

**NLWJC - Kagan**

**DPC - Box 051 - Folder-001**

**Race-Race Initiative Policy: General**

**[1]**

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

IF PRESIDENT HAS BEEN

11-12-97

Copied  
Reed  
Kagan  
cos

November 11, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRUCE REED  
ELENA KAGAN

SUBJECT: RACE POLICY INITIATIVES

A few weeks ago, we sent you a list of policy ideas that could be announced over the next six months as part of the race initiative. We are attaching that list to this memo. It is worth noting again that none of these ideas has gone through the budget process, and some are more fully developed than others. We are continuing work on these policy ideas and will discuss some of them at the meeting tomorrow.

In a recent article, William Julius Wilson wrote: "The country's deep racial divisions certainly should not be underestimated, but the unremitting emphasis on these gaps has obscured the fact that African-Americans, whites, and other ethnic groups share many concerns, are beset by many similar problems, and have important values, aspirations, and hopes in common. . . . A new democratic vision . . . must find issues and programs that concern families of all racial and ethnic groups, so that individuals in these groups can honestly perceive mutual interests and join in a multiracial coalition to move America forward."

We believe the central focus of the race initiative should be a race-neutral opportunity agenda that reflects these common values and aspirations. Of course, there is still a need for strong civil rights enforcement, narrowly tailored affirmative action programs, and certain other kinds of targeted initiatives (see, for example, the health initiative described in the attached memo). But the best hope for improving race relations and reducing racial disparities over the long term is a set of policies that expand opportunity across race lines and, in doing so, force the recognition of shared interests. These policies -- for example, education opportunity zones, university-school mentoring programs, housing vouchers, and community policing and prosecuting initiatives -- address the concerns of working people of all races, at the same time as they provide especial benefits to racial minorities.

We think you should state explicitly throughout the year that this kind of agenda is the best way to achieve racial progress -- to reduce racial inequalities and bridge racial divides. Expanding opportunity for all Americans has been the clear mission of your Presidency, and it should be the clear mission of your race initiative.

Sid / Begala / B Reed  
Legacy

Race initiative policy - general  
THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN  
12-3-97

# The New Social Inequality and Affirmative Opportunity

BC

William Julius Wilson

copied  
CUS  
Blumenthal  
Begala  
Reed

**A**

s the turn of the century approach  
for racial equality needs a new political strategy. That  
strategy must appeal to America's broad multi-

ethnic population, while addressing the many problems that afflict disadvan-  
tagged minorities and redressing the legacy of historical racism in America.

The nation seems to have become more divided on issues pertaining to race, especially since the first O. J. Simpson murder trial. And affirmative action programs are under heavy assault. Americans' understanding of the meaning and significance of race has become more confused. Many Americans are puzzled by complex racial changes—not only the growth of socioeconomic inequality among African-Americans, but also the sharp increase in joblessness, concentrated poverty, and welfare receipt among the black poor living in ghettos. Such changes have unfolded in the aftermath of the passage of comprehensive civil rights legislation in the 1960s and the subsequent enactment of affirmative action programs and the antipoverty efforts of the Great Society. By now, some three decades later, not only have many changes transpired for African-Americans and for American race relations. In addition, broad public sympathy for those minority individuals who have suffered the most from racial exclusion has waned.

ty by itself.  
the nation's  
ed and edu-  
es on which  
staining the  
stor engage-  
, in partner-  
he past), or  
  
d challenge.  
nment is ca-  
pacities and  
ve thinking  
n. Progress-  
ca can pros-  
in a rapidly

Indeed, many white Americans have turned against public programs widely perceived as benefiting only racial minorities. Several decades ago, efforts to raise the public's awareness and conscience about the plight of African-Americans helped the enactment of civil rights legislation and affirmative action programs. By the 1980s, however, black leaders' assertions that black progress was a "myth"—rhetoric used to reinforce arguments for stronger race-based programs—ironically played into the hands of conservative critics. Although this strategy may have increased sympathy among some whites for the plight of black Americans, it also created the erroneous impression that federal antidiscrimination efforts had failed. And it overlooked the significance of the complex racial changes that had been unfolding since the mid-1960s. Perhaps most pernicious of all, arguments for more and more race-based programs to help blacks fed growing white concerns, aroused by demagogic messages, that any special efforts by politicians to deal with black needs and complaints were coming at the expense of the white majority.

While these developments happened in politics, Americans confronted jarring new economic conditions. National and international economic transformations have placed new stresses on families and communities—stresses that are hardly confined to blacks. Along with African-Americans, large segments of the white, Latino, and Asian populations are also plagued by growing economic insecurities, family breakups, and community stresses. Such conditions are breeding grounds for racial and ethnic tensions. In this social climate, conservatives have attempted to unite white Americans around anger at the government and racial minorities. Their political message seems plausible to many white taxpayers, who see themselves as being forced to pay for programs that primarily benefit racial minorities.

In this essay I suggest how progressives can redefine the issues so that the concerns of both the larger American population and the racial minority population are simultaneously addressed. Progressives can pursue policies that unite rather than divide racial groups, thus opening the way for the formation of a multiracial progressive coalition in national politics.

### The Changing Climate for Race-Based Programs

When affirmative action programs were first discussed in the 1960s, the economy was expanding, and incomes were rising. It was a time of optimism, a time when most Americans believed that their children would have better

lives th  
eration

In  
rienced  
lift all b  
est quir  
come, 'e  
and ab  
began t  
inflation  
income  
rate cor  
est quir  
riod. W  
figure 2  
wages o  
at the b

Th  
lowered  
compan  
that the  
reassure  
wage in  
earnings  
high sch  
rapidly  
bounde  
were cre  
an hour  
much of

In s  
tion) ha  
college c  
America  
dards of  
jobs and

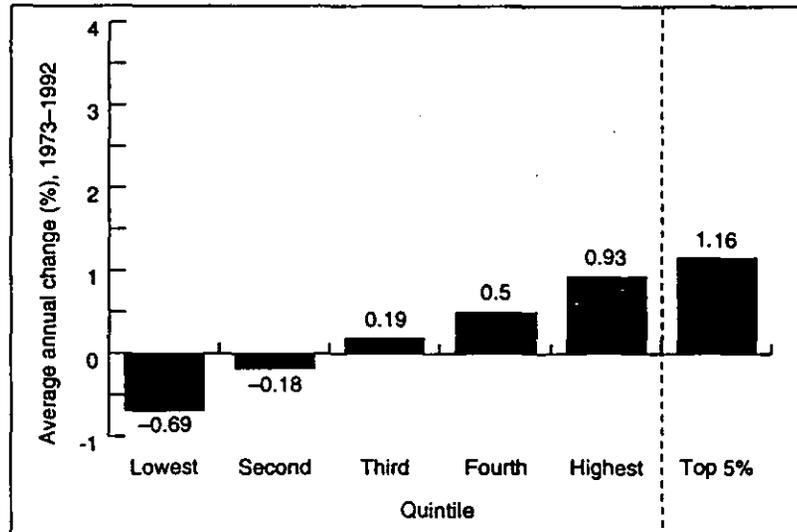
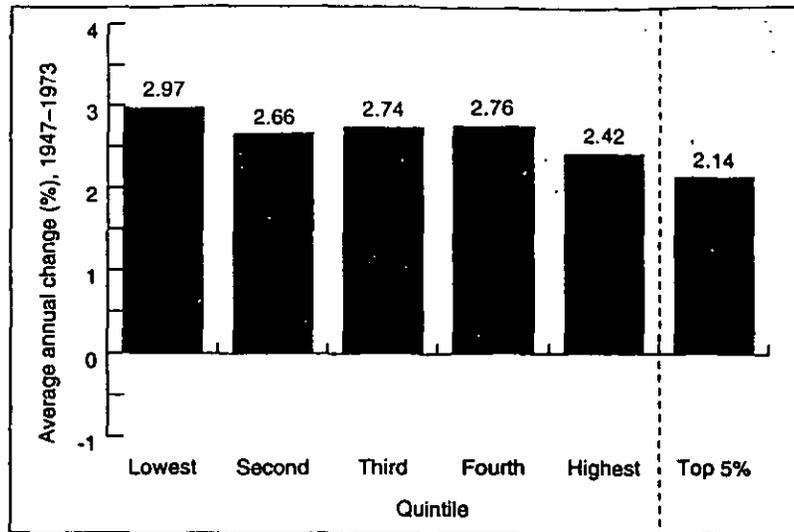
lives than they had. During such times a generosity of spirit permits consideration of sharing an expanding pie.

In the decades immediately after World War II, all income groups experienced economic advancement, including the poor. A rising tide did indeed lift all boats. In fact, as revealed in figure 1, between 1947 and 1973 the lowest quintile in family income experienced the highest growth in annual income, "which meant that the poor were becoming less poor in both relative and absolute terms" (Bronfenbrenner et al. 1996, p. 14). But this pattern began to change in the early 1970s. Growth slowed, and the distribution of inflation-adjusted income started to become more unequal. Whereas average income gains from 1973 to 1992 continued for the higher quintiles (but at a rate considerably slower than that of the previous two decades), the two lowest quintiles actually experienced annual declines in income during this period. Wage data since 1979, based on percentiles instead of quintiles (see figure 2), show a pattern quite similar to the trends in family income. The wages of those at the top have continued to climb in recent years, while those at the bottom have fallen steadily.

Thus the downward trend in wages during the past two decades has lowered the incomes of the least well-off citizens. This trend has been accompanied by a growing sense among an increasing number of Americans that their long-term economic prospects are bleaker. And they would not be reassured to learn that the United States has had the most rapid growth of wage inequality in the Western world. In the 1950s and 1960s the average earnings of college graduates was only about 20 percent higher than that of high school graduates. By 1979, it had increased to 49 percent, and then it rapidly grew to 83 percent by 1992. "When the American economy rebounded from a recession in the early 1990s, roughly 2 million new jobs were created per year, but a large percentage of these offered wages below \$8 an hour (or about \$16,000 a year), with few if any health benefits and not much opportunity for advancement" (Bronfenbrenner et al. 1996, p. 117).

In sum, since the late 1970s, real wages (that is, wages adjusted for inflation) have fallen in the United States. Wage disparities between those with college degrees and those without have widened considerably. Working-class Americans feel economically pinched, barely able to maintain current standards of living even on two incomes. Many are insecure about keeping their jobs and fear that they will never be able to afford to send their children to

Figure 1. Family Income in the United States



Source: Adapted from Bronfenbrenner et al. (1996). The 1947 figures are from *The Statistical History of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*. The 1969 and 1992 figures are from the Bureau of the Census, *Income of Families and Persons in the United States, 1990*. Figures are adjusted for inflation based on constant 1992 dollars.

Figure

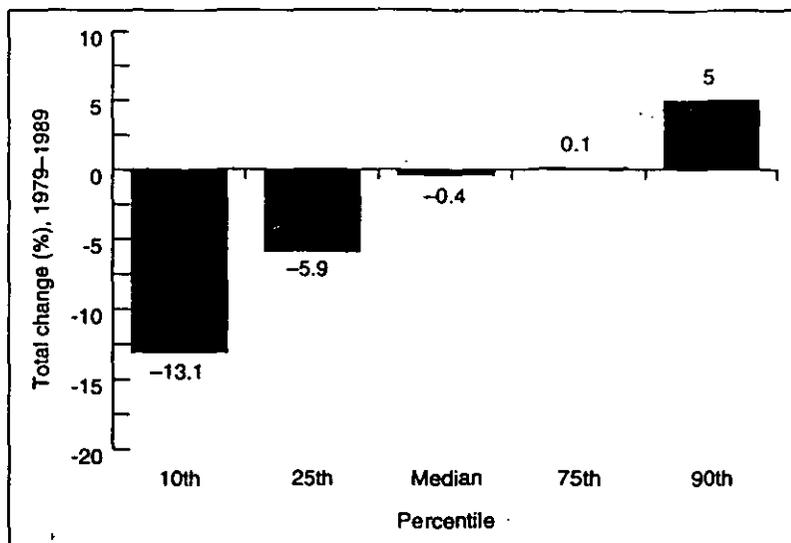
Total change (%), 1979-1989

Source  
Econo  
1982-

colleg  
worst  
Week,  
have  
can d  
three  
next

of co  
affirm  
empl  
creas  
high  
with  
mess  
their

Figure 2. Wage Growth in the United States



Source: Adapted from Bronfenbrenner et al. (1996). Data reported in the Council of Economic Advisors, *Economic Report of the President, 1995*. Wages are in constant 1982-1984 CPI-U-X1 dollars.

college. Many believe that for all their hard work, their children's lives will be worse than theirs. For example, a 1995 Harris poll, conducted for *Business Week*, revealed that only one-half of all parents expected their children to have a better life than theirs; nearly seven out of ten believed that the American dream has been more difficult to achieve during the past ten years; and three-quarters felt that the dream will be even harder to achieve during the next ten years (cited in Bronfenbrenner et al. 1996).

Unfortunately for those who support race-based programs, this period of economic hard times has not been an ideal climate for a national debate on affirmative action. Despite the recent economic recovery and low rates of unemployment, most families continue to struggle with declining real wages, increasing job displacement, and job insecurity in a highly integrated and highly technological global economy. During periods when people are beset with economic anxiety, they become more receptive to simplistic ideological messages that deflect attention away from the real and complex sources of their problems, and it is vitally important that political leaders channel

citizens' frustrations in more positive or constructive directions. For the past few years and especially in 1995, immediately after the congressional elections of 1994, just the opposite frequently occurred. The poisonous racial rhetoric of certain highly visible spokespersons has increased racial tensions and channeled frustrations in ways that severely divide the racial groups. Instead of associating citizens' problems with economic and political changes, these divisive messages have encouraged them to turn on each other—race against race. As I pointed out in a *New York Times* editorial (Wilson 1992), this was a theme repeatedly emphasized by Bill Clinton during his 1992 campaign for the presidency.

Many white Americans have turned against a strategy emphasizing programs that they perceive as benefiting only racial minorities. There has been a growing concern, aroused by demagogic messages, that the politicians' sensitivity to black complaints had come at the expense of the white majority. And undifferentiated black complaints have aggravated the situation because they have reinforced a perception that, whatever our efforts, nothing really works, and a lot of time, energy, and money have been wasted.

#### The Rising Significance of Class

By the beginning of the 1980s, the accomplishments of the civil rights struggle were clear; among them were the rising numbers of blacks in professional, technical, managerial, and administrative positions. Progress was also evident in the increasing enrollment of blacks in colleges and universities and the growing number of black homeowners. The expansion of participation in these areas was proportionately greater for blacks than for whites because such a tiny percentage of blacks had held property or pursued higher education before this time. As Jennifer Hochschild has pointed out, "One has not really succeeded in America unless one can pass the chance for success on to one's children" (1995, p. 44). Until the 1960s, doing so was quite difficult even for the few members of the old black middle class. Empirical research in the early 1960s provided no evidence that class could rival the powerful effects of race on black occupational and income achievements. In other words, states Hochschild, blacks "experienced a perverse sort of egalitarianism—neither the disadvantages of poverty nor the advantages of wealth made much difference in what they could achieve or pass on to their children. Discrimination swamped everything else" (p. 44).

Rese  
1973, cl  
had regu  
Hout 19  
experien  
history, r  
cumulate  
(Hochsch  
ments of  
lems—jo  
welfare—

The  
through  
poor rev  
comes be  
we call t  
populatio  
three po  
the prop  
have bee  
slipped f  
Census 1  
1994).

From  
black far  
second-l  
highest p  
percent  
blacks is  
races wh  
(Oliver a  
families  
black fan  
by the hi  
ity has w  
matic an

Research by social scientists, however, reveals that between 1962 and 1973, class began to affect career and generational mobility for blacks as it had regularly done for whites (Wilson 1980; Featherman and Hauser 1978; Hout 1984). In particular, blacks from the most advantaged backgrounds experienced the greatest upward mobility. For the first time in American history, more advantaged blacks could expect their success to persist and cumulate. These trends have continued since 1973 but at a slower rate (Hochschild 1995, p. 44). On the other hand, among the disadvantaged segments of the black population, especially the ghetto poor, many dire problems—joblessness, concentrated poverty, family breakup, and the receipt of welfare—were getting even worse between 1973 and 1980.

The differential rates of progress in the black community have continued through the 1980s and early 1990s. Family incomes among the poorest of the poor reveal the pattern. From 1977 to 1993, the percentage of blacks with incomes below 50 percent of the amount designated as the poverty line, what we call the poorest of the poor, increased from 9 percent of the total black population in 1977 to 17 percent in 1993. In 1977, fewer than one of every three poor blacks fell below one-half of the poverty-line amount, but by 1993 the proportion rose to more than one-half (these figures and those that follow have been adjusted for inflation). In 1993 the average poor black family slipped further below the poverty level than in any year since 1967, when the Census Bureau started collecting such data (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994).

From 1975 to 1992, while the average income of the lowest quintile of black families in the United States declined by one-third and that of the second-lowest quintile declined by 13 percent, the average income of the highest quintile of black families climbed by 23 percent and that of the top 5 percent by 35 percent. Although income inequality between whites and blacks is substantial and the financial gap is even greater between the two races when wealth is considered—total financial assets, not just income (Oliver and Shapiro 1995; Wolff 1995)—in 1992 the highest fifth of black families nonetheless secured a record 49 percent of the total income among black families, compared to the 44 percent share of the total income received by the highest fifth of white families, also a record. So while income inequality has widened generally in America since 1975, the divide is even more dramatic among black Americans. If we are to fashion remedies for black

poverty, we need to understand the origins and dynamics of inequality in the African-American community. Without disavowing the accomplishments of the civil rights movement, black leaders and policymakers now need to give more attention to remedies that will make a concrete difference in the lives of the poor.

#### The Achievements and Limits of Affirmative Action

The demands of the civil rights movement reflected a general assumption on the part of black leaders in the 1960s that the government could best protect the rights of individual members of minority groups, not by formally bestowing rewards and punishments based on racial group membership, but by using antidiscrimination legislation to enhance individual freedom. The movement was particularly concerned about access to education, employment, voting, and public accommodations. From the 1950s to 1970, the emphasis was on freedom of choice; the role of the state was to prevent the formal categorization of people on the basis of race. Antibias legislation was designed to eliminate racial discrimination without considering the proportion of minorities in certain positions. The underlying principle was that individual merit should be the sole determining factor in choosing candidates for desired positions. Because civil rights protests against racial discrimination clearly upheld a fundamental American principle, they carried a degree of moral authority that leaders like Martin Luther King, Jr., were able to repeatedly and effectively emphasize.

It would have been ideal if programs based on the principle of freedom of individual opportunity were sufficient to remedy racial inequality in our society. But long periods of racial oppression can result in a system of inequality that lingers even after racial barriers come down. The most disadvantaged minority individuals, crippled by the cumulative effects of both race and class subjugation, disproportionately lack the resources to compete effectively in a free and open market.

Eliminating racial barriers creates the greatest opportunities for the better-trained, most talented, and best-educated members of minority groups because these members possess the resources to compete most effectively. These resources reflect a variety of advantages—family stability, financial means, positive peer groups, good schooling—provided or made possible by their parents (Fishkin 1983).

By  
Novem  
starkly  
percen  
mainec  
barrier  
son pu  
erased  
and ex  
(Hend  
A  
the ne  
effects  
vidual  
Act of  
uals o  
sough  
sure a  
lic pro  
B  
portic  
oppor  
cies b  
indivi  
repre  
status  
Thus  
cioeo  
positi  
more  
recto  
of m  
jobs,  
tion i  
ties l

By the late 1960s, a number of black leaders began to recognize this. In November 1967, Kenneth B. Clark said, "The masses of Negroes are now starkly aware of the fact that recent civil rights victories benefited a very small percentage of middle-class Negroes while [poorer blacks'] predicament remained the same or worsened" (Clark 1967, p. 8). Simply eliminating racial barriers was not going to be enough. As the black economist Vivian Henderson put it, "If all racial prejudice and discrimination and all racism were erased today, all the ills brought by the process of economic class distinction and economic depression of the masses of black people would remain" (Henderson 1975, p. 54).

Accordingly, black leaders and liberal policymakers began to emphasize the need not only to eliminate active discrimination but also to counteract the effects of past racial oppression. Instead of seeking remedies only for individual complaints of discrimination, as specified in Title 7 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (which prohibits employers from discriminating against individuals on the grounds of race, color, religion, gender, or national origin), they sought government-mandated affirmative action programs designed to ensure adequate minority representation in employment, education, and public programs.

But if the more advantaged members of minority groups benefit disproportionately from policies that embody the principle of equality of individual opportunity, they also profit disproportionately from affirmative action policies based solely on their racial group membership (Fishkin 1983). Minority individuals from the most advantaged families tend to be disproportionately represented among those of their racial group most qualified for preferred status, such as college admissions, higher-paying jobs, and promotions. Thus policies of affirmative action are much more likely to enhance the socioeconomic positions of the more advantaged minority individuals than the positions of the truly disadvantaged (Loury 1984 and 1995).

To be sure, affirmative action was not intended mainly to benefit the more advantaged minority individuals. As William L. Taylor, the former director of the United States Civil Rights Commission, has stated, "The focus of much of the [affirmative action] effort has been not just on white-collar jobs, but also on law enforcement, construction work, and craft and production in large companies—all areas in which the extension of new opportunities has provided upward mobility for less advantaged minority workers"

(Taylor 1986, p. 1714). As Taylor also notes, studies show that many minority students entering medical schools during the 1970s were from low-income families.

Affirmative action policies, however, did not really open up broad avenues of upward mobility for the masses of disadvantaged blacks. Like other forms of "creaming," they provided opportunities for those individuals from low socioeconomic background with the greatest educational and social resources. A careful analysis of data on income, employment, and educational attainment would probably reveal that only a few individuals who reside in the inner-city ghettos have benefited from affirmative action.

Since the early 1970s urban minorities have been highly vulnerable to structural changes in the economy, such as the shift from goods-producing to service-producing industries, the increasing polarization of the labor market into low-wage and high-wage sectors, the destabilizing innovations in technology, and the relocation of manufacturing industries outside the central city. These shifts have led to sharp increases in joblessness and the related problems of highly concentrated poverty, welfare receipt, and family breakup, despite the passage of antidiscrimination legislation to correct discriminatory patterns through litigation and the creation of affirmative action programs that mandate goals and timetables for the employment of minorities (Wilson 1987, 1995).

On the other hand, affirmative action programs have helped to bring about sharp increases in the number of blacks entering higher education and gaining professional and managerial positions. Moreover, as long as minorities are underrepresented in high-paying, desirable positions in society, affirmative action programs will be needed. Nonetheless, in response to cries from conservatives to abolish affirmative action altogether, some liberals have argued for a shift from affirmative action based on race to one based on economic class or need (Kahlenberg 1995).

The major distinguishing characteristic of affirmative action based on need is the recognition that the problems of the disadvantaged—low income, crime-ridden neighborhoods, broken homes, inadequate housing, poor education, cultural and linguistic differences—are not always clearly related to previous racial discrimination. Children who grow up in homes plagued by these disadvantages are more likely to be denied an equal chance in life because the development of their aspirations and talents is hindered by their en-

vironment, regardless from affirmative opportunities because they suffer from the same disadvantages, but the problem is not the same.

An affirmative action program is a systematic exclusion of people because the standard is different relative to the cumulative disadvantages limited by race, regardless of neighborhood. The particular skills that are required for the quality of de facto jobs are different from those of parents whose experience is different. This ultimately affects the quality of the workforce (Heckman 1995).

Thus if we were to consider affirmative action, like SAT scores would be denied access to higher education weighed down by the restrictions and who they are. An affirmative action program could create a situation where Harvard represents the black community, while the rest of the world would therefore be excluded. This is who are not burdened by the conventional tests and standards.

The extent to which affirmative action is for promoting policies that have the real potential to succeed is flexible criteria of numerical guidelines. The ground handicaps, potential to succeed, and test scores may be different.

vironment, regardless of race. Minorities would benefit disproportionately from affirmative opportunity programs designed to address these disadvantages because they suffer disproportionately from the effects of such environments, but the problems of disadvantaged whites would be addressed as well.

