivation and social obligation among ghetto residents. In the 1960s, much debate centered around Oscar Lewis's theory of the "culture of poverty." [FN25] Lewis argued that low-income children are socialized into a value system that reduces their motivation to succeed in the labor market: "By the time slum children are age six or seven, they have usually absorbed the basic values and attitudes of their subculture and are not psychologically geared to take full advantage of changing conditions or increased opportunities that may occur in their lifetime." [FN26] A variation of this view argues that current welfare policy encourages low-income people to feel no obligation to contribute to the larger society. [FN27]

Even those who subscribe to a structural, as opposed to cultural, approach to poverty might foresee employment difficulties for Gautreaux participants. Factors such as inadequate education due to the poor quality of Chicago ghetto schools, lack of skills and experience because of the diminished job market in the inner city, and racial bias among white suburban employers, individually or, more likely, in combination, might pose insurmountable obstacles to black job seekers in the suburbs.

*1525 2. Will Early Disadvantages Keep Children from Benefitting from Suburban Schools?

In the case of children's academic achievement, two conflicting outcomes seem possible. Low-income black youths might be permanently disadvantaged in the suburban schools, for various reasons: Their economic backgrounds may make them less prepared or less motivated than middle-income suburban youths, they may have

attitudes and habits deemed "undesirable" by suburban teachers and employers, or racial discrimination may deny them full access to suburban resources. For any or all of these reasons, the transplanted black youths may achieve at lower levels in the suburbs than, for instance, their city Gautreaux counterparts who do not face these barriers. Previous research has shown that school desegregation does not always have positive effects on black student achievement, [FN28] and it sometimes has negative effects. [FN29] In addition, suburban Gautreaux children face the added burden of having moved away from familiar surroundings to a very different environment.

A contrary prediction is that instead of being hindered by these disadvantages, children who move to the suburbs will benefit from better educational resources and greater employment prospects, and that their fellow suburban students may serve as positive role models for achievement. Some research has found that school desegregation may have a beneficial influence on blacks' achievement. [FN30] Of course, we do not know which of these processes will operate or, if both do, which will dominate.

3. Will Harassment and Discrimination Accompany Residential Integration?

Although large numbers of young, affluent blacks moved out of central cities and into surrounding suburbs during the 1970s, blacks remained significantly more isolated in those suburbs than either Hispanics or Asians. [FN31] Research also documents extensive antagonism to racial integration. While the majority of whites have become increasingly supportive of racial integration in principle, they nevertheless remain *1526 opposed to any government intervention to promote such integration. [FN32] Blacks moving into predominantly white areas have faced threats, physical attacks, and property damage. [FN33] A small-scale private effort to move black families from Chicago housing projects to Valparaiso, Indiana, in the late 1960s was generally unsuccessful. The families encountered organized resistance from the town government as well as verbal harassment and violence. [FN34] While some families stayed despite the hardship, most moved back to the city. [FN35] Throughout the past several decades, many black families who moved into white neighborhoods of Chicago were driven from their homes by racial violence. [FN36] These incidents of harassment, while dramatic, may not reflect the views of all residents, and other neighbors may welcome black newcomers. This Essay examines the harassment, threats and fears that blacks face in predominantly white schools as a racial and socioeconomic minority.

4. Will Residential Integration Lead to Social Integration?

Given the daily headlines about troubled race relations in American society, social integration may seem to be hopeless. But daily life is too mundane to make the headlines, and daily life may tell a very different story. This study looks at whether the black Gautreaux youths experience acceptance, establish friendships, and interact positively with white classmates, and assesses the relative frequency of positive and negative interactions.

The impact of school desegregation has been studied extensively. [FN37] Because blacks rarely live near whites, however, many of the school desegregation programs studied have entailed special busing efforts, and a busload of students entering a white community may create high visibility for the program, leading to backlash and stigma against participants. In addition, the long periods of time children spend every day riding together on a bus may reinforce a feeling of group separateness from those who live near the school. Moreover, the logistics of commuting *1527 make after-school activities difficult. Thus, busing as a method of desegregating creates its own limits on racial interaction.

In contrast, this study examines a program that is distinctive because it creates both residential and school integration. In the Gautreaux program, low-income black families receive housing subsidies allowing them to move into private apartment buildings occupied largely by middle-income whites, and located in middle-income, mostly white suburbs. As a result, children arrive in the suburban schools as community residents, not as outsiders in a busing program, and they come to school in the same buses as their white neighbors. Moreover, this program accomplishes residential integration with low visibility, reducing the likelihood of backlash and stigma.

Youths in this program, however, face an additional barrier- socioeconomic differences. While researchers do not know much about social integration across racial groups, we know even less about social integration across socioeconomic groups. The participants in this program come from very low-income families and face two kinds

of barriers simultaneously-racial and socioeconomic. These low-income blacks enter schools and communities that are overwhelming white and middle-class. Students who have spent over six years in all-black urban housing projects, for example, may have different habits and tastes, and have fewer economic resources than their classmates. Even the other black students they meet are different because their families are middle-class. Given these barriers, observers have worried that youths in such a program would remain socially isolated. [FN38]

III. THE STUDIES

A. Methods and Sample

The remainder of this paper summarizes studies of the Gautreaux program, comparing participating families moving to white middle-income suburbs with participating families moving to low-income black city neighborhoods. These 'city movers' are a strong comparison group for judging the effects of the suburban move because both groups meet the same selection criteria and receive better housing, varying significantly only on the destination of their moves. Thus we can have more confidence in attributing any observed effects to those destinations than we would through comparing suburban movers, for instance, with a group of Chicago housing project residents, whose lives had not undergone *1528 any comparable systematic change. The effects of moving to the suburbs, judged in comparison to moving within the city, are, if anything, underestimated through this stringent comparison.

To examine adults' employment, we surveyed 332 women and conducted detailed interviews with another ninety-five women. [FN39] The first study of children interviewed one randomly selected school-age child (age eight to eighteen) from each of 114 families in 1982, as well as their mothers, and the second study followed up the same children (and mothers) in 1989 when they were adolescents and young adults and examined their educational and employment outcomes. [FN40] In both of these studies, our adult respondents have been women: This is because a large majority of our sample group-ninety-two percent in the adult employment study and eighty-seven percent in the mother and child study-were female-headed households with no male present. There were not enough men available in the sample for analysis.

B. Study of Adult Employment

The results of our study showed that those persons transplanted to the suburbs were more likely to be employed than city movers. Although both groups started from the same baseline, after moving, the new suburbanities were at least 25% more likely to have had a job than city movers: While 50.9% of city movers had a job after moving, 63.8% of suburban movers did.

Table 1 compares the pre- and post-move employment status of the city and suburban movers. Among respondents who were employed at some point before their moves, suburban movers were about 14% more likely than city movers to have a job after moving. In contrast, for those who had never been employed before their move, 46% found work after moving to the suburbs while the figure for those in the city was only *1529 30%. For this group of "hard-core unemployed," those who ended up in the suburbs were much more likely to have a job after moving than were the city movers. [FN41]

TABLE 1. PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS EMPLOYED POST-MOVE AS COMPARED WITH PRE-MOVE
EMPLOYMENT, FOR CITY AND SUBURBAN MOVERS

City		Suburb	
group no., %		group no., %	

Those Employed Pre-Move:

Employed Post-Move	65	64.6%	144	73.6%
--------------------	----	-------	-----	-------

Those Unemployed Pre-Move:

Employed Post-Move	43	30.2%	80	46.2%
--------------------	----	-------	----	-------

Total Employed Post-Move:	108	50.9%	224	63.8% [FN*]
---------------------------	-----	-------	-----	-------------

FN* Indicates Chi-square significant at the 0.05 level.

City and suburban movers did not differ in hourly wages or number of hours worked per week. Among those who had a job both before and after moving, both city and suburban movers reported gains in hourly wages and no change in hours worked. [FN42]

***1530** When asked how the suburban move helped them get jobs, all suburban participants mentioned the greater number of available jobs in the suburbs. Improved physical safety was the second most mentioned factor. Adults reported that they did not work in the city because they feared being attacked on their way home, or worried that their children would get hurt or get into trouble with gangs. The suburban move allowed mothers the freedom to go out and work.

Many adults also mentioned that positive role models and social norms inspired them to work. This comment supports Wilson's contention about the importance of role models and social norms. [FN43] Upon seeing neighbors who worked, Gautreaux adults reported that they felt that they too could have jobs, and they wanted to try. In the city, adults had few such positive role models in their neighborhoods.

In sum, the employment rates of suburban movers surpassed those of city movers, particularly for those who had never before had a job. The causes of unemployment in the past-lack of skills or lack of motivation-were not irreversible, and many held jobs after moving to suburbs. The Gautreaux program apparently helped close the gap between low-income black adults and their white middle-income neighbors.

C. The Study of Children

Recognizing the Gautreaux children's initial poor preparation in city schools and their social disadvantages, we wondered how they would fare in suburban schools. In 1982, we studied how the Gautreaux program affected children, comparing Gautreaux children who moved within the city with those who moved to the suburbs. [FN44] The two groups were similar in average age, proportion of female children to male children, and mothers' education. The families typically were headed by females in both the suburban and city groups. [FN45]

We found that suburban movers initially had difficulties adapting to the higher expectations in the suburban schools, and their grades suffered in their first years there. By the time of our study, however, after one to six years in the suburbs their grades and relative school performance were the same as those of city movers (according to their mothers' reports). In addition, compared to city movers, suburban movers had smaller classes, higher satisfaction with teachers and courses, and better ***1531** attitudes about school. Although the mothers noted instances of teacher racial bias, the suburban movers were also more likely than city movers to say that teachers went out of their way to help their children, and to mention many instances of teachers giving extra help in classes and after school.

It is hard to measure academic success or improvement, and the first study had no systematic indicator. Yet the suburban movers clearly felt that the suburban schools had higher academic standards. They reported that the city

teachers did not expect children to make up work when they were absent, to do homework, to know multiplication in third grade, or to write in cursive in fourth grade. "Passing grades" in the city did not indicate achievement at grade level, and even "honor roll" city students were sometimes two years behind grade level.

The Gautreaux mothers were in a good position to notice the changes in their children when they moved from the city to suburban schools. One mother commented: "[The suburban school] said it was like he didn't even go to school in Chicago for three years, that's how far behind he was. And he was going every day and he was getting report cards telling me he was doing fine." [FN46] Indeed, another mother related her own empirical test:

The move affected my child's education for the better. I even tested it out ... (I) let her go to summer school by my mother's house (in Chicago) for about a month ... [and] she was in fourth grade at that time Over in the city they were doing third grade work; what they were supposed to be doing was fourth grade. [FN47]

The city curriculum apparently was one to three years behind the suburban schools. [FN48]

While many suburban movers seemed to be catching up to the higher suburban standards by the time of the interviews, most had only been in the suburbs a few years, and were still in elementary school, so it was hard to know how successful they later would be. Therefore, we were eager to do a follow-up study to see how things were turning out for these children.

D. The Follow-up Study of Youth

To document some of the Gautreaux program's longitudinal results, *1532 we interviewed the children and their mothers in 1989. [FN49] By this time, the children were, on average, eighteen years old. To understand their responses, it is first necessary to understand a little about the schools that the youths attended. In 1990, the Illinois Department of Education collected average standardized test scores for all schools in the state. For the schools attended by the children in our sample, the suburban schools' average eleventh grade reading test score (259) was just above the state average (250), but significantly higher than the city schools' average (198). Suburban schools' scores (21.5) on the ACT (the college admissions test most often taken in Illinois), were close to the state average (20.9), but significantly higher than the city schools' scores (16.1). Moreover, there was almost no overlap between the scores of city and suburban schools these children attended. While less than six percent of the city sample attended schools with ACT averages of twenty or better (i.e., roughly the national average), over eighty percent of the suburban sample attended such schools. Just as the 1982 study suggested higher standards in suburban elementary schools, these results indicate that the higher standards in the suburbs continued in high school.

Of course, higher standards create new challenges as well as new opportunities. The suburban movers must face much higher expectations than they had been prepared for in the city schools. The higher levels of achievement in suburban schools may be a barrier to students moving from city schools where they had been poorly prepared, and this could lead to a higher drop-out rate, lower grades, lower tracks for those still in school, less college attendance, and less employment for those over age eighteen. The results of this study, shown in Table 2 below, contradict those expectations.

TABLE 2. YOUTHS' EDUCATION AND JOB OUTCOMES: CITY-SUBURBAN COMPARISON

	City	Suburb
Drop-out of school	20%	5%
College track	24%	40%

Attend college	21%	54%
Attend four-year college	4%	27%
Employed full-time (if not in college)	41%	75%
Pay under \$3.50/hour	43%	9%
Pay over \$6.50/hour	5%	21%
Job benefits	23%	55%

***1533 1. Dropping Out and School Grades**

Although test scores were not available for individual respondents, grades provide a good indication of how students are achieving in the judgment of their teachers and relative to their peers. We found that suburban movers had virtually the same grades as city movers. [FN50] Since the national High School and Beyond (HSB) survey of high school sophomores indicates that suburban students get about a half grade lower than city students with the same achievement test scores, the grade parity of the two samples implies a higher achievement level for suburban movers. [FN51]

In addition, as Table 2 indicates more city movers (20%) dropped out of high school than did suburban movers (5%).

2. College Preparatory Curricula

Most high schools offer different curricula, through tracking systems, to college-bound and noncollege-bound youth, and these different curricula can affect college opportunities. [FN52] Researchers find that blacks are under-represented in the college tracks in racially integrated schools. [FN53] Indeed, after being desegregated, the Washington, D.C. public schools initiated a tracking system, which a federal district court subsequently *1534 ruled undercut integration. [FN54] Given the higher standards and greater competition in suburban schools, we might expect suburban movers to be less likely than city movers to be in college-track classes. The results showed the opposite; suburban movers were more often in college tracks than city movers. [FN55]

3. College Attendance

Higher suburban standards might be expected to be a barrier to the Gautreaux youths attending college. The results indicate the opposite. Suburban movers had significantly higher college enrollment than city movers. [FN56]

4. Four-year Colleges

The type of college is important: Four-year colleges lead to a bachelor's degree, two-year junior or community colleges lead to an associate's degree, and trade schools lead to a certificate. Moreover, while transfers to four-year colleges are theoretically possible, in fact trade schools almost never lead to four-year colleges, and two-year colleges rarely do. Only 12.5% of students in the Chicago city colleges, which are two-year programs, ultimately earn a four-year college degree-less than half the rate of some suburban community colleges in the area. [FN57]

Among the Gautreaux youth attending college, almost 50% of the suburban movers were in four-year institutions, whereas only 20% of the city movers were. Of those not attending four-year institutions, two-thirds of the suburban movers were working toward an associate's degree while just half of the city movers were.

Clearly, the suburban students have not suffered from the challenging competition in the suburbs. Indeed, they have benefitted from the higher academic standards found there.

5. Youths' Employment

For youths who were not attending college, a significantly higher proportion of those in the suburban area had full-time jobs than did their *1535 city counterparts. [FN58] Suburban youth also were four times as likely to earn over \$6.50 an hour than were city youths. [FN59] In addition, the suburban jobs were significantly more likely to offer job benefits than city jobs. [FN60]

6. Youths' Social Integration

Suburban movers had increased opportunity for interacting with whites because there were many more whites in their schools than in the city schools. That proximity did not guarantee that interaction would take place, however, or that the experience would not be problematic.

We expected that the suburban youths would experience more harassment than the city movers. The most common form of harassment was name-calling. In the suburbs, 51.9% of the Gautreaux youth reported at least one incident in which they were called names by white students, while only 13.3% of the city movers experienced name-calling by whites. This might be explained in part by the fact that there are simply fewer white students in the urban schools. Interestingly, however, 41.9% of the city movers experienced name-calling by other black students. As hypothesized, city movers did receive significantly less harassment than suburban movers; however, the city movers also experienced a great deal of verbal harassment.

A second, more severe form of harassment was measured by asking respondents how often they were threatened by other students. As expected, many suburban movers were threatened by whites: 15.4% of the suburban movers reported being threatened by whites a few times a year or more; 19.4% of city movers, however, were threatened as frequently by blacks. Moreover, when we consider those who were threatened at least once a year (by blacks or whites), city movers are as likely to receive a threat as suburban movers. [FN61]

A third and serious form of harassment experienced by study youths was actual physical violence. When asked how often they were injured by other students at school, very few members of either group reported such incidents. A similar proportion of both city and suburban movers *1536 said they had never been hurt by other students. [FN62] In sum, the expected difference is not confirmed: Suburban movers are not more likely than city movers to be threatened or hurt by others at school.

7. Social Acceptance

The second aspect of social integration studied was whether suburb- moving youths experience less social acceptance at school and develop fewer friendships than city movers. Several questions in the interview were designed to discern how the children viewed themselves in the social context of the school and how they felt peers regarded them. Both city and suburban movers tended to agree somewhat with the statement, "I feel I am a real part of my school," and there were no statistically significant differences between the groups. [FN63] To the statement, "Other students treat me with respect," the suburban movers had more positive responses than the city movers, although the difference was not significant. [FN64] We asked the children how they believed others viewed them in a series of questions, including, "Are you considered a part of the 'in-group'?" "Do others think you do not fit in?" "Do others see you as popular?" and "Do others see you as socially active?" For each of these queries, no significant differences were found between the city and suburban movers. [FN65] Both groups showed positive social integration for all questions. Contrary to our expectations, the suburban movers felt just as accepted by their peers as the city movers. The majority of the children in both groups felt that they fit into their schools socially and that they were regarded by others as at least somewhat socially active and popular.

We also expected that the suburban movers actually might have fewer friends than city movers. Given that the

suburbs were overwhelmingly white, the suburban movers came in contact with fewer black peers than city movers. Suburban movers, however, had almost as many black friends as city movers. The mean number of black friends in the suburbs was 8.81, while the mean number of black friends in the city was 11.06, a statistically insignificant difference.

The suburban movers had significantly more white friends than city *1537 movers. The mean number of white friends was 7.37 for suburban movers and 2.37 for city movers. [FN66] While only 17.3% of the suburban youths reported no white friends, 56.3% of the city sample did. [FN67] Only one of the city movers and one of the suburban movers reported having no friends at all.

Suburban Gatreux youths spent significantly more time with white students outside of class than did the city movers, as documented in Table 3A. Compared with city movers, the suburban movers more often did things outside of school with white students, did homework with white students, and visited the homes of white students. When asked how friendly white students were, the suburban movers again were much more positive than the city movers.

TABLE 3A. FREQUENCY OF ACTIVITIES INVOLVING WHITE STUDENTS BY PERCENT

How often do white students do things with you outside of school?

Code	Suburb (n=52)	City (n=30)
	(%)	(%)
Almost every day	44.2	6.7
About once a week	13.5	16.7
About once a month	1.9	16.7
A few times a year	23.1	10.0
Never	17.3	50.0

t=3.65; p<.001

How often do white students do schoolwork with you?

Code	Suburb (n=52)	City (n=30)
	(%)	(%)
Almost every day	40.4	23.3
About once a week	21.1	16.7
About once a month	21.2	13.3
A few times a year	9.6	0.0
Never	7.7	46.7

t=2.92; p<.005

How often do white students visit your home or have you to their home?

Code	Suburb (n=52)	City (n=29)
	(%)	(%)
Almost every day	28.8	6.9
About once a week	25.0	10.3
About once a month	7.7	13.8
A few times a year	19.2	17.2
Never	19.2	51.7

t=3.75; p<.0001

***1538** When the same questions were asked about socializing with black students, no significant differences existed between city and suburban movers, as documented in Table 3B.

TABLE 3B. FREQUENCY OF ACTIVITIES INVOLVING BLACK STUDENTS BY PERCENT
How often do black students do things with you outside of school?

Code	Suburb (n=52)	City (n=31)
	(%)	(%)
Almost every day	59.6	54.8
About once a week	19.2	32.3
About once a month	5.8	6.5
A few times a year	11.5	6.5
Never	3.8	

t=.70 (statistically insignificant)

How often do black students do schoolwork with you?

Code	Suburb (n=52)	City (n=31)
	(%)	(%)
Almost every day	46.2	64.5
About once a week	25.0	16.1
About once a month	7.7	9.7
A few times a year	11.5	
Never	9.6	9.7

t=1.34 (statistically insignificant)

How often do black students visit your home or have you to their home?

Code	Suburb (n=52)	City (n=31)
	(%)	(%)
Almost every day	50.0	25.8
About once a week	25.0	45.2
About once a month	3.8	22.6
A few times a year	15.4	3.2
Never	5.8	3.2

t=0.43 (statistically insignificant)

***1539** To get an overview, two index variables were computed based on the summed responses to each of the three items for interactions with whites and for interactions with blacks. The findings, set out in Table 4, suggest that the suburban movers divided their time almost equally between blacks and whites, while the city movers spent significantly more of their time with blacks than with whites. The experience of the suburban movers seems to reflect a more racially integrated peer network, despite the small numbers of blacks in suburban schools.

TABLE 4. COMPARISONS OF INDEX VARIABLES MEASURING TIME SPENT WITH BLACK FRIENDS
VS. TIME SPENT WITH WHITE FRIENDS

	Suburb (n=60)		City (n=38)	
	mean	(std dev)	mean	(std dev)
Time with black friends	12.02	(3.09)	12.45	(2.17)
Time with white friends	10.41	(3.64)	6.89	(3.48)
	t=3.05; p<.003		t=9.04; p<.000	

8. Are Harassment and Acceptance Inversely Related?

Our results indicate that negative behaviors are associated with each other: White name-calling correlates strongly with white threats. Positive behaviors also correlate: Doing activities with whites is associated with visiting with whites in their homes.

We found, however, that negative behaviors do not predict an absence of positive behaviors. In fact, the experiences of the suburban movers indicate that the two are not usually associated, and they are sometimes positively correlated. Suburban Gautreaux students who report being threatened by whites are slightly (but not significantly) more likely to participate in school activities, [FN68] interact with whites after *1540 school, [FN69] or visit with whites in their homes. [FN70] Those reporting being called names by whites are also slightly

more likely to do activities with whites after school, [FN71] and to visit with whites in their homes. [FN72]

While these correlations are not statistically significant, they are substantively very important. They indicate that many of the same individuals who are being threatened and harassed by whites are also being accepted by whites, interacting with whites, going to each others' homes, and participating in school activities. That does not make the threats and name-calling pleasant, but it does make it easier for these youths to feel as though they are a part of these white suburban schools.

The statements of mothers and youths help us understand how these youths handled the racial harassment they faced in the suburbs. Many seemed to take harassment in stride as a minor annoyance that they ignored. [FN73] Other suburban movers felt that the racial problems were likely to exist anywhere or discounted the name-calling because they discounted the people who were doing it. [FN74] Some youths said that the advantages of living in the suburbs far outweighed the disadvantages. Although mothers were unhappy that their children were being harassed in the suburbs, they felt these incidents were relatively unimportant compared with the fear, crime, and violence that had limited their lives in the inner city. [FN75] Both the youths and their mothers felt they had overcome many of the problems they faced in the suburbs with patience and *1541 endurance. [FN76]

In sum, although these Gautreaux youths experienced some harassment and some difficulty gaining acceptance in the suburban schools, overall they experienced great success in social integration. Despite some initial difficulties, suburban movers have active social lives and feel they fit into their new environments.

IV. INDIVIDUAL CASES

Statistics provide the best indications of the program's effects, but statistics cannot convey the personal experiences of the individuals involved. Indeed, in that respect, statistics can mislead, making the process seem simpler and more mechanical than it is, and by glossing over people's struggles. It is a mistake to infer that educational and social gains come easily and without great sacrifice. The very notion of "program effects" conjures up an image of a simple causal process, like the push that sets a pendulum in motion. But human actions are never so simply caused, and holding onto a simple "program effects" notion can, in fact, have serious consequences. Participants and observers who expect this program to have quick results with little pain would be greatly disappointed.

Unlike "effects" in physics, the Gautreaux program's effects arise and outcomes result from what the program participants do with the opportunities presented to them. The changes "caused" by this program occurred slowly and were due only to the enormous efforts and sacrifices of the participants. We illustrate this with three case studies of individuals *1542 in the Gautreaux program, participants in the children's study described above who were interviewed with their mothers in 1982 and 1989. While the best summary of the program's effects is contained in the statistical data reported above, the complexity of participants' experiences and their own efforts to overcome the obstacles they confronted are key elements to understanding the "program effects" of Gautreaux.

This type of analysis is helpful in two respects. First, it reveals participants' strengths and capabilities, qualities that may have emerged because of their new opportunities. It also exposes characteristics of the suburban communities, both positive ones that help new residents and negative ones that they must confront.

A. Laura

No one reflects the complexities of the Gautreaux experience more clearly than Laura. Laura moved to the suburbs when she was eight. As her mother Noelle said in 1982, almost four years after their move:

For me it was getting her away from the city and all of the crime and ... because, see, [my kids] grew up in the projects. ... And I wanted them to see that there was more to life than what these people wanted And in order to let them see that I had to get her out of the city and move her out here. She's twelve years old and some

of her little friends back there are pregnant today. I feel that this would have happened to her. By her being out here she has a more open outlook on life Getting her out of the projects was the best thing I could have done for all of us.

Laura did not have a positive experience in the city schools. Her grades were good, but both mother and daughter question how much she was actually learning. In 1982, Noelle commented:

Chicago schools are raggedy The teachers complain that there wasn't enough room in the classroom. It was so crowded ... nobody is learning anything. She comes home with headaches.... The whole attitude [of the teachers was] ... I don't care I've got mine. Either you learn it or you don't because I'm going to give you a passing grade anyway.

Laura had many complaints about the city schools. She reported that "they really didn't try to teach you anything," the teachers were "mean" and did not listen, and broken glass covered the playground. In addition, Laura was often afraid to go to school because of fights. Noelle would often have to walk Laura and her brothers to school because of their fears.

For eleven years, Laura's family had lived in one of Chicago's housing *1543 projects. Noelle says she did not trust any of the other kids in the neighborhood; the area was dirty and very unsafe. The situation was difficult for both mother and child, as Noelle explained:

Every time I let her go downstairs or out to play there was a fight. So it was just like you just stay in the house and I'll let you come out when I come home or something like that.... She didn't like the attitudes of some kids. She would say: "why do they have to do this? Why do they fight?" and I'd just tell her to stay away from them and not be around that type of people.

One of the major reasons Noelle gave for moving out to the suburbs was for "schools to better my children." In 1982, it seemed as though she believed she had been successful. Laura's grades actually went down a little, but, as Noelle explained,

The work out here is much harder than what the kids are doing in the city. Yes her grades have changed because the work is harder now. Because the little math she was doing in the city, it counted for her to get that 'A' in it. Now for her to come out here and just jump into geometry and trigonometry in sixth grade and still be getting B's and C's is good. The reason I feel she is doing better is because the teachers are different.

When they had first moved to the suburbs, Noelle said, Laura had to take a battery of tests to prove she was not "slow," that her problem was merely that she had not had the material that the suburban children had learned already. Laura passed these tests and did not have to repeat a grade, but the experience was difficult. And even though she passed, she still had to deal with the fact that the city schools had not taught her as much as the suburban schools expected of sixth grade students.

But the suburban schools also offered an opportunity for Laura educationally. In addition to the more advanced curriculum, the schools provided the kind of extra attention that impressed both Noelle and Laura. Noelle mentioned this difference several times in the course of her 1982 interview:

The schools ... are not overcrowded. They had time to give them the help they needed. The teachers out here, they seem to care more.... They will call you everyday to let you know how your child is doing in school. And send work home and tell you to help your child with this. Put them on special projects and different things.

It makes me happy because [the teacher] really doesn't have to call me and let me know these things. But she does. I just like talking to her. She calls me in the evenings. If you are *1544 not satisfied with your child's progress, you can always call the school and make a meeting.

Laura commented simply that her teachers "help you more." Her mother related several incidents where teachers went out of their way to help Laura. One teacher arranged for her to make up a missed exam; another, Laura's track coach, made a special effort to keep her from quitting the team.

Laura had a B average in high school, and was in honors English and Math classes. Planning a career in computers or word processing, Laura had finished high school by 1989 and was enrolled in, but not yet attending, the local community college for a two-year degree; she saw herself going on to a four-year program. She was working full time at her fifth job, at a clothing store, making \$4.50 per hour with benefits. She said she liked the job but felt it was not teaching her any new skills.

In 1982, Laura had described herself as having five friends: one black and four white. She had not spent as much time with them as she would have liked, according to her mother, because they lived on the other side of town, and transportation was a problem. Noelle cited "living around whites" as being among the best things for Laura about the move to the suburbs. Part of the reason, in addition to the exposure itself, had to do with the types of amenities that such proximity brought with it. For example, Noelle appreciated the better quality teachers in the suburban schools. As she put it: "The three years that I've been out here I've seen that white people want the best and they're going to get it."

With proximity, however, also came prejudice. While many of their neighbors were friendly, according to Noelle, "[some people from the neighborhood] call [Laura] 'nigger' and say, 'go back to the ghettos where you came from' or 'go back to Africa.'" Laura mentioned in 1982 that the only thing she disliked about her school was the fact that "some kids are prejudiced." Similarly, Laura said that while she felt safer in the suburbs than in the city, she did not feel completely safe because she was black, and "some white people might not like that"; she doubted that they would do anything physical to her, but they might verbally accost her. For both Laura and Noelle, the prejudice in the suburbs was much less threatening than the physical dangers they faced in the city. Noelle said specifically:

[In the city] I was worried about somebody breaking in. I was worried about somebody doing something to my children. I'm not scared about that now. The only thing I have out here is prejudice. There's nothing that can be done about making a person like you because you're you.

***1545** Laura is typical of our sample's suburban youths in reporting in 1989 that the majority of her friends were white. [FN77] There was no difference in the amount of time Laura spent with her white and black friends or in the types of activities in which they engaged. She strongly agreed that she was a real part of her school, and that others saw her as popular, athletic, socially active, and at least somewhat part of the "in-group." Noelle also noted that her daughter's friends were a mixed group of white, black, and Hispanic kids.

Laura was able to achieve some measure of academic achievement and social integration, but she did not avoid difficulties completely; there were teachers who helped and teachers who did not, white friends and hostile white neighbors. Laura said that name-calling happened only a few times a year, and it was done by both whites and blacks.

Noelle's response to prejudice, in addition to going to the school to talk to school officials, was to emphasize, as other mothers did, the learning potential in these experiences:

And I don't care where you live there's going to be somebody that doesn't like you regardless of what race, creed or color they may be 'Cause you can live in Chicago and have Blacks that don't like you or the person around the corner who doesn't even know you. It teaches you to be a strong person. It hurts sometimes to be called names, but I try to teach my kids not to be hurting from that, but to learn from that.

In the end, the bottom line of the suburban experience for both Noelle and Laura was the comparison to life in the city. Laura explained, "I like a lot of the opportunities I have [in the suburbs]. Actually, I just don't like

Chicago." When asked what life would have been like had she not moved, she replied:

I don't think I would have had a real good education. Probably would have had more fights than I ever dreamed of. Probably would have been robbed several times. Actually I probably wouldn't know half of the things that I know now if I had still lived in Chicago. Like I wouldn't know about white people and about being prejudiced.

B. Cheryl

For Cheryl, the suburban move created greater educational gains, but it also created more serious social obstacles. Cheryl had lived in the suburbs for almost five years when we interviewed her in 1982 at age *1546 eleven. Cheryl had been exposed to Chicago public schools for only a short time before moving; she had attended kindergarten there. She did well and was quite advanced for her age. Problems, however, had already begun. According to her mother, Victoria:

Where we used to live, there were fights all the time. She would come home from school-nervous, she wouldn't fight back, she would always get beat up.

[The kids in the city] were fighting all the time, physically fighting machines.... I try to tell them why people act the way they act, or treat each other the way they treat each other. I try to use these other people as examples: "Don't be that way-God doesn't like that." But it was too much of a strain on me and a strain on the girls-they couldn't think, even in school, the pressures of getting kicked on the leg and things like this; kids are mean to each other.

Cheryl often did not want to go to school because she was afraid of the fighting. Of their inner-city neighborhood, her mother said:

The drunk people that lay out on the street on Saturday night get so drunk they can't make it home and sleep on the streets.... I was burglarized twice while I was there and they took all of my most precious valuables, that's enough. The fact that my children didn't know self-defense, they all got beat up. It was difficult to keep the roaches under control.

At one level, Victoria was pleased with the change the suburbs provided for Cheryl, mentioning particularly the quality of the school system, extra activities such as sports and music, and the extra attention from the teachers, who will "walk that extra mile":

I like the kinds of warmth and the kindness of most of the teachers there. They are concerned; if they feel as though there is a problem, they will call you. They will call you to ask if you have any suggestions on what they can do to help to improve the situation with the child. They want you to call any time, call their homes anytime if you feel that you have a problem or if you need some questions answered. It's like one big family. I like the principal, the way he has things set up there. He takes every child as his own, and whenever the school has activities, the teachers are involved in them.

Victoria said that she "wouldn't want to ever take [Cheryl] out of the school she attends," noting that "she's given a lot of responsibility by the instructors because she is excellent in class.... She likes all that, that's something she wouldn't have in Chicago." Cheryl had received mostly A's and B's on her last report card.

*1547 The 1989 follow-up interview revealed that Cheryl continued to do very well: She achieved mostly A's and B's her last year in high school and she was in honors classes in English, Math, and two languages, Spanish and French. She studied in South America her junior year in high school, and at the time of the interview was majoring in international marketing at the University of Illinois at Urbana, having received a scholarship. She felt fairly optimistic about her chances for working in international marketing because so far "everything has worked

to my advantage." She had had five part-time jobs and was working at the time of the interview for Eastman Kodak as an intern doing research for the sales manager. She liked the job, which paid \$7.75 per hour, and was learning new skills which she felt would help her get a better job. She says she preferred the suburbs overall, because of the education she received and the relative safety. Asked how her life might have been different had they not moved, she responded: "I would be not as well educated, not as cultured, ignorant about whites. I would be hard, street-wise." Responding to the same question, her mother answered:

[Cheryl] probably would not have the drive, the challenge, you know, to want to advance, to get ahead, to compete. She wouldn't have that competitive, you know, that competitive attitude that's needed to get ahead in life. She probably would have just been absorbed with boys and she wouldn't know as much. She wouldn't have had the job opportunities. You know, I think her life would have been pretty stagnant. She wouldn't have been prepared to attend the [University of Illinois]-that's for sure.

While Cheryl's academic experience was very positive, her social experience was more negative than most youth we spoke to. In 1982, her mother reported:

Students occasionally call her nigger. She's offended by that. They have a way of isolating her and that will make her feel bad. If they don't like something about the way she acts, they will stay away in groups and just leave her alone. And they will pass the word[,] ... ignore her, call her names when they see her This doesn't occur often but when it does occur, it's like "Mom, do I have to go to [school] now, I'm the only black in my class-I have no one to go to"-the teacher is white. If she complains to the teacher about something like that, the teacher will say something like, "well." She isn't going to take it very seriously.

Racism among teachers was less a factor in high school than it was in elementary school. Victoria did mention one teacher whose own prejudice influenced the students in the class; they began calling Cheryl "nigger" *1548 and other names in class, knowing they would not be stopped. Cheryl's grades dropped precipitously as a result. Victoria complained to the school and reported to us that the teacher eventually resigned (though it is not clear if the two events were linked). According to her mother, Cheryl's grades improved considerably thereafter.

In 1989, Cheryl stated that in general she did not fit into her school, which had a very affluent student body, and that the other students were unfriendly. Only 17.3% of suburban movers had no white friends, and Cheryl was in this group. [FN78] She did have friends, two black and one Indian, but "everybody was at the stage [where they were] caught up in cliques" and blacks "hung with themselves." This was a particular problem as far as dating was concerned; boys said they wouldn't date her because she was black. While she did not say if this was the case with black as well as white boys, she did say that "I had no life as far as dating," and when asked what she did about it she said she "got bitter against white guys." Unlike many other Gautreaux youths, Cheryl never visited white students at home or did things outside of school with them, although she did occasionally do schoolwork with them. She felt like she was a real part of her school, but did not think she was seen as part of the "in group."

Both mother and daughter turned their encounters with white bigotry into lessons. As Victoria said in 1989, "It's something that you can adapt yourself to. And you know, you complain at first but then you say well, this is the way it is, and you know, you accept it." Cheryl concluded that had she grown up in the city she would have been "ignorant about whites." Instead of learning the city's lesson of being "hard" to the physical assaults of the streets, she learned the suburb's lesson of being hard to the insults of prejudice. This particular kind of education was probably not on the agenda of Dorothy Gautreaux and her fellow litigants, but it seems to have been inseparable from the other things Cheryl learned in the suburbs.

Because she had not yet entered school at the time of the move, Cheryl did not have to catch up in the suburban schools, and this worked to her advantage. Her academic accomplishments were considerable: She received high grades in honors courses at a very demanding suburban high school and attended a selective four-year university. Escaping the fighting and robberies she had experienced in the city was also a great relief to Cheryl.

Yet while Cheryl got more academic benefits than most of our suburban *1549 sample, she enjoyed much less social acceptance. She described more harassment and social barriers than most suburban movers. In some cases those barriers came down, as in the case of the prejudiced teacher, but for the most part they persisted. Both mother and child said they would again choose this mix of high academic and safety benefits and high social costs over the inner city experience, but with serious reservations.

C. Kevin

For Kevin, the educational advantages were more modest, but the prejudice and social isolation were also much less severe. Kevin left the city when he was eight, five years prior to the 1982 interview. Describing where they had lived in the city, his mother Alice stated: "You know, we were just like in a prison." She compared their new location in the suburbs favorably to the city with regard to all aspects of the family's life. According to Alice, Kevin was in real trouble before they moved. His grades were mostly Fs, she said:

He wasn't improving any in that school. And I think it was that the school was too crowded and they didn't have enough staff to detect [Kevin's] needs, his learning ability or anything ... so he was just going on and on and getting farther and farther behind He wasn't progressing any. He couldn't read. He couldn't write. The grade level that he was in, he couldn't even read the book. He couldn't do the math. So I don't think he was progressing at all in that school. And the kids, they would fight. When they get out of school, if you don't go down there and pick your child up, he's liable to come home with a black eye or a ball club hit him in the head or just anything.

In addition to being unable to function successfully in school, Kevin was also showing some other disturbing signs:

His behavior. It was kind of bad when we were in the city. He wouldn't mind. He had started picking up things in the house. Going in my wallet. Taking his sister's jewelry. He wouldn't fight. He wasn't that type of child that would get into fights or anything. But he just started picking up real bad habits. I would let him go outside and tell him to be home in two hours and he'd stay three or four.... [M]y oldest daughter, she missed some rings. And he denied it, but we found it in his pocket before he went to school. And I missed two dollars out of my wallet one time.

Alice's response, a common strategy among the mothers in our sample, was to keep Kevin and his sisters inside because she did not trust the *1550 neighborhood or the other children who lived there. He had no friends during the last year before they moved to the suburbs.

For Alice, the move to the suburbs meant a complete turn for the better for her son, both academically and behaviorally. He repeated a grade and was placed in a special program in which he received extra academic help. Both mother and son agreed that this program helped him: his grades went up afterwards. In the seventh grade at the time of the 1982 interview, thirteen- year old Kevin had received mostly Bs on his last report card and had much less trouble with his school work than he had had in the city. He stated that he liked school and living in the suburbs; he remembered little about his life in the city. When asked if he would be someone else if he could, he responded that he would be "a smarter person," a response that seems to indicate both a knowledge of the problems he had had and a desire to improve. Such feelings could have led to the frustration and disruptive behavior Alice noticed in Chicago.

Alice raved about the changes she saw in her son after their move:

He's a different boy now. He's considerate. He minds me. He does anything I say. He doesn't poke out his mouth. He doesn't give me any back talk. And he's very intelligent now. Before we moved out here he was having difficulty with his speech. Now you can understand everything he says.

He understands the work now. He's good with what he's working on. He studies hard. He likes to go to school. He likes his teachers. And [Kevin] likes to impress his teachers, so he works very hard on his school work. He's a charmer.

Alice attributed Kevin's changes primarily to the extra attention he was receiving from teachers and to changes in her own attitudes because of the move: "[N]ow it seems like I've got more interest in things." She particularly praised the amount of information she gets from the teachers about Kevin's work and his behavior: They let her know right away-"it doesn't just go on and on."

Kevin maintained the momentum spurred by the move. According to Alice, he stayed in the special program through his junior year, for a few periods a day. Both mother and son spoke highly of his teachers, who often went out of their way for him and continued their regular contact with Alice about his progress. While school work in high school was difficult for him, he received mostly Bs and Cs. As a member of the school's basketball team, he was required to maintain his G.P.A., but Kevin stated that he also focused on grades because he wanted to go to college. Preparing to enter a two-year program at a local community college, he indicated that he planned to transfer eventually to a four-year *1551 school. At the time of the 1989 interview, he was working full-time as a truck driver. He said he liked the job, was learning new skills, and believed it would help him get a better job in the future.

In 1982, Alice mentioned that she had experienced racism from her neighbors at first, but that there had not been any problems recently. Her own attitudes, she found, changed as well: "At first I think I couldn't face the different nationalities. Now, I find that it's nice living with different nationalities." Their neighbors were friendly, although not as friendly as those in the city, and Kevin had both black and white friends in the neighborhood. He participated in Little League and used other local facilities such as the pool, the parks, and the YMCA-places he had not gone in the city because Alice thought many of them were dangerous. He also was able to play outside more often because of a difference Alice saw in the kids, as well as in the neighborhood: "They have good behavior [in the suburbs]. They don't fight and they don't talk bad. When they go outside, their mother knows exactly where they are. And before nightfall all kids are in the house."

Kevin did not mention any prejudiced behavior. When asked in 1989 what he liked about his school, he replied, "I got along with everyone. Everyone treated me nice." In high school, the majority of his friends were white; he seemed to have divided his time fairly equally between his white and black friends, and he mentioned no incidents of name calling, threats, or other problems. He agreed that he was "a real part of [his] school," and that other students treated him with respect and saw him as very much a part of the "in- group." Alice concurred that her son was a "likable boy" and that, in contrast to her earlier characterization of his behavior in the city, "he don't get in any trouble."

The suburban experience, then, appears to have been a very successful one for Kevin. The progress of what looked to be a downward trajectory in the city was turned around after the move. Alice, when asked how life would have been different had they stayed, is confident, if brief, in her appraisal: "God, it would have been a disaster. The city's the pits." Kevin also answered that his life would have been different, that he would have joined a gang, sold drugs, and would not have finished high school. When asked why they stayed in the area from 1982 to 1989, he said he thought his mom wanted him to stay out of the city, away from the gangs.

It seems likely that the quality of education Kevin received, particularly because of the diagnosis and attention to some kind of learning disability, played a key role in his overall social, academic, and perhaps even work achievements. He went from failing most of his classes to doing eventually average quality work and liking school. Its rewards-teacher *1552 attention and approval-appear to have become both attainable and desirable for Kevin. This was not the case during his early years in Chicago, which possibly had caused some of the discipline problems his mother mentioned. Kevin also did not experience much racial harassment. Alice mentioned some neighbors who were less than friendly, but overall the suburbs proved to be a hospitable environment for Kevin.

All three youths experienced dramatic changes in their lives because of the suburban move. But their success in life was by no means assured by the program. Granted, the program did have some consistent "effects" on the environment for all three children. They, like many other suburban movers, reported that the suburbs offered a safer environment. They also reported that the suburban schools had higher standards and teachers who were more likely to go out of their way for students. These factors were reported by most suburban movers who were interviewed.

Of course, the higher standards initially posed an obstacle to the students. Like many of the children who had moved after several years in city schools, Laura and Kevin's performance was at first below that of their suburban peers. Laura passed the battery of tests she was given, but she still had to struggle to catch up with her classmates. Kevin did not pass the tests, and the results indicated that he needed to be placed in a special program. Both Kevin and his mother, however, felt that the program had helped Kevin by giving him additional attention and special resources. His mother's report that he understood, liked, and worked hard at his schoolwork certainly suggests that he responded well to the program. Both Kevin and his mother believed the suburban move prevented Kevin from becoming involved with gangs and drugs, and from dropping out of school.

Not all the suburban teachers were supportive, and some were serious obstacles. One teacher was a serious problem for Cheryl, and this affected her performance in school. Fortunately, Cheryl's performance improved when she was taught by other teachers.

Anguish, isolation, and harassment were experienced by many individuals. Laura and Kevin experienced these problems mildly, but Cheryl had more difficulty. It is noteworthy that Cheryl was the most successful academically and was the most isolated socially. Both experiences may be a consequence of her attending an affluent school.

V. CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The studies of the Gautreaux program suggest that residential integration can contribute significantly to the Kerner Commission's aims of improving employment, education, and social integration of low-income *1553 blacks. The suburban move greatly improved adult employment, and many adults were employed for the first time in their lives. The suburban move also improved youths' education. Compared with city movers, the children who moved to the suburbs were more likely to be (1) in school, (2) in college-track classes, (3) in four-year colleges, (4) employed, and (5) employed in jobs with benefits and better pay. The suburban move led also to a considerable amount of social integration, friendships, and interaction with white neighbors in the suburbs.

Of course, the social integration was not complete; while harassment declined over time, some degree of prejudice remained. Similarly, the children's achievement gains were not immediate. Indeed, virtually all the children transplanted to the suburbs experienced great difficulties and lower grades in the first year or two. These difficulties, however, may have been an unavoidable part of adjusting to the higher suburban standards.

Some critics doubt that housing voucher programs can achieve the integration goals set by the Kerner Commission because low-income blacks will not choose to move to middle-income white suburbs. Indeed, a Detroit survey found that few blacks would choose all-white neighborhoods as their first choice. [FN79] Moreover, some previous efforts to use housing vouchers to encourage racial integration were unsuccessful. The national Experimental Housing Allowance Program had "little if any impact on locational choice, economic or racial concentrations, or neighborhood quality." [FN80] Similarly, Project Self-Sufficiency in Cook County resulted in very few black participants moving to white suburbs. [FN81] In both programs, participants were reluctant to make the moves because of strong personal ties to their neighbors, fear of discrimination, and unfamiliarity with the distant suburbs that possibly would have offered them better job prospects.

The results of the Gautreaux program do not conclusively contradict these prior studies. Program design features-the lack of real choice about city or suburban locations-limit any conclusions about low-income blacks'

preference about where to live. Still, the results are somewhat encouraging. They suggest that housing vouchers can result in low-income families moving to suburbs with better schools and better labor *1554 markets, and that adults and children can benefit from such moves. This program has been able to overcome the reluctance that these families might have felt, in part because the poor quality of life in the city limited the attractiveness of staying there. It is noteworthy that participation is voluntary and demand for the program slots is high.

The Gautreaux program indicates that successful residential integration is possible, but that it requires extensive additional housing services. Real estate staff are needed to locate landlords willing to participate in the program, and placement counselors are needed to inform families about life in the suburbs, including addressing their concerns about such moves and taking them to visit the units and communities. Like participants in other voucher programs, Gautreaux participants were reluctant to move to distant suburbs and few would have moved without the counselors' encouragement and visits to the suburban apartments. When contrasted with the failures of previous housing voucher programs, the success of this program indicates the value of having real estate staff and housing counselors.

The study also suggests some ways that the Gautreaux program could be improved. Transportation was the greatest difficulty that people faced in the suburbs. The suburbs had little or no public transportation, so travel was extremely difficult. Mini-bus service is probably not practical because few families move to any one location, and special mini-bus runs the risk of increasing visibility and labelling of participants. If the program could help people finance the purchase of a car, more people might get jobs, children would have an easier time participating in after-school activities, and participants would face fewer frustrations with daily tasks. Child-care assistance would also have been extremely helpful, since suburban movers are unlikely to have friends or relatives nearby to assist. Finally, while this housing program improved employment more than most education or training programs, Gautreaux participants might have gotten better jobs if the program had also provided additional education or training.

Of course, voucher programs alone are not sufficient to move large numbers of families because of the limited number of housing units available. But if national policy makers made a long-term commitment to expanding the Section 8 program and increasing suburban moves, builders and developers could make long-term investments in building apartments to respond to this program over the next decade. Such a program would not be cheap. The alternative, however, is to sink billions of dollars into current housing projects that keep people in areas of the city that hinder their employment and educational opportunities. As we have seen, that has great human costs for the people living in the housing *1555 projects and great costs to society because adults have limited access to the labor market and children have limited access to good education.

This study supports the basic premises behind the Kerner Commission's proposals for creating housing options outside the ghetto: Moving people to better areas can improve their opportunities. This should encourage Congress to fund housing voucher programs by supplying the resources and services needed for these programs to succeed. The Gautreaux program demonstrated that moving to better neighborhoods can improve adult self-sufficiency and opportunities for their children. Certainly, these results make housing vouchers a promising approach to housing poor families and suggest it is worthwhile to invest more in programs that can produce similar results.

This study also has implications for non-voucher programs. The results indicate three key factors that helped Gautreaux adults find employment in the suburbs: personal safety, role models, and access to jobs. If these factors were improved in the city, city residents could be helped without moving to the suburbs. In fact, the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA), at the initiative of its director, Vincent Lane, has recently made impressive efforts to improve safety, role models, and job access in public housing projects. To improve the safety of the housing projects, the CHA has taken security measures. To provide positive role models, the CHA has initiated a mixed-income housing development, Lake Parc Place, that includes working residents who are positive models for their unemployed neighbors. To improve access to suburban jobs, some housing projects also have provided mini-bus service to the suburbs. These are the same factors that Gautreaux adults noted as helping them, so the

CHA measures represent promising efforts. It is not certain, however, how thorough and successful these efforts will be or whether they will result in greater employment. Even improved security may not make the projects as safe as the suburbs, and one-hour commutes may limit the attractiveness of taking a mini-bus to low-paying jobs. It will be some time before we can assess the success of such programs.

The Gautreaux studies indicate clearly that the Kerner Commission's housing strategy can lead to gains in employment, education and social integration for low-income blacks. Contrary to the pessimistic predictions of "culture of poverty" models discussed at the beginning of this paper, [FN82] the early experiences of low-income blacks do not prevent them from benefitting from suburban moves. The Gautreaux results also support a basic premise of the Kerner Commission Report: Geographic location has a substantial and significant effect on people's opportunities. *1556 Programs that help people escape areas of concentrated poverty can improve employment and educational opportunities for those people.

FN^a. Professor of Education and Social Policy, Northwestern University. Ph.D. 1973, Harvard University; M.S. 1968, Harvard University; B.A. 1966, Yale University. The Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Spencer Foundation, and the Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Northwestern University, provided support for the studies reported here. Julie Kaufman, Marilyn Kulieke, Susan J. Popkin, and Len Rubinowitz made major contributions to these studies. Of course, the ideas expressed here are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of any other individual or organization.

FN^{aa}. Ph.D. student in Human Development and Social Policy, Northwestern University; B.A. 1988, Yale University.

FN^{aaa}. Ph.D. candidate, Counseling Psychology, Northwestern University; M.A. 1989, Northwestern University; B.A. 1985, Cornell University.

FN^{aaa}. Ph.D. candidate, Counseling Psychology, Northwestern University; M.S. 1991, Northwestern University; B.A. 1988, Elmhurst College.

FN¹. REPORT OF THE NAT'L ADVISORY COMM'N ON CIVIL DISORDERS (Bantam Books 1968) [hereinafter KERNER COMM'N REPORT] 407.

FN². See John Charles Boger, Race and the American City: The Kerner Commission in Retrospect; an Introduction, 71 N.C. L. REV. 1289, 1304 (1993).

FN³. KERNER COMM'N REPORT, *supra* note 1, at 475.

FN⁴. Editor's Note: The contributors to this Symposium have used the terms "African American," "black," and "black American," often interchangeably, in their articles. The North Carolina Law Review has elected to defer to its contributors' choices in the absence of any universally accepted racial or ethnic designation.

FN⁵. KERNER COMM'N REPORT, *supra* note 1, at 472-73.

FN⁶. *Id.* at 482.

FN⁷. *Id.* at 406.

FN⁸. John D. Kasarda, Urban Industrial Transition and the Underclass, 501 THE ANNALS AM. ACAD. POL. & SOC. SCI. 26, 26-47 (1989); John D. Kasarda, Urban Employment Change and Minority Skills Mismatch, in CREATING JOBS, CREATING WORKERS: ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND EMPLOYMENT IN METROPOLITAN CHICAGO 65, 82 (Lawrence B. Joseph ed., 1990).

FN⁹. WILLIAM JULIUS WILSON, THE TRULY DISADVANTAGED 135 (1987).

FN10. NCI RESEARCH, IDENTIFYING EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR INNER CITY RESIDENTS 5 (1991).

FN11. Id.

FN12. David T. Ellwood, The Spatial Mismatch Hypothesis: Are There Teen-age Jobs Missing in the Ghetto?, in THE BLACK YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT CRISIS 148 (1986).

FN13. John F. Kain, Housing Segregation, Negro Employment, and Metropolitan Decentralization, 82 Q. J. ECON. 175, 175-97 (1968); CHRISTOPHER JENCKS & SUSAN E. MAYER, RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION, JOB PROXIMITY, AND BLACK JOB OPPORTUNITIES: THE EMPIRICAL STATUS OF THE SPATIAL MISMATCH HYPOTHESIS 2 (Center For Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Northwestern University, Working Paper 1989).

FN14. ANDREW HAHN & ROBERT LERMAN, WHAT WORKS IN YOUTH EMPLOYMENT POLICY? 22- 23 (1985).

FN15. KERNER COMM'N REPORT, *supra* note 1, at 407.

FN16. See J.S. COLEMAN ET AL., EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY 330-31 (1966); CAROLINE HODGES PERSELL, EDUCATION AND INEQUALITY 150-52 (1977).

FN17. See EFFECTIVE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: EQUITY, QUALITY AND FEASIBILITY 35- 152 (Willis D. Hawley ed., 1981) [hereinafter EFFECTIVE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION].

FN18. See *Hills v. Gautreaux*, 425 U.S. 284 (1976).

FN19. KATHLEEN A. PEROFF ET AL., U.S. DEP'T OF HOUSING & URBAN DEV., GAUTREAUX HOUSING DEMONSTRATION: AN EVALUATION OF ITS IMPACT ON PARTICIPATING HOUSEHOLDS 1 (1979).

FN20. The Section 8 program is a federal program that subsidizes low-income people's rents in private sector apartments, either by giving them a Section 8 certificate that allows them to rent apartments on the open market or by moving them into a new or rehabilitated building in which the owner has taken a federal loan that requires some units to be set aside for low-income tenants.

FN21. JENCKS & MAYER, *supra* note 13, at 26-41.

FN22. Id. at 26.

FN23. On a prescheduled day, a Leadership Council housing counselor visits the apartment, looking primarily for serious property damage.

FN24. See JAMES E. ROSENBAUM & SUSAN J. POPKIN, CTR. FOR URBAN AFFAIRS & POLICY RESEARCH, NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL IMPACTS OF HOUSING INTEGRATION 8 (1990) (report to the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation).

FN25. See Oscar Lewis, The Culture of Poverty, in ON UNDERSTANDING POVERTY: PERSPECTIVES FROM THE SOCIAL SCIENCES 187 (Daniel P. Moynihan ed., 1968).

FN26. Id. at 188.

FN27. LAWRENCE M. MEAD, BEYOND ENTITLEMENT: THE SOCIAL OBLIGATIONS OF CITIZENSHIP 1-17 (1986); see also STEPHEN STEINBERG, THE ETHNIC MYTH: RACE, ETHNICITY AND CLASS IN AMERICA 106-27 (1981) (discussing the effect of current welfare policy on recipients' attitudes toward their

productivity).

FN28. MARTIN PATCHEN, BLACK-WHITE CONTACT IN SCHOOLS: ITS SOCIAL AND ACADEMIC EFFECTS 257-94 (1982).

FN29. Donald R. Winkler, Educational Achievement and School Peer Group Composition, 10 J. HUM. RESOURCES 189, 189-204 (1975).

FN30. NANCY H. ST. JOHN, SCHOOL DESEGREGATION OUTCOMES FOR CHILDREN 36 (1975) ("[D]esegregation has rarely lowered academic achievement for either black or white children."); see also William L. Taylor, The Continuing Struggle for Equal Educational Opportunity, 71 N.C. L. REV. 1693 (1993) (discussing this issue).

FN31. Douglas S. Massey & Nancy A. Denton, Trends in the Residential Segregation of Blacks, Hispanics and Asians: 1970-1980, 52 AM. SOC. REV. 802, 803 (1987).

FN32. See Howard Schuman & Lawrence Bobo, Survey-based Experiments on White Racial Attitudes Toward Residential Integration, 94 AM. J. SOC. 273, 274-75 (1988).

FN33. See BRIAN J. L. BERRY, THE OPEN HOUSING QUESTION: RACE AND HOUSING IN CHICAGO, 1966-1976, at 163, 190, 198-203 (1979).

FN34. See JOHN GEHM, BRINGING IT HOME 83-109 (1984) (describing the Valparaiso experiment).

FN35. See *id.*

FN36. See GREGORY D. SQUIRES ET AL., CHICAGO: RACE, CLASS AND THE RESPONSE TO URBAN DECLINE 127-51 (1987).

FN37. See HAROLD B. GERARD & NORMAN MILLER, SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: A LONG TERM STUDY *passim* (1975); EFFECTIVE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION, *supra* note 17, *passim*; PATCHEN, *supra* note 28, *passim*; ST. JOHN, *supra* note 30, *passim*.

FN38. See John Yinger, Prejudice and Discrimination in the Urban Housing Market, in CURRENT ISSUES IN URBAN ECONOMICS 430 (Peter Mieszkowski & Mahlon Straszheim eds., 1979).

FN39. Our refusal rate on the interviews was less than 7%. There are no systematic differences between the interview and survey respondents, but the interview sample is used only for qualitative analysis. Responses to the self-administered questionnaire were consistent with those from the in-person interviews. For a complete description of the sample, instrument, and other analyses, see ROSENBAUM & POPKIN, *supra* note 24, at 6-8.

FN40. Low-income people move often and are difficult to locate over a seven- year period. We located 59.1% of our participants, a reasonably large percentage for such a sample. Of course, we must wonder what biases arise from this attrition, and whether we were more likely to lose the least successful people (because they were harder to find) or the most successful ones (because they got jobs in distant locations). We suspect that both happen, but if one happened more often, then the 1989 sample could be quite different from the original 1982 sample.

The mothers from the program's early years are less educated than those in the above survey of adults because they are older and come from an earlier era when high school dropouts were more common.

FN41. The suburban advantage arises from a decline in employment for city movers. The 15.4% decline in employment by the city movers is virtually the same as the 16.3% decline found in the Current Population Surveys (CPS) between 1979 and 1989 among poorly educated central-city black adult males, while their noncentral-city CPS

counterparts experienced little or no decline. Although selectivity concerns make the CPS data somewhat suspect, the quasi-random assignment makes selectivity less of a threat in our sample; we find the same city/suburban differences as did the CPS. Apparently, the suburban move permitted low-income blacks to escape declining employment rates in central cities during the 1980s.

Moreover, multivariate analyses reveal that suburban movers are significantly more likely to have a job than city movers, even after controlling for many other factors. That analysis finds that some of the following factors also influence employment: previous work experience, years since move, age (which is inversely related to employment), and young children (also inversely related to employment). The likelihood of employment is reduced by a low internal sense of control and by being a long-term Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) recipient (five years or more), but not by being a second generation AFDC recipient. Employment is barely influenced by education, and it is not affected at all by obtaining a high school equivalency diploma or college after the move. For details of these analyses, see ROSENBAUM & POPKIN, *supra* note 24, at 60-65.

FN42. Multivariate analyses on post-move hourly wages and on hours worked per week (controlling for the same variables, plus months of employment and the pre-move measure of the dependent variable (wages or hours, respectively)) confirm the findings discussed above: Suburbs have no effect on either dependent variable. Job tenure, pre-move pay, and the two "culture of poverty" variables (internal control and long-term AFDC) significantly affect post-move wages. Job tenure, pre-move hours worked, and post-move higher education have significant effects on post-move hours worked. None of the other factors had significant effects. For details of these analyses see *id.*; see also *supra* notes 25-27 and accompanying text (discussing Oscar Lewis' "culture of poverty" thesis).

FN43. See WILSON, *supra* note 9, at 63-92.

FN44. For a complete description of the sample, instrument, and other analyses, see JAMES E. ROSENBAUM, ET AL., CENTER FOR URBAN AFFAIRS AND POLICY RESEARCH, NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY, LOW-INCOME BLACK CHILDREN IN WHITE SUBURBAN SCHOOLS (1986) (report to the Spence Foundation of Chicago).

FN45. Women headed 86% of the suburban households and 88% of the city households.

FN46. James E. Rosenbaum et al., White Suburban Schools' Responses to Low-income Black Children: Sources of Successes and Problems, 20 URB. REV. 28, 32 (1988).

FN47. *Id.* at 30-31.

FN48. *Id.* at 32.

FN49. For a complete description of the sample, instrument, and other analyses, see James E. Rosenbaum & Julie E. Kaufman, Educational and Occupational Achievements of Low-Income Black Youth in White Suburbs, Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association (August 1991) (on file with James E Rosenbaum).

FN50. Both city and suburban students had C-plus averages.

FN51. See Rosenbaum & Kaufman, *supra* note 49.

FN52. JAMES E. ROSENBAUM, MAKING INEQUALITY: THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM OF HIGH SCHOOL TRACKING 81 (1976). See generally James E. Rosenbaum, Social Implications of Educational Grouping, in ANNUAL REVIEW RESEARCH EDUCATION 361 (1980) (describing academic tracking systems and their effects on student performance and socialization).

FN53. See COLEMAN et al., *supra* note 16, at 479-80; JEANNIE OAKES, KEEPING TRACK: HOW SCHOOLS STRUCTURE INEQUALITY (1985); James E. Rosenbaum & Stefan Presser, Voluntary Racial Integration in a Magnet School, 86 SCH. REV. 156, 167-70 (1978).

FN54. *Hobson v. Hansen*, 269 F. Supp. 401, 443 (D.D.C. 1967) (holding that ability grouping as practiced in the Washington, D.C. public school system denied equal educational opportunity to the poor and to a majority of black students), appeal dismissed, 393 U.S. 801 (1968).

FN55. Of the suburban movers, 40.3% were in college-bound tracks, while 23.5% of the city movers were so situated.

FN56. Fifty-four percent of suburban movers were enrolled in college in 1989, as compared with 21% of the city movers.

FN57. GARY ORFIELD, CHICAGO STUDY OF ACCESS AND CHOICE IN HIGHER EDUCATION (1984).

FN58. Of the suburban youth, 75% had jobs, while only 41% of the city youths were employed.

FN59. Twenty-one percent of the employed suburban youths earned more than \$6.50 an hour, while only 5% of the working city youths earned that much from their jobs.

FN60. Benefits (such as health insurance and paid leave time) were offered by 55.2% of the suburban jobs, but by only 23.1% of the city jobs in which sample youths were employed.

FN61. City movers received more threats than suburbanites: 22.7% of the city dwellers had been threatened as compared with 21.2% of the suburban students.

FN62. The difference was less than 1%: 93.5% of the city and 94.1% of the suburban students reported that they never had been physically hurt.

FN63. Those surveyed were asked to choose from a five-point scale, in which "strongly agree" earned five points and "strongly disagree" earned only one point. The mean answer to this question was a 3.55 for the city students; their suburban counterparts averaged 3.37 points. This difference is not statistically significant.

FN64. The mean for the city students was 3.93 points; suburban students averaged 4.00. The difference between these results is not statistically significant.

FN65. These responses were reported on a three-point scale, where the response "not at all" earned zero points, "somewhat" earned one point, and "very" earned three points.

FN66. This result is statistically significant. All determinations of significance are made at the $p < .01$ level. Some of the statistics, however, were more strongly significant than others.

FN67. This result is statistically significant.

FN68. This result is statistically insignificant: $r=0.11$. The "r" is the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient, a statistical indicator of the degree of association between two variables. The closer the r-coefficient is to 1.00, the stronger the observed correlation.

FN69. This result is statistically insignificant: $r=0.50$.

FN70. This result is statistically insignificant: $r=0.09$.

FN71. This result is statistically insignificant: $r=0.08$.

FN72. This result is statistically insignificant: $r=0.17$.

FN73. One respondent said: "It's not awful like maybe what you see on TV. It's the kind of stuff where you ignore it

... you grow so accustomed to it until it doesn't even matter any more, but you know it's there."

Another said: "The name-calling could have been as often as once a week. That was just a regular thing, but it didn't bother me.... All you could do was just be yourself and let this person get to know you as the human being that you were."

FN74. Another two respondents commented:

When you live out here, you learn to relax and put up with [name-calling], because no matter where you go it would be there. Believe me.

Sometimes a few [prejudices] came out, but it's only one or two incidents. I really couldn't count them because those were really ignorant people. I mean you're gonna find those anywhere you go.

FN75. Said one mother:

All I can really remember is the eleven years I stayed in the projects I never did let [my children] go out and play unless I was with them. Every time I let [my daughter] go downstairs or out to play, there was a fight. So it was like "you just stay in the house and I'll let you come out when I come home."

Respondents also talked about the greater security in the suburbs:

This [suburban] neighborhood is better in 1,001 ways [than the city]. As far as peace of mind, it's not overcrowded, the mailboxes are not torn open. You don't have to use a key for the mailboxes out here. No bars on the windows. No bars on the doors. This is how free we are [in the suburbs].

FN76. One mother put the issue very clearly:

Why would you live there [the projects] when you could move to the suburbs and pay the same kind of rent.... [I] only have to deal with people who don't like me, right? They're not doing anything to hurt me as far as I can see. They're not trying to break into my house. They're not trying to bust my child up the side of his head. They're not trying to lure him into [gangs and drugs].

One youth related how her endurance had paid off:

When I first came out here, there wasn't hardly any black people. In my elementary school that I went to, there was about three black kids in the whole school, if that many. A lot of the white kids didn't understand what we're about 'cause we were different-most of us came from the projects or something like that. We were different-we were a lot more hard and rough around the edges. But eventually they got used to it and some of those people ... are real good friends of mine now so they weren't bad.

FN77. See supra notes 63-67 and accompanying text for the results of a survey of the youths regarding their friendships.

FN78. See supra notes 63-67 and accompanying text for the results of a survey of the Gautreaux youths' friendships.

FN79. Reynolds Farley et al., Barriers to the Racial Integration of Neighborhoods: the Detroit Case, 441 ANNALS AM. ACAD. POL. & SOC. SCI. 97, 109-13 (1979).

FN80. Francis J. Cronin & David W. Rasmussen, Mobility, in HOUSING VOUCHERS FOR THE POOR: LESSONS FROM A NATIONAL EXPERIMENT 107, 108 (1981).

FN81. James E. Rosenbaum, An Evaluation of Project Self-Sufficiency in Cook County (1988) (Unpublished manuscript on file with the Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Northwestern University).

FN82. See *supra* notes 25-27 and accompanying text.

END OF DOCUMENT

*END*END*END*END*END*END*END*END*END*END*END*END*END*END*END*END*END*END*END*

1336654 - FERNANDES,JULIE

Date and Time Printing Started:	07/07/97	04:10:29 pm (Central)
Date and Time Printing Ended:	07/07/97	04:12:23 pm (Central)
Offline Transmission Time:		00:01:54
Number of Requests in Group:	2	
Number of Lines Charged:.	3169	

[illegible]

Copyright 1998 Times Mirror Company
Los Angeles Times February 2, 1998, Monday

**COUNTIES' TAILOR-MADE WELFARE REFORMS DEBUT;
AID: FREE BIKES FOR TRANSPORTATION, A CASINO JOB-TRAINING EFFORT ARE AMONG INNOVATIONS
MEANT TO MEET LOCAL NEEDS.**

BY: VIRGINIA ELLIS, TIMES STAFF WRITER

In one month of historic reforms, the landscape of welfare has changed dramatically in California as counties embark on innovations to overcome barriers to employment faced by the poor.

In Ventura County, where transportation is a frequent problem, a pilot program allows the county to purchase used fleet vehicles, fix them up and sell them to recipients at low cost.

In El Dorado, where there are few big employers, officials work with two casinos in nearby Nevada to train and hire recipients.

In San Mateo, where jobs are plentiful but housing is costly, the county intends to provide short-term rent subsidies.

And in Placer, the sheriff has been directed to give unclaimed bicycles to the welfare department for recipients who need transportation for short distances.

To comply with a legislative requirement that they devise new welfare plans by Jan. 10, California's 58 counties have designed vastly different systems tailored to problems and attitudes in their areas.

Their efforts have set off an explosion of experimentation, as each county grapples with the core issue of welfare reform: How to make poor parents, especially single mothers, self-supporting and ensure that their children are not neglected.

The result, a Times review of the plans found, is a crazy quilt of services, programs and requirements that vary from locality to locality.

"We've thrown them counties the biggest social change in this century, and most of them I think are pretty excited about it," said Diane Cummins, Gov. Pete Wilson's deputy director of finance. "They're thinking outside the box to make it work."

From tiny Del Norte at the Oregon border to San Diego, counties have made radical changes to convert welfare offices into centers that promote employment.

Some counties are experimenting with privatizing certain welfare functions; others are transforming welfare offices into one-stop centers that offer families on aid a smorgasbord of services.

Adopting a tough love approach, some counties require recipients to immediately engage in work or training at least 32 hours a week, while others settle for 20 hours.

"They've seized the opportunity for local flexibility," said Bruce Wagstaff, deputy director of the welfare-to-work division of the California Department of Social Services.

Unlike most states, California has turned welfare reform over to its counties. As a result, the new system did not actually take shape until last month, when the counties submitted their welfare plans to the state for certification.

Counties were given wide latitude as long as they complied with minimum work requirements and time limits set by federal and state laws.

In Santa Clara County, where the success of Silicon Valley has created both a booming economy and a high cost of living, officials decided that the challenge of welfare reform is to keep people employed and boost them up the job ladder.

Please contact Larry McSwain if you would like to receive the WR Daily Report by e-mail or if you have questions about articles found in this publication. (lmcswain@acf.dhhs.gov (e-mail) or 202-401-1230(voice)).

*California
set info*

Santa Clara invested heavily in job retention programs like "job keeper," a 24-hour hotline for recipients and former recipients who face a crisis that might threaten their jobs. The county also established Employment Connection Centers equipped with phone banks, job listings, computers and staff to assist those who lose their jobs. And officials have been urging employers to provide training that helps entry-level employees move to higher-paying jobs.

"In our county, due to the dynamic nature of the jobs, even our most highly skilled people must constantly upgrade their skills," said Alette Lundberg, manager of the county's Employment Support Initiative. "I think getting our moms and dads to do that once they're employed may be the hardest part of our job in the long run."

In neighboring San Mateo County, officials addressed the high cost of living by establishing a low-interest family loan program with private funds and a short-term rent subsidy program for new jobholders. Special family self-sufficiency teams were organized to deal with families where long-standing problems such as domestic violence or drugs are barriers to employment.

"People who end up on welfare for long periods usually have a number of issues in their family," said Lois Koenig, assistant to the Human Services Agency director. "You need to deal with those issues . . . otherwise they'll be back six months later."

The county plans appear to reflect local attitudes about welfare recipients and the political climate.

In Fresno, a county with high unemployment, the Board of Supervisors decided to require 32 hours a week of work activity although community groups protested that job shortages would make that too burdensome for recipients.

In San Diego, officials said they intended to seek state permission to punish entire families when the adults fail to participate in mandatory employment activities.

"Our Board of Supervisors was crystal clear that it wanted a strong emphasis on work-first and sanctions," said Health and Human Services Agency Director Robert K. Ross.

Los Angeles and Orange counties said they may consider offering community service jobs to recipients who lose aid when they reach the 60-month federal time limit.

In the agricultural counties, the design of welfare plans was dictated by the realities of high unemployment and shortages in transportation services. "Rural communities are at a tremendous disadvantage," said Kim Gaghagen, Glenn County Human Resources Agency director. "We have to develop many of these things from scratch. We have to develop transportation systems where there are none. We have to develop child-care systems where there is none."

To cope with its transportation problems, Glenn County worked out an agreement to transport some recipients to work in taxis. Gaghagen said the county also plans to have recipients take turns driving each other to work in shuttle vans.

Several rural counties said job shortages had forced them to place recipients in jobs many miles away.

El Dorado County said it already had an informal agreement with Harrah's of Lake Tahoe and Harvey's Resort and Casino to hire and train recipients for casino jobs in Nevada.

Officials in Plumas County said their search for jobs had stretched all the way to Chico, 90 miles away, and Reno, 80 miles away.

The plans by the counties are scheduled for a review before the Assembly Human Services Committee on Tuesday. Chairwoman Dion Aroner (D-Berkeley) said job creation and transportation problems are among the issues she intends to highlight.

"They are issues we never really addressed when we approved welfare reform legislation," she said.

(BEGIN TEXT OF INFOBOX / INFOGRAPHIC)

A Patchwork of Plans

Welfare Reform Daily Report - February 2, 1998 (PAGE 10)

Under state and federal guidelines, California's 58 counties have been required to come up with individual welfare reform plans. A review of these plans shows that welfare in California has become a patchwork, with each county having a unique program for steering recipients into employment. Some highlights of the state's new picture:

* **Work requirements:** Counties were almost evenly divided between those that decided to require recipients to work 32 hours a week and those requiring only 20 hours. A few opted for 26 hours and one county, San Mateo, required 40 hours.

* **Exemptions:** More than a third of the counties took a tough approach to work requirements for the mothers of newborns, allowing an exemption of only 12 weeks. Other counties permitted six months to a year.

* **One-stop centers:** To make it easier for recipients, many counties are offering job placement, training and mental health and drug counseling at a single location.

* **Job stability:** To help former recipients keep their jobs and stay off welfare, many counties are offering counseling, transportation and child-care assistance for up to a year after people have become employed and left the rolls.

* **Private sector:** For the first time, every county in the state has involved the private sector in welfare reforms, using business people to help find jobs and set up training and counseling for recipients.

Selected features of welfare plans in major counties:

* **Los Angeles:** Has set up an experimental program under which the county will guarantee child support to some working mothers to keep their families off welfare.

* **Orange:** Has developed major partnerships with big employers such as Xerox and Marriott to hire and train welfare recipients.

* **Ventura:** Has set up a program to train parents ages 18-25 who do not have custody of welfare children so they can get jobs that will enable them to pay child support. 

* **San Francisco:** Is contracting with a private company to help place recipients in jobs. The hotel and restaurant union is working with officials to establish culinary training opportunities.

* **San Diego:** Pays wages, rather than welfare benefits, while providing community service jobs for hard-to-employ people and those living in economically distressed areas.

* **Marin:** Has established a mentor system for recipients who find jobs but still need employment counseling. A mentor is assigned to each recipient for a minimum of three months with the hope that the relationship will last at least a year.

*Copyright 1998 Chicago Tribune Company
Chicago Tribune February 2, 1998 Monday*

JOB-TRAINING SCAMS LIKELY TO INCREASE, EXPERTS FEAR; WELFARE CLIENTS AT RISK FOR TRADE SCHOOL ABUSES

BY: By Flynn McRoberts, Tribune Staff Writer.

For a federal agency often derided by critics, the U.S. Department of Education caught on quickly to the scam being pulled by the owners of a storefront beauty school on Chicago's North Side.

The agency's bureaucrats flagged the Mid-America School of Beauty Culture for the high rate of students who had defaulted on federal student loans. And when the school's owners figured out a new scam, federal prosecutors stepped in and busted them.

Please contact Larry McSwain if you would like to receive the WR Daily Report by e-mail or if you have questions about articles found in this publication. (lmcswain@acf.dhhs.gov (e-mail) or 202-401-1230(voice)).

● Paul J. Weinstein Jr.

01/27/98 10:59:24 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Julie A. Fernandes/OPD/EOP

cc:

Subject: Re: Race Advisory Board mtg. in San Jose

Lft msg.
CALL JULIAN POTTER OR JOHNATHAN WEISSIN VP'S OFFICE FOR EZ ONE PAGER
CALL ANDREA KANE FOR WELFARE TO WORK HOUSING VOUCHER ONE-APAGER

CALL MICHAEL BARR AT TREASURY FOR CDFI ONE-PAGER 9622-0016)

Lft msg.

OK

Lft msg.

Julian Potter — ~~456~~ 6-9044

456-6558

DRAFT AGENDA (as of February 2, 1998, 7:42pm)
President's Advisory Board On Race
Northern California, February 10-11, 1998

Theme: *Race and Poverty in America*

The purpose of this meeting is to examine the relationship between race, poverty, and public policy in both urban and rural America. While whites are over 45% of the population living in poverty in the United States, minorities are disproportionately represented among people living in poverty. We will examine the racial characteristics of the poor, the persistence of poverty, its causes including the role of discrimination, and we will assess the nature of concentrated areas of poverty.

Further, we will examine the need for and effectiveness of public and private sector responses to the persistence and concentration of race-based poverty, including breaking the well-documented cycle of poverty. Recommendations made thirty years ago by the Kerner Commission in addressing race will be reviewed for their relevance. We will identify some promising practices aimed at reducing poverty in minority communities including housing and community development projects.

Key Questions:

- To what extent are poverty and race related? Is there a link between race and concentrated poverty?
- What are the main causes of continuing and concentrated poverty among whites and minorities? Does discrimination continue to affect opportunities for minorities to move out of poor, segregated neighborhoods? What are the connections between racial isolation and poverty and how can we alter the negative aspects of these connections?
- What governmental and non-governmental programs and policies are most effective in addressing minority group poverty and racial segregation? Should such policies and programs differ in order to address the distinctive position and needs of different racial/ethnic groups? How should they do this?

February 10: Promising Practices and Community Forum (see attached site descriptions)

The day will begin with Board member visits to Promising Practices sites in San Francisco, Oakland, and East Palo Alto. The day will end with a community forum held in San Jose. [We have invited Administrator Aida Alvarez to visit a site with the Board members.]

San Francisco:

10:00 am - 12:30 pm: Board members visit local Promising Practices. Department of Education Secretary Riley is confirmed to attend.

Oakland:

10:00 am - 12:30 pm: Board members visit local Promising Practices.

East Palo Alto:

10:00 am - 12:30 pm: Board members visit local Promising Practices.

Community Forum in San Jose: 6:00-7:30 pm

The day will conclude with a community forum in which Board members listen and learn about issues related to race in the San Jose area [see attached proposal for this event].

February 11: Advisory Board Meeting in San Jose

9:00 am - 9:10 am Welcome and review of agenda by Chairman Franklin.

9:10 am - 9:15 am Welcoming remarks from local official.

Possible speaker: San Jose Mayor Susan Hammer [invited] ✓
California State Senator Jon Vasconcellos

9:15 am - 9:35 am Keynote/Opening Address [Administrator Aida Alvarez has been invited].

Can come, but not until 10am

9:35 am - 11:45 am **Poverty and Race: Facts, Causes, and National Issues**

This round table discussion will bring together national experts to discuss if there is a link between race and poverty, as well as the status and causes of continuous and concentrated poverty in urban and rural communities. Economic inequality and race will be assessed as will the role of housing discrimination and how it limits opportunities to move out of neighborhoods with concentrated poverty. The key controversies have been the extent to which the causes are racial or non-racial and the extent to which the poor themselves bear responsibility for their continued impoverishment. The focus will also be on national policies, programs, and legislative issues. [Administrator Alvarez has been invited to participate in the roundtable.]

closing remarks

Possible panelists:

Professor William Julius Wilson [confirmed], Harvard; author of *The Declining Significance of Race*, and *When Work Disappears* and a nationally recognized expert on race and the urban "underclass."

Professor Douglas Massey [confirmed], University of Pennsylvania; Author of the book *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*, and a long-term analyst of differences between whites, blacks, Hispanics and Asian-Americans in their spatial and economic progress and isolation. He is also a major analyst of immigration and race issues.

Robert Woodson [invited], National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise; Proponent of African Americans developing their own communities; critic of welfare programs.

Professor Matthew Snipp [confirmed], Stanford University; A nationally known demographic expert on the socio-economic condition of American Indians, including analyses of their poverty, housing conditions, and cultural situation. He is the author of a forthcoming book, *American Indians and Economic Dependency*, and author of the 1989 book, *American Indians: The First of the Land*.

Professor Tarry Hum [available], New York University. She conducted recent research on

Asian-American poverty and community economic development, as well as research on migration, economic development and residential segregation. She has argued that ethnic-niche economies serve to “protect” Asian-Americans against discrimination and economic instability. Prior to receiving her doctorate in urban planning, she was the executive director of the Asian Community Development Corporation as well as the Chinatown-South Cove neighborhood Council in Boston, MA.

Professor Raquel Rivera Pinderhughes [available], Urban Studies Program, San Francisco State University. She is an expert on Latino poverty issues in California and nationally and has used census data to compare white, Black, Asian, and Latino poverty from 1970 to the present; has written about the relevance of Professor Wilson’s concepts to Latinos.

Professor Yoland Padilla [available], Professor Social Work, University of Texas at Austin and expert on Latino poverty.

This session will conclude with 45 minutes of Q&A.

Moderator possibilities:

Professor Manuel Pastor [available], Director of Latin American Studies, University of California at Santa Cruz. Professor Pastor has researched poverty and community development/housing issues in L.A. He has also researched the impacts of the L.A. riots and offered recommendations on Latino poverty. In 1989, he founded the New Majority Task Force which is a group of African-American, Asian American, and Latino urban planners to promote more equitable economic growth in L.A. He has also done research and applied work on environmental justice issues.

11:45 am - 1:00 pm Lunch Break

1:00 pm - 3:00 pm **Poverty and Race: Local Policy Issues and Solutions**

Opening remarks:

Possible Speaker: Santa Clara County Supervisor Blanca Alvarado.

This panel discussion will focus on the main State and local options for addressing the causes of poverty and possible programs and policies to address race-based poverty. The panel will consist largely of state and area program experts. The discussion will likely include a focus on welfare-to-work as well as community and housing deconcentration and “integration” efforts from HUD, including Enterprise Zones/Community Development banks as they are being implemented at the local level. The objective is to learn how various local strategies may have broader implications for reducing poverty and its racial effects.

Possible Panelists:

Denise Fairchild [confirmed], Community Development Technologies Center in LA; worked extensively with the Rebuild LA Project; currently heading up an anti-poverty organization in Los Angeles; can speak to solutions for California.

Gordon Chin [available], Executive Director of the Chinatown Community Development Center; the organization has been in existence for 20 years and mainly dealt with the Asian American community; the organization is now being faced with not only serving that community but the growing Russian immigrant and African-American communities; one of the largest affordable housing developers and is now moving into larger economic development issues; San Francisco.

Rose Amador [available], is President of the Center for Training and Careers in San Jose. The center works heavily with families on welfare and is beginning a welfare to work program.

Jose Padilla [confirmed], California Rural Legal Services; Los Angeles; an advocate for rural and farm worker issues.

Angelo Ancheta [available], Asian Law Caucus; The organization challenges racial discrimination in employment, housing and public institutions; organization has begun confronting the challenges associated with the new welfare-to-work program in San Francisco. [If we have too many panelists, he may be dropped.]

Martin Waukazoo, Executive Director, Urban Indian Health Board works on housing and health care in the Oakland area OR Dennis Turner of the Southern California Tribal Chairman's Association. He works at this organization based in San Diego on welfare-to-work issues in the American Indian community.

[We are still trying to identify a local Silicon Valley business leader who is involved with a Welfare-to-Work or other poverty-reducing program.]

This session would conclude with 45 minutes of Q&A from the audience.

Moderator possibilities:

Lorna Ho, Channel 11;
Isabel Duran, Channel 4;
Barbara Rodgers, KPIX;
Selina Rodriguez, Channel 48.

DRAFT (*as of February 2, 1998 (7:43pm)*)
COMMUNITY FORUM PROPOSAL
February 10, 1998

OPENING PROGRAM

Video from President Clinton (1 minute)

We will show a brief portion of the State of the Union address in which the President mentions the Initiative and what he hopes to accomplish through the Initiative.

Introduction of the Board by Moderator or Judy (3 minutes)

The Moderator or Judy will give a brief explanation of why we are holding a community forum (to hear from local people and to inform the Board about issues affecting different communities) and introduce the Board Members.

Moderator possibilities: Omowale Satterwhite (recommendation from David)
 Selina Rodriguez, Channel 48, 408-435-8848
 Lorna Ho, Channel 11, 408-286-1111
 Isabel Duran, Channel 4, 408-294-5083
 Barbara Rodgers, KPIX

Welcoming Remarks (5 minutes)

Possible Speakers: California State Assemblyman Mike Honda [recommended]
 California State Senator Jon Vasconcellos
 Santa Clara County Supervisor Blanca Alvarado
 Santa Clara County Supervisor Jim Beall

Moderator Remarks (1 minute)

The Moderator would then introduce the format of the community forum and either pose some general questions or some specific questions related to local concerns.

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION (1 hour and 20 minutes)

As a means of changing the topic, the Moderator would intermittently ask the Board to describe what they are interested in hearing about linking it to who they are, e.g., as a former Governor, I am particularly interested in learning about what role you think government officials should play in improving race relations or for their opinion on a particular issue.

Comments from three Community Leaders to begin the forum (9 minutes)

We would identify at least three community leaders who could speak about some issues

of local concern to set the tone for the types of comments and stories we would like to hear.

Public Participation (55 minutes)

In this portion of the program, the audience would be asked to raise their hands if they would like to speak and wait to be recognized by the moderator. Once recognized by the moderator the person would be asked to move to the aisle to make his or her remarks. The moderator would recognize two people on each side to minimize delay between speakers. The moderator would be instructed to make sure that he or she gives people of all races an opportunity to speak. We would likely have time for 30 people to speak.

We could use Power Point to type bullet summaries of people's remarks.

The moderator would refer to the comments posed originally by the Board or would draw from a set of questions that we develop related to issues of local concern that we have learned about through our meetings with local officials and people in the community.

Summary of Remarks (10 minutes) -- Moderator

The moderator would summarize people's remarks and note some of the solutions that people had suggested for improving race relations generally or specific issues.

Closing Remarks (5 minutes) -- Dr. Franklin

(Dr. Franklin could also mention that we have regional Federal government agency representatives who may be able to give you references about any individual complaints or problems.)

Showing of the PSA (1 minute)

**ADVISORY BOARD MEETING
FEBRUARY 10-11, 1998
NORTHERN CALIFORNIA
Site Possibilities**

Promising Practices in San Francisco

Glide Memorial United Methodist Church

415/ 771-6300
330 Ellis Street
San Francisco, CA

Since 1963, Glide has provided a broad range of human service programs to the Tenderloin, an ethnically diverse neighborhood of Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, Hispanics, African Americans, Caucasians, and Native Americans. Glide describes this area as a densely populated district where most of the city's homeless shelters, SRO hotels, and low-income apartments can be found. High crime, extreme poverty, and intense drug activity characterize the Tenderloin -- home to a rapidly increasing number of poor children and families as well as developing businesses.

Of the 41 social programs Glide provides, two programs in particular focus on job training for those with low incomes.

COMPUTERS & YOU

This program is a state-of-the-art educational and skills training offering six-week courses from beginning to advanced. Approximately 1500 adult students and 300 children / youth are served per year. 85% do not have other ways of accessing other computer resources. This program serves low income clients. Computer industry professionals (working as volunteers) work directly with students. There are 70 computer work stations and a variety of software programs available for the students.

JOBS AND LIFE SKILLS

The mission of this program is to empower unemployed adults to become self-sufficient by preparing them to re-enter the job market. Approximately 200 clients are served annually. The clients are primarily homeless, people in recovery, parolees, veterans and single parents. This program is taught by volunteer professionals from the community.

It prepares students in the following areas:

- Skills assessment
- Resume writing
- Interview techniques
- 16 week computer training

Promising Practices in Oakland

1. OCCUR, Oakland Citizens Committee for Urban Renewal

1330 Broadway, Suite 1030

Phone: 510/839-2440

Fax: 510/268-9065

OCCUR, was founded in 1954 to address the challenging elements of Oakland's transition to an ethnically diverse, multi-income community. In its role as an intermediary and public policy organization, OCCUR provides technical assistance, non-profit training, program/project monitoring, group facilitation and Board Committee development. Its agenda focuses on the need to redevelop Oakland's neighborhoods with Federal money from Federal Programs. OCCUR projects focus on affordable housing, community equity participation, arts and culture, consumer education, non-profit development and others. Annually OCCUR holds a Non-profit Management and Fundraising Workshop attended by over 250 organizations. OCCUR is also the designated facilitator of citizen participation in Oakland under the HUD Community Development Block Grant program. OCCUR has developed a series of Neighborhood Profiles as a key instrument for land use, demographics, socio-economic and mapping analysis of each of Oakland's Seven Community Development District, which are Central East Oakland, Chinatown and Central, Elmhurst, Fruitvale, North Oakland, San Antonio and West Oakland.

2. Asian Neighborhood Design-Community Partnerships

Contact: Maurice Lim Miller, 415/982-2959

In the late 1980's Asian Neighborhood Design (A.N.D.), as part of expanding its mission to a national anti-poverty agenda, also decided that it wanted to partner with other ethnically diverse communities both regionally and nationally. The mission was to build harmony through sharing of economic opportunities and resources, including jobs and training. Since that time, A.N.D. has partnered with several local and regional organizations to develop a more systemic approach to alleviating poverty. These partnerships include, Oakland Collaborative (African American); CIS/CON neighborhood in Hartford, CN (Hispanic and African American); Network Ministries in San Francisco (Asian and Russian Immigrants); exploring partnerships with Iu Mien (Laotian Asian Refugees) and urban Native American communities in Bay Area.

For example, in January 1993, with the help of the CA State Office of Health and Human Services, A.N.D. opened a 65,000 sq. ft. manufacturing plant in West Oakland. It provides jobs and training for neighborhood residents, over half of the production crew in the plant is African American with residents in both production and management positions, and the crew overall is ethnically diverse. A.N.D. participates in a major community collaborative to establish a long term self-sufficiency project that will build trust between an Asian-based organization and a very low income, African American community.

PROMISING PRACTICES IN EAST PALO ALTO

Start Up

415/321-2193

This program is a collaborative effort between Stanford Business School and East Palo Alto residents. It provides training capital and other assistance to foster the establishment and growth of locally-owned and operated small businesses. Start Up has an Entrepreneurial Training Program, a Loan Program, a micro-loan program for establishing credit records, and a loan assistance program for obtaining loans from other financial institutions. Start-up works with volunteers from Stanford, so project expenses are low.

Since its inception in June 1994, Start Up has accomplished the following:

- 228 East Palo Alto/East Menlo Park residents have signed up for training programs and 127 people have graduated from the rigorous business planning program.
- 21 loans have been given to program graduates.
- 14 new businesses have been established and 36 existing businesses have increased their income with the help of Start Up's services.

Northern California Advisory Board Meeting

February 10 - 11

Jacinta's Things to Do List Updated as of 1/26/98

Category	Things to Do	Deadline	Person Responsible
General	<i>Identify city San Jose</i>	1/20	Jacinta
<i>*didn't talk to LCT, BT, or TK</i>	<i>Call all Board members for their input</i>	1/23	Jacinta
	Identify meeting/forum site	1/27	Grace
	Identify hotel	1/27	Grace
	Advance team goes to the Bay Area	2/5 (morning)	Randy, Grace, Tamara, David Chai?, Chandler?
	Remaining staff except Judy go to the Bay Area	2/8 (evening) or 2/9 (morning)	Lydia, Jacinta, and other staff TBD
	Set up for meeting	2/10	Tamara/Grace
Travel	Arrange air transportation for advisory board members	2/2	Diana
	Arrange air transportation for panelists	2/6	Linda
	Arrange air transportation for staff	2/8	Lee, Linda, Cedra, Diana
	Arrange ground transportation for advisory board members (sedan service?)	2/6	Randy

	Arrange ground transportation for panelists	2/6	Randy
	Arrange ground transportation for staff	2/8	Randy
	Create chart with all the above information	2/6	Diana
Press	Develop press plan (editorial board meetings, <i>media advisory</i> , press release, press availability)	1/26	Lydia
	Develop talking points on why San Jose	1/26	Lydia/David Chai
	Advance press work in LA and Bay Area	1/28 - 1/30	Lydia in California
	Develop press kits/stuff press kits	2/9	Allison/ David
	Arrange for press room and press availability room -- phones, tables	2/10	Randy/Grace
	Arrange for video taping of the meeting	2/10	Randy/Lydia
	Staff at press table	2/11	David Chai
	Providing reporters with info on logistics, including ground transportation	2/10 - 2/11	David Chai
	Answering D.C. press questions	2/10 - 2/11	Allison

Community Forum	Identify moderator	2/2	Mike S./David Campt
	Develop event description for the moderator	2/3	Mike S./John
	Develop questions for the moderator	2/3	John
	Identify welcoming speaker	2/2	Mike S.
	Obtain speaker and moderator bios	2/2	Mike S.
	Identify two to three compelling local stories	2/9	Mike S.
	Send out invitations to local people	ASAP no later than 1/29	Maria with help from Marjorie/Chandler
	Follow-up phone calls to local people invited	2/3 - 2/9	Maria coordinating with Marjorie and Pat
	Draft talking points for Dr. Franklin	2/2	Mike S./John
	Hold microphones at the event	2/10	David, Chandler and others TBD
Promising Practices Visits	Identify sites	1/30	Beth/David Campt
	Arrange times to visit sites	2/3	Beth/David Campt
	Coordinate Secretary Riley's participation	2/3	Grace/Jacinta/Mike S.
	Identify people to meet with at the site	2/3	Mike S.
	Assign Judy and Board members to visit particular sites	2/3	Mike S.

	Coordinate transportation for visiting sites	2/9	Randy
	Arrange for visits to be audio taped	2/9	Randy
	Write a summary of results and impressions	2/18	Staff member accompanying Board members
Advisory Board meeting	Refine topic/theme for the day	ASAP	Jacinta/John
	Meeting with White House staff on agenda	1/28	Richard
	Identify and invite panelists	2/2	John/Chandler
	Identify and invite moderators	2/2	Jacinta/David Campt
	Develop questions for moderators	2/4	John
	Summarize panelist and moderator bios	2/2	Marjorie or Maria
	Gather reading/background materials for panelists	2/4	John/Chandler
	Hold conference call with panelists	2/6 - 2/9	John/Chandler
	Develop and type agenda (working agendas for update meetings)	2/2	John
	Identify and invite overview speaker	2/2	John
	Identify and invite welcoming speaker	2/2	John

	Invite local people to attend the meeting	ASAP but no later than 1/29	Maria with help from Marjorie/Chandler
	Follow-up calls to people invited to attend the meeting	2/3-2/10	Maria coordinating with Marjorie and Pat
	Draft talking points for Dr. Franklin	2/2	Jacinta/John
	Time keeper at the meeting	2/11	John
	Arrange for sign language interpreter service	2/11	Randy
	<i>Arrange for transcription of the meeting</i>	<i>2/11</i>	<i>Randy</i>
	Staff member in the wings	2/11	TBD
Public Information	<i>Federal Register publication</i>	<i>1/23</i>	<i>Rob</i>
	<i>Communicate with local and Congressional officials about events and participation</i>	<i>ASAP</i>	<i>Richard</i>
	Face to face meetings with local officials	1/28 - 1/30	Lin/Michele
	Provide staff with background info and stats	1/26	John
	Update the website to include info about the upcoming meeting	2/4	Pat to coordinate with Kevin Moran
	Identify information to distribute to meeting attendees	2/5	Allison

	Stuff public info packets	2/9	David and other staff TBD
	Create sign-in sheets for meeting attendees	2/9	Marjorie
	Staff at sign-in tables	2/11	Chandler
Policy	Identify policy announcements	2/9	John
	Obtain one-pagers on relevant topics from DPC	2/6	John
Advisory Board Member Care	Briefing Books (7 + 13 for staff + 1 office copy)	2/2	Kate/ Marjorie
	Detailed logistics agenda, including pager and cell phone numbers	2/8	Grace
	Conference call updates	2/5, 2/6	Jacinta
	Gather background reading materials	1/28	John
	Holding room for Board and staff belongings?	2/11	
	Develop suggestions for meals/restaurants	2/9	Tamara/David Chai
	Angela Oh's video showing and conversation?	2/5	Jacinta
Follow-Up	Thank you notes to speakers and panelists and requests for essays or additional written thoughts	2/18	John

	Contacts entered into the database	2/25	Maria
	Letter of recommendations to the President	2/25	John
VIPS	Secretary Cuomo	2/6	Jacinta/Mike S./ Richard
	Local officials	2/6	Jacinta/Mike S. Richard
	Members of Congress	2/6	Jacinta/Mike S./ Richard
	Refer VIP advance people to Grace		

● Paul J. Weinstein Jr.

01/27/98 10:59:24 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Julie A. Fernandes/OPD/EOP

cc:

Subject: Re: Race Advisory Board mtg. in San Jose 

CALL JULIAN POTTER OR JOHNATHAN WEISSIN VP'S OFFICE FOR EZ ONE PAGER

CALL ANDREA KANE FOR WELFARE TO WORK HOUSING VOUCHER ONE-PAGER

OK CALL MICHAEL BARR AT TREASURY FOR CDFI ONE-PAGER 9622-0016)

community
development financial institutions