

BCR REPORTS

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Bertha Capen Reynolds Society

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PROGRESSIVE AND PROFESSIONAL: A CONTRADICTION IN TERMS?

by Fred Newdom

When the Bertha Reynolds Society was founded, one of the first questions we had to address was our relationship to professional social work – and especially NASW and CSWE. Most of the founders of BCRS were social workers; Bertha Reynolds was a social worker; many of us had spent much time and energy trying to play a progressive role within the profession.

Our conclusion at the time was that if we truly wanted to develop alliances with clients, with unionists, with other activists and progressives, defining ourselves in terms of a profession was a bad idea. Professions, in general, and social work, in particular, were so implicated in the oppressive policies and practices of the welfare state that it was hard to imagine overcoming that baggage if we had any hopes of being part of a larger progressive movement with a focus on social welfare. That was not to deny that many social workers have played and continue to play principled roles in advancing decent policies within the welfare state. And many of them have even been able to do that while functioning as social workers. Yet, it seems clear to me that the professionalization of the human service enterprise has put social workers in control agent roles much more often than it has supported advocacy for social and economic justice.

Much of the basis for this lies in the very nature of professions under capitalism. In exchange for social status, monopoly over certain useful functions, the ability to police themselves and have a measure of self-determination over the nature and conditions of their work, society demands conformity with mainstream ideology. The more prestigious the profession, the more this holds true. In essence, society confers privilege for a price and the price is not rocking the boat. While social work has not achieved the status and power of older and more male-dominated professions, the professionalization of caring has been accompanied by a decrease in the degree to which that caring has been enacted in a politically aware context. Professionalization of social work has led to a deification of technique over social justice; a concern for protecting our professional status even at the cost of assigning client concerns a lower priority.

There have, in the history of the profession, been moments (in those times when the left has been more ascendant) when the profession has played a more progressive role. There have also been times when the profession has joined the larger society's move to the right. However one reads that history – was it pragmatics, necessity, whatever – the very fact that

social work's "ideology" has been so subject to influence by the political climate makes it clear that it has no progressive ideology which guides its actions on a consistent basis. This lack of progressive ideological thought and action as a core social work value can be laid at the door of CSWE and NASW – the organizations which control access to the profession and the training of future professionals.

Many of the specific deficits of social work – and there are many – can be blamed on the organizations speaking for professional social work. Yet that is beside the point. The real issue is that the die was cast at the point that those providing social services chose to seek professional status – a move which began during the anti-Red period following World War I.

The brief analysis I have laid out suggests why the BCRS needs to build its future apart from professional social work. We will still continue to reach out to people within social work because many who identify as progressives can be found there. We must, though, take greater pains to build alliances with clients, union activists and others who are unencumbered by attachment to a profession and for whom our social work roots are a cause of suspicion, not hopeful expectation. ■

GLOBALIZATION AND DOWNSIZING

by Michelle Billies

Recently, Mimi Abramovitz trained a group of NASW Welfare Reform Task Force members for our Speakers Bureau. Her talk on welfare sparked questions about the economy, especially globalization and downsizing. How will poor people, workers, and the middle class survive in the face of all these layoffs? Are we headed for a high-tech, jobless future? If the government is shrinking because of decreasing funds, how will we ever get services for people? What will all this mean for our ability to advocate?

The way the economy is portrayed in the media, it seems like our traditional paths for increasing economic equality – government transfer programs, a labor market with secure, well-paying jobs – are being washed away. The following brief description of globalization and downsizing proposes alternative ways to understand the economic changes we are experiencing.

Globalization:

With political and economic developments in the past few decades, capitalism and the free market have become the primary economic system promoted in the world. The Soviet Union has been broken into states that are almost all pursuing free market reforms. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund are making free market reforms mandatory for developing countries receiving loans. Since there are more countries involved in the free market, there are more places for producing, buying, and selling goods. In theory, this is great for everybody because there are more people working and buying.

Downsizing:

In the U.S., globalization has been one “reason” companies say they have to lay off workers. Downsizing has been the act of cutting down on the number of employees in order to cut company costs. Theoretically, company profits increase since less must be paid to labor. Globalization has led to downsizing in two ways; first companies can move production abroad to spend less on labor, and second, competition from foreign companies mean domestic companies must do something to keep costs down. Downsizing has therefore seemed to fill a vital need for U.S. companies.

Problems with the idea of the Free Market:

Corporations swear by the free market. The theory goes, if we just left business unregulated, the market would naturally employ all the people who deserve to be employed and provide all the goods and services people demand. Not only do we know these things to be untrue by our experiences as activists; but also, the free market doesn't exist. We have a legal system, a banking system, and many other regulations and institutions that regulate our economy. These

systems help people trust our economic system and reassure them that their participation will be worth their while. We also have women – mothers, daughters, caretakers, etc. – that provide free labor to feed and clothe all the workers, and workers-to-be that corporations employ each day.

Further, some of the regulations and institutions that are barriers to a freer market protect, enhance, or outright subsidize business. By one estimate, corporations receive \$104 billion per year in government subsidies, tax breaks, and other forms of corporate welfare. AFDC costs \$15 billion. When business decries government intervention as inhibiting the free market, we must question what our government and women provide to business to ensure its success.

Not only do subsidies and regulations help business, but welfare programs help business as well. AFDC, like unemployment insurance, is one way the government prevents people from getting “too poor” in economic downswings. If people get “too poor,” they get expensive in emergency medical costs, crime costs, loss of productivity, increased length of time returning to work, and when they hold protests. In addition, transfer payments keep local economies afloat in recessions.

Big business, however, prefers capital over peaceful poor people and does not worry about local economies. Diverting money from AFDC and Medicaid in the name of freeing the market from burdensome regulation unfortunately has been an effective strategy in policy debates.

Problems with the idea of Globalization:

In contrast to conventional wisdom, globalization is not the only or major cause of downsizing. Companies and governments have a range of choices in how they are going to face a changing economy.

There seems to be a general fear that U.S. companies are going to move massive numbers of jobs abroad, leaving many people with nothing. However, this is an exaggerated fear for many reasons. First, the U.S. has about a 55% rate of unemployment. If nothing else, the U.S. has created a large *number* of jobs, even if many are less than desirable today. Second, U.S. companies *like* skilled workforces in stable, well-developed countries such as the U.S. According to the *Survey of Current Business*, in 1992, “Europe remained the most popular location for newly acquired or established affiliates, which indicates that access to well-established and increasingly integrated markets continues to outweigh access to low wage labor in motivating U.S. investment abroad.” Third, economist Claude Barfield has stated that the U.S. has a huge internal market and that 90% of the goods we consume are made in the U.S. Therefore, we can surmise that globalization will not take away the number of American jobs that we fear it may.

Continued ▶

Of course, there are plenty of people who are unemployed and working in jobs that are not paying enough to raise families, but the evidence suggests that globalization is not the primary cause of these problems.

Problems with the idea of Downsizing:

Companies have shed workers in the hundreds of thousands. These job losses have been so difficult because 1) they have come so quickly and in such large numbers; 2) they are not being replaced by equally well-paying or secure jobs, and 3) the middle class is being hit badly. However, we must question the underlying causes of downsizing and propose alternative steps that could be taken.

A major reason for layoffs has been a fundamental shift in the distribution of profits from employees to shareholders. According to *The Washington Post* (11/14/95), before the 1980's, companies would traditionally spread some of their profits among their workers and employees would periodically get pay raises and bonuses. However, in the 1980's, the deregulation of many industries and other economic changes led to the era of hostile takeovers on Wall Street. Corporate raiders bought up companies whose stock prices were low, threw out old managers, and shifted profits from employees to shareholders, raising their value on the stock market.

Scared of takeovers, companies started trying to increase their profitability and value on Wall Street by selling off expensive divisions and shifting profits to shareholders. Investors have become more important to please than employees. And to keep their investors, companies have continued to try to show increasing profits. One easy way has been to lay off lots of employees; as we saw earlier, downsizing can make a company instantly appear more profitable. Wall Street has followed suit by consistently rewarding companies that conduct huge layoffs with rises in their stock prices.

Yet another contributor to massive layoffs has been the "lemming factor." Companies portray themselves as rational; however, the results of a survey by the American Management Association show a severe lack of corporate planning in the downsizing process. Of 1000 companies, fewer than half of the companies laying off people managed to increase their operating profits after workers were shed. This contradicts the image of the helpless company which has no choice in the face of globalization but to downsize. Why did so many companies rush into taking such extreme steps if they were not even sure they would work? Shouldn't companies put tremendous planning and forethought into such traumatic moves?

A fourth contributor to downsizing has been the decrease in union power. Unions have not been successful in saving workers' jobs.

What corporations are actually doing:

- Corporate profits are way up; they have been increasing since the 1980's. The economy is growing also. However, profits are being shared with stockholders instead of employees.
- Our growing economy is not leading to more good jobs for more people. The intermediary factor is corporate America which is diverting the benefits of growth from good jobs to increased dividends and other priorities. Why aren't workers a priority?
- CFO's are making more than ever. For example, AT&T has cut 125,000 jobs since 1986 but CEO Robert Allen's salary has increased four times over to 3.3 million.
- Companies are turning full-time jobs with benefits into part-time or contingent (leased, contracted, and temporary) work with few benefits to save money. Part-time and contingent workers total 34 million, or 1 in 4 workers. The country's largest employer is Manpower, Inc. with 767,000 temp workers per year.
- Incomes are becoming more unequal: between 1979 and 1994, 97% of the gain in household income went to the richest 20% in the country.
- Wages are stagnant; the median wage in 1996 was 3% lower than in 1979.
- More than 9.4 million working Americans have incomes under federal poverty guidelines.
- The stock market is expanding. It must be paying off for some people!

Conclusion:

There are numerous alternatives to downsizing. Workers can organize themselves and confront their companies. Job losses to foreign producers are being challenged by unions such as at Boeing. Service employees are joining unions and will be demanding higher wages and benefits. We could legislate 32-hour work weeks, benefits to part-time and contingent workers, and public works jobs. We could provide tax incentives to companies to behave "responsibly" to their employees as Labor Secretary Reich suggests.

It does not have to be up to us as advocates to determine how to fix the economy. It is up to us to fight together with low-income people, women, workers, and the middle class who are being hardest hit by corporations' ability to retain profits. We do not have to settle for the "helplessness" of companies faced with globalization, increased competition, and higher levels of technology. Companies and our government have choices. We must demand policies that keep people from getting poorer and that allow workers to share in the profits they create. ■

CHAPTER UPDATES:

ST. LOUIS: BCRS has applied for Student Government Association status within St. Louis University. Our meetings continue to draw students from SLU and George Warren Brown School of Social Work at Washington University. On September 27th, BCRS participated in a rally co-sponsored by Reform Organization of Welfare (ROWEL) to inform the public of changes in entitlement and anti-poverty programs. As a SLU BCRS practicum experience, Diana Oleskevich, an MSW/MPH student, is designing a model to implement a Voter Registration campaign in health clinics in the St. Louis area. This Voter Registration initiative is also a recommendation for local grassroots organizing which came from the 4th United Nations Conference on Women in Beijing. On March 20th, we had a video presentation on garment workers and global capitalism. On May 8th, we had two members of the Interfaith Committee on Latin America present on the World Band and the IMF.

KALAMAZOO: The Bertha Reynolds Society of Kalamazoo, Michigan, at WMU continues to work on a full slate of activities, projects and issues. They included:

- A focus on welfare reform. The Chapter continued to link with PRIDE (Parents Reaching for Independence and Dignity through Education), other local groups, NASW, and the Center for Law and Policy. We marched to Congressperson Upton's office. We worked on several petition drives and held a forum on welfare reform in conjunction with the YWCA. The focus of the forums was on designing alternative locally based models of welfare services.
- Worked with PRIDE on sponsoring a visit from Ann Withorn. The day went very well and Ann did a great job raising consciousness and enthusiasm on campus.
- Along with four other groups, we sued Governor Engler to force the implementation of the Voter Registration Law. We won the suit in December.
- Helped organize a social justice organization, "Coalition of Compassion," which is made up of local church leaders. So far they have held two demonstrations and issued an alternative State of the State message which was forwarded to the Governor and all Michigan legislators.

HOUSTON: Members from the Lone Star State have been busy with a variety of national and local issues. Our participation in the national "Just Say Veto" campaign has been constant. We have organized a calling or letter writing effort for each national wave demanding the President's veto on the (vetoed!) Congressional Welfare Reform Bill and have made strides in educating the University of Houston Graduate School of Social Work's faculty, staff and students about welfare rights and the damage that will be done to poor families with the reforms proposed in Washington.

Locally, our members have also been active in trying to preserve Allen Parkway Village (APV), post-WWII public housing, from being demolished by the City and other powerful business and real estate interests. APV is not only located in the heart of Houston's historic Freedmen's Town, the first settlement of freed black slaves, but also located on

the edge of Houston's downtown, an area being targeted by wealthy developers. We are also entering the local workers' struggle, spearheaded by the local chapters of the Service Employees International Union, ACORN, and other groups, for a hike in Houston's minimum wage to \$6.50 an hour. The organizers' goal – aside from educating workers and the public about the need for and benefits of a living wage – is to gather enough signatures to place the minimum wage initiative on the ballot for a city-wide vote in January. There are also some rumblings about members joining in Democrat Victor Morales' campaign to unseat Republican Senator Phil Gramm; final decisions regarding this are pending an early May meeting with Candidate Morales to hear in more detail what his plans are for Texas.

Amidst all the action-oriented efforts, BCRS Houston continues to formatively develop and grow. Thus far, the local chapter has resided within the school and been led by students with the support of faculty. A small number of practitioners have also been active members throughout the last year. We regard the connection to the school as essential to not only maintain a mutually beneficial relationship with academia and the political action emphasis of the curriculum, but also to reach out to new, progressive social workers entering the field and build a wider membership. However, we also feel the experience and local connections that politically active practitioners in the field can provide us is equally essential to making the local BCRS chapter a formidable force in the community when it comes to issues of peace and justice. For these reasons, local members will be brainstorming and implementing ways to create shared leadership within the group between faculty and students at the Graduate School and practitioners in the community.

Finally, we hope to send a handful of representatives to the National Conference in Philadelphia. We are looking forward to it and meeting fellow political social work comrades and empathizers. ■

BCRS Book Fund Submission Policy

1. Author must be an active BCRS member.
2. Author must have presented at a BCRS regional or national conference.
3. Author will negotiate with their publisher for the best discounted purchase price.
4. Books will be sold to active BCRS members at a discount from the list price.
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6. Submissions will be considered yearly by January 31st.

Forward submission requests to:

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Social Work & Social Living The practice and philosophy of social work are critically examined. Reynolds argues, based upon her experiences with labor unions that the orientation of social agencies toward psychological dynamics makes it difficult for clients to seek help. Softbound		List Price \$8.95 Member Price \$8.00	
Between Client & Community Caseworkers are often caught between the conflicting needs of their clients and the community especially in times of rapid change. Reynolds examines how these conflicting demands can be resolved. Softbound		List Price \$8.95 Member Price \$8.00	
Uncharted Journey Reynolds' inspirational autobiography dedicated "young social workers who are facing realities and shaping our profession with courage and creativity." Covers the development of her practice philosophy and the course of her career from 1914-1964. Softbound		List Price \$21.95 Member Price \$20.00	
The Years Have Spoken A collection of annual greetings sent by Reynolds to her friends from 1935-1973. The collection includes her annual original verse and narrative describing the condition of the world that year and how she had been affected by these events. Makes an excellent holiday or graduation gift. Softbound		List Price \$12.95 Member Price \$10.00	
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Serving the People, Social Services and Social Change, Ann Withorn While social service work and political activism have often been viewed as separate and opposing forces this book argues persuasively that the two endeavors can and should be combined for the benefit of both. Hard cover		List Price \$45.00 Member Price \$40.00	
Social Welfare and the Feminization of Poverty, Shirley Lord This historical analysis addresses sexism within the American capitalist patriarchal system and the repercussion on women within the household in the labor market and the social welfare system. A progressive feminist social welfare agenda is proposed that produces long term systems change. Hardcover.		List Price \$36.00 Member Price \$33.00	
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REPORT FROM THE COMMITTEE FOR INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS INQUIRY

The campaign to win Mumia Abu-Jamal (noted journalist on Pennsylvania's death row) a new trial is taking another step forward. Lenorad Weinglass' legal team filed the next level of appeal with the Pennsylvania Supreme court in February. Mumia's appeal could sit before the Pennsylvania Supreme Court for much of 1996, keeping the heart of the political struggle within the state. International and national support for Mumia has mushroomed over the past year - a fact Pennsylvania Governor Thomas Ridge has used to publicly brand Mumia's supporters as outsiders, claiming that the calls/faxes/letters received by his office overwhelmingly have come from outside the state.

While Mumia's appeal is pending in state court, there is a window of opportunity to expand and intensify activity in the state. Playing on the motto that appeared for years on state license plates, "you've got a friend in Pennsylvania," Equal Justice USA is launching an initiative to find Mumia 500 new friends in the state. Wherever you live, you may well know at least one of the state's nearly 12 million residents. Will you reach out to educate and involve those you know? Send us the names, addresses and phone numbers of your friends, family, neighbors and colleagues in Pennsylvania who you think might be sympathetic. Equal Justice USA will then send your friend an information kit and

ask that person to send a letter to Pennsylvania Governor Thomas Ridge, urging him not to issue a further death warrant for Mumia. Send information to: Quixote Center, P.O. Box 5206, Hyattsville, MD 20782 (301-699-0042) Quixote@igc.apc.org.

Rulu Abu-Duhou, a Palestinian social work student imprisoned in Israel since 1988 was, with the other women prisoners, to be freed according to the Oslo II peace agreement. But when five of the women were denied releases including Rula, the other 20 women prisoners refused to leave the prison. As publicized by Pacifica Radio, the total group showed their solidarity by joining in a hunger strike lasting two weeks, making some gains, but not succeeding in attaining freedom for all. FAXes and letters have been sent by social workers here and abroad supporting freedom for all the women prisoners, as part of the peace agreement.

Phyllis Coard, social worker imprisoned in 1983 in Grenada, isolated most of the time and suffering serious physical and emotional deterioration, is being considered by the new government for release on humanitarian grounds. CIHRI has mobilized social service support in the U.S. and abroad for her freedom.

To find out how to join us, or for any further information, contact: Ruth Wilson, Secretary, 415 Grand Street, Apt. E 1905, New York, New York 10002 (212) 674-3762. ■

Obituary

Dr. Mitchell I. Ginsberg, a major leader in the social work profession for half a century, died at the age of 80 of cardiac arrest on March 2nd in New York City. He was buried in West Roxbury, MA.

A lifelong advocate for social justice, Dr. Ginsberg was the former president of the National Conference on Social Welfare, former president of N.A.S.W., former Dean (1971-1986) of Columbia University School of Social Work, and Commissioner of New York City's Human Resources Administration (1966-1970).

A founding member of the Society, he also served as an endorser of the Call to Join the Bertha Capen Reynolds Society, issued in 1985. He remained a member until his death.

In lieu of flowers, contributions may be made to the Ida R. & Mitchell I. Ginsberg Social Policy Endowed Fund at Columbia University School of Social Work, 622 West 113th Street, New York, NY 10025.

Please mail all contributions for the next *BCR Reports* to:

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Letters to the editor, essays, news items, BCRS Chapter activities, cartoons, etc., are all welcome!

Please note: The deadline for materials submitted for inclusion in the next *BCR Reports* is **September 15, 1996.**

New Journal Available

Flying Horse, an alternative literary journal published semi-annually, features short fiction, poetry, essays, black-and-white photographs and art work. This journal is primarily (though not exclusively) written by prisoners, homeless people, welfare recipients, and other poor folks. Subscriptions are only \$7.00 per year, although the editors are recruiting sponsors for the journal (at a suggested contribution of \$25, \$50 or \$100). If your agency or organization includes artists and writers, the editors can send you flyers detailing how people can submit work. The editors can also make arrangements to send multiple copies of the journal to writing groups or other activity groups. The journal hopes to give voices to those often excluded from the dominant media. They are actively soliciting inner city learning centers, community and public colleges, social service agencies, unions, the military, hospitals, clinics or group homes, Indian reservations and minority studies programs for contributors. *Flying Horse* will pay each successful contributor \$10 to \$25 for one-time publication rights plus two journal copies. For more information, contact David Wagner, Associate Editor, P.O. Box 445, Marblehead, MA 01945. ■

GRADUATE EDUCATION FOR A CHANGE: POLITICAL SOCIAL WORK:

by Bob Fisher

In response to the neoconservative context of the past 20 years, we at the University of Houston Graduate School of Social Work have put together an MSW curriculum to help train progressive social workers. Members of BCRS know they do not need an MSW to make social change. But for those interested in graduate study, we think our second year concentration offers some interesting opportunities.

The process of developing a concentration in political social work immediately entered us into two important debates in social work education. First, should social work education be political? Liberal and left conceptions of social work understand it is fundamentally about power, ideology, and social justice. Bertha Reynolds simply assumed this. So did we.

But it is one thing to assert that politics is integral to social work education and quite another to determine what a social justice-oriented curriculum should look like. This enters another debate, one not as long-standing but no less heated. To simplify it, two dominant models of political social work education reveal themselves in practice and in the literature. The "macro model" grounds the struggle for social justice in macro methods and typically is found in a community organization, social justice, or multicultural sequence. Lobbying, policy implementation, electoral activity, community organizing – macro methods – are political social work.

Another approach also sees social work as fundamentally political, but argues for a more "integrated model" in which all social work practice, not just macro, is political social work. Radical social workers define this simply as good social work – being political, focusing on power, learning skills from the micro through macro levels, and linking policy to practice. Feminist theory usually integrates

methods in an empowerment-oriented practice. Structuralists posit an integrated methods approach to political social work as the best means of getting at the entrenched structural inequalities that cause *both* personal and social problems.

Whereas the "community organization/electoral model" of political social work ties itself closely to a single level of intervention and to specific professional opportunities, the "integrated model" is less concerned with whether students become clinicians, direct service practitioners, community organizers, or elected officials. Its goal is to train *politicized* social service workers who see power as central to understanding and addressing social problems and human needs. The problem is not direct service work, but a depoliticized and decontextualized micro practice. In our program we adopted the integrated model, because we thought it the best strategy for training progressive social workers as well as meeting contemporary student interests.

But what should be the content of a political social work curriculum? In a nutshell, the working description of PSW that we developed is as follows:

The Political Social Work (PSW) Concentration is designed for the student who sees social problems as fundamentally political, that is, about power and social change. PSW students seek primarily to empower communities and clients or to affect electoral politics and social policies in the struggle for social justice. In the three major areas of PSW –

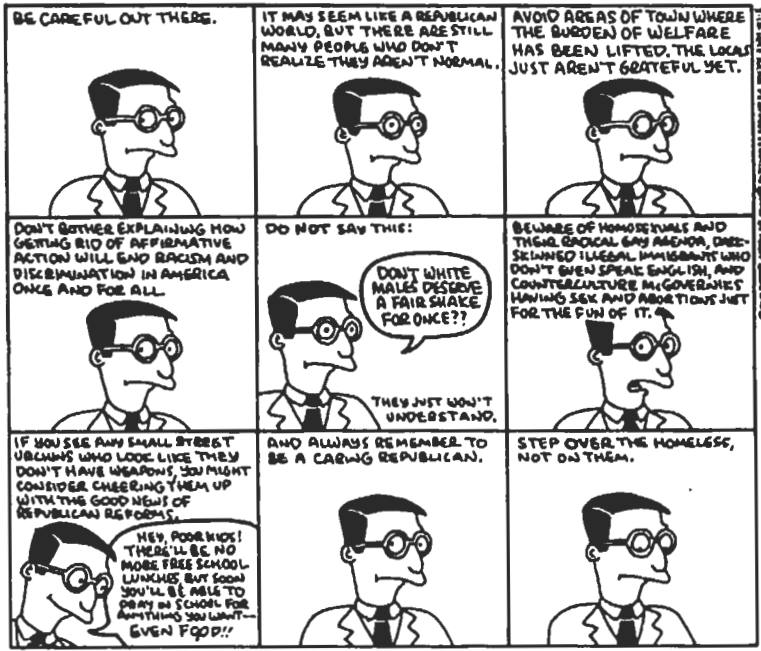
electoral politics, grassroots politics, and personal politics – students learn advanced skills in empowerment; multicultural practice; community organizing; lobbying, legislation, and campaigning; and collaborative interventions (such as feminist practice) with individual clients. Career opportunities, ranging from the local to the international, include settings such as the offices of elected officials, legislative entities of all types, community organizations, social action and advocacy efforts, community development projects, and clinical or direct service work with oppressed constituencies which proceeds from the primary understanding that the personal is political and vice versa. (PSW leaflet, 1991)

PSW, now in its fourth year, is one of the largest concentrations at the UH GSSW, with some 37 students. We have gotten beyond the old issues of defining and legitimating PSW; students and the community tend to know what it is and graduates get jobs. Of course, we are constantly evaluating the program, considering the best praxis for contemporary conditions. Currently we are debating whether with growth the radical content of PSW has been diminished. We know that our work stands on the shoulders of radical educators – past and present – and presume that we are part of an ongoing national effort of progressive human service workers within and without schools of social work. ■

HOW TO ORGANIZE A BCRS CHAPTER:

"How to Organize a BCRS Chapter" organizing packets are available by contacting Tony at Communication Services at (518) 463-3522, 8 Thurlow Terrace, Albany, NY 12203. The contents of the packets include such things as posters, brochures, book order forms, recent newsletters, copy of by-laws, names of BCRS organizers from the Steering Committee who will help you, and much more! Allow 4 weeks for delivery. ■

STREET SMARTS FOR REPUBLICANS



WEB SITES OF INTEREST

- Mother Jones Magazine* <http://www.mojones.com/>
- Sources on Social Policy and Families* <http://epn.org/idea/welf-bkm.html>
- Welfare Reform* <http://epn.org/+cwelf.html#shwel>
- Znet* <http://www.lbbs.org/>
- N.O.W.* <http://now.org/now/home.html>
- Women and Politics Home Page* <http://www.westga.edu/~wandp/w+p.html>
- Progressive Publications and News Services* <http://www.igc.apc.org/news/>
- The Center for Law and Social Policy* <http://epn.org/clasp.html>
- Institute for Research on Poverty (University of Madison)* <http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/irp/>
- Lefties on the Web* <http://www.tiac.net/users/rafebl>
- Welfare Reform: Issues Before the Nation (Urban Institute)* http://www.urban.org/periodcl/ppr25_2a.htm
- The Use of SSI and Other Welfare Programs by Immigrants* <http://www.urban.org/testimon/fixtest.htm>

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