An affirmative action based solely on need, however, would result in the systematic exclusion of many middle-income blacks from desirable positions because the standard or conventional measures of performance are not sensitive to the cumulative effects of race. By this I mean having one's life choices limited by race, regardless of class, because of the effects of living in segregated neighborhoods (that is, being exposed to styles of behavior, habits, and the particular skills that emerge from patterns of racial exclusion), because of the quality of de facto segregated schooling, and because of the nurturing by parents whose experiences have also been shaped and limited by race, which ultimately affects the resources they are able to pass on to their children (Heckman 1995).

Thus if we were to rely solely on the standard criteria for college admission, like SAT scores, even many children from black middle-class families would be denied admission in favor of middle-class whites who are not weighed down by the accumulation of disadvantages that stem from racial restrictions and who therefore tend to score higher on these conventional measures. An affirmative action based solely on need or economic class position could create a situation in which African-Americans who are admitted to Harvard represent the bottom half of the socioeconomic continuum in the black community, while those who are in the top half tend to be excluded because they are not eligible for consideration under affirmative action. They would therefore be left to compete with middle- and upper-income whites who are not burdened by the handicaps of race—as their higher scores on the conventional tests reflect.

The extent to which standard aptitude tests like the SAT and tests used for promoting police officers are measuring not privilege but real merit or the real potential to succeed is not readily apparent. Ideally, we should develop flexible criteria of evaluation or performance measures, as opposed to numerical guidelines or quotas, that would not exclude people with background handicaps, including minority racial background, who have as much potential to succeed as those admitted without those handicaps. While some test scores may correlate well with performance, they do not necessarily

measure important attributes that also determine performance, such as perseverance, motivation, interpersonal skills, reliability, and leadership qualities. Accordingly, since race is one of the components of being disadvantaged in this society, the ideal affirmative action program would emphasize flexible criteria of evaluation based on both need and race.

The cumulative effects of historical discrimination and racial segregation are reflected in many subtle ways that result in the underrepresentation of blacks in positions of high status and their overrepresentation in positions of low status. Some of these problems can be easily addressed with affirmative action programs that are at least in part based on race; others have to be combated by means of race-neutral strategies. As indicated earlier, less-advantaged blacks are extremely vulnerable to changes in our modern industrial society, and their problems are difficult to solve by means of race-based strategies alone—either those that support equality of individual opportunity, such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964, or those that represent affirmative action. Now more than ever, we need broader solutions than those we have employed in the past.

#### From Preference to Affirmative Opportunity

Given the current political climate and the new social inequality, any program designed to significantly improve the life chances of disadvantaged minorities, including increased employment opportunities, would have to be broadly applicable. That is, it would have to address the concerns of wide segments of the U.S. population, not just those of minority citizens.

Almost two decades ago, Vivian Henderson argued that “the economic future of blacks in the United States is bound up with that of the rest of the nation. Politics designed in the future to cope with the problems of the poor and victimized will also yield benefits to blacks. In contrast, any efforts to treat blacks separately from the rest of the nation are likely to lead to frustration, heightened racial animosities, and a waste of the country’s resources and the precious resources of black people” (Henderson 1975, p. 54).

Henderson’s warning seems to be especially appropriate in periods of economic stagnation, when public support for programs targeted to minorities—or associated with real or imagined material sacrifice on the part of whites—tends to wane. The economy was strong when affirmative action programs were introduced during the Johnson administration. When the

economy turned down, the economy increasingly soured.

Furthermore, in political affairs, observers noted that whites “only as a result of and economic mainstreaming such preferential treatment for an era without.” They also noted changes in society.

The Democratic Party increasingly were virtually separate public services became whites. In an era of seemed to constitute services that many of

White reaction Over the past fifty years, desegregation. For Americans supported to 95 percent in the past five years public accommodations (1994).

Nonetheless, racial segregation programs to aggressively roll blacks in institutions, blacks in high-level polls, whites over blacks. Whereas government is not more than one-third of government “has a

economy turned down in the 1970s, the public's view of affirmative action increasingly soured.

Furthermore, as Joseph A. Califano, Johnson's staff assistant for domestic affairs, observed in 1988, such programs were generally acceptable to whites "only as a temporary expedient to speed blacks' entry into the social and economic mainstream." But as years passed, many whites "saw continuing such preferences as an unjust insistence by Democrats that they do penance for an era of slavery and discrimination they had nothing to do with." They also associated the decline in public schools not with broader changes in society but with "forced integration" (Califano 1988, p. 29).

The Democrats also came under fire for their support for programs that increasingly were misrepresented as being intended for poor blacks alone. Virtually separate medical and legal systems developed in many cities. Public services became identified mainly with blacks, private services mainly with whites. In an era of ostensible racial justice, many public programs ironically seemed to constitute a new and costlier form of segregation. White taxpayers saw themselves as being forced through taxes to pay for medical and legal services that many of them could not afford to purchase for their own families.

White reaction to race-based problems has several dimensions, however. Over the past fifty years, there has been a steep rise in white support for racial desegregation. For example, although in 1942 only 42 percent of white Americans supported integrated schooling, by 1993 that figure had skyrocketed to 95 percent. Public opinion polls reveal similar patterns of change during the past five decades in white support for integration with regard to public accommodations, mass transportation, and housing (Bobo and Smith 1994).

Nonetheless, the virtual disappearance of Jim Crow attitudes toward racial segregation has not resulted in strong backing for government programs to aggressively combat discrimination, increase further integration, enroll blacks in institutions of higher learning, or enlarge the proportion of blacks in high-level occupations. Indeed, as evidenced in the public opinion polls, whites overwhelmingly object to government assistance targeted to blacks. Whereas eight of every ten African-Americans believe that the government is not spending enough to assist blacks today, only slightly more than one-third of white Americans feel this way. The idea that the federal government "has a special obligation to help improve the living standard of

blacks" because they "have been discriminated against so long" was supported by only one in five whites in 1991 and has never exceeded more than one in four since 1975 (Bobo and Kluegel 1994). And the lack of white support for this idea is unrelated to such background factors as age and education level.

Of course, the most widely discussed racial policy issue in recent years has been affirmative action. Despite a slight decrease in opposition to affirmative action programs in education and employment between 1986 and 1990, sentiments against these programs remain strong. In 1990, almost seven in ten white Americans opposed quotas to admit black students in colleges and universities, and more than eight in ten objected to the idea of preferential hiring and promotion of blacks.

Such strong white opposition to quotas and preferential hiring and promotion should not lead us to overlook the fact that there are some affirmative action policies that are supported by wide segments of the white population, regardless of racial attitudes. Recent studies reveal that, while opposing such "preferential" racial policies as college admission quotas or job hiring and promotion strategies designed to achieve equal outcomes, most white Americans approve of such "compensatory" affirmative action policies as race-targeted programs for job training, special education, and recruitment (Bobo and Smith 1994; Bobo and Kluegel 1993; Lipset and Schneider 1978; Kluegel and Smith 1986; Kinder and Sanders 1987). For example, in the 1990 General Social Survey, 68 percent of all whites favored spending more money on schools in black neighborhoods, especially for preschool and early education programs. And 70 percent favored granting special college scholarships to black children who maintain good grades (Bobo and Smith 1994).

Accordingly, programs that enable blacks to take advantage of opportunities, such as race-targeted early education programs and job training, are less likely to be "perceived as challenging the values of individualism and the work ethic." In other words, compensatory or opportunity-enhancing affirmative action programs are supported because they reinforce the belief that the allocation of jobs and economic rewards should be based on individual effort, training, and talent. As sociologists Larry Bobo and James Kluegel (1993) put it: "Opportunity-enhancing programs receive greater support because they are consistent with the norm of helping people help themselves. In addition, opportunity-enhancing programs do not challenge principles of

equity  
effort  
sition

U  
popul  
and S  
affirm  
from  
to opp  
tive of  
"affirm  
of res  
It echo  
most  
(fairly  
loweri  
detest.

H  
notatic  
to over  
also ha  
burder  
tion, ar  
tion's  
other a  
In this  
sity cor  
by blac

To  
mative  
not of

\*M  
with No  
Chicago  
White H

equity. Indeed, requirements that beneficiaries of such programs make the effort to acquire the training and skills needed to improve their economic positions are fully consistent with reward on the basis of individual effort."

Unlike preferential racial policies, opportunity-enhancing programs have popular support and a relatively weak connection to antiblack attitudes (Bobo and Smith 1994). For all these reasons, to make the most effective case for affirmative action programs in a period when such programs are under attack from many quarters, emphasis should be shifted from numerical guidelines to opportunity. The concept that I would use to signal this shift is "affirmative opportunity."\* By substituting "opportunity" for "action," the concept "affirmative opportunity" draws the focus away from a guarantee of equality of results, which is how "affirmative action" has come to be understood. It echoes the phrase "equal opportunity," which connotes a principle that most Americans still support, while avoiding connotations now associated (fairly or not) with the idea of affirmative action—connotations like quotas, lowering of standards, and reverse discrimination, which most Americans detest.

However, by retaining the term "affirmative," the concept keeps the connotation that something more than offering formal, legal equality is required to overcome the legacy of slavery and Jim Crow segregation. As a society, we also have the continuing moral obligation to compensate for the enduring burdens—the social and psychological damage—of segregation, discrimination, and bigotry. To practice affirmative opportunity means to renew the nation's commitment to enable all Americans, regardless of income, race, or other attributes, to achieve to the highest level that their abilities will permit. In this sense, the phrase echoes President Johnson's 1965 Howard University commencement speech on human rights, which was uniformly praised by black civil rights leaders.

To repeat, polling data suggest that Americans support the idea of affirmative action programs to enable people to overcome disadvantages that are not of their own making. This should be done, however, by using flexible

\*My views on affirmative opportunity have greatly benefited from my discussions with Noel Salinger of the Irving B. Harris School of Public Policy at the University of Chicago. Salinger helped me to draft several memoranda on affirmative action for the White House, and my views here were initially developed in those memoranda.

criteria of evaluation, not numerical guidelines or quotas. The obvious rejoinder is that "using flexible criteria" is another way of saying that lower standards will be permitted. On the contrary, using flexible criteria of evaluation will ensure that we are measuring merit or potential to succeed rather than privilege. In other words, we want to use criteria that would not exclude people who have as much potential to succeed as those admitted who have more privileged backgrounds.

The differences in average test scores, touted by some opponents to compensatory social programs and affirmative action, are largely measures of differences in opportunities between the advantaged and the disadvantaged, especially in equal access to high-quality child care and good schooling (Heckman 1995; Neal and Johnson 1995). Flexible criteria accommodate the need to design metrics of ability that predict success and that are not captured by such tests. Indications of these attributes may be obtained from letters of recommendation, past performance, or other measures. Mayor Richard Daley's use of merit promotions in the Chicago Police Department, which are based on such factors as job performance and leadership ability, is an example of how such criteria can be used.

Relying on flexible criteria may be a way of replacing the goals and timetables currently used by government agencies and contractors. Having said that, I should also note that it will be extremely important to calibrate the use of flexible criteria in practice. They must be presented as a way of expanding the pool of qualified applicants by making attributes other than raw test scores count more. Flexible criteria must be applied in thoughtful ways, based on the experience of what works in certain situations and particular institutions. Otherwise, the practice will be infected with arbitrariness, which would quickly undermine public support.

### New Social Rights for All Americans

Affirmative opportunity efforts remain vital to a progressive strategy and central to the continuing quest for racial justice in America. But affirmative opportunity programs alone are not enough. They ought to be combined with appropriate race-neutral public policies in order to address economic insecurities that now affect many groups in an era of rising social inequality.

In thinking about social rights today, we must appreciate that the poor and the working classes of all racial groups struggle to make ends meet and

that even the middle Americans across race and job security, despite the availability of a quality of public education in their neighborhoods.

Not surprisingly, surveys. For the last strong public back training efforts, to indicate that almost increase to pay for a out of ten Americans system of the United the eve of President nearly two-thirds of "so that all Americans what." Finally, recent Center at the University of Michigan (Survey 1988-94).

Despite being a these concerns—pro skills training, improve care, and reduce ne tionately benefit the cially poor minorities provided that they are better off.

A comprehensive inequality should be opportunity-enhancing inequality. To repeat ria of evaluation in c should be based on

that even the middle class has experienced a decline in its living standard. Americans across racial and class boundaries worry about unemployment and job security, declining real wages, escalating medical and housing costs, the availability of affordable child care programs, the sharp decline in the quality of public education, and crime and drug trafficking in their neighborhoods.

Not surprisingly, these concerns are clearly reflected in public opinion surveys. For the last several years, national opinion polls consistently reveal strong public backing for government labor-market strategies, including training efforts, to increase employment opportunities. A 1988 Harris poll indicated that almost three-quarters of its respondents would support a tax increase to pay for child care. A 1989 Harris poll reported that almost nine out of ten Americans would like to see fundamental changes in the health care system of the United States. A September 1993 *New York Times*-CBS poll, on the eve of President Clinton's health care address to the nation, revealed that nearly two-thirds of the nation's citizens would be willing to pay higher taxes "so that all Americans have health insurance that they can't lose no matter what." Finally, recent surveys conducted by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago reveal that a substantial majority of Americans want to see more money spent on improving the nation's educational system and on halting the rise in crime and drug addiction (General Social Survey 1988-94).

Despite being officially race-neutral, programs created in response to these concerns—programs that increase employment opportunities and job skills training, improve public education, promote better child and health care, and reduce neighborhood crime and drug abuse—would disproportionately benefit the most disadvantaged segments of the population, especially poor minorities. Social programs, too, can further racial justice, provided that they are designed to include the needy as well as the somewhat better off.

A comprehensive race-neutral initiative to address economic and social inequality should be viewed as an extension of—not a replacement for—opportunity-enhancing programs that include race-based criteria to fight social inequality. To repeat, I feel that such programs should employ flexible criteria of evaluation in college admission, hiring, job promotion, and so on, and should be based on a broad definition of disadvantage that incorporates

notions of both need and race. Although recent public opinion polls indicate that most Americans would support race-based programs intended to enhance opportunities, mobilizing and sustaining the political support for such programs will be much more difficult if they are not designed to reach broader segments of the American population.

Other programs that can be accurately described as purely race-neutral—national health care, school reform, and job training based on need—would greatly benefit not only racial minority populations but large segments of the dominant white population as well. National opinion poll results suggest the possibility of a new alignment in support of a comprehensive social rights initiative that would include such programs. If such an alignment is attempted, perhaps it ought to feature a new public rhetoric that would do two things: focus on problems that afflict not only the poor but the working and middle classes as well; and emphasize integrative programs that would promote the social and economic improvement of all groups in society, not just the truly disadvantaged segments of the population.

In the new, highly integrated global economy, an increasing number of Americans across racial, ethnic, and income groups are experiencing declining real incomes, increasing job displacement, and growing economic insecurity. The unprecedented level of inner-city joblessness represents one important aspect of the broader economic dislocations that cut across racial and ethnic groups in the United States (Wilson 1996). Accordingly, where economic and social reforms are concerned, it hardly seems politically wise to focus mainly on the most disadvantaged groups while ignoring other segments of the population that have also been adversely affected by global economic changes.

Unfortunately, just when bold new comprehensive initiatives are urgently needed to address these problems, the U.S. Congress has retreated from using public policy as an instrument with which to fight social inequality. Failure to deal with this growing social inequality, including the rise of joblessness in U.S. inner cities, could seriously worsen the economic lives of urban families and neighborhoods.

Groups ranging from the inner-city poor to the working- and middle-class Americans who are struggling to make ends meet will have to be effectively mobilized in order for the current course taken by policymakers to be changed. Perhaps the best way to accomplish this is through coalition poli-

tics that promotes recognition of the earned income tax credit and child care programs. A broad coalition is needed for such a process.

Because an effective solution to be addressed is the need for economic reform in America's minority poor. Social inequality and economic disadvantage are racial and ethnic groups may become allies in addressing these social problems.

In the absence of a coalition, the U.S. could find themselves in a difficult position. Recent proposals in the form of a spending cut from programs targeted at the poor represent only one of many even more clear-cut options. Unless progressives will ever vote to finance new social inequality reduction programs.

Instead of recognizing the policies that have led to the current situation, we seek to assign blame to individuals alike with no regard for ethnic, or motivation for financing any social program. A limited number of welfare checks. Congress has retreated from addressing that progressive public policy direction. The U.S. is intimidated and paralyzed.

tics that promotes race-neutral efforts—such as jobs creation, further expansion of the earned income tax credit, public school reform, access to excellent child care programs, and universal health insurance. A broad-based political coalition is needed to successfully push such programs through the political process.

Because an effective political coalition in part depends upon how the issues to be addressed are defined, it is imperative for leaders to underscore the need for economic and social reform that benefits all groups, not just America's minority poor. Changes in the global economy are creating growing social inequality and situations which intensify antagonisms between different racial and ethnic groups. Yet groups who often see themselves as antagonists may become allies in a reform coalition to redress common problems—especially problems perceived as caused by forces outside their own control.

In the absence of a broad, effective coalition, disadvantaged groups could find themselves in a very vulnerable political position. According to recent proposals in the House of Representatives, more than two-thirds of proposed spending cuts from the federal budget for the year 2000 would come from programs targeted for low-income citizens, even though these programs represent only one-fifth of the current federal budget. And the situation is even more clear-cut when we consider possibilities for new social programs. Unless progressives can build broad coalitions, it is unlikely that Congress will ever vote to finance the kinds of reforms that are needed to combat the new social inequality. The momentum is away from, not toward, adequate social programs.

Instead of recognizing and dealing with the complex and changing realities that have led to economic distress for so many Americans, policymakers seek to assign blame and associate the economic problems of families and individuals alike with such personal shortcomings as lack of initiative, work ethic, or motivation. Consequently, there is very little support in favor of financing any social programs, even the creation of public service jobs for the limited number of welfare recipients who reach a time limit for the receipt of welfare checks. Considering the deleterious consequences that this shortsighted retreat from public policy will have for so many Americans, it is distressing that progressive groups, far from being energized to reverse the public policy direction in which the country is now moving, at times appear intimidated and paralyzed by today's racially charged political rhetoric.

Comprehensive solutions for the new social inequality stand little chance of being adopted or even seriously considered if no new political coalition begins pressing for economic and social reform. Political leaders concerned about the current shift in public policy will have to develop a unifying rhetoric, a progressive message that both resonates with broad segments of the American population and enables groups to recognize that it is in their interest to join a reform coalition dedicated to moving America forward.

### Bridging the Racial Divide

Given America's tense racial situation, especially in urban areas, the formation of a multi-ethnic reform coalition will not be easy. Our nation's response to racial discord in the central city and to the growing racial divide between the city and the suburbs has been disappointing. In discussing these problems we have a tendency to engage in the kind of rhetoric that exacerbates, rather than alleviates, urban and metropolitan racial tensions. Ever since the 1992 Los Angeles riot, the media has focused heavily on the factors that divide rather than unite racial groups. Emphasis on racial division peaked in 1995 following the jury's verdict in the O.J. Simpson murder trial. Before the verdict was announced, opinion polls revealed, whites overwhelmingly thought that Mr. Simpson was guilty, while a substantial majority of blacks felt that he was innocent. The media clips showing public reaction to the verdict dramatized the racial contrasts: blacks appeared elated and jubilant; whites appeared stunned, angry, and somber. America's racial divide, as depicted in the media, seemed wider than ever.

The country's deep racial divisions certainly should not be underestimated, but the unremitting emphasis on these gaps has obscured the fact that African-Americans, whites, and other ethnic groups share many concerns, are beset by many similar problems, and have important values, aspirations, and hopes in common.

For example, if inner-city blacks are experiencing the greatest problems of joblessness, their situation is nevertheless a more extreme form of economic difficulties that have affected many Americans since 1980. Solutions to the broader problems of economic marginality in this country, including those that stem from changes in the global economy, can go a long way toward addressing the problems of inner-city joblessness, especially if the applica-

tion of resources inc (Wilson 1996). Dis problems promote severity in the prob races together, not a tension.

Because the pro vere, a vision of inte but at the same time more important than promoted by all lea

A new democr is so divisive that v work together in a c alize that if a politic ties draw back, ju minority audiences cern families of all groups can honestl tion to move Ameri

Despite legacie events, a politics a racial groups is ver above all popular and work to fashion progressive new m

tion of resources includes wise targeting of the groups most in need of help (Wilson 1996). Discussions that emphasize common solutions to shared problems promote a sense of unity, regardless of the different degrees of severity in the problems afflicting different groups. Such messages bring races together, not apart, and are especially important during periods of racial tension.

Because the problems of the new social inequality are growing more severe, a vision of interracial unity that acknowledges racially distinct problems but at the same time emphasizes transracial solutions to shared problems is more important than ever. Such a vision should be developed, shared, and promoted by all leaders in this country, but especially by political leaders.

A new democratic vision must reject the commonly held view that race is so divisive that whites, blacks, Latinos, and other ethnic groups cannot work together in a common cause. Those articulating the new vision must realize that if a political message is tailored to a white audience, racial minorities draw back, just as whites draw back when a message is tailored to minority audiences. The challenge is to find issues and programs that concern families of all racial and ethnic groups, so that individuals in these groups can honestly perceive mutual interests and join in a multiracial coalition to move America forward.

Despite legacies of racial domination and obstacles thrown up by recent events, a politics about problems and solutions relevant for people across racial groups is very possible in the United States today. Political leaders—above all popular Democrats—should forcefully articulate such a message and work to fashion the multiracial coalitions that must be at the heart of any progressive new majority in American democracy.

Race initiative policy - general

# The New Social Inequality and Affirmative Opportunity

William Julius Wilson

Partly a political strategy  
- a way of obtaining buy-in.  
But more:

- disadvantaged blacks will benefit from multi-pols as much as more as from civil rights act

**A**

s the turn of the century approaches, the movement for racial equality needs a new political strategy. That strategy must appeal to America's broad multi-

ethnic population, while addressing the many problems that afflict disadvantaged minorities and redressing the legacy of historical racism in America.

The nation seems to have become more divided on issues pertaining to race, especially since the first O. J. Simpson murder trial. And affirmative action programs are under heavy assault. Americans' understanding of the meaning and significance of race has become more confused. Many Americans are puzzled by complex racial changes—not only the growth of socio-economic inequality among African-Americans, but also the sharp increase in joblessness, concentrated poverty, and welfare receipt among the black poor living in ghettos. Such changes have unfolded in the aftermath of the passage of comprehensive civil rights legislation in the 1960s and the subsequent enactment of affirmative action programs and the antipoverty efforts of the Great Society. By now, some three decades later, not only have many changes transpired for African-Americans and for American race relations. In addition, broad public sympathy for those minority individuals who have suffered the most from racial exclusion has waned.

1st half by  
what Wilson  
says is true

- ~~disadvantaged~~ whites face  
same (or similar)  
shocks as blacks  
common, arising  
from new economic  
circumstances/uncertainties

Indeed, many white Americans have turned against public programs widely perceived as benefiting only racial minorities. Several decades ago, efforts to raise the public's awareness and conscience about the plight of African-Americans helped the enactment of civil rights legislation and affirmative action programs. By the 1980s, however, black leaders' assertions that black progress was a "myth"—rhetoric used to reinforce arguments for stronger race-based programs—ironically played into the hands of conservative critics. Although this strategy may have increased sympathy among some whites for the plight of black Americans, it also created the erroneous impression that federal antidiscrimination efforts had failed. And it overlooked the significance of the complex racial changes that had been unfolding since the mid-1960s. Perhaps most pernicious of all, arguments for more and more race-based programs to help blacks fed growing white concerns, aroused by demagogic messages, that any special efforts by politicians to deal with black needs and complaints were coming at the expense of the white majority.

While these developments happened in politics, Americans confronted jarring new economic conditions. National and international economic transformations have placed new stresses on families and communities—stresses that are hardly confined to blacks. Along with African-Americans, large segments of the white, Latino, and Asian populations are also plagued by growing economic insecurities, family breakups, and community stresses. Such conditions are breeding grounds for racial and ethnic tensions. In this social climate, conservatives have attempted to unite white Americans around anger at the government and racial minorities. Their political message seems plausible to many white taxpayers, who see themselves as being forced to pay for programs that primarily benefit racial minorities.

In this essay I suggest how progressives can redefine the issues so that the concerns of both the larger American population and the racial minority population are simultaneously addressed. Progressives can pursue policies that unite rather than divide racial groups, thus opening the way for the formation of a multiracial progressive coalition in national politics.

### **The Changing Climate for Race-Based Programs**

When affirmative action programs were first discussed in the 1960s, the economy was expanding, and incomes were rising. It was a time of optimism, a time when most Americans believed that their children would have better

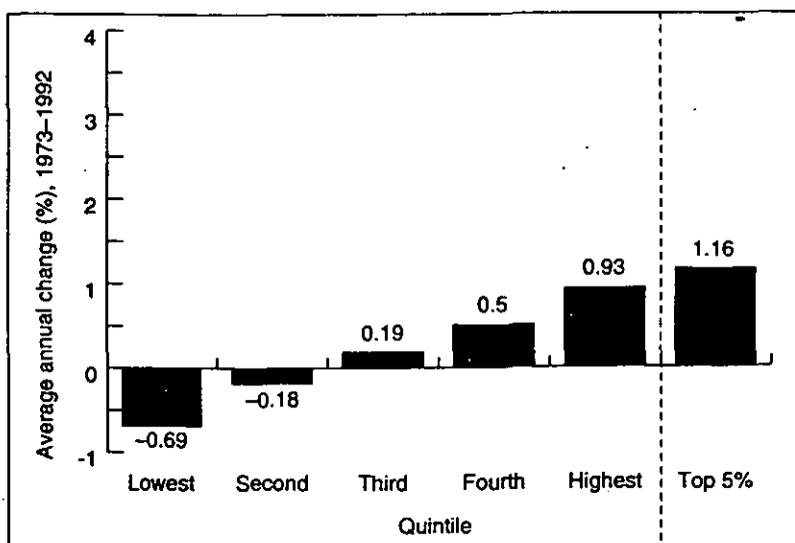
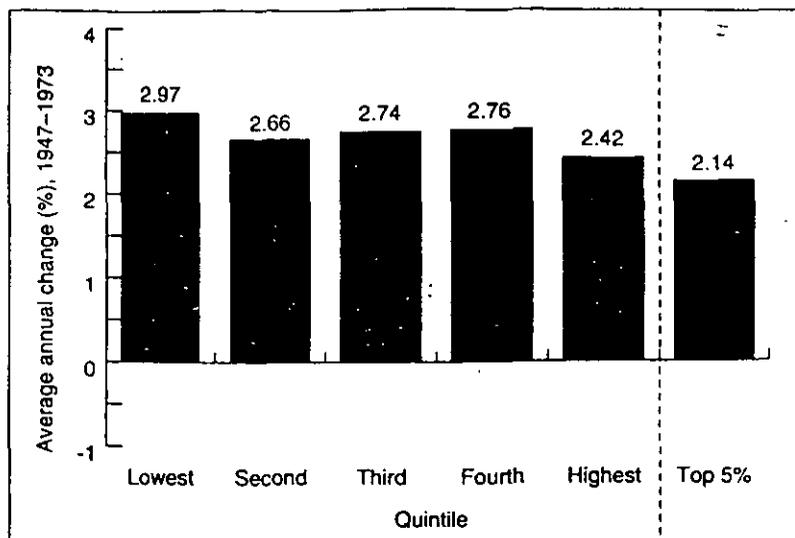
lives than they had. During such times a generosity of spirit permits consideration of sharing an expanding pie.

In the decades immediately after World War II, all income groups experienced economic advancement, including the poor. A rising tide did indeed lift all boats. In fact, as revealed in figure 1, between 1947 and 1973 the lowest quintile in family income experienced the highest growth in annual income, "which meant that the poor were becoming less poor in both relative and absolute terms" (Bronfenbrenner et al. 1996, p. 14). But this pattern began to change in the early 1970s. Growth slowed, and the distribution of inflation-adjusted income started to become more unequal. Whereas average income gains from 1973 to 1992 continued for the higher quintiles (but at a rate considerably slower than that of the previous two decades), the two lowest quintiles actually experienced annual declines in income during this period. Wage data since 1979, based on percentiles instead of quintiles (see figure 2), show a pattern quite similar to the trends in family income. The wages of those at the top have continued to climb in recent years, while those at the bottom have fallen steadily.

Thus the downward trend in wages during the past two decades has lowered the incomes of the least well-off citizens. This trend has been accompanied by a growing sense among an increasing number of Americans that their long-term economic prospects are bleaker. And they would not be reassured to learn that the United States has had the most rapid growth of wage inequality in the Western world. In the 1950s and 1960s the average earnings of college graduates was only about 20 percent higher than that of high school graduates. By 1979, it had increased to 49 percent, and then it rapidly grew to 83 percent by 1992. "When the American economy rebounded from a recession in the early 1990s, roughly 2 million new jobs were created per year, but a large percentage of these offered wages below \$8 an hour (or about \$16,000 a year), with few if any health benefits and not much opportunity for advancement" (Bronfenbrenner et al. 1996, p. 117).

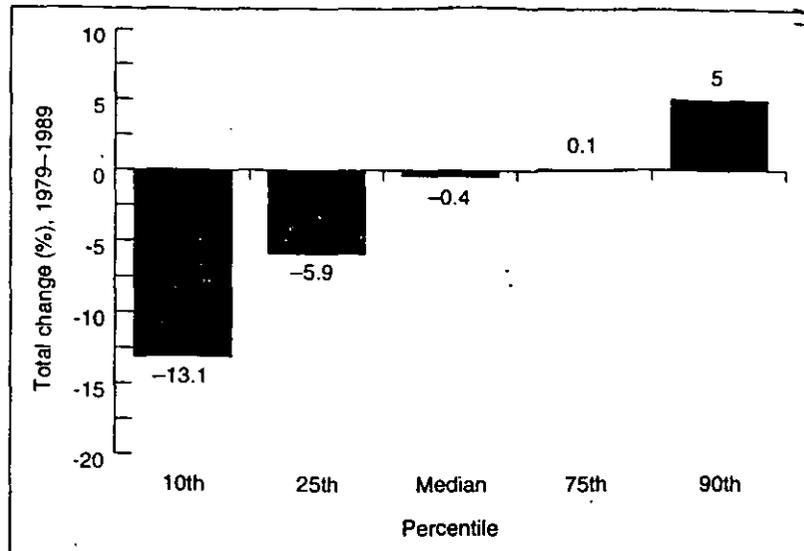
In sum, since the late 1970s, real wages (that is, wages adjusted for inflation) have fallen in the United States. Wage disparities between those with college degrees and those without have widened considerably. Working-class Americans feel economically pinched, barely able to maintain current standards of living even on two incomes. Many are insecure about keeping their jobs and fear that they will never be able to afford to send their children to

Figure 1. Family Income in the United States



Source: Adapted from Bronfenbrenner et al. (1996). The 1947 figures are from *The Statistical History of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*. The 1969 and 1992 figures are from the Bureau of the Census, *Income of Families and Persons in the United States, 1990*. Figures are adjusted for inflation based on constant 1992 dollars.

Figure 2. Wage Growth in the United States



Source: Adapted from Bronfenbrenner et al. (1996). Data reported in the Council of Economic Advisors, *Economic Report of the President, 1995*. Wages are in constant 1982-1984 CPI-U-X1 dollars.

college. Many believe that for all their hard work, their children's lives will be worse than theirs. For example, a 1995 Harris poll, conducted for *Business Week*, revealed that only one-half of all parents expected their children to have a better life than theirs; nearly seven out of ten believed that the American dream has been more difficult to achieve during the past ten years; and three-quarters felt that the dream will be even harder to achieve during the next ten years (cited in Bronfenbrenner et al. 1996).

Unfortunately for those who support race-based programs, this period of economic hard times has not been an ideal climate for a national debate on affirmative action. Despite the recent economic recovery and low rates of unemployment, most families continue to struggle with declining real wages, increasing job displacement, and job insecurity in a highly integrated and highly technological global economy. During periods when people are beset with economic anxiety, they become more receptive to simplistic ideological messages that deflect attention away from the real and complex sources of their problems, and it is vitally important that political leaders channel

citizens' frustrations in more positive or constructive directions. For the past few years and especially in 1995, immediately after the congressional elections of 1994, just the opposite frequently occurred. The poisonous racial rhetoric of certain highly visible spokespersons has increased racial tensions and channeled frustrations in ways that severely divide the racial groups. Instead of associating citizens' problems with economic and political changes, these divisive messages have encouraged them to turn on each other—race against race. As I pointed out in a *New York Times* editorial (Wilson 1992), this was a theme repeatedly emphasized by Bill Clinton during his 1992 campaign for the presidency.

Many white Americans have turned against a strategy emphasizing programs that they perceive as benefiting only racial minorities. There has been a growing concern, aroused by demagogic messages, that the politicians' sensitivity to black complaints had come at the expense of the white majority. And undifferentiated black complaints have aggravated the situation because they have reinforced a perception that, whatever our efforts, nothing really works, and a lot of time, energy, and money have been wasted.

### **The Rising Significance of Class**

By the beginning of the 1980s, the accomplishments of the civil rights struggle were clear; among them were the rising numbers of blacks in professional, technical, managerial, and administrative positions. Progress was also evident in the increasing enrollment of blacks in colleges and universities and the growing number of black homeowners. The expansion of participation in these areas was proportionately greater for blacks than for whites because such a tiny percentage of blacks had held property or pursued higher education before this time. As Jennifer Hochschild has pointed out, "One has not really succeeded in America unless one can pass the chance for success on to one's children" (1995, p. 44). Until the 1960s, doing so was quite difficult even for the few members of the old black middle class. Empirical research in the early 1960s provided no evidence that class could rival the powerful effects of race on black occupational and income achievements. In other words, states Hochschild, blacks "experienced a perverse sort of egalitarianism—neither the disadvantages of poverty nor the advantages of wealth made much difference in what they could achieve or pass on to their children. Discrimination swamped everything else" (p. 44).

Research by social scientists, however, reveals that between 1962 and 1973, class began to affect career and generational mobility for blacks as it had regularly done for whites (Wilson 1980; Featherman and Hauser 1978; Hout 1984). In particular, blacks from the most advantaged backgrounds experienced the greatest upward mobility. For the first time in American history, more advantaged blacks could expect their success to persist and cumulate. These trends have continued since 1973 but at a slower rate (Hochschild 1995, p. 44). On the other hand, among the disadvantaged segments of the black population, especially the ghetto poor, many dire problems—joblessness, concentrated poverty, family breakup, and the receipt of welfare—were getting even worse between 1973 and 1980.

The differential rates of progress in the black community have continued through the 1980s and early 1990s. Family incomes among the poorest of the poor reveal the pattern. From 1977 to 1993, the percentage of blacks with incomes below 50 percent of the amount designated as the poverty line, what we call the poorest of the poor, increased from 9 percent of the total black population in 1977 to 17 percent in 1993. In 1977, fewer than one of every three poor blacks fell below one-half of the poverty-line amount, but by 1993 the proportion rose to more than one-half (these figures and those that follow have been adjusted for inflation). In 1993 the average poor black family slipped further below the poverty level than in any year since 1967, when the Census Bureau started collecting such data (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994).

From 1975 to 1992, while the average income of the lowest quintile of black families in the United States declined by one-third and that of the second-lowest quintile declined by 13 percent, the average income of the highest quintile of black families climbed by 23 percent and that of the top 5 percent by 35 percent. Although income inequality between whites and blacks is substantial and the financial gap is even greater between the two races when wealth is considered—total financial assets, not just income (Oliver and Shapiro 1995; Wolff 1995)—in 1992 the highest fifth of black families nonetheless secured a record 49 percent of the total income among black families, compared to the 44 percent share of the total income received by the highest fifth of white families, also a record. So while income inequality has widened generally in America since 1975, the divide is even more dramatic among black Americans. If we are to fashion remedies for black

poverty, we need to understand the origins and dynamics of inequality in the African-American community. Without disavowing the accomplishments of the civil rights movement, black leaders and policymakers now need to give more attention to remedies that will make a concrete difference in the lives of the poor.

### **The Achievements and Limits of Affirmative Action**

The demands of the civil rights movement reflected a general assumption on the part of black leaders in the 1960s that the government could best protect the rights of individual members of minority groups, not by formally bestowing rewards and punishments based on racial group membership, but by using antidiscrimination legislation to enhance individual freedom. The movement was particularly concerned about access to education, employment, voting, and public accommodations. From the 1950s to 1970, the emphasis was on freedom of choice; the role of the state was to prevent the formal categorization of people on the basis of race. Antibias legislation was designed to eliminate racial discrimination without considering the proportion of minorities in certain positions. The underlying principle was that individual merit should be the sole determining factor in choosing candidates for desired positions. Because civil rights protests against racial discrimination clearly upheld a fundamental American principle, they carried a degree of moral authority that leaders like Martin Luther King, Jr., were able to repeatedly and effectively emphasize.

It would have been ideal if programs based on the principle of freedom of individual opportunity were sufficient to remedy racial inequality in our society. But long periods of racial oppression can result in a system of inequality that lingers even after racial barriers come down. The most disadvantaged minority individuals, crippled by the cumulative effects of both race and class subjugation, disproportionately lack the resources to compete effectively in a free and open market.

Eliminating racial barriers creates the greatest opportunities for the better-trained, most talented, and best-educated members of minority groups because these members possess the resources to compete most effectively. These resources reflect a variety of advantages—family stability, financial means, positive peer groups, good schooling—provided or made possible by their parents (Fishkin 1983).

By the late 1960s, a number of black leaders began to recognize this. In November 1967, Kenneth B. Clark said, "The masses of Negroes are now starkly aware of the fact that recent civil rights victories benefited a very small percentage of middle-class Negroes while [poorer blacks'] predicament remained the same or worsened" (Clark 1967, p. 8). Simply eliminating racial barriers was not going to be enough. As the black economist Vivian Henderson put it, "If all racial prejudice and discrimination and all racism were erased today, all the ills brought by the process of economic class distinction and economic depression of the masses of black people would remain" (Henderson 1975, p. 54).

Accordingly, black leaders and liberal policymakers began to emphasize the need not only to eliminate active discrimination but also to counteract the effects of past racial oppression. Instead of seeking remedies only for individual complaints of discrimination, as specified in Title 7 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (which prohibits employers from discriminating against individuals on the grounds of race, color, religion, gender, or national origin), they sought government-mandated affirmative action programs designed to ensure adequate minority representation in employment, education, and public programs.

But if the more advantaged members of minority groups benefit disproportionately from policies that embody the principle of equality of individual opportunity, they also profit disproportionately from affirmative action policies based solely on their racial group membership (Fishkin 1983). Minority individuals from the most advantaged families tend to be disproportionately represented among those of their racial group most qualified for preferred status, such as college admissions, higher-paying jobs, and promotions. Thus policies of affirmative action are much more likely to enhance the socioeconomic positions of the more advantaged minority individuals than the positions of the truly disadvantaged (Loury 1984 and 1995).

To be sure, affirmative action was not intended mainly to benefit the more advantaged minority individuals. As William L. Taylor, the former director of the United States Civil Rights Commission, has stated, "The focus of much of the [affirmative action] effort has been not just on white-collar jobs, but also on law enforcement, construction work, and craft and production in large companies—all areas in which the extension of new opportunities has provided upward mobility for less advantaged minority workers"

(Taylor 1986, p. 1714). As Taylor also notes, studies show that many minority students entering medical schools during the 1970s were from low-income families.

Affirmative action policies, however, did not really open up broad avenues of upward mobility for the masses of disadvantaged blacks. Like other forms of "creaming," they provided opportunities for those individuals from low socioeconomic background with the greatest educational and social resources. A careful analysis of data on income, employment, and educational attainment would probably reveal that only a few individuals who reside in the inner-city ghettos have benefited from affirmative action.

Since the early 1970s urban minorities have been highly vulnerable to structural changes in the economy, such as the shift from goods-producing to service-producing industries, the increasing polarization of the labor market into low-wage and high-wage sectors, the destabilizing innovations in technology, and the relocation of manufacturing industries outside the central city. These shifts have led to sharp increases in joblessness and the related problems of highly concentrated poverty, welfare receipt, and family breakup, despite the passage of antidiscrimination legislation to correct discriminatory patterns through litigation and the creation of affirmative action programs that mandate goals and timetables for the employment of minorities (Wilson 1987, 1995).

On the other hand, affirmative action programs have helped to bring about sharp increases in the number of blacks entering higher education and gaining professional and managerial positions. Moreover, as long as minorities are underrepresented in high-paying, desirable positions in society, affirmative action programs will be needed. Nonetheless, in response to cries from conservatives to abolish affirmative action altogether, some liberals have argued for a shift from affirmative action based on race to one based on economic class or need (Kahlenberg 1995).

The major distinguishing characteristic of affirmative action based on need is the recognition that the problems of the disadvantaged—low income, crime-ridden neighborhoods, broken homes, inadequate housing, poor education, cultural and linguistic differences—are not always clearly related to previous racial discrimination. Children who grow up in homes plagued by these disadvantages are more likely to be denied an equal chance in life because the development of their aspirations and talents is hindered by their en-

vironment, regardless of race. Minorities would benefit disproportionately from affirmative opportunity programs designed to address these disadvantages because they suffer disproportionately from the effects of such environments, but the problems of disadvantaged whites would be addressed as well.

An affirmative action based solely on need, however, would result in the systematic exclusion of many middle-income blacks from desirable positions because the standard or conventional measures of performance are not sensitive to the cumulative effects of race. By this I mean having one's life choices limited by race, regardless of class, because of the effects of living in segregated neighborhoods (that is, being exposed to styles of behavior, habits, and the particular skills that emerge from patterns of racial exclusion), because of the quality of de facto segregated schooling, and because of the nurturing by parents whose experiences have also been shaped and limited by race, which ultimately affects the resources they are able to pass on to their children (Heckman 1995).

Thus if we were to rely solely on the standard criteria for college admission, like SAT scores, even many children from black middle-class families would be denied admission in favor of middle-class whites who are not weighed down by the accumulation of disadvantages that stem from racial restrictions and who therefore tend to score higher on these conventional measures. An affirmative action based solely on need or economic class position could create a situation in which African-Americans who are admitted to Harvard represent the bottom half of the socioeconomic continuum in the black community, while those who are in the top half tend to be excluded because they are not eligible for consideration under affirmative action. They would therefore be left to compete with middle- and upper-income whites who are not burdened by the handicaps of race—as their higher scores on the conventional tests reflect.

The extent to which standard aptitude tests like the SAT and tests used for promoting police officers are measuring not privilege but real merit or the real potential to succeed is not readily apparent. Ideally, we should develop flexible criteria of evaluation or performance measures, as opposed to numerical guidelines or quotas, that would not exclude people with background handicaps, including minority racial background, who have as much potential to succeed as those admitted without those handicaps. While some test scores may correlate well with performance, they do not necessarily

measure important attributes that also determine performance, such as perseverance, motivation, interpersonal skills, reliability, and leadership qualities. Accordingly, since race is one of the components of being disadvantaged in this society, the ideal affirmative action program would emphasize flexible criteria of evaluation based on both need and race.

The cumulative effects of historical discrimination and racial segregation are reflected in many subtle ways that result in the underrepresentation of blacks in positions of high status and their overrepresentation in positions of low status. Some of these problems can be easily addressed with affirmative action programs that are at least in part based on race; others have to be combated by means of race-neutral strategies. As indicated earlier, less-advantaged blacks are extremely vulnerable to changes in our modern industrial society, and their problems are difficult to solve by means of race-based strategies alone—either those that support equality of individual opportunity, such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964, or those that represent affirmative action. Now more than ever, we need broader solutions than those we have employed in the past.

#### **From Preference to Affirmative Opportunity**

Given the current political climate and the new social inequality, any program designed to significantly improve the life chances of disadvantaged minorities, including increased employment opportunities, would have to be broadly applicable. That is, it would have to address the concerns of wide segments of the U.S. population, not just those of minority citizens.

Almost two decades ago, Vivian Henderson argued that "the economic future of blacks in the United States is bound up with that of the rest of the nation. Politics designed in the future to cope with the problems of the poor and victimized will also yield benefits to blacks. In contrast, any efforts to treat blacks separately from the rest of the nation are likely to lead to frustration, heightened racial animosities, and a waste of the country's resources and the precious resources of black people" (Henderson 1975, p. 54).

Henderson's warning seems to be especially appropriate in periods of economic stagnation, when public support for programs targeted to minorities—or associated with real or imagined material sacrifice on the part of whites—tends to wane. The economy was strong when affirmative action programs were introduced during the Johnson administration. When the

economy turned down in the 1970s, the public's view of affirmative action increasingly soured.

Furthermore, as Joseph A. Califano, Johnson's staff assistant for domestic affairs, observed in 1988, such programs were generally acceptable to whites "only as a temporary expedient to speed blacks' entry into the social and economic mainstream." But as years passed, many whites "saw continuing such preferences as an unjust insistence by Democrats that they do penance for an era of slavery and discrimination they had nothing to do with." They also associated the decline in public schools not with broader changes in society but with "forced integration" (Califano 1988, p. 29).

The Democrats also came under fire for their support for programs that increasingly were misrepresented as being intended for poor blacks alone. Virtually separate medical and legal systems developed in many cities. Public services became identified mainly with blacks, private services mainly with whites. In an era of ostensible racial justice, many public programs ironically seemed to constitute a new and costlier form of segregation. White taxpayers saw themselves as being forced through taxes to pay for medical and legal services that many of them could not afford to purchase for their own families.

White reaction to race-based problems has several dimensions, however. Over the past fifty years, there has been a steep rise in white support for racial desegregation. For example, although in 1942 only 42 percent of white Americans supported integrated schooling, by 1993 that figure had skyrocketed to 95 percent. Public opinion polls reveal similar patterns of change during the past five decades in white support for integration with regard to public accommodations, mass transportation, and housing (Bobo and Smith 1994).

Nonetheless, the virtual disappearance of Jim Crow attitudes toward racial segregation has not resulted in strong backing for government programs to aggressively combat discrimination, increase further integration, enroll blacks in institutions of higher learning, or enlarge the proportion of blacks in high-level occupations. Indeed, as evidenced in the public opinion polls, whites overwhelmingly object to government assistance targeted to blacks. Whereas eight of every ten African-Americans believe that the government is not spending enough to assist blacks today, only slightly more than one-third of white Americans feel this way. The idea that the federal government "has a special obligation to help improve the living standard of

blacks" because they "have been discriminated against so long" was supported by only one in five whites in 1991 and has never exceeded more than one in four since 1975 (Bobo and Kluegel 1994). And the lack of white support for this idea is unrelated to such background factors as age and education level.

Of course, the most widely discussed racial policy issue in recent years has been affirmative action. Despite a slight decrease in opposition to affirmative action programs in education and employment between 1986 and 1990, sentiments against these programs remain strong. In 1990, almost seven in ten white Americans opposed quotas to admit black students in colleges and universities, and more than eight in ten objected to the idea of preferential hiring and promotion of blacks.

Such strong white opposition to quotas and preferential hiring and promotion should not lead us to overlook the fact that there are some affirmative action policies that are supported by wide segments of the white population, regardless of racial attitudes. Recent studies reveal that, while opposing such "preferential" racial policies as college admission quotas or job hiring and promotion strategies designed to achieve equal outcomes, most white Americans approve of such "compensatory" affirmative action policies as race-targeted programs for job training, special education, and recruitment (Bobo and Smith 1994; Bobo and Kluegel 1993; Lipset and Schneider 1978; Kluegel and Smith 1986; Kinder and Sanders 1987). For example, in the 1990 General Social Survey, 68 percent of all whites favored spending more money on schools in black neighborhoods, especially for preschool and early education programs. And 70 percent favored granting special college scholarships to black children who maintain good grades (Bobo and Smith 1994).

Accordingly, programs that enable blacks to take advantage of opportunities, such as race-targeted early education programs and job training, are less likely to be "perceived as challenging the values of individualism and the work ethic." In other words, compensatory or opportunity-enhancing affirmative action programs are supported because they reinforce the belief that the allocation of jobs and economic rewards should be based on individual effort, training, and talent. As sociologists Larry Bobo and James Kluegel (1993) put it: "Opportunity-enhancing programs receive greater support because they are consistent with the norm of helping people help themselves. In addition, opportunity-enhancing programs do not challenge principles of

equity. Indeed, requirements that beneficiaries of such programs make the effort to acquire the training and skills needed to improve their economic positions are fully consistent with reward on the basis of individual effort."

Unlike preferential racial policies, opportunity-enhancing programs have popular support and a relatively weak connection to antiblack attitudes (Bobo and Smith 1994). For all these reasons, to make the most effective case for affirmative action programs in a period when such programs are under attack from many quarters, emphasis should be shifted from numerical guidelines to opportunity. The concept that I would use to signal this shift is "affirmative opportunity."\* By substituting "opportunity" for "action," the concept "affirmative opportunity" draws the focus away from a guarantee of equality of results, which is how "affirmative action" has come to be understood. It echoes the phrase "equal opportunity," which connotes a principle that most Americans still support, while avoiding connotations now associated (fairly or not) with the idea of affirmative action—connotations like quotas, lowering of standards, and reverse discrimination, which most Americans detest.

However, by retaining the term "affirmative," the concept keeps the connotation that something more than offering formal, legal equality is required to overcome the legacy of slavery and Jim Crow segregation. As a society, we also have the continuing moral obligation to compensate for the enduring burdens—the social and psychological damage—of segregation, discrimination, and bigotry. To practice affirmative opportunity means to renew the nation's commitment to enable all Americans, regardless of income, race, or other attributes, to achieve to the highest level that their abilities will permit. In this sense, the phrase echoes President Johnson's 1965 Howard University commencement speech on human rights, which was uniformly praised by black civil rights leaders.

To repeat, polling data suggest that Americans support the idea of affirmative action programs to enable people to overcome disadvantages that are not of their own making. This should be done, however, by using flexible

\*My views on affirmative opportunity have greatly benefited from my discussions with Noel Salinger of the Irving B. Harris School of Public Policy at the University of Chicago. Salinger helped me to draft several memoranda on affirmative action for the White House, and my views here were initially developed in those memoranda.

criteria of evaluation, not numerical guidelines or quotas. The obvious rejoinder is that "using flexible criteria" is another way of saying that lower standards will be permitted. On the contrary, using flexible criteria of evaluation will ensure that we are measuring merit or potential to succeed rather than privilege. In other words, we want to use criteria that would not exclude people who have as much potential to succeed as those admitted who have more privileged backgrounds.

The differences in average test scores, touted by some opponents to compensatory social programs and affirmative action, are largely measures of differences in opportunities between the advantaged and the disadvantaged, especially in equal access to high-quality child care and good schooling (Heckman 1995; Neal and Johnson 1995). Flexible criteria accommodate the need to design metrics of ability that predict success and that are not captured by such tests. Indications of these attributes may be obtained from letters of recommendation, past performance, or other measures. Mayor Richard Daley's use of merit promotions in the Chicago Police Department, which are based on such factors as job performance and leadership ability, is an example of how such criteria can be used.

Relying on flexible criteria may be a way of replacing the goals and timetables currently used by government agencies and contractors. Having said that, I should also note that it will be extremely important to calibrate the use of flexible criteria in practice. They must be presented as a way of expanding the pool of qualified applicants by making attributes other than raw test scores count more. Flexible criteria must be applied in thoughtful ways, based on the experience of what works in certain situations and particular institutions. Otherwise, the practice will be infected with arbitrariness, which would quickly undermine public support.

### **New Social Rights for All Americans**

Affirmative opportunity efforts remain vital to a progressive strategy and central to the continuing quest for racial justice in America. But affirmative opportunity programs alone are not enough. They ought to be combined with appropriate race-neutral public policies in order to address economic insecurities that now affect many groups in an era of rising social inequality.

In thinking about social rights today, we must appreciate that the poor and the working classes of all racial groups struggle to make ends meet and

that even the middle class has experienced a decline in its living standard. Americans across racial and class boundaries worry about unemployment and job security, declining real wages, escalating medical and housing costs, the availability of affordable child care programs, the sharp decline in the quality of public education, and crime and drug trafficking in their neighborhoods.

Not surprisingly, these concerns are clearly reflected in public opinion surveys. For the last several years, national opinion polls consistently reveal strong public backing for government labor-market strategies, including training efforts, to increase employment opportunities. A 1988 Harris poll indicated that almost three-quarters of its respondents would support a tax increase to pay for child care. A 1989 Harris poll reported that almost nine out of ten Americans would like to see fundamental changes in the health care system of the United States. A September 1993 *New York Times*-CBS poll, on the eve of President Clinton's health care address to the nation, revealed that nearly two-thirds of the nation's citizens would be willing to pay higher taxes "so that all Americans have health insurance that they can't lose no matter what." Finally, recent surveys conducted by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago reveal that a substantial majority of Americans want to see more money spent on improving the nation's educational system and on halting the rise in crime and drug addiction (General Social Survey 1988-94).

Despite being officially race-neutral, programs created in response to these concerns—programs that increase employment opportunities and job skills training, improve public education, promote better child and health care, and reduce neighborhood crime and drug abuse—would disproportionately benefit the most disadvantaged segments of the population, especially poor minorities. Social programs, too, can further racial justice, provided that they are designed to include the needy as well as the somewhat better off.

A comprehensive race-neutral initiative to address economic and social inequality should be viewed as an extension of—not a replacement for—opportunity-enhancing programs that include race-based criteria to fight social inequality. To repeat, I feel that such programs should employ flexible criteria of evaluation in college admission, hiring, job promotion, and so on, and should be based on a broad definition of disadvantage that incorporates

notions of both need and race. Although recent public opinion polls indicate that most Americans would support race-based programs intended to enhance opportunities, mobilizing and sustaining the political support for such programs will be much more difficult if they are not designed to reach broader segments of the American population.

Other programs that can be accurately described as purely race-neutral—national health care, school reform, and job training based on need—would greatly benefit not only racial minority populations but large segments of the dominant white population as well. National opinion poll results suggest the possibility of a new alignment in support of a comprehensive social rights initiative that would include such programs. If such an alignment is attempted, perhaps it ought to feature a new public rhetoric that would do two things: focus on problems that afflict not only the poor but the working and middle classes as well; and emphasize integrative programs that would promote the social and economic improvement of all groups in society, not just the truly disadvantaged segments of the population.

In the new, highly integrated global economy, an increasing number of Americans across racial, ethnic, and income groups are experiencing declining real incomes, increasing job displacement, and growing economic insecurity. The unprecedented level of inner-city joblessness represents one important aspect of the broader economic dislocations that cut across racial and ethnic groups in the United States (Wilson 1996). Accordingly, where economic and social reforms are concerned, it hardly seems politically wise to focus mainly on the most disadvantaged groups while ignoring other segments of the population that have also been adversely affected by global economic changes.

Unfortunately, just when bold new comprehensive initiatives are urgently needed to address these problems, the U.S. Congress has retreated from using public policy as an instrument with which to fight social inequality. Failure to deal with this growing social inequality, including the rise of joblessness in U.S. inner cities, could seriously worsen the economic lives of urban families and neighborhoods.

Groups ranging from the inner-city poor to the working- and middle-class Americans who are struggling to make ends meet will have to be effectively mobilized in order for the current course taken by policymakers to be changed. Perhaps the best way to accomplish this is through coalition poli-

tics that promotes race-neutral efforts—such as jobs creation, further expansion of the earned income tax credit, public school reform, access to excellent child care programs, and universal health insurance. A broad-based political coalition is needed to successfully push such programs through the political process.

Because an effective political coalition in part depends upon how the issues to be addressed are defined, it is imperative for leaders to underscore the need for economic and social reform that benefits all groups, not just America's minority poor. Changes in the global economy are creating growing social inequality and situations which intensify antagonisms between different racial and ethnic groups. Yet groups who often see themselves as antagonists may become allies in a reform coalition to redress common problems—especially problems perceived as caused by forces outside their own control.

In the absence of a broad, effective coalition, disadvantaged groups could find themselves in a very vulnerable political position. According to recent proposals in the House of Representatives, more than two-thirds of proposed spending cuts from the federal budget for the year 2000 would come from programs targeted for low-income citizens, even though these programs represent only one-fifth of the current federal budget. And the situation is even more clear-cut when we consider possibilities for new social programs. Unless progressives can build broad coalitions, it is unlikely that Congress will ever vote to finance the kinds of reforms that are needed to combat the new social inequality. The momentum is away from, not toward, adequate social programs.

Instead of recognizing and dealing with the complex and changing realities that have led to economic distress for so many Americans, policymakers seek to assign blame and associate the economic problems of families and individuals alike with such personal shortcomings as lack of initiative, work ethic, or motivation. Consequently, there is very little support in favor of financing any social programs, even the creation of public service jobs for the limited number of welfare recipients who reach a time limit for the receipt of welfare checks. Considering the deleterious consequences that this short-sighted retreat from public policy will have for so many Americans, it is distressing that progressive groups, far from being energized to reverse the public policy direction in which the country is now moving, at times appear intimidated and paralyzed by today's racially charged political rhetoric.

Comprehensive solutions for the new social inequality stand little chance of being adopted or even seriously considered if no new political coalition begins pressing for economic and social reform. Political leaders concerned about the current shift in public policy will have to develop a unifying rhetoric, a progressive message that both resonates with broad segments of the American population and enables groups to recognize that it is in their interest to join a reform coalition dedicated to moving America forward.

### Bridging the Racial Divide

Given America's tense racial situation, especially in urban areas, the formation of a multi-ethnic reform coalition will not be easy. Our nation's response to racial discord in the central city and to the growing racial divide between the city and the suburbs has been disappointing. In discussing these problems we have a tendency to engage in the kind of rhetoric that exacerbates, rather than alleviates, urban and metropolitan racial tensions. Ever since the 1992 Los Angeles riot, the media has focused heavily on the factors that divide rather than unite racial groups. Emphasis on racial division peaked in 1995 following the jury's verdict in the O. J. Simpson murder trial. Before the verdict was announced, opinion polls revealed, whites overwhelmingly thought that Mr. Simpson was guilty, while a substantial majority of blacks felt that he was innocent. The media clips showing public reaction to the verdict dramatized the racial contrasts: blacks appeared elated and jubilant; whites appeared stunned, angry, and somber. America's racial divide, as depicted in the media, seemed wider than ever.

The country's deep racial divisions certainly should not be underestimated, but the unremitting emphasis on these gaps has obscured the fact that African-Americans, whites, and other ethnic groups share many concerns, are beset by many similar problems, and have important values, aspirations, and hopes in common.

For example, if inner-city blacks are experiencing the greatest problems of joblessness, their situation is nevertheless a more extreme form of economic difficulties that have affected many Americans since 1980. Solutions to the broader problems of economic marginality in this country, including those that stem from changes in the global economy, can go a long way toward addressing the problems of inner-city joblessness, especially if the applica-

tion of resources includes wise targeting of the groups most in need of help (Wilson 1996). Discussions that emphasize common solutions to shared problems promote a sense of unity, regardless of the different degrees of severity in the problems afflicting different groups. Such messages bring races together, not apart, and are especially important during periods of racial tension.

Because the problems of the new social inequality are growing more severe, a vision of interracial unity that acknowledges racially distinct problems but at the same time emphasizes transracial solutions to shared problems is more important than ever. Such a vision should be developed, shared, and promoted by all leaders in this country, but especially by political leaders.

A new democratic vision must reject the commonly held view that race is so divisive that whites, blacks, Latinos, and other ethnic groups cannot work together in a common cause. Those articulating the new vision must realize that if a political message is tailored to a white audience, racial minorities draw back, just as whites draw back when a message is tailored to minority audiences. The challenge is to find issues and programs that concern families of all racial and ethnic groups, so that individuals in these groups can honestly perceive mutual interests and join in a multiracial coalition to move America forward.

Despite legacies of racial domination and obstacles thrown up by recent events, a politics about problems and solutions relevant for people across racial groups is very possible in the United States today. Political leaders—above all popular Democrats—should forcefully articulate such a message and work to fashion the multiracial coalitions that must be at the heart of any progressive new majority in American democracy.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 18, 1997

MR. PRESIDENT:

Please note that many of these proposals are still in the formative stage.

Phil Caplan

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
10-21-97

Copied  
Reed  
Kagan  
COS

Blue

I like them very much and would like to meet w/ you + Winton + others if we could be there soon to discuss them + a couple of specific dialogues on school/workplace

Alexis  
Mosier

DPC Race Initiative Policy Proposals

Education

✓ Teaching Initiative -- Previously announced proposal to prepare and recruit teachers for high-poverty urban and rural communities.

✓  
||| Urban Education Initiative -- Select 15-20 urban school districts as Education Opportunity Zones, which would receive additional monies for implementing a program of standards-based school reform, including measures to promote public school choice, end social promotions, remove bad teachers, and reconstitute failing schools. The Department of Education has requested \$320 million for FY 99 for this program.

✓ School Construction Proposal -- Support our own proposal from last year; the Daschle-Gephardt bill; or an alternative approach.

✓ College/School Partnerships -- Propose a grant program to promote strong partnerships between colleges and high-poverty middle and high schools. Through these partnerships, colleges would encourage students to take demanding courses, while providing academic enrichment and intensive mentoring, tutoring, and other support services. The Department of Education has requested \$200 million for FY 99 for this initiative.

✓ Communications Strategy for Maintaining Diversity in Higher Education -- Issue departmental report and give speech or town hall on the value of diversity in higher education; identify and highlight effective outreach and recruitment efforts in report and/or speech; invite educational leaders to White House to discuss the importance of the issue. Do not become Admissions Dean-in-Chief (i.e., do not recommend or endorse particular admissions criteria or strategies).

✓ Attacking Racial Separation Within Schools -- Department of Education report on best practices for helping students reach across racial barriers; grants to support model projects.

Economic Empowerment

✓  
||| Empowerment Zones, Round 2 -- Announce the Second Round Empowerment Zones designees. (There is some interagency dispute about the timing of this proposal, given our inability to come up with grant money to complement the tax incentives.)

✓  
y/y Housing Portability -- Announce package of proposals including expanding the home ownership voucher program, encouraging the use of exception rents to open suburban housing markets, eliminating obstacles to portability of Section 8 vouchers, and reducing mortgage denial rates for minorities by working with mortgage and real estate industry.

✓ Fair Lending Initiative -- Announce initiative that might include an examination of

Teaching  
College  
School  
Partnerships  
Communications  
Strategy  
Attacking  
Racial  
Separation  
Within  
Schools  
Economic  
Empowerment  
Empowerment  
Zones  
Housing  
Portability  
Fair  
Lending  
Initiative

10-21-97

✓ certain lending practices on minorities' access to capital, measures to improve the collection and analysis of data on loan denials, and increased resources for testing and enforcement (see below).

✓ Transportation Infrastructure Development -- Propose tax reforms to stimulate spinoff development from transit projects and aid development of urban intercity bus facilities.

✓ Assisting the Unbanked -- Announce the electronic funds transfer regulation, which may bring up to 10 million individuals into the banking system.

Health

✓ Initiative to Reduce Health Disparities -- Adopt multi-faceted program, largely focused on education and outreach, to reduce racial disparities in heart disease and stroke; breast, cervical, and other cancer; diabetes; infant mortality; AIDS; and immunizations. HHS, OMB, and Chris Jennings are in the midst of developing cost estimates for this initiative.

Crime

✓ Community Policing Initiative -- Target funds from the COPS program to hire new police officers and support community organizations in underprotected high-crime, largely minority neighborhoods (e.g., public housing communities); also use COPS money to promote diversity training for police and establish citizen academies to help community residents understand police procedures; promote minority recruitment in law enforcement through existing grant program.

✓ Community Prosecuting Initiative -- Develop an initiative to give communities an incentive to experiment with community prosecution, which applies the principles of community policing -- neighborhood involvement and a focus on problem solving and prevention -- to this aspect of the criminal justice system.

✓ At-Risk Youth Prevention Efforts -- Devote \$75 million currently in CJS appropriations bill, which we proposed as part of the President's juvenile crime strategy, to targeted programs for at-risk and minority youth (convince DOJ to drop plans for distributing funds by formula); launch a new fight to get crime bill prevention programs funded in next year's budget process.

✓ Indian Country Law Enforcement Initiative -- In line with recommendations of Departments of Justice and Interior (due on October 31), transfer law enforcement authority from BIA to Justice and seek increased law enforcement resources specifically designated for Indian Country.

Civil Rights Enforcement

✓ Enhanced Enforcement Initiative -- Request additional funds for civil rights enforcement,

81-accademy  
Tuition  
AP Fund 92

Plutarch?

good

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10-21-97

✓ tied to programmatic changes to improve coordination among federal government's civil rights offices, speed resolution of claims, and reduce backlog of cases. This initiative probably will focus on the EEOC. DPC, OMB, and other offices are currently working on cost estimates.

✓ Hate Crimes Initiative -- Announce a package of proposals at the November 10 hate crimes conference, including measures to enhance enforcement of hate crimes laws, improve collection of statistics, initiate educational activities, and amend the current federal hate crimes statute.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 15, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH:           ERSKINE BOWLES  
                  SYLVIA MATHEWS  
                  JUDITH WINSTON

FROM:               BRUCE REED  
                  ELENA KAGAN *ERK*

SUBJECT:            RACE INITIATIVE POLICY PROCESS

This memorandum sets out the process we will use to develop policy announcements and proposals for the Race Initiative. Our goals are: (1) to help provide a status report on race relations and racial disparities to inform policy development; (2) to assess and communicate the impact of this Administration's prior initiatives -- involving economic growth, education, crime, and so forth -- on race relations and the status of racial minorities; and (3) to build on this Administration's accomplishments and agenda with new initiatives to announce in the coming year and longer-term policies to incorporate in the final Presidential Report. We have a strong base from which to work, and we will attempt to ensure that the policy measures accompanying the Race Initiative will grow out of everything this Administration has done already. Throughout, we will focus on solutions that reflect the common values of the American people (e.g., equal opportunity and shared responsibility), and respond to their common aspirations (e.g., safe streets, good schools, and affordable housing).

**Research and Investigation**

In close cooperation with the DPC, NEC, Judy Winston, and Chris Edley, CEA will coordinate research on the current state of race relations and the continuing disparities in critical measures of well-being among individuals of different races. CEA already has developed a draft outline for this research, based on conversations with DPC and Chris Edley. The outline, which is attached to this memo, suggests research on, among other things: (1) disparities in economic success, educational opportunity, health care, political participation, family organization, and criminal victimization; (2) racial segregation in schools, neighborhoods, and workplaces; and (3) the prevalence and consequences of racial discrimination. In addition, research will be done on the differential effects of particular kinds of public policy on racial groups. CEA will do some aspects of this research itself and will assign other aspects to the appropriate offices in Treasury, DOL, Education, HHS, and DOJ. This work will go into the final President's Report and will influence and inform the development of policy discussed below.

## **Interagency Policy Development Process**

The DPC has established four major workgroups to develop policy for the Race Initiative. Bruce Reed, Elena Kagan, and Jose Cerda will coordinate the efforts of these groups. We anticipate developing both administrative actions and legislative proposals, and combining incremental (but important) policy advances with a few truly bold ideas. We will advance some of the policy proposals during the year-long initiative, while saving others for the President's Report at the end. (The right timeframe for policy proposals is not only the FY 1999 budget cycle, but the remaining years of this century and the start of the next.) The workgroups also will have responsibility for assessing the impact of prior Administration initiatives in their policy areas, so that we can build on our own accomplishments.

In coordinating policy development through these workgroups, we of course will work closely with Judy Winston and Chris Edley, and we will incorporate, as appropriate, advice provided to you by the Chair and Members of the Advisory Board. We also will solicit the views of outsiders -- such politically diverse people as William Julius Wilson, Glenn Loury, Henry Cisneros, Will Marshall, Doris Kearns, Richard Daley, and Nathan Glazer come to mind -- to challenge and enhance our own thinking.

1. **Economic and Community Empowerment** (co-chaired by Bruce Reed and Gene Sperling). This group will look at issues and policies relating to (1) job opportunities for unemployed and underemployed minorities, including welfare-to-work efforts and transportation initiatives to move inner city residents to suburban jobs; (2) housing for low-income residents of inner cities, including new or expanded uses of voucher plans and tax incentives to promote mixed-income, multi-racial communities; (3) metropolitan regional strategies to strengthen links between inner cities and suburbs; and (4) minority entrepreneurship, including credit programs building on CRA and CDFI.

Participating White House offices are: DPC, NEC, OVP/CEB, OPL, Intergovernmental, Legislative, CEA, CEQ, OMB.

Participating agencies are: Treasury, Labor, Commerce, Transportation, HUD, SBA, and Interior (for Native American population).

2. **Education** (chaired by Mike Cohen). This group will look at issues and policies relating to (1) failing inner city and rural schools, including issues of racial segregation and enhanced efforts to raise standards, improve teaching, provide improved infrastructure and new technology, promote charter schools, and encourage school takeovers and other accountability mechanisms; (2) education of Hispanic students, including bilingualism; and (3) expanded access to higher education and skills training. (Note that responses to Proposition 209 and Hopwood fall within the Administration of Justice Workgroup.)

Participating White House offices are: DPC, NEC, OVP, OPL, Intergovernmental, Legislative, OMB.

Participating agencies are: Education, Interior.

3. **Administration of Justice** (chaired by Elena Kagan). This group will look at issues and policies relating to (1) criminal law enforcement and prevention, including the underprotection of minority communities (including Indian reservations), police force composition and practices (including diversity issues and community policing), and after-school and other youth programs; and (2) enforcement of civil rights laws, including responses to Proposition 209 and Hopwood, reduction of the EEOC complaint backlog and other EEOC reforms, enhanced efforts on housing and lending discrimination, affirmative action issues generally, and hate crimes initiatives (for November conference).

Participating White House offices are: DPC, OVP, Counsel, OPL, Intergovernmental, Legislative, OMB, ONDCP.

Participating agencies are: Justice, Treasury, Education, DOL, HHS, HUD, USDA, Interior, EEOC.

4. **Health and Family** (chaired by Chris Jennings). This group will look at issues and policies relating to (1) special health care needs of minority populations, including the high incidence of certain health conditions and diseases and the underutilization of certain health care services, such as immunizations and mammograms; and (2) family composition, including efforts to strengthen two-parent families, ensure adoption of minority children, and provide supports to families led by grandparents.

Participating White House offices are: DPC, OVP, OPL, Intergovernmental, Legislative, OMB.

Participating agencies are: HHS, Interior.

### **This Week's Policy Announcement**

As you know, you will be attending the NAACP convention in Chicago on Thursday. We believe this speech offers an excellent opportunity to discuss the intersection of race and education issues. First, your speech can address the value of integration in educational settings. Thurgood Marshall once wrote that "unless our children begin to learn together, there is little hope that our people will ever learn to live together"; your speech can make exactly this link between educational integration and race relations generally to members of the organization most closely identified with progress in this area. This message would echo the strong argument you made for diversity in education in your San Diego speech; it also would lead naturally into your commemoration of the integration of Little Rock Central High School in September. Minyon Moore and others are reaching out to Kweisi Mfume and others to ensure that we address this issue in a way that avoids exacerbating internal NAACP divisions on the subject.

Second and no less important, you can stress the need to improve right now

predominantly poor and minority schools in inner city and rural areas. This part of your speech can protest the neglect (financial and otherwise) of predominantly minority schools and the consignment of their students to a second-class education. Here, you should make a strong statement about the importance of national standards and tests to boost expectations and improve the quality of education. But you should make an equally strong statement about providing students with the tools and opportunities to help them meet those standards -- better teaching, improved infrastructure and new technologies, and mechanisms to take over failing schools, including by turning them into charters (Rosa Parks is now trying to establish a charter school in Detroit).

As a down payment on a broader effort to improve inner city and rural schools, you can announce a new proposal to improve teaching in these institutions. The quality of teaching in inner city and rural schools is much lower than in the rest of the nation; in particular, the teachers in these schools are far less well trained than in others. To address this situation, Title V of the Department of Education's proposed reauthorization of the Higher Education Act, which will be submitted to Congress later this summer, proposes a new initiative to recruit, prepare, and retain teachers in urban and poor rural communities. This program would provide at least \$325 million over five years (we are still working out the exact funding with OMB) for two purposes: (1) to strengthen teacher training programs that operate in partnership with -- and place large numbers of graduates in -- urban or poor rural schools; and (2) to provide scholarships to talented and diverse individuals, chosen jointly by institutions of higher education and eligible school districts, who will commit to teach in urban and poor rural areas for at least three years after graduation.

## Draft CEA Research Agenda

### Part I: Demography

1. Racial composition of the US population: 1990s and historical trends
2. Geographic distribution
3. Components of change: birth, death and immigration
4. Projections

### Part II: Disparities in the 1990s and trends in disparities

#### 1. Economic status

##### a. Income and Poverty

##### b. Labor markets

employment, unemployment, non-employment  
hours

wages and non-wage compensation

occupation/industry

non-wage characteristics of jobs (e.g., working conditions, health risks)  
disability

##### c. Wealth/credit

financial

business ownership

home ownership

retirement wealth

credit and credit institutions

#### 2. Educational status

##### a. Enrollment

Drop out rates; college enrollment and completion rates

##### b. Quality of schooling

##### c. Achievement

##### d. Training

#### 3. Health status and health care

##### a. Health status

Pregnancy and infancy

Child hood and young adulthood

Adulthood

Older ages

{Specific diseases or conditions}

##### b. Health care

Insurance

Availability of health services

Health behaviors

#### 4. Political status

- a. Voting
- b. Holding public office
- c. Other political participation

#### 5. Criminal justice

- a. Offenders and victims
- b. Criminal justice process (sentencing etc.)

#### 6. Family organization

- a. Family structure
- b. Other family patterns (fostering, adoption, extension etc.)
- c. Living arrangements and family support of the older population

#### 7. Impact of immigration

- a. Labor markets
- b. Education
- c. Other

#### Part III: Race relations

##### 1. Racial attitudes and behaviors

(ACD is very good on history of black white attitudes/opinions. Needs to be expanded to other groups and updated.)

##### 2. Racial segregation

Residences  
Schools  
Workplaces  
Other

##### 3. Bias crimes, etc.

##### 4. Developments in the 1990s

Rodney King beating trials and riots  
OJ Simpson trials  
The Bell Curve controversy  
Challenge to Affirmative Action in California

#### Part IV: Discrimination

##### 1. Measurement/methods: econometric vs. audit studies

##### 2. Links between discrimination and outcomes.

(Issue: Audit studies prove discrimination exists, but how much of the disparities documented in Part II can be attributed, directly or indirectly, to discrimination?)

##### 3. Causes of discriminatory behavior

##### 4. Consequences of discrimination for society

Has the nature of discrimination changed?

# ONE AMERICA IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY

## The President's Initiative on Race

Race Initiative - general  
and  
Race Initiative - policy -  
general

On June 14, 1997, President Clinton announced an effort to lead our nation toward becoming one America in the 21st century. He outlined the following goals for the Initiative:

- to develop policies that can make a real impact on closing the gap in economic opportunity, education, health care, housing, crime and the administration of justice;
- to recruit leaders and encourage community efforts (i.e. promising practices), all over the country, that bring people together across racial lines;
- and to raise the issue of race on the national agenda through dialogue that educates the American public.

### Highlights of Progress

- **Increased Civil Rights Enforcement.** In his FY 99 budget, the President proposed \$602 million, the largest single increase (16 percent) for the enforcement of civil rights laws in nearly two decades. The cornerstone of this initiative is a \$37 million (15 percent) increase for the EEOC. Through a combination of the increased use of mediation, improved information technology and an expanded investigative staff, the EEOC will reduce the average time it takes to resolve private-sector complaints from over 9.4 months to 6 months and reduce the backlog of cases from 64,000 to 28,000, by the year 2000.
- **Enforcement Against Housing Discrimination.** To respond to the increase in reported cases of serious fair-housing violations, HUD will double the number of civil rights enforcement actions by the year 2000. In addition, HUD has committed \$15 million to 67 fair-housing centers around the country to assist in combating housing discrimination this year.
- **Getting Good Teachers into Underserved Areas.** Responding to the need for a diverse and excellent teaching force, the President proposed a \$350 million program to attract talented people of all backgrounds to teach at low-income schools across the nation. The funding also will be used to improve dramatically the quality of training given to future teachers. This new program will help bring nearly 35,000 outstanding new teachers into high-poverty schools in urban and rural areas over the next five years.
- **Hispanic Education Action Plan.** Nearly one in three Hispanics between 25 and 29 years old left school without a high school diploma or a GED. To correct this situation, President Clinton announced an unprecedented \$600 million in the FY 99 budget to help Latino youngsters master the basics of reading and math. The funding will also pay for programs to help them learn English, stay in school, prepare for college and, ultimately, succeed in college.
- **Creating "Education Opportunity Zones."** The President proposed \$1.5 billion, over five years, to bolster reform efforts by high-poverty urban and rural school districts that demonstrate both a commitment to and a track record in improving educational achievement. Funds will be used to improve accountability, turn around failing schools, recognize outstanding teachers, deal with ineffective ones and expand public school choice.
- **Reducing Class Sizes and Modernizing Schools.** The President has proposed a \$12.4 billion initiative, over 7 years, to help local schools reduce class size in grades 1-3, from a national average of 22 to 18. Through the program, local schools will be able to hire an additional 100,000 well-prepared teachers. In addition, to address the crucial issue of school construction, the President proposed federal tax credits to pay interest on nearly \$22 billion in bonds to build and renovate public schools, largely in the 100-120 school districts with the greatest number of low-income children.

- **Tapping the Potential of America's Urban and Rural Communities.** The President's budget includes \$400 million for a new Community Empowerment Fund (CEF) that is expected to leverage an estimated \$2 billion in private-sector loans to help communities invest in businesses and create jobs -- as many as 280,000 jobs when projects are completed. In addition, the President's budget provides \$150 million per year for 10 years to fund 15 new urban Empowerment Zones (EZs) and \$20 million per year for 10 years to fund five new rural EZs. These funds will encourage comprehensive planning to create economic opportunity and revitalize distressed areas.
- **Increased Capital to Minority Businesses.** The Small Business Administration (SBA) has set a goal of providing an estimated total of \$1.86 billion in loans to African-American small business over a 3-year period and \$2.5 billion worth of loans to Hispanic-owned businesses by the year 2000. In addition, the SBA and the "Big Three" US automakers struck an agreement that will increase subcontracting awards to minority businesses by nearly \$3 billion over the next three years -- a 50 percent increase from current levels.
- **Eliminating Ethnic Health Disparities.** This new initiative sets a national goal of eliminating by the year 2010, longstanding disparities in the health status of racial and ethnic minority groups. Currently, for example, African Americans suffer from diabetes at 70 percent higher rates than white Americans, while Native Americans suffer from diabetes at nearly three times the average rate. Vietnamese women suffer from cervical cancer at nearly five times the rate of white women, and Latinos have two to three times the rate of stomach cancer as white Americans. The President announced a five-step campaign -- led by Surgeon General and Assistant Secretary for Health Dr. David Satcher -- to mobilize the resources and expertise of the Federal government, the private sector and local communities.
- **Fighting Hate Crimes.** On November 10, 1997, the President and Attorney General Janet Reno hosted the first-ever White House Conference on Hate Crimes, which featured many experts and law enforcement officers from around the country.
- **Highlighting Promising Practices.** The Race Initiative is compiling information on "promising practices," ideas from communities and organizations that are working to help bring people together as one America. Calling attention to this work, on June 3, the President attended the convention of City Year, a promising practice that brings together teams of diverse young people to work on community projects, thus helping break down racial barriers. To date, 150 promising practices have been identified and listed on the Race Initiative website, and the list continues to grow.
- **Efforts Involving American Indians.** The Board has made a special effort to include American Indians and Alaska Natives in its work. Indians participated as panelists at Advisory Board meetings that discussed stereotypes, poverty, labor, housing and higher education issues. The Board has held separate meetings with tribal leaders in Phoenix, Santa Fe and Denver. In addition, the Administration successfully fought back proposed legislation that would have ended sovereign immunity for tribes and, in May, the President issued an executive order strengthening government-to-government relationships between the tribes and the US.
- **Sparking Dialogue.** The Race Initiative has prompted innumerable conversations about race around the country, highlighted by an April "Month of Dialogue." From April 6-9, 600 colleges and universities participated in a "Campus Week of Dialogue," organizing hundreds of race-related events across the nation. On April 30, 41 governors, 22 mayors and over 100 YWCAs participated in special "Statewide Day of Dialogue" events.
- **Studying Race:** In May, the President's Initiative on Race announced that the National Research Council (NRC), the research arm of the National Academy of Sciences, will coordinate studies by prominent researchers on a range of topics related to race, including demographic trends. The work will include findings on whites, blacks, American Indians, Hispanics and Asian Pacific Americans. The project will culminate with a major research conference in October in Washington D.C.

## PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE ON RACE: June Progress Report Talking Points

Last year, on June 14, the President launched an unprecedented initiative on race to lead the nation in becoming one America in the 21st century.

While the charter for the President's Initiative on Race expires on September 30, the Administration is taking this opportunity to provide a progress report. This winter the President will issue a report to the American people with recommendations for continuing to build on the achievements of this effort.

### Meeting our Objectives

At the President's direction, we set out last year to:

- develop national policy initiatives;
- recruit leaders and encourage efforts (i.e. promising practices) aimed at bridging racial divides in local communities across the country; and
- raise the issue of racial reconciliation to the national agenda through dialogue.

Since the Initiative's start, we have:

- developed and implemented new national policies and public/private partnerships;
- sparked hundreds of community-level activities around the country; and
- been the catalyst for dialogue, nationwide, that is destined to have a lasting impact on the national agenda.

**Policy Actions.** We have undertaken numerous policy actions designed to: close the opportunity gap; improve access to quality education, health care and housing; and reduce racial disparities around crime and the administration of justice.

- The President's FY 99 budget increases funding for the enforcement of existing civil rights laws to \$602 million, the largest increase in enforcement funding in nearly two decades.
- The President's FY 99 budget also includes \$350 million to bring nearly 35,000 outstanding new teachers into high-poverty schools in urban and rural areas, over the next five years.

**Promising Practices:** This year has given us an opportunity to shine a spotlight on all the existing work being done to bring people of different races together. It's also given us a chance to encourage many new efforts at the grass-roots level. We have witnessed a groundswell of support.

- The President's Initiative led one high school student (Tom Manatos) to organize other local high school students for a town hall discussion on promoting racial harmony within their schools.
- First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton joined forces with the Boston-based Team Harmony Foundation to discuss ways to prevent prejudice with high school students in Boston and Washington, DC. As a result of the First Lady's events, Team Harmony has had requests to expand its program to New York, Chicago, Atlanta and Los Angeles.

**Dialogue.** By raising the issue of racial reconciliation to the national agenda, the President's Initiative has been the catalyst for dialogues across the country that have helped educate the American public about the facts surrounding race.

- Close to 600 colleges and universities organized race-related activities on their campuses during the first week of April.
- More than 40 of the nation's governors, 22 mayors and over 100 YWCAs participated in efforts to raise the public's consciousness on race.

We view our work over this year as building not a ceiling, but a foundation for one America. Racial reconciliation is something President Clinton has fought for all of his life. We know that even after our charter expires and the report to the American people is completed this issue will remain a priority on the President's agenda.

## PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE ON RACE -- June Progress Report Qs&As

**1Q. Has the President made any decision about extending the Initiative on Race beyond September?**

1A. The charter for the Advisory Board expires on September 30th. However, President Clinton has always had a personal commitment to these issues and will continue to commit his time and attention to building one America.

In the meantime, the work of the initiative will continue in several ways. In July, the President will participate in a nationally televised dialogue on race on PBS, with Jim Lehrer. In October, there will be a national research conference convened by the National Research Council. That conference will examine past and current trends among racial and ethnic groups in key areas such as health, education, employment and the administration of justice. It will also identify key gaps in research and data that are needed to promote a clearer understanding of race-related issues. This winter the President will release his report to the American people.

Equally important is the infrastructure that has been created over the past 12 months, which will continue to build on the year's efforts. For example, Cabinet activities will be ongoing and reported to the President every week. The initiative has also generated a cadre of leaders to carry on work at the local level.

**2Q. How could you expect the initiative to accomplish anything lasting when it was limited to one year?**

2A. This is a very complex issue, and we never said we would solve the race problem in this country in one year. What we have tried to do is help Americans understand that diversity is one of our nation's greatest strengths. We also have tried to energize people to make racial reconciliation a priority in their communities. Finally, we have tried to assess where we are as a nation, and this winter the President will provide all Americans with a blueprint of where we need to go in the 21st century.

**3Q. The initiative has been at work for a year now. What's been accomplished?**

3A. Since the initiative started we have developed and implemented policies that can make a difference in closing the gap in economic opportunity, education, health care, housing, crime and the administration of justice. We have recruited leaders and encouraged community efforts across the country. We have raised the issue of race on the national agenda.

For example, at the recommendation of the Advisory Board, the President increased the budget to enforce existing civil right laws by \$602 million -- the most significant increase in the last 20 years. This funding will enhance coordination of federal civil rights enforcement and lead to more consistent enforcement of civil rights laws, broader dissemination of best practices and improved data collection.

As another example, the initiative has identified more than 150 promising practices -- national and community-based programs that are working to bridge racial divides and promote racial reconciliation through dialogue and action -- that can be emulated across the country.

**4Q. The initiative has been criticized by conservatives for not including their views. Where do conservative voices fit in this dialogue?**

4A. From the beginning, we have sought to hear from a wide variety of viewpoints and considered such varied input critical to the initiative's success. We have invited individuals whose viewpoints cover the spectrum, including many conservatives, to participate in initiative events, among them the Akron Town Meeting, a White House meeting with the President and many Advisory Board meetings.

**5Q. Critics such as Abigail Thernstrom and Ward Connerly have formed a new group called "The**

**Citizens Initiative on Race and Ethnicity.” Do you view this as an indication that the President’s Initiative has failed in its effort to include conservative voices?**

- 5A. The initiative has served as a catalyst for many community groups and citizens of different racial and ethnic backgrounds and different ideologies to come together for constructive dialogues. The Citizens Initiative on Race and Ethnicity is just one positive example of the wide-range of voices that we are reaching.
- 6Q. **There have been reports that the lack of enthusiasm from senior White House officials and subsequent friction between some of those officials and the initiative staff hurt the initiative’s work. How much of that is true?**
- 6A. There is a commitment at all levels of this White House -- starting with the President, Vice President and First Lady -- to this initiative and to tackling, head on, the difficult problems of race in America. The entire staff and Cabinet share the President’s commitment to making the improvement of race relations one of the highest priorities of his second term.
- 7Q. **The American Indian community has sharply criticized the initiative for failing to include an American Indian representative on the Advisory Board. Why was none appointed at the start? And after the issue was raised by that community, why was this oversight not corrected?**
- 7A. The Advisory Board has engaged and will continue to engage American Indians in this initiative. American Indians have been invited to participate in the Advisory Board’s meetings. Board members also have attended special forums to hear specifically from tribal leaders about unique issues that affect Indian country as part of the initiative’s effort to recognize the special government-to-government relationship that exists between the United States and American Indian tribes.
- 8Q. **The initiative never quite picked up momentum. Some have said it got off to a bad start because of a lack of clarity about the board’s mission. What happened?**
- 8A. While the initiative may have gotten off to a slow start, it picked up momentum that has been sustained with the success of recent activities.
- As an example, in April alone over 600 colleges and universities across the nation sponsored forums on race. More than 40 governors and over 20 mayors took part in a statewide day of dialogue on race relations, and the President joined several well-known sports figures in a town hall meeting on race and sports, which was broadcast on ESPN.
- 9Q. **Why hasn’t the initiative taken on the issue of affirmative action since it is clearly the hot button issue on race?**
- 9A. The initiative has made affirmative action one part of the larger dialogue on race because the role of affirmative action continues to be debated across our nation, and we have endeavored to hear from all sides in that debate. However, it is important to note that affirmative action is only one small part of the larger issues of race in our nation.
- In addition, affirmative action is an issue the administration has examined and reported on prior to this initiative. The Administration strongly supports the use of properly constructed affirmative action to remedy discrimination and to promote other compelling interests. We are, however, eager to hear other ideas for ensuring equal opportunity for all American citizens.
- 10Q. **Why didn’t the initiative deal with the apology for slavery issue?**
- 10A. The reaction to a formal apology reflects how deeply this issue continues to reverberate emotionally for a

lot of Americans, both black and white. However, the initiative has made a serious effort to expand the racial dialogue beyond issues of black and white.

One objective of the initiative was to move the country towards recognizing and realizing the full potential of its diversity. We have done that by finding ways in which we can offer real opportunities to Americans who work hard, but who continue to face barriers of discrimination based on race.

**11Q. The President said in his commencement address that HE would report to the American people periodically on the work of the initiative. He has only done two town hall meetings for the race initiative in the entire year. What happened?**

**11A. The President has reported to the American people consistently over the last year through speeches, meetings, press conferences and other events at which he has called on Americans to bridge racial divides. For example, on June 3, the President attended the national convention of the City Year program, a service organization that plays an important role in bringing together people of different races and ethnicities.**

From announcing policy that will help close opportunity gaps among the races -- such as recruiting well-trained teachers for under served school districts and involving local prosecutors in crime fighting efforts -- to raising public awareness -- through such activities as a PSA for the Superbowl and an upcoming nationally televised PBS conversation on race -- the President has been at the forefront of this issue all year.

Julie -

Keep on top of what DOJ is doing on profiling. I'm not keen on the paired testing proposal - it will only encourage gimmicks in his opinion to this enforcement technique. And I have to admit that the use of ability grouping seems to me properly a local issue, but I may be wrong about

Julie A. Fernandes  
06/01/98 02:52:47 PM  
.....

Record Type: Record

To: Bruce N. Reed/OPD/EOP, Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP

cc: Laura Emmett/WHO/EOP, Cathy R. Mays/OPD/EOP

Subject: Race Initiative -- policy ideas

The following are a few kernels of ideas for Race Initiative policy actions. Please let me know if any of them seem interesting. Thanks.

This and am curious to know what

1. Eliminate "tracking" in the Lower Grades Mike thinks. Elena

As a companion to our push for national standards and high expectations for all children, we could advocate for the elimination of tracking or "ability grouping" for students in grades K-3. In many school systems, young minority children are "tracked" into classrooms that offer less challenging work and where less is expected of them, based on ability tests or teacher evaluations. An end to this practice could both effectively increase real educational opportunity for young minority children (by not limiting their educational opportunities too soon) and make an important statement about high expectations, high standards for all children, and equal educational opportunity. Part of this effort could be to direct the Department of Education to develop guidelines for schools that agree to "un-track."

2. Civil Rights Enforcement -- Paired Testing

An executive order or directive asking the DOJ to coordinate paired testing enforcement efforts across agencies (including Labor, Education, HUD). This builds on the part of the President's civil rights enforcement package for FY99 that calls for Bill Lee to coordinate civil rights enforcement across agencies generally. This executive order or directive could ask both that they develop shared protocols in specific enforcement areas and that they coordinate their efforts generally, through shared information, etc.

3. Racial Profiling

The Justice Department has initiated a review of the extent of the federal government's use of racial profiling in law enforcement that will likely result in some kind of policy recommendation. As you know, profiling not only opens the door to race-based harassment (by legitimizing the notion that minority status is a signal that someone is suspicious) but also undermines the minority communities' confidence that they are being treated equally to Whites, thus dampening our efforts to improve relations between police departments and minority communities to further effective law enforcement. We could ask the Department to expedite their review and recommendation for completion prior to September 30th (the end of the Initiative).

Race Policy - general  
Initiative



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20220

*Elmer*

November 21, 1997

**NOTE FOR: THURGOOD MARSHALL, JR  
SYLVIA MATHEWS  
BRUCE REED  
GENE SPERLING  
JUDITH WINSTON**

**FROM:** MIKE FROMAN *MF*

**SUBJECT:** RACE INITIATIVE

Attached is a memo that was sent to Secretary Rubin updating him on recent Treasury activity with regard to the President's Initiative on Race, along with a brief description of the proposals we are considering as part of the race initiative. Some of these ideas are still in preliminary steps of development (e.g., fair lending) and have not yet been vetted by the Secretary or the Deputy Secretary. As you may know, the Secretary recently returned from a trip to Chicago where he spoke to Minority Business Leaders and held a roundtable discussion with the Runners Club, a group of African-American entrepreneurs mentored by business leaders. These events went quite well, and we will send you a more detailed update on the trip under separate cover.

cc: Michelle Cavataio  
Jose Cerda  
Jon Jennings  
Andrew Mayock  
Emil Parker  
Pete Weissman



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20220

November 14, 1997

MEMORANDUM TO SECRETARY RUBIN

FROM: Michael Froman MF

SUBJECT: Race Initiative Update

I wanted to update you on recent activity with regard to the President's Initiative on Race, particularly since you will be meeting with a group of minority business leaders and visiting a business mentoring program for African American entrepreneurs in Chicago. As you may know, the President recently announced that the first town hall meeting on race would take place in Akron, Ohio on December 3 (see attached Washington Post article). In addition, Bruce Reed has sent a memo to the President outlining some of the policy options that might be considered as part of the initiative. A few of these proposals, such as EFT'99 and fair lending, are areas in which Treasury is directly involved. Attached is an excerpt from this memo as well as a separate memo from Chris Edley on the overall thrust of the initiative.

Since the outreach meeting at Treasury in September that you hosted with representatives from different minority groups, the various policy offices, particularly Jon Gruber in Economic Policy, Michael Barr in the Office of Community Development, Ron Glaser in Management, and Jim Johnson in Enforcement, have been working to use the best suggestions and ideas from the meeting to help guide our policy proposals and institutional initiatives. We have identified several initiatives that we can work on over the course of the next year to contribute to the President's Initiative on Race.

We are also considering other ways that Treasury can contribute to the Race Initiative, including a possible CEO lunch centered around issues of minorities in the workplace. Treasury is taking part in the White House effort to conduct roundtables all around the country on the issue of race. Over the Thanksgiving holiday, Deputy Assistant Secretary Rodriguez will be hosting a roundtable in Boston with community leaders on the Race Initiative.

Following are brief summaries of each of the policy proposals that the policy offices here in Treasury have put forward. We would appreciate your guidance as to which proposals seem most worthwhile.

Draft

## POSSIBLE TREASURY INITIATIVES

### Office of Community Development

- **Fair Lending:** Treasury has convened an interagency group to explore ways in which the government can ensure the broadest access to capital through the existing fair lending laws. This initiative could include additional analysis and data gathering of new industry practices, including credit scoring.
- **Community Development Secondary Market:** Treasury's Office of Community Development and Commerce have begun working to determine whether we can pool community development loans and resell them to private investors, in effect recycling a portion of available capital back into inner city community development.
- **Business Mentoring:** The Office of Community Development has been working with Justice and various private sector groups to develop a business mentoring proposal. This proposal would encourage efforts of businesses to partner with and provide mentoring and business-to-business technical expertise to community development organizations and entrepreneurs.

### Economic Policy

- **Seminar Series:** Economic Policy will be sponsoring a series of seminars over the next year on economics and race, similar in design to those held last year on urban policy issues. Well-known academic experts and practitioners in the field will be invited to present their findings and policy recommendations on a variety of issues, including income differentials, labor market experience, education, housing, and minority-owned businesses.
- **Data Collection:** Economic Policy has been participating in the data collection efforts of the President's Initiative on Race to develop a data base that would identify key areas of progress, analyze trends in disparities among races, and estimate the costs of discrimination. Through analysis of these data, specific policy options can be developed to reinforce those systems that are successful, provide new initiatives that have a high likelihood of success, and remove any institutional barriers to economic equality.

### Enforcement

- **Hate Crimes Working Group:** At the recent White House Conference on Hate Crimes, the President announced a set of new working groups that will develop enforcement strategies, share best practices, and educate the public about hate crimes. During the next two months, the Office of Enforcement will work with Justice to develop the working groups and prepare measures of performance to evaluate their work.

Draft

### Management

- **Computer Based EEO Training:** Management is working to develop and implement computer based EEO training for Treasury executives and managers. The training will be on CD-ROM and will allow managers desktop access at any time to various EEO topics such as problem resolution, sexual harassment, disability, and complaint process. The computer training is meant to complement the EEO training modules which have been positively received but require the manager to participate in offsite training that can last several hours.
- **Employee Career Development Strategies:** Management is working to create a guide for Departmental Offices managers and executives to use in developing employees. The guide will provide tips on the use of developmental activities such as Individual Development Plans (IDPs), mentoring, outservice/in-service training, self-study training, details, special projects, and the establishment of paraprofessional positions. This guide will also include a chart of the major Departmental Offices career paths and the skill, education, and experience requirements for positions within those career paths.
- **Strengthen Minority Recruitment:** On October 2, Treasury signed a partnership agreement with OPM to place twenty touch screen computer kiosks at selected Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs) and Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) throughout the country. At each location, students can walk up to the computer, touch the screen, and are then guided through a series of questions that can help the student search for employment opportunities in the Treasury Department and in the Federal government by geographic area, agency, or career field. Treasury's goal is to make this type of information available so that more top students attending HSIs and HBCUs are aware of opportunities at Treasury. Treasury is only the third Federal agency to participate in this program.

### Public Liaison

- **Expand Outreach on Treasury Programs:** One of the most important initiatives that Treasury can undertake for the Race Initiative is to expand outreach. There are two components to expanding outreach -- first, expanding Treasury's outreach network and targeting it towards those who can really use the information, and second, working to increase Treasury's presence in existing outreach efforts by other agencies and organizations. It was clear from the outreach meeting in September that many people are not aware of the broad range of issues under Treasury's purview. Enhancing outreach to minority and other communities can increase awareness of Treasury's activities and also enable more people to take advantage of our programs. Additional outreach might be particularly beneficial for programs such as EFT'99, NADBank's Community Adjustment and Investment Program, and CDFI.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

December 1, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR SYLVIA MATHEWS  
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND  
DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: REBECCA M. BLANK *Rebecca Blank*  
SUBJECT: Thernstrom Book

Summary comments/talking points regarding  
America in Black and White: One Nation, Indivisible, by Abigail and Stephen Thernstrom  
(hereafter referred to as ABW)

This is a serious and scholarly account of changes in race relations since Reconstruction, with a particularly detailed discussion of the civil rights era and black economic progress in the post-war period. The authors' primary arguments:

- \* Blacks have made enormous economic and social progress, more than is commonly acknowledged.
- \* White attitudes have also changed. Whites embrace the doctrine of equal opportunity across races. Whites no longer hold the racist attitudes that underpinned legally sanctioned second-class status for blacks in the Jim-Crow south.
- \* Economic differences between blacks and whites that remain are due largely to behavioral differences (such as single mother families, poor school performance, and participation in criminal activities) rather than discrimination.
- \* ABW argues for an end to affirmative action and all race-based policies, and in favor of race-neutrality.

A few overall responses to the general thematic arguments in the book:

**Black progress has been substantial and is not due to race-based policies**

ABW argues that progress for blacks has largely not been the result of race-based policies. But the book overstates progress and understates the role of broad economic changes.

\* *The book's examples lead the reader to focus on absolute progress, not relative progress in many cases.* Blacks, like whites, have made enormous economic advances since 1940. But relative black/white progress has been far less smooth. In fact, between 1974 and 1993, blacks made little economic progress relative to whites. Only since the beginning of the economic expansion of the mid-1990s are there renewed signs of relative black/white economic gains.

\* *Rapid progress between 1964 and 1974 is obscured.* The 10 years following the passage of the Civil Rights Act was the period of fastest progress for blacks relative to whites. A number of studies suggest this progress was correlated with the increasing enforcement of that Act.

### **Are Behavioral Problems the Cause of Current Black/White Gaps?**

ABW attributes current black/white gaps largely to behavioral differences between blacks and whites. The book focuses heavily on the growth in single parent families and poor school performance.

\* *The role of the economic inequality in the period from 1974 to 1993 is understated.* Changes in the economy, especially technological change, raised the demand for more educated workers in the 1970s and 1980s. Blacks were hurt by the fact that they were less educated on average than whites. Growing inequality in general hurt those at the bottom of the income distribution, who are more likely to be minorities. One careful study attributes about half of the slowdown of black economic progress relative to whites in the labor market in this period to differences in education levels and changes in the returns to education.

### Growth in Single Mother Families

\* It is possible to exaggerate the importance of family structure. The difference in mean outcomes among single-parent and married couple families surely overstates the effects of marriage. Simply by marrying, the typical single black mother could not attain the income of the typical married white family. In other words, correlation between marital status and income is not necessarily causation.

\* Even if we were to accept these differences as "causal," simple decompositions show that had family structure not changed for blacks or whites since the 1960s, the majority of the family income gap between blacks and whites would still remain.

### Poor Academic Performance by Black Children

ABW blames this poor performance on disruptive behavior by blacks, poorly qualified teachers who were the beneficiaries of affirmative action, and racially divisive Afrocentric curricula.

\* The Thernstroms never marshal evidence on this point. Test scores converged during

the period when affirmative action was strongest and when competency tests for teachers were absent, and diverged again post 1980, when competency testing was being phased in.

\* There are many reasons for poor school quality, including racial and economic segregation and poor school management. The most egregious examples of ill-informed Afrocentric curricula may be more a symptom of poor school quality than a cause. Nonetheless, the Thernstroms would seem to make a case for the President's proposed national achievement tests.

### **Have white attitudes changed?**

The Thernstroms are correct that most whites, even in the south, do not support legally-sanctioned racial exclusion.

\* There is considerable disagreement about the extent of change in white attitudes, and more importantly, white behaviors that constrain economic opportunities for blacks. Many observers, including Larry Bobo of Harvard have argue that while expressions of discriminatory attitudes have changed quickly, discriminatory behaviors have changed much more slowly. For example, indexes of black-white residential segregation have generally shown modest declines since the 1960s, but are still very large. As a result, school segregation persists.

### **Should Race-Based Policies End?**

Believing that whites are no longer largely discriminatory, ABW calls for the end of race-based policies. The costs, in terms of divisiveness, do not justify the benefits, which are few or non-existent in their view.

\* One may question the conclusion that racial discrimination against blacks plays a minor role in black attainment today. While it may be true that problems in schools and families are more important barriers, racial discrimination nonetheless persists and effects of past racial exclusion continue to be felt. As a result, affirmative action--at a minimum narrowly tailored to remedy past discriminatory practices-- seems appropriate and just.

\* ABW focuses heavily on the negative aspects of black self-identity which (the books claims) is fostered by race-conscious policies and results in feelings of victimization and rage (and the implementation of counterproductive policies like Afrocentric curriculums). But the book does not mention the positive aspects of black self-identity, which recognize the very unique history of black Americans in this country and which can serve as a point of pride and an impetus for advancement.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 16, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR SYLVIA MATHEWS

FROM: Bruce Reed  
Elena Kagan

SUBJECT: Timing of Race Initiative Policy Ideas

Below is a suggested timetable to announce the policy ideas the DPC and NEC have developed for the race initiative.

**January**

**Hispanic Education Action Plan** -- This initiative will increase funding for a number of existing programs to improve education for Hispanic Americans and other limited English proficient (LEP) children and adults. It would double our investment in training teachers to address the needs of LEP children; boost the Migrant Education Program by 16 percent; increase the TRIO college preparation program by 10 percent; and create a 5-year, \$100 million effort to disseminate best practices in ESL training for adults. We would accompany these program increases with administrative actions to help Hispanic students complete high school and succeed in college.

**College-School Partnerships** -- This initiative, which builds on Eugene Lang's model of helping disadvantaged youth, will provide funding for college-school partnerships designed to provide mentoring, tutoring, and other support services to students in high-poverty schools, starting in the sixth grade and continuing through high school. The six-year funding path will provide help to nearly 2 million students. The proposal also will include Chaka Fattah's idea of early notification to disadvantaged 6th graders telling them of their Pell Grant and loan eligibility.

**Notes:** We should do the Hispanic Action Plan in Texas. Announcing the College-School Partnerships Program the same week (even the day before or after) could strengthen both events, given their mutually reinforcing messages.

We also will have our Martin Luther King Day event this month. As I think you know, we strongly support a service event -- not a Town Hall.

**February**

**Education Opportunity Zones** -- This initiative will provide funding to about 25 high-poverty

urban and rural school districts for agreeing to adopt a “Chicago-type” school reform agenda that includes ending social promotions, removing bad teachers, reconstituting failing schools, and adopting district-wide choice.

**Employment Discrimination Enforcement** -- This initiative will fund reforms to the EEOC, allowing it to expand its mediation program (so that more than 70 percent of all complainants to choose mediation by the year 2000), increase the average speed of resolving complaints (from over nine months to six) and reduce the EEOC’s current backlog (from 64,000 cases to 28,000). We can also announce reforms to other civil rights offices in the federal government, although these are far less dramatic.

**Note:** These are two good announcements for right after the State of the Union and the budget. (Of course, we’ve already told the press about the concept of EOZ’s, but haven’t provided any details.) We should push EOZ’s early in the legislative session, and it’s important to announce fairly soon an initiative focusing on civil rights enforcement.

### **March**

**Housing Opportunity** -- This announcement can combine a number of initiatives in the budget, none of which will get much play alone: proposals to expand homeownership, improve housing portability, increase vouchers, and attack housing discrimination. (The fair housing proposal can go either here or with the EEOC announcement; we think it fits best with a package of housing opportunity proposals.)

**Community Empowerment Fund** -- This initiative establishes a public/private fund (“Eddie Mac”), which will invest in inner-city businesses and create a secondary market for economic development loans (like Fannie Mae).

**Note:** By this point, we’ll have presented most of our education initiatives; housing and economic opportunity seem the natural next issues. We also must announce the housing package (at least if it includes the fair housing proposal) before or during April, which is the thirtieth anniversary of the Fair Housing Act.

### **April**

**Assisting the Unbanked** -- The electronic funds transfer regulation, due in April, will bring as many as 10 million people into the banking system.

**Racial Disparities in Health Care** -- This initiative will address racial disparities in six areas of health care: infant mortality, breast and cervical cancer, heart disease and stroke, diabetes, AIDS, and immunization. The proposal includes additional funding (\$50 million) to established public health programs to adapt and apply their prevention and education strategies to eliminate racial disparities. It also includes funding (\$30 million) for up to thirty local pilot projects to test

innovative approaches to reach this goal.

### **May**

**Community Prosecutors** -- This initiative will provide grants to prosecutors for innovative, community-based prosecution efforts, such as Eric Holder adopted in the District of Columbia. A full 80 percent of the grants will go to pay the salaries and training costs associated with hiring or reassigning prosecutors to work directly with community residents.

### **June**

**Indian Country Law Enforcement and Education** -- The current budget includes substantial additional funds for law enforcement activities and school construction in Indian Country.

# Racism Is Not The Issue

By Orlando Patterson

**W**hy are we having a national argument on race? By all objective measures — recent opinion polls, demographic data and academic studies — race relations between blacks and whites have never been better. What is more, the majority of African-Americans are content, even optimistic, about their interactions with European-Americans, according to a close reading of a recent Gallup Poll, for example, and other surveys.

This viewpoint has also been forcefully argued by the scholars Stephan and Abigail Thernstrom in their new book, "America in Black and White." While I differ with many of their arguments, particularly with their opposition to affirmative action, their basic premise is correct — that relations between the races are getting better, as are the conditions of most African-Americans.

Nonetheless, civil rights leaders insist that this belief is dangerously wrong because they think that America remains mired in racism. Social scientists like Stephen Steinberg of Queens College in New York indicts America for its retreat from policies supporting racial equality; Carl Rowan, a syndicated columnist, has just published a book called "The Coming Race War," and the journalist David K. Shipler has titled his pessimistic book about race "A Country of Strangers."

Finally, President Clinton has placed the resolution of the so-called crisis on his list of potential historical legacies.

But let's get the facts straight. According to the most recent census data, blacks have virtually closed the gap with whites not only in the percentage graduating from high school but also in the percentage graduating from junior college.

Black full-time workers have also started to close the income gap, according to census data. From 1970 to 1995, the average annual income of white men declined by 3 percent, to \$34,741, while that of black men increased by 11 percent to \$27,136.

Nonetheless, major problems still remain for the bottom quarter of the African-American population — 26

percent of all black families and 41.5 percent of their children remain trapped in poverty. The situation is no longer worsening, but it is no better than conditions were a quarter century ago.

Nor have we seen the end of racism, as some conservatives like Dinesh D'Souza have absurdly announced. About 20 percent of white Americans are still at least mildly racist (meaning, among other things, that they are averse to living in neighborhoods with only a few minority families), according to my research using polls, including one in 1994 by the National Opin-

## Poor blacks need good jobs, not bromides on race.

ion Research Center. But because blacks make up only 13 percent of the population, this means that for every two blacks there are still three white racists.

We have made great progress, but there is still a long way to go. Here is what we should be asking: How does racism hurt the lives of African-Americans? For the poorest among them, is racism the real problem? Do ordinary black Americans think that race is their biggest problem?

When it comes to earnings and self-esteem, racism may be less of a problem for the poorest blacks and more of a problem for middle-class blacks who are in direct competition with whites for jobs, status and power. This is the main reason that I think we need affirmative action for another 15 years or so. Isolated from critical networks of influence and economic power, middle-class blacks badly need affirmative action to level a playing field that for 300 years favored whites.

Certainly, poor blacks are hurt by racial discrimination — mostly in biased police behavior and draconian drug-sentencing laws that result in horrendous incarceration rates for young men. But as the sociologist William Julius Wilson emphasized more than 19 years ago, race is of secondary importance when it comes to the economic conditions of poor blacks. Poor blacks like poor whites, are impoverished partly because they attend bad schools, come from broken families and live in broken communities. But

Orlando Patterson, a professor of sociology at Harvard, is the author of "The Ordeal of Integration: Progress and Resentment in America's 'Racial' Crisis."

the basic problem is that the poor, no matter how hard they work, earn too little to pull themselves out of poverty.

Indeed, in a Gallup Poll taken in June, poor blacks said that money, not racism, was their biggest problem.

This poll, which measured race relations, found that three-quarters of blacks considered their own relations with whites to be good, and indeed, had a close white friend. The same poll found, however, that 53 percent of blacks were dissatisfied with their incomes. Unsurprisingly, for poorer African-Americans, the figure was much higher.

If money is the problem and not racism, why do many leaders, white and black, warn that America's racial problems are getting worse? This pessimism results from a strange collision of interests.

White liberals believe, to some degree the stereotype that African-Americans are a dependent and chronically victimized group. Any problem associated with blacks is simply assumed to be racist in origin. Emphasizing failure and crisis is also an effective way to argue for more government intervention.

Black political leaders also have a vested interest in maintaining that a racial crisis exists. Their legitimacy and a good part of their livelihood depend on defending entitlement programs.

On the right, leaders and scholars exaggerate the crisis in race relations to highlight the failures of liberal programs.

The news media give all these wrong-headed beliefs their full attention. In the tabloids and on the television news, articles about urban crime and racial incidents are common. Even leading newspapers play the "racism forever" game, partly out of a misguided and patronizing liberalism. For instance, in reporting the results of the June Gallup Poll referred to earlier, most newspapers stressed the one pessimistic finding: that a majority of black respondents thought that relations between the races were generally getting worse — an impression drawn from the press itself.

Newspapers ignored the more accurate and positive finding: the great majority of respondents reported that their own experiences with whites were good and getting better.

Martin Luther King's dream of an integrated America has not been deferred. The nation is overcoming what was once its greatest flaw, racism. Denying its persistence is naive and reactionary. But ignoring the country's extraordinary progress, while exaggerating racism's impact, is counterproductive as well. It obscures and diverts attention from what is now our greatest shame — chronic poverty and growing income inequality — and it plays right into the hands of those on the right and left who promote the vile dogma of racial separatism.

Rac initiative policy - general

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEE

12-1-97

Thernstrom

Maria E

Gene / Reed

I agree w/ most  
of this -

BS

Copies of

Winston

Echeverria

Spierling

Reed

COS

The New York Times

Sunday, November 16, 1997

1. Education

- a. Reports - value of diversity in higher ed.
  - effective starts in expanding pipeline
- b. Reports - K-12 - Harris pushed so hard - call w/ w/ wh  
Dec 18th AB mtg -
- c. Native Amer budget
- d. Mentoring / ed. op. zone

2. Service

MCKing - need to do soon.  
Service learning??

3. Health -

Pushing on \$ - OMB in flux on discretionary budget

4. Communities / urban / economy

LIHTC study - pushing Treasury

EZs - draft memo - they now want memo to VP.  
Circulated to agencies now.

Voucher - \$300 million. - Mtg w/ MD

EPA Brownfields Communities - January.

5. Crime -

Prosec / police -  
Justice directive

6. Civil Rights -

HARVARD LAW SCHOOL  
CAMBRIDGE • MASSACHUSETTS • 02138

cc: Bruce / Julie

CHRISTOPHER F. EDLEY, JR.  
Professor of Law



GRISWOLD HALL 405  
(617) 495-4614  
FAX: (617) 496-5156  
edley@law.harvard.edu

11/6/97

Mathews  
Kagan

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Through: Erskine Bowles  
Sylvia Mathews

From: Christopher Edley, Jr. *CHE*

Re: Framing the Race Initiative

Sylvia asked me to attempt a summary of several staff conversations developing a conceptual framework for the Race Initiative and, ultimately, your Report to the American People early next winter. This memorandum reflects the thoughts and work of several people, including Sylvia, Sid Blumenthal, Michael Waldman, Elena Kagan, Maria Echaveste, Minyon Moore and Judy Winston.

**Themes, as related to your presidency:** You are leading us through a critical transition to a new era, building a new nation to meet the challenges in the century ahead. Your agenda has elements in trade, the post-Soviet security framework, getting our fiscal house in order, a domestic investment and renovation strategy spearheaded with education and the environment, and so forth. *The "identity-and-community" element of this agenda is One America.*

We can't be our best in the new economy and the new era unless we are One America. It is one piece of the work we must do to build the future we want for our children. And the greatest obstacles we face in creating One America are the fault lines of color that in many ways still divide our communities, minds and hearts. Hence, your Race Initiative.

As in other areas of your policy leadership, much turns on recognizing the new nature of the challenges. In race, the traditional civil rights agenda of legislative and regulatory attacks on discrimination accomplished a great deal, including a remarkable transformation in civic norms. But then we stalled. And now we must move forward, and do so in a context much changed from the 1960s. The demographics of race move us beyond the black-white paradigm. The competitive global economy attaches higher costs to misfires in America's opportunity engine. All of this requires a new and expanded agenda to achieve the racial justice required for One America. That agenda, while continuing necessary elements of our present work, must be multifaceted. It is largely about opportunity and responsibility for all, including an opportunity agenda for the underclass. But, of immediate importance to the Race Initiative, we cannot move forward without addressing the separation and exclusion that weaken us.

This is not about integration in the old sense, nor about antidiscrimination law enforcement alone. You have framed a broader goal of opportunity and responsibility, reaching every American. Achieving that goal requires us to face the age-old problems of inter-ethnic hostility, suspicion, and rivalry based on color, particularly as compounded by class. We must do this to forge the social compact for the New Economy. We must do this for One America that is just.

**Content of the Race Initiative itself:** In so far as possible, the above themes should both inform and be propelled by all the speeches, Advisory Board meetings, public events, outreach activities and policy announcements associated with the Initiative. The themes are both spine and connective tissue, providing shape and coherence.

Beyond that, in a procedural sense the initiative has two tracks:

- **Dialog:** Measures to engage the nation on the plane of values and understanding: *What unites us? What divides us? How can we build bridges of understanding and community across lines of color and class?*
- **Action:** The policy initiatives -- both public and private -- that will build community, create opportunity, encourage people to take responsibility, and close the racial divide. This culminates in your workplan for the nation, moving toward One America.

Each event or task within the initiative should support one of these two tracks, and each track is critical. The policy track is largely how social and economic realities change, but the dialog-and-values track creates the moral and political foundation for the bold policy measures needed for so difficult a challenge.

**Your report:** Attached is a notional table of contents for your report. We will build the report based on the work of White House staff, the Initiative staff, and the Advisory Board, together with your speeches and whatever substantive discussions with you the schedule permits. Moreover, the outline should help us set priorities for the work of the Initiative.

Your report can have enduring significance if it communicates your vision of One America in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, provides background information and motivation for that vision, models how we can constructively engage one another to bridge differences on hard questions, and offers a workplan for the nation based on promising practices and policies identified over the course of this year.

Because of Friday's tight agenda, the report will be the focus of a future meeting. Meanwhile, we welcome any reactions.

# THE PRESIDENT'S REPORT

— draft outline —

## ***Introduction: One America in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century***

- the core themes and vision, in summary (more detail in chapter 4, below)
  - personal context
  - some highlights of the report
  - appreciation to the Advisory Board, and the many people throughout the nation who responded to the call to engage in a national conversation on race
1. **Where is America on race, and where are we going?** (Excerpting from detailed supporting volumes)
    - demographic history and trends
    - disparities, socioeconomic indicators, economic mobility, opportunity measures
    - discrimination: authoritative data using various methodologies—How much discrimination is there?
    - intergroup relations: how integrated are our lives, how have attitudes and stereotypes changed, etc.
  2. **Policy and racial justice**
    - what we know about the effects of key public policies and private practices on the state of racial justice today
    - the effects of race on our civic discourse: how race poisons politics and policymaking, overtly or subtly; examples of how *not* to address issues of opportunity, responsibility and community
  3. **Vision: Bill Clinton's vision of racial and ethnic justice in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and why it is preferable to competing visions**
    - seeking clarity about our value commitments and ambitions for One America
    - this pivotal section is an elaboration of the framework sketched in speeches and in the introduction to this Report
  4. **Wrestling lessons: What vexes us, and constructive engagement of our differences**
    - “modeling” how we can face up to some of the hardest questions dividing us in an honest and constructive way (list to be developed)
    - applying the values and vision to address a few major issues (list to be developed); use and make reference to essays contributed on this topic by

thoughtful people from a range of perspectives, under auspices of the Advisory Board

**5. Promising practices: examples of public and private efforts to promote racial reconciliation and racial justice, and some counterexamples of destructive practices**

- criteria for making these judgments
- examples from different sectors: government, business, the media, the faith community, education, nonprofit sector, etc. (Excerpting from detailed backup volume and web site.)
- establishing an ongoing program to recognize and replicate promising practices

**6. A workplan for the nation over the next decade**

- policy prescriptions building on the preceding sections, including action items for governments at all levels
- practice prescriptions for private, voluntary, community and personal actions
- leadership—call to action, recruiting a cadre of leaders from all sectors who will dedicate themselves to learning, teaching and practicing the difficult tasks of building One America for the 21<sup>st</sup> century

\*\*

*Notes:*

- a) The Core Group will refine this preliminary outline iteratively, developing detail and wrestling with the many difficulties it suggests.
- b) The policy time frame is long – a decade or more; this is grander than the budget and legislative agenda for one or two years.
- c) Occasional meetings, as appropriate, with the President and Vice President.
- d) Discrete supporting tasks will be executed by the Initiative Staff, the Advisory Board, White House policy councils, agencies, *and outside experts and friends*.
- e) The developing effort on the Report will inform work on speeches and events.
- f) Report will be issued in early January 1998, as the last Congress of the 20<sup>th</sup> century begins work.

Race init policy - general

Mike/Paul -  
It looks as if you didn't get  
This. FYI.

Elena



Lin Liu  
10/08/97 03:06:46 PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message  
cc: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message  
Subject: PIR Staff

I have used the DPC policy teams as the basic structure to assign individuals on my Policy Planning and Research staff to different policy areas as follows:

Education - David Campt and Scott Palmer  
Economic Opportunities (including housing) - John Goering and Ana Lopez  
Health - David Campt  
Administration of Justice - John Goering

These are preliminary assignments but I think it will help us get started. Please include me in the various subgroup meetings for the time being so that I can get a broad sense of where we are going. But I will generally depend on our staff here for more detailed feedback. Thanks. We are all looking forward to working with you on these issues.

Message Sent To:

Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP  
Jose Cerda III/OPD/EOP  
Thomas L. Freedman/OPD/EOP -  
Emil E. Parker/OPD/EOP -  
Christopher C. Jennings/OPD/EOP -  
Sarah A. Bianchi/OPD/EOP -  
Tanya E. Martin/OPD/EOP -  
William R. Kincaid/OPD/EOP -  
Sanders D. Korenman/CEA/EOP -

Message Copied To:

Ana Lopez/PIR/EOP  
Scott R. Palmer/PIR/EOP  
David Campt/PIR/EOP  
John M. Goering/PIR/EOP  
Michele Cavataio/PIR/EOP

**DRAFT**

**Community Efforts (Promising Practices)**  
(see attached detailed work plan for more information)

**Goals:**

**Short Term (before December 2)**

- To identify and highlight several dozen (e.g. 50) Community Efforts of racial dialogue and reconciliation currently used in communities around the country, for discussion and promotion at December 2nd town meeting. Some of these efforts will have been created in response to the President's Initiative.
- To establish and utilize Internet and other media for promotion of Community Efforts.

**Long Term (by President's final report)**

- To publish a compendium or list of Community Efforts, and thereby promote the use of these practices in various parts of our nation as part of the ongoing dialogue of the President's Initiative on Race.
- To highlight a certain number of promising practices for recognition.

**Note:**

The Community Efforts project effort will be discussed with respect to three stages: 1. Collection, 2. Evaluation, and 3. Dissemination. While each activity reflects the work of the entire working group, the primary person accountable for the task will be listed.

**Process:**

**Collection**

**Short term**

- Initially define community efforts: efforts and initiatives in families, communities, businesses, government agencies and other parts of society that encourage the positive participation of people from diverse backgrounds (while reducing racial disparities) and promoting racial inclusion and reconciliation. **Distinction of Community Efforts from Promising Practices - degree of scrutiny, vetting and recognition by PIR and the WH.** (completed/Camppt)
- Establish and utilize mechanisms for soliciting, receiving, and logging Community Efforts through traditional media. (completed/Toineeta)
- Implement Website mechanisms for soliciting, receiving, and logging Community Efforts. (Oct. 31/Moran and Toineeta)
- Engage Advisory Board, cabinet agencies, national organizations, and other identified leaders in immediate search for Community Efforts (Oct. 31/Toineeta)
- Solicit agreements to conduct visit/photo opportunity at local Community Effort in the location of the next Advisory Board meeting (Nov. 5/Toineeta).
- Develop main talking points of President's December 2nd nationwide request of Community Efforts. (Nov. 27/Toineeta, Camppt, Chai)
- Secure attendance of 25 Community Efforts in mid-west for display in room adjoining December 2nd town hall meeting. (Nov. 27/Toineeta)

### Long-term

- Solicit umbrella organizations (e.g National Chamber of Commerce) to submit nominations of promising practices from their membership. (Nov. 14/Toineeta)
- **Secure additional resources to solicit Community Efforts and to receive and log submitted programs. (on-going/Liu, Liss, PIR and WH)**

### **Evaluation**

#### Short term

- Develop initial evaluation criteria for community efforts with assistance of experts nationwide. (completed/Camppt)

The proposed evaluation criteria can be defined in terms of seven questions about the program:

- 1). To what extent does the program operate in a way that **include** diverse groups of people?
  - 2). Does the program **educate** people about the facts about race and racial disparities?
  - 3). Does the program encourage the **introspection** of people about their feelings about race?
  - 4). To what extent does the program encourage people to **take action** to alleviate racial disparities in opportunities and outcomes?
  - 5). To what extent could the program be **replicated** in other communities?
  - 6). What is the breadth and depth of the **impact** of the program on participants and others?
  - 7). To what extent was the program **consciously designed** to alleviate racial disparities?
- Develop and execute interim strategy for evaluating promising practices (completed/Camppt)

#### Long term

- Continue refining evaluation criteria. (on-going/Camppt)
- **Recruit additional resources to assist in evaluation process. (on-going/Camppt, Liu, Liss, PIR and WH)**

### **Dissemination**

#### Short term

Create strategic plan integrating fax, press release, and Websites for dissemination of community efforts. (completed/Chai, King)

#### Long term

- Every week, disseminate newly vetted community efforts through Website and other media. (on-going/Moran, King)
- Supplement speakers' kit and brochure with community efforts. (Nov. 14/Chai, King)

### **Products:**

#### Short term

- Summaries of 10 initial community efforts for immediate discussion by Advisory Board and Web site dissemination. (completed/Camppt)
- **Website postings of 10 community efforts. (10/31/Moran)**

- Five additional Website postings of community efforts per week (on-going/Campt, Moran)
- Secure arrangements that Advisory Board members will conduct visit/photo opportunity at a local community effort just before the next Advisory Board meeting. (Nov. 15/Toineeta)
- Secure commitment of 25 institutions to display promising practices at December 2nd town hall meeting. (Nov. 27/Toineeta)

#### Long Term

- The President's final report (or a compendium to the report) will include 1-2 page descriptions of several promising practices per sector as well as cross-sector examples. (Campt)
- By the final report, the President will have gained commitments from a leader in diverse types of societal institutions to devote significant additional resources to continue these activities. (Toineeta)

#### Resources:

- PIR and WH staff
- Advisory Board
- Cabinet Departments
- **Contractor Support?**

#### Critical Trade-Off Issues:

- Soliciting, logging, evaluating, and summarizing community efforts is a very time-consuming process. If the Initiative is to sort through several hundred of these before the final report as well as produce several summaries weekly, additional resources for these tasks will be needed.
- There is a tradeoff between the level of evaluation/vetting of programs and the speed at which we want to publicize programs. This tradeoff must be kept in mind as senior Initiative and White House staff decide how many community efforts the Initiative intends to publicize per week.

**IDENTIFYING COMMUNITY EFFORTS**  
**draft work plan**

Activity	Action item	Person Resp. /Timeline
Establish internal database and tracking system	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. develop program summary sheet</li> <li>2. create database</li> <li>3. input info received to date</li> <li>4. input programs as received &amp; file geographically</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Camp, Toineeta, Moran</li> <li>2. PIR staff</li> <li>3. PIR interns</li> <li>4. PIR staff</li> </ol> <p align="center">October 24, 1997</p>
Select 10 "Community Efforts"	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Lexis/Nexis search</li> <li>2. Review Advisory Board minutes and follow-up on programs cited</li> <li>3. review in-house materials -- see evaluation section for specific tasks</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Tom Janenda -- 10/16</li> <li>2. Brenda -- 10/17</li> <li>3. David</li> </ol>
"Community Efforts" nomination form	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Draft &amp; finalize nomination form and cover letter</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Camp, Toineeta 10/21</li> </ol>
Solicit Advisory Board for nominations	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Write/call Advisory Board members</li> <li>2. Mail/fax nomination forms</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Toineeta -- 10/24</li> <li>2. Toineeta -- 10/24</li> </ol>
Calling script to solicit nominations	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Coordinate with Ben and Doris</li> <li>2. Draft &amp; Finalize script</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Toineeta -- 10/20</li> <li>2. Camp, Toineeta -- 10/20</li> </ol>
Contact XX organizations requesting "Community Efforts"	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. National Conference</li> <li>2. National Voices</li> <li>3. National Urban League</li> <li>4. National Italian Foundation</li> <li>5. NARF</li> <li>6. YWCA, YMCA</li> <li>7. Boys &amp; Girls Clubs</li> <li>8. ACLU</li> <li>9. Nat'l Assoc of Community Action Agencies 202-265-7546</li> <li>10. League of Women Voters</li> <li>11. National PTA</li> <li>12. NAACP</li> <li>13. La Raza</li> <li>14. NAPAL</li> <li>15. NCAI</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1-15. Toineeta -- 10/31</li> </ol>
Contact XX foundations requesting "Community Efforts"	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Mott</li> <li>2. Kellogg</li> <li>3. Ford</li> <li>4. Rockefeller</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Toineeta -- 10/31</li> <li>2. Toineeta -- 10/31</li> <li>3. Cavataiov -- 10/31</li> <li>4. Toineeta -- 10/31</li> </ol>

Activity	Action item	Person Rep./Timeline
Contact XX non-Federal government agencies, offices and associations	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Human Rights Commissions</li> <li>2. National Governors Assoc.</li> <li>3. Mayors</li> <li>4. Tribal Leaders</li> <li>5. National League of Cities</li> <li>6. Natn'l Assoc. of Counties (NACO)</li> </ol>	1-6. Toineeta -- 10/31
Contact XX religious organizations	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. B'Nai B'Rith</li> <li>2. National Council of Churches</li> </ol>	1-2. Toineeta -- 10/31
Contact XX offices w/in criminal justice system	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Police departments</li> <li>2. DOJ--Civil Rights Div</li> <li>3. Courts in Mid-West</li> <li>4. DOJ-- CRS</li> </ol>	1-4. Toineeta -- 10/31
Contact XX educational institutions	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. State school superintendents</li> <li>2. School boards</li> <li>3. American Federation of School Administrators 202-986-4209</li> </ol>	1-3. Toineeta -- 10/31
Contact Congressional Representatives and ethnic caucuses	1. Coordinate with WH legislative affairs	1. Liss, Cutler
Coordinate with Cabinet Affairs and Federal Agencies	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Draft memo</li> <li>2. Submit memo and nomination sheet</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Camppt</li> <li>2. Cavataio</li> </ol>
Blast Fax request to "friends" of PIR	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Develop call for activities</li> <li>2. Send Blast Fax</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Allison (PIR) -- 10/22</li> <li>2. PIR/com -- 10/27</li> </ol>
PIR Web-site request for "Community Efforts"	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Develop nomination sheet for web-site</li> <li>2. Develop request for efforts</li> <li>3. Web-site request on-line</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Camppt, Toineeta, Moran -- 10/23</li> <li>2. PIR/com --</li> <li>3. PIR/com-- week of 10/27</li> </ol>
Formal press release requesting "Community Efforts"	1. Create press release	1. PIR/com -- Nov.
Coordinate with Leaders and Speakers to recruit activities	1. Include nomination package in Leader's Kit and Speaker's Kit	1. PIR/com. -- Nov.
List of organizations to contact	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Coordinate with Recruiting Leaders</li> <li>2. Compile list in each sector</li> </ol>	1-2. Toineeta -- on-going

<b>Activity</b>	<b>Action Item</b>	<b>Person Resp/Timeline</b>
Harness expertise to help design evaluation criteria	Created initial outline of evaluation criteria	Oct. 13/ Campt
	Contacted experts to solicit help with evaluation criteria <i>Center for Living Democracy</i> <i>Study Circles</i> <i>Urban League</i> <i>J.F. Kennedy School of Government</i>	Oct. 10/ Campt
	Contacted experts to solicit help with evaluation criteria <i>Center for Assessment and Policy Development</i> <i>University of Pennsylvania</i> <i>Rockefeller Foundation</i>	Oct. 16/Campt
	Contacted experts to solicit help with evaluation criteria <i>Carnegie Corporation</i> <i>Business Week</i> <i>Facing History and Ourselves</i> <i>DuBois Institute, Harvard</i> <i>The National Conference</i>	Oct. 17/Campt
Determine evaluation criteria	Augment evaluation criteria with expert feedback	Oct. 20/ Campt
	Create and circulate interview protocol based on eval. criteria	Oct. 20/ Campt
Evaluate the Programs	Demonstrate use of eval. criteria to staff interviewers	Oct. 20/ Campt
	Use interview protocol to gain more info on programs	Oct. 21/Campt, Toineeda, Bustos, King, Liu
	Write ½ to ¾ pg. program summaries, circulate to entire group	Oct. 22/ Campt, Toineeda, Bustos, King, Liu, King, Chai
	Write overarching description of promising practices component, circulate	Oct. 22/ Campt
	Integrate feedback, make final edits	Oct. 23/ Campt, Toineeda, Liu, King
Verification/Vetting of Programs	Vetting of selected programs	Oct. 28/ Janenda

**DISSEMINATING PRODUCTS**  
Draft Work Plan

Activity	Action Item	Person Resp./Timeline
White House Website	Getting new information up on the web for promising practices.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Kevin Moran</li> <li>2. Maria Soto</li> <li>3. Allison King</li> <li>4. Brenda Toineeta</li> <li>5. David Camppt</li> </ol>
Blast Fax	Incorporate promising practices on a regular basis in weekly blast fax	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Tamara Monosoff</li> <li>2. Brenda Toineeta</li> </ol>
Talking Points	Create promising practices talking points. Included in general talking points.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Tamara Monosoff</li> <li>2. David Camppt</li> <li>3. David Chai</li> </ol>
Press Releases	One press release to launch promising practices. In addition, incorporating promising practices when applicable	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. David Chai</li> <li>2. Brenda Toineeta</li> </ol>
Weekly Updates	Incorporate promising practices in weekly updates when applicable. Should develop a target number per month.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Brenda Toineeta</li> <li>2. Allison King</li> </ol>
Speakers Kit	One section in speakers kit that reflects promising practices.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Allison King</li> <li>2. David Camppt</li> </ol>
Brochure	A portion of the brochure reflects promising practices.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Tamara Monosoff</li> <li>2. David Camppt</li> </ol>

---

They have 28 state members!  
what's the problem??

**DRAFT ---- African American Stump Speech ---- DRAFT**

Introduction and Acknowledgments ---

On behalf of President Clinton and Vice President Gore, I want to thank you for giving me this opportunity to talk to you about some of the Administration's key and give you a brief overview of the progress the Administration has made on behalf of African Americans over the past five years.

As you know, a few months ago President Clinton launched his Initiative on Race, a truly unprecedented call for a national dialogue on race and reconciliation. I think we should all salute the President for taking on an issue that is so complex and that has such deep historical roots. The subject of race has historically been a difficult one for us, as a country. In the thirty-three years since the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the movement that changed our nation, we still find ourselves combating all the remnants of segregation and discrimination. We are fortunate to have a President who recognizes this and is not afraid to address the difficult issues and pose the hard questions. President Clinton realizes this is the only way that we, as a nation, can move forward as "One America."

Under this President's leadership, America is closer to fulfilling the promise of equal opportunity for all. Just recently, the *Wall Street Journal* reported that the African American community is closer to reaching the American Dream than at any other time in history. According to a study in the Journal, between 1987 and 1996, minority-owned businesses increased 10 percent and the number of African Americans receiving college degrees increased more than 7 percent. It also reported that minorities now account for 30 percent of new homeowners, and, at the present rate of improvement, African Americans, Asians and Hispanics could reach parity with whites in the next 10 years.

That's the good news. The bad news is that we have not reached parity yet on a number of fronts.

We, as a community, continue to struggle with an unemployment rate that is twice that of whites, even with the recent gains. And discrimination is a daily fact of life for far too many Americans. College graduation rates among African Americans are still far behind their Caucasian peers and, on average, we are earning less than white Americans are.

As the President has said, "as a society we cannot avoid the unfortunate fact that racial, ethnic and gender discrimination continue to exist. We see evidence of it every day." The President and this

Administration are committed to combating discrimination. Yet, there are still people who want to roll the clock back on the progress we have made in our struggle for full equality.

One way this Administration is working to keep us on track, as a nation, is by ardently supporting effective, fair and balanced affirmative action programs that help ensure equal opportunity and diversity in the job market.

We continue to see evidence of the enormous benefits that diversity brings to institutions. Universities and businesses that have pushed to increase diversity in their ranks are some of the same institutions that are driving this nation's vibrant economic engine. The President has always been proud to be able to point to the quality of his appointees and to the judges he has nominated who are living proof that diversity and excellence walk hand-in-hand.

This President appointed the most diverse Cabinet and Administration in history. Many have been or are our most qualified and successful members of the Cabinet -- the first African American Secretary of Commerce, Ron Brown; the first African American Secretary of Energy, Hazel O'Leary; the first African American Secretary of Veterans Affairs, Jesse Brown; the first African American Director of the Office of Management and Budget, Frank Raines. And that is just the beginning, we also have the first African American Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, Bill Kennard; our Secretary of Labor, Alexis Herman, is also a first African American to head that position. Other African Americans in our ranks are Secretary of Transportation, Rodney Slater and our former Drug Czar, Lee Brown. In his first term, President Clinton also appointed an African American, Ron Noble to head the Secret Service and to oversee Customs and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. And, just recently, Eric Holder, an African American, was sworn in as the Deputy Attorney General for the United States--the number two Justice Department position.

I could go on because everywhere you look there are African Americans in top positions throughout the Clinton Administration. In total, 13 percent of all presidential appointments are African Americans and together, these officials command budgets in excess of \$120 billion and supervise close to half a million federal employees. President Clinton has nominated 46 African Americans to the Federal judiciary, which account for 18 percent of his Federal bench nominations.

President Clinton supported affirmative action programs have been proven a proven success across the country. In university classrooms across America, affirmative action programs increase numbers of previously under-represented students and enhance the knowledge and breadth of experience of entire student bodies.

The recent plummet in minority enrollment in California and Texas state universities, as a result of proposition 209 and similar laws that make affirmative action illegal, is persuasive evidence that tailored affirmative action plans, whether through their direct or symbolic effects, have done wonders to increase minority access to higher education. And, more profoundly, California and Texas schools show us how the loss of such programs can have devastating effects on levels of diversity in classrooms. Clearly, the nation can not afford to do away with these vital programs just yet. The Clinton Administration has been working closely with these states to come up with creative solutions to the recent loss of minority representation in state schools. No other tool that has been shown to work as effectively to ensure equal opportunity with less disruption, that is why we remain committed to affirmative action programs.

**[For an audience who is interested more specifically in the “mend don’t end” reform in the federal government:** Although the Supreme Court indicated in its Adarand decision that federal affirmative action programs will have to live up to a higher standard, it also stated that there is still room for affirmative action provided a new set of criteria are met. So, under the President’s direction, the Administration has worked diligently to reform affirmative action programs across the federal government to meet this higher standard. We believe can and will be met. Meeting it will allow us to ensure equal opportunity within the federal government in employment, contracting and elsewhere.]

In addition to helping preserve affirmative action programs, President Clinton has worked to restore the American Dream for all Americans by strengthening the economy, expanding opportunity, investing in our children and making communities safer. And he has succeeded. Over 13 million new jobs have been created since he became President -- the unemployment rate for African American adults has dropped from 13% to under 9%, the lowest in over 20 years and over 100,000 new African American owned business have been created.

Since 1993, President Clinton has worked hard to build “One America” on a simple formula: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, a community of all Americans prepared to continue to lead the world toward peace and prosperity. Much has been done but much remains to be done.

We must continue to strive towards solutions to problems such as racism and divisiveness. As the fabric of our country begins to change, it is increasingly more important that we overcome these problems together. Currently, Hawaii has no majority race and within five years there will be no majority race in California, our biggest state with 13 percent of our population. In the Detroit area, which we used to think of as a two-tiered society of white ethnics and black folks from the South

looking for work, there are now more than 145 different racial and ethnic groups. Over the bridge from the White House in Fairfax Virginia we have one of the most diverse school district in the nation where students come from 150 different countries and speak over 100 languages.

The demographics of our country are changing very rapidly—we are becoming increasingly multiethnic. According to the Census Bureau, by the year 2050 whites will make up approximately 53% of the population -- with Hispanics, African Americans and others combined making up just under 50 % of the country. Most people have not given much thought to how we are going to become “One America” in the 21st century. But today, more than ever it is becoming important for us to heal old wounds and meet the challenges ahead, together.

Our President has given a great deal of thought to the issue of American unity and has committed time and resources trying to make sure that we grow to appreciate our differences and our common experiences and values. **(More specifics on what the Race Initiative plans to accomplish to come in a message statement from Claire.)** The President has appointed an Advisory Board on Race, headed by the renowned historian, Dr. John Hope Franklin, to research and study existing problems and develop solutions and recommendations that will help us move forward as “One America.” **(Rolls to come from P.R. Staff.)**

In the few months since the President announced this initiative, the Administration has already taken action by addressing the victims of a racially biased syphilis experiment in Tuskegee. Offering an apology for the study on behalf of the U.S. government, the President tried to make amends with our troubled past. But acknowledging past wrongs is only part of the solution. This Administration is also looking forward—for the sake of our children. In a recent speech, the President said, “My fellow Americans, we must be concerned not so much with the sins of our parents as with the success of our children—how they will live and live together in years to come.”

Today we are investing in our children by improving our educational system. In the short time since we began the Race Initiative, the President has already proposed a bold initiative to recruit and prepare teachers to serve in urban and rural communities. The President has forwarded to Congress a proposal for a national effort to attract quality teachers to high-poverty areas by offering scholarships for those who will commit to teach there for at least three years.

He has placed special emphasis on recruiting minorities into teaching. At present, one third of our students in the nation’s public schools are minorities compared to 13 percent of the teachers. Our students need role models and all students stand to benefit from a diverse and excellent teaching

force. The President's plan also includes funding to strengthen teacher preparation programs and to improve the quality of teaching in those schools most in need.

President Clinton knows that children are our future--we must ensure that our children have the tools and the proper environment to learn. We have to send our children to schools that are safe and drug-free. There are still a lot of children who do not learn everyday because they are afraid. And if you think of the times in your life when you have been afraid, it was hard to think of anything else. We must take fear out of our schools. It is unacceptable to have children falling behind because of that. That is why President Clinton has fought hard to keep weapons and drugs out of our classrooms by working for a "Zero Tolerance" gun policy in schools. He also has encouraged policies for student uniforms in order to alleviate gang violence.

We have also worked to ensure that children have a safe environment to grow up in. The President has increased opportunities for affordable housing development by the private sector and has reformed the community reinvestment act to unleash billions in new credit for low to moderate-income communities. The President is working to ensure that public housing is safe by fighting or a "one-strike and you're out" policy among residents. And under the Clinton Administration, toughness on crime has paid off. The Brady Bill has already kept more than 60,000 convicted criminals from buying guns and we have outlawed 19 of the deadliest assault weapons. We have worked to put more than 100,000 new police on the streets, and since then, crime has been on the decline. Murders are down 8 percent, robberies are down 7 percent and car theft is down 6 percent.

To make certain schools are drug-free, we have succeeded in passing the Safe Drug-Free Schools Act that aims to reduce violence and drug abuse among children by increasing funds for social security, drug prevention programs and counseling. We have also developed a comprehensive National Drug Control Strategy aimed to reduce illegal drug use through law enforcement, prevention, treatment and interdiction. During the Clinton Administration, cocaine use has declined by 30 percent since 1992.

The President is also working to improve our educational system by giving children the tools they will need to be competitive in the 21st century. We must take advantage of the opportunities that new technology presents. This new technology can help jump-start our children's future. President Clinton has challenged every school in the nation to connect all of its classrooms to the Information Superhighway by the year 2000. Together with Vice President Gore and participants from the private sector, he has developed a plan to bring computers into classrooms, to get educational software to teachers and to train teachers to use new equipment. The Federal Communications Commission offers reduced rates for Internet service to schools and libraries so that all children, even those in the poorest districts will have the opportunity to learn.

Part of our goal is also making sure that our children have the degrees needed to compete. If you look at the high school graduation rates for African Americans, it's very encouraging to see how much they have increased. However, there is not much difference now in the high school graduation rates between African Americans and white in Americans. There is a world of difference in the college completion rates, however, and President Clinton wants to close that gap.

To this end, the budget includes the largest increase in Pell Grants in 20 years and provides tax credits that would make the first two years of college available to everyone. President Clinton feels that we must push more and more of our minority children into higher education.

Since 1993, the President has increased funding for Historically Black Colleges and Universities by nearly \$250 million -- an almost 25 percent increase. We have increased funding for Head Start by over \$1 billion to provide early education for tens of thousands of additional children in need. He was also successful at passing Goals 2000: Educate America act that helps to provide early education to thousands of children in need. And the Americorps program has enabled over 70,000 volunteers to earn money for college, one third of who was African American.

But providing for the future of our nation's youth also requires a strong economy and making certain that families have the means to support themselves. Under the Clinton Administration, the unemployment rate dipped to 9.8 percent in April, the lowest rate in two decades and 2.9 million Americans transitioned from welfare to work. Meanwhile, the average African American family income has increased by \$2,300 and the poverty rate among African Americans is the lowest in history. In part, this is due to the success we've had at increasing the minimum wage to \$5.15 which directly benefited 1.3 million African American workers.

The President has worked to ensure that the fiscal outlook continues to look promising. In his 1997 budget he fought for and won full funding for Community Development and Banks and Financial Institution Fund Expansion. This program supports institutions and provides a variety of financial services to distressed communities by providing mortgages and commercial loans. We have also succeeded at increasing the earned income tax credit. In 1995 the tax credit program provided tax relief for 15 million working families by allowing them to qualify for tax rebates and was responsible for lifting 810,000 African Americans, including 450,000 African American children out of destitution.

Under this Administration, we have increased opportunities for affordable housing development, by the private sector, and we have reformed the Community Reinvestment Act to unleash billions in new credit for low to moderate-income communities.

Make no mistake about it. Our success in moving America closer to fulfilling its promise of equality and opportunity does not end with these measures. It also depends on enforcing existing laws and regulations.

The Clinton Justice Department has vigorously enforced the civil rights laws. We successfully prosecuted the Los Angeles police officers involved in the Rodney King beating. We have focused the nation's attention to speed the rebuilding process of burnt churches across the country and prosecuted assailants. Indeed, under this Administration, 38 hate crime cases have been filed against 65 defendants. And the President recently announced a special White House conference on hate crimes to be held this November. The conference will bring victims of hate crimes, and their families together with law enforcement experts and leading officials from Congress and the Justice Department to take a close look at ways to strengthen our laws so that assailants are punished swiftly and severely. The Justice Department has also won \$12 million in back pay for victims of employment discrimination and we settled a landmark public accommodations case against Denny's Restaurant when they refused to serve the President's African American Secret Service agents simply because of their race. And we joined the Congressional Black Caucus in the fight to save the Voting Rights Act.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development aggressively moved to eliminate racial barriers in Vidor, Texas, by integrating a segregated public housing complex and breaking their "whites only" policy. At the same time, the Treasury Department has been ordering non-complying banks to implement new and fair lending plans.

In both the programs that he has instituted and the diversity of his Administration, President Clinton has demonstrated his abhorrence of racial discrimination and his commitment to inclusion.

We have been committed to fair practices both in our nation and abroad. Under Bill Clinton's leadership, America has overseen the restoration of democracy to Haiti and enabled the first transfer of power from one democratically elected president to another. In South Africa, we assisted with the transition to democracy and helped to provide a better life for black Africans by supporting elections and fostering development. In all of Africa, we recognize the need for development that is sustainable, and have worked to help the transition to democracy all over the continent. That is why we have appointed Jesse Jackson, the first envoy to Africa.

Unfortunately, back home in the United States, incidents like recent police brutality cases in Brooklyn, Pittsburgh and St. Petersburg serve as reminders that color is still at the root of many social ills including police brutality, employment discrimination and unequal access. Racial discrimination in housing remains a sad reality for many. No matter what we do professionally, no

matter how we are dressed, we still have trouble hailing a cab. Our African American young men often are portrayed in the media as dangerous gang members, and African American young women are often portrayed as unwed mothers. Resulting tensions limit racial interaction, preventing communication needed to navigate the road to reconciliation.

We at this Administration know that laws need to change and actions need to be taken to improve race relations in this country—we have been and we will continue to work on it. But beyond what we can do, even when laws change, culture often lags behind. Have we forgotten that three years after *Brown v. Board of Education* was decided, an angry mob still confronted a young black girl on the steps of Central High? Even when the government leads the way, society must follow and there is often a lot of lag time. The real changes that are made are not in our courtrooms or our boardrooms, but in our living rooms and in our hearts.

Today I am reminded of the preacher, who once said, “As long as there is poverty in the world, I can never be rich, even if I have a million dollars... I can never be what I ought to be until you are what you ought to be.” Dr. King taught us that the goals of justice and civil rights must not be merely the goals of a specific group but of our entire nation. Indeed, this Administration knows that even with the progress that has been made in our great nation, we cannot successfully move forward into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, we cannot consider ourselves rich as a nation or even the most powerful nation, until we are “One nation, under God, indivisible with liberty and justice for all.”

# The Hill

LARGEST  
CIRCULATION  
OF ANY  
CAPITOL HILL  
PUBLICATION

Vol. 4, No. 32

Price \$2.50

The Capitol Newspaper

Wednesday, September 3, 1997

From  
20

## Empowerment, not preferences, route to racial equality

**T**he public response to President Clinton's call for a new dialogue on race so far has been underwhelming. Americans who have largely tuned out ritualistic posturing on the subject aren't likely to be moved by rehashing arguments for affirmative action or appointing yet another study commission. To truly engage Americans in a new conversation, the president needs to shift the ground of the conversation from victimization to opportunity.

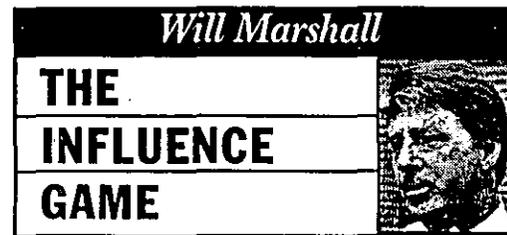
For two decades, the civil rights debate has revolved around the idea that informal, and even unconscious, discrimination — in schools, housing, the workplace and universities — is the chief barrier to racial justice and the only way to overcome it is through group preferences in hiring, contracting, broadcast licensing and college admissions.

Few Americans — even those sympathetic to affirmative action — still embrace that view. Instead, the public increasingly sees the lack of economic opportunity and mobility among the minority poor as the real crux of racial inequality, and policies that empower them to work and otherwise develop their economic potential as the remedy.

Congress should consider the fresh evidence of public support for empowerment from a new national survey for the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) conducted by White House pollster Mark Penn. When asked to choose the most effective way for the United States to promote racial equality today, respondents by a 3-1 margin picked "empowering low-income minorities to work, build up savings accounts, and start small businesses" over "expanding affirmative action programs." Democrats agreed by nearly identical margins, while black respondents picked empowerment over preferences by a more than 2-1 margin.

This does not mean that affirmative action is finished, even though the outlook is not good for preferential practices that face a triple threat from a skeptical

Supreme Court, a hostile Republican Congress and, if last year's vote on California's Proposition 209 is any guide, widespread popular opposition. It does suggest that Americans of all races are looking for alternatives



that help poor minorities overcome obstacles to upward mobility.

Penn concludes: "Affirmative action is not seen by most Americans as the primary vehicle for promoting racial equality — instead Americans see the long-term answer in programs that create work, the opportunity to open a small business, or build up savings, alongside improvement of the inner-city schools."

The DLC survey also challenges the cynical view in Washington that there's little public support for new efforts aimed at dealing with the problems of the inner cities. In fact, many Americans view the plight of high poverty urban neighborhoods as the unfinished business of the civil rights movement.

The poll found that 70 percent of the public agrees that our society has a "moral obligation to spend more money to assist poor areas in the inner cities." How the money is spent, however, matters greatly. Even Democrats overwhelmingly (70-23) favor spending the money to promote economic development rather than to expand traditional social programs.

Further confounding conventional left-right wisdom, the survey suggests that Americans view welfare reform as a cornerstone of a new strategy for empower-

ing poor citizens. It offers no support for the liberal contention that welfare reform is a thinly disguised assault on the poor by politicians eager to pander to a mean-spirited, and probably racist, public. It also shows that most Americans disagree with conservatives who equate merely reducing welfare spending with genuine welfare reform.

In fact, helping welfare recipients get jobs is near the top of the public's list of priorities, even if it means more government spending. Says Penn, "... Americans see moving one-million people from welfare to work (95 percent) as a primary national goal and creating a new employment system to accomplish the job as more important than just enforcing time limits."

All this suggests that Clinton really does have a striking opportunity to reframe and re-energize the debate over racial justice in America. Instead of arguing over the extent of vestigial discrimination facing upwardly mobile minorities — a debate that recalls medieval scholastics arguing over how many angels can fit on the head of a pin — our political leaders need to take concrete steps to help low-income Americans get a better education, find and keep jobs, save and build financial assets, upgrade their job and entrepreneurial skills, get access to capital and launch small enterprises.

This strategy for promoting racial equality would also be entirely consistent with Clinton's "New Democrat" approach to governing. In this view, government's role today is shifting from top-down redistribution of wealth to providing opportunities for all citizens to shape their own lives. If Congress really wants to rekindle the civil rights consensus, it should focus its energies on helping the minority poor break out of concentrated poverty and social isolation into the mainstream of American life.

Will Marshall is president of the Progressive Policy Institute.

Race Initiative Policy - generally

Integ -  
choice / checked /  
reports  
internal integ -

## Race Int policy - general

Bruce -  
• ed - social promo  
• priorities - budget  
sit down - go thru  
#s w/ OMB.

### Race Team Ldrs Mtg

#### 1. Education -

Task Force mts in Nov - Higher Ed

Dec 82: K-12 - value of diversity here too  
(how to get it?)

- curriculum stressing citizenship  
(national history std debate  
all over again)

Real q: what do we do to address  
disparities in achievement?

But what if they

} hear witnesses

Integration reports  
across schools  
within schools

} on both - helps  
all kids - not  
just "for them"  
(how to address -  
your kid's not going to  
be slowed down)

### Ed Op Zones

Mentoring

#### 2. Health -

HR - November letter. Middle.

Specific proposals - early next week.

#### 3. Civil Rights

- Civ Rts Admin

- Hate Crimes

- Legislative -

- FBI - 65 agents / - 17 on hate crimes enhancement

- why ops
- best practices
- data collectn -- might fall apart?
- educati -- drop?
- HUD proposal -
- fed training curric - w/ endorsement of locals
- PSA.

### 3. Economy

Report - benefits of diverse community - econ devel ??

### 4. Service - Mtg w/ Wotford

Making - race + service link - day of service  
 Corp doing lot to get ready.

Service learning? -

### 5. Welfare - Fathering - non-budgetary

### 6. Crime -

DATA - need to push

Proactive - A - really need to push

// \$ 377 for leader initiative

Survive? Targeted program for this yr -  
 at-risk youth.

} If not... do you want to  
 restructure?  
 ← for next year

Treatment/testing in budget now -

eval something broader to satisfy the President.  
 comprehensive - educati / treatment.

# Race Initiative Policy - general

## Race - team leaders mtg

Mtg w/ Race Adv Bd / Initiative / OPL

1. Health - This morning getting paper  
Memo to Pres on Monday?

- Mtg w/ EBB/Josh -  
• next week

## 2. Education -

- a. EOE's - new proposal from Dept.

(Don't include flex proposals)

→ b. OCR guidelines / also hier et guidelines

c. Reschedule Calif bilingual mtg

d. Tribal issues

• tribal school construction? (Johnson bill)

• For MED group - mtg - now picking out some

• Exec

→ e. Ed Reqs - MC still hasn't asked

Nov/Dec mtg

f. Univ/college -

Race initiative

g. Plan for outreach - early next wk.

## 3. Civil Rts Enforcement

a. See hard mt - I said start ~~on~~ spending \$

b. HC Conference

## 4. Urban -

Waiting for Treas - FLFH // low income <sup>housing</sup> tax credit

↳ Call w/ HUD for CA/Cleveland issue

↳ Voucher piece + FLFH piece - prob w/in 2 wks

Study on LHTC - Treas dragging feet - PW will say: 2 wks  
EBs - HUD is stalling.

## 5. Service -

Town Hall? Trying to figure out locations,  
Kindness/Justice Curriculum -

July 15, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH:           ERSKINE BOWLES  
                  SYLVIA MATHEWS  
                  JUDITH WINSTON

FROM:               BRUCE REED  
                      ELENA KAGAN

SUBJECT:            RACE INITIATIVE POLICY PROCESS

This memorandum sets out the process we will use to develop policy announcements and proposals for the Race Initiative. Our goals are: (1) to help provide a status report on race relations and racial disparities to inform policy development; (2) to assess and communicate the impact of this Administration's prior initiatives -- involving economic growth, education, crime, and so forth -- on race relations and the status of racial minorities; and (3) to build on this Administration's accomplishments and agenda with new initiatives to announce in the coming year and longer-term policies to incorporate in the final Presidential Report. We have a strong base from which to work, and we will attempt to ensure that the policy measures accompanying the Race Initiative will grow out of everything this Administration has done already. Throughout, we will focus on solutions that reflect the common values of the American people (e.g., equal opportunity and shared responsibility), and respond to their common aspirations (e.g., safe streets, good schools, and affordable housing).

**Research and Investigation**

In close cooperation with the DPC, NEC, Judy Winston, and Chris Edley, CEA will coordinate research on the current state of race relations and the continuing disparities in critical measures of well-being among individuals of different races. CEA already has developed a draft outline for this research, based on conversations with DPC and Chris Edley. The outline, which is attached to this memo, suggests research on, among other things: (1) disparities in economic success, educational opportunity, health care, political participation, family organization, and criminal victimization; (2) racial segregation in schools, neighborhoods, and workplaces; and (3) the prevalence and consequences of racial discrimination. In addition, research will be done on the differential effects of particular kinds of public policy on racial groups. CEA will do some aspects of this research itself and will assign other aspects to the appropriate offices in Treasury, DOL, Education, HHS, and DOJ. This work will go into the final President's Report and will influence and inform the development of policy discussed below.

## **Interagency Policy Development Process**

The DPC has established four major workgroups to develop policy for the Race Initiative. Bruce Reed, Elena Kagan, and Jose Cerda will coordinate the efforts of these groups. We anticipate developing both administrative actions and legislative proposals, and combining incremental (but important) policy advances with a few truly bold ideas. We will advance some of the policy proposals during the year-long initiative, while saving others for the President's Report at the end. (The right timeframe for policy proposals is not only the FY 1999 budget cycle, but the remaining years of this century and the start of the next.) The workgroups also will have responsibility for assessing the impact of prior Administration initiatives in their policy areas, so that we can build on our own accomplishments.

In coordinating policy development through these workgroups, we of course will work closely with Judy Winston and Chris Edley, and we will incorporate, as appropriate, advice provided to you by the Chair and Members of the Advisory Board. We also will solicit the views of outsiders -- such politically diverse people as William Julius Wilson, Glenn Loury, Henry Cisneros, Will Marshall, Doris Kearns, Richard Daley, and Nathan Glazer come to mind -- to challenge and enhance our own thinking.

1. **Economic and Community Empowerment** (co-chaired by Bruce Reed and Gene Sperling). This group will look at issues and policies relating to (1) job opportunities for unemployed and underemployed minorities, including welfare-to-work efforts and transportation initiatives to move inner city residents to suburban jobs; (2) housing for low-income residents of inner cities, including new or expanded uses of voucher plans and tax incentives to promote mixed-income, multi-racial communities; (3) metropolitan regional strategies to strengthen links between inner cities and suburbs; and (4) minority entrepreneurship, including credit programs building on CRA and CDFI.

Participating White House offices are: DPC, NEC, OVP/CEB, OPL, Intergovernmental, Legislative, CEA, CEQ, OMB.

Participating agencies are: Treasury, Labor, Commerce, Transportation, HUD, SBA, and Interior (for Native American population).

2. **Education** (chaired by Mike Cohen). This group will look at issues and policies relating to (1) failing inner city and rural schools, including issues of racial segregation and enhanced efforts to raise standards, improve teaching, provide improved infrastructure and new technology, promote charter schools, and encourage school takeovers and other accountability mechanisms; (2) education of Hispanic students, including bilingualism; and (3) expanded access to higher education and skills training. (Note that responses to Proposition 209 and Hopwood fall within the Administration of Justice Workgroup.)

Participating White House offices are: DPC, NEC, OVP, OPL, Intergovernmental, Legislative, OMB.

Participating agencies are: Education, Interior.

3. **Administration of Justice** (chaired by Elena Kagan). This group will look at issues and policies relating to (1) criminal law enforcement and prevention, including the underprotection of minority communities (including Indian reservations), police force composition and practices (including diversity issues and community policing), and after-school and other youth programs; and (2) enforcement of civil rights laws, including responses to Proposition 209 and Hopwood, reduction of the EEOC complaint backlog and other EEOC reforms, enhanced efforts on housing and lending discrimination, affirmative action issues generally, and hate crimes initiatives (for November conference).

Participating White House offices are: DPC, OVP, Counsel, OPL, Intergovernmental, Legislative, OMB, ONDCP.

Participating agencies are: Justice, Treasury, Education, DOL, HHS, HUD, USDA, Interior, EEOC.

4. **Health and Family** (chaired by Chris Jennings). This group will look at issues and policies relating to (1) special health care needs of minority populations, including the high incidence of certain health conditions and diseases and the underutilization of certain health care services, such as immunizations and mammograms; and (2) family composition, including efforts to strengthen two-parent families, ensure adoption of minority children, and provide supports to families led by grandparents.

Participating White House offices are: DPC, OVP, OPL, Intergovernmental, Legislative, OMB.

Participating agencies are: HHS, Interior.

### **This Week's Policy Announcement**

As you know, you will be attending the NAACP convention in Chicago on Thursday. We believe this speech offers an excellent opportunity to discuss the intersection of race and education issues. First, your speech can address the value of integration in educational settings. Thurgood Marshall once wrote that "unless our children begin to learn together, there is little hope that our people will ever learn to live together"; your speech can make exactly this link between educational integration and race relations generally to members of the organization most closely identified with progress in this area. This message would echo the strong argument you made for diversity in education in your San Diego speech; it also would lead naturally into your commemoration of the integration of Little Rock Central High School in September. Minyon Moore and others are reaching out to Kweisi Mfume and others to ensure that we address this issue in a way that avoids exacerbating internal NAACP divisions on the subject.

Second and no less important, you can stress the need to improve right now

predominantly poor and minority schools in inner city and rural areas. This part of your speech can protest the neglect (financial and otherwise) of predominantly minority schools and the consignment of their students to a second-class education. Here, you should make a strong statement about the importance of national standards and tests to boost expectations and improve the quality of education. But you should make an equally strong statement about providing students with the tools and opportunities to help them meet those standards -- better teaching, improved infrastructure and new technologies, and mechanisms to take over failing schools, including by turning them into charters (Rosa Parks is now trying to establish a charter school in Detroit).

As a down payment on a broader effort to improve inner city and rural schools, you can announce a new proposal to improve teaching in these institutions. The quality of teaching in inner city and rural schools is much lower than in the rest of the nation; in particular, the teachers in these schools are far less well trained than in others. To address this situation, Title V of the Department of Education's proposed reauthorization of the Higher Education Act, which will be submitted to Congress later this summer, proposes a new initiative to recruit, prepare, and retain teachers in urban and poor rural communities. This program would provide at least \$325 million over five years (we are still working out the exact funding with OMB) for two purposes: (1) to strengthen teacher training programs that operate in partnership with -- and place large numbers of graduates in -- urban or poor rural schools; and (2) to provide scholarships to talented and diverse individuals, chosen jointly by institutions of higher education and eligible school districts, who will commit to teach in urban and poor rural areas for at least three years after graduation.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 18, 1997

MR. ✓ PRESIDENT:

Please note that many of these proposals are still in the formative stage.

Phil Caplan

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
10-21-97

Copied  
Reed  
Kagan  
COS

Blue

I like them very much  
and would like to meet w/  
you + Clinton + others etc  
w/ us to be then soon to  
discuss them + a couple of  
specific dialogues/interactions  
on school/workplace

Phil's  
Message

DPC Race Initiative Policy Proposals

Education

Teaching Initiative -- Previously announced proposal to prepare and recruit teachers for high-poverty urban and rural communities.

Urban Education Initiative -- Select 15-20 urban school districts as Education Opportunity Zones, which would receive additional monies for implementing a program of standards-based school reform, including measures to promote public school choice, end social promotions, remove bad teachers, and reconstitute failing schools. The Department of Education has requested \$320 million for FY 99 for this program.

School Construction Proposal -- Support our own proposal from last year; the Daschle-Gephardt bill; or an alternative approach.

College/School Partnerships -- Propose a grant program to promote strong partnerships between colleges and high-poverty middle and high schools. Through these partnerships, colleges would encourage students to take demanding courses, while providing academic enrichment and intensive mentoring, tutoring, and other support services. The Department of Education has requested \$200 million for FY 99 for this initiative.

Communications Strategy for Maintaining Diversity in Higher Education -- Issue departmental report and give speech or town hall on the value of diversity in higher education; identify and highlight effective outreach and recruitment efforts in report and/or speech; invite educational leaders to White House to discuss the importance of the issue. Do not become Admissions Dean-in-Chief (i.e., do not recommend or endorse particular admissions criteria or strategies).

Attacking Racial Separation Within Schools -- Department of Education report on best practices for helping students reach across racial barriers; grants to support model projects.

Economic Empowerment

Empowerment Zones, Round 2 -- Announce the Second Round Empowerment Zones designees. (There is some interagency dispute about the timing of this proposal, given our inability to come up with grant money to complement the tax incentives.)

Housing Portability -- Announce package of proposals including expanding the home ownership voucher program, encouraging the use of exception rents to open suburban housing markets, eliminating obstacles to portability of Section 8 vouchers, and reducing mortgage denial rates for minorities by working with mortgage and real estate industry.

Fair Lending Initiative -- Announce initiative that might include an examination of

Handwritten notes and checkmarks on the left margin:  
✓  
✓  
Teaching  
Urban  
School  
College  
Comm  
Empowerment  
Housing  
Fair Lending

10-21-97

✓ certain lending practices on minorities' access to capital, measures to improve the collection and analysis of data on loan denials, and increased resources for testing and enforcement (see below).

✓ Transportation Infrastructure Development -- Propose tax reforms to stimulate spinoff development from transit projects and aid development of urban intercity bus facilities.

✓ Assisting the Unbanked -- Announce the electronic funds transfer regulation, which may bring up to 10 million individuals into the banking system.

Health

Initiative to Reduce Health Disparities -- Adopt multi-faceted program, largely focused on education and outreach, to reduce racial disparities in heart disease and stroke; breast, cervical, and other cancer; diabetes; infant mortality; AIDS; and immunizations. HHS, OMB, and Chris Jennings are in the midst of developing cost estimates for this initiative.

Crime

Community Policing Initiative -- Target funds from the COPS program to hire new police officers and support community organizations in underprotected high-crime, largely minority neighborhoods (e.g., public housing communities); also use COPS money to promote diversity training for police and establish citizen academies to help community residents understand police procedures; promote minority recruitment in law enforcement through existing grant program.

Community Prosecuting Initiative -- Develop an initiative to give communities an incentive to experiment with community prosecution, which applies the principles of community policing -- neighborhood involvement and a focus on problem solving and prevention -- to this aspect of the criminal justice system.

At-Risk Youth Prevention Efforts -- Devote \$75 million currently in CJS appropriations bill, which we proposed as part of the President's juvenile crime strategy, to targeted programs for at-risk and minority youth (convince DOJ to drop plans for distributing funds by formula); launch a new fight to get crime bill prevention programs funded in next year's budget process.

Indian Country Law Enforcement Initiative -- In line with recommendations of Departments of Justice and Interior (due on October 31), transfer law enforcement authority from BIA to Justice and seek increased law enforcement resources specifically designated for Indian Country.

Civil Rights Enforcement

Enhanced Enforcement Initiative -- Request additional funds for civil rights enforcement,

Handwritten notes and arrows on the left margin: "G-1 - Academics", "PDB in 92", "Muskat?", "good", and several checkmarks.



EK - Please give a quick review.  
This is to go in POTUS briefing this afternoon.  
Thanks. (Sorry about the rush.)

Andrew  
6-7492

Draft 2

Through: Erskine Bowles  
Sylvia Mathews

From: Christopher Edley, Jr.

Re: Framing the Race Initiative

Sylvia asked me to attempt a summary of several conversations we have had to develop a conceptual framework for the Race Initiative and, ultimately, your Report to the American People early next winter. This memorandum reflects the thoughts and work of several people, including Sylvia, Sid Blumenthal, Michael Waldman, Elena Kagan, Maria Echaveste, Minyon Moore and Judy Winston.

**Themes, as related to your presidency:** You are leading us through a critical transition to a new era, building a new nation to meet the challenges in the century ahead. Your agenda has elements in trade, the post-Soviet security framework, getting our fiscal house in order, a domestic investment and renovation strategy spearheaded with education and the environment, and so forth; the "identity-and-community" element of this agenda is *One America*. It is one piece of the work we must do to build the America we want for our children. And the greatest obstacles we face in creating One America are the fault lines of color that in many ways still divide our communities, minds and hearts. Hence, your Race Initiative.

As in other areas of your policy leadership, much turns on recognizing the new nature of the challenges. In race, the traditional civil rights agenda of legislative and regulatory attacks on discrimination accomplished a great deal, including a remarkable transformation in civic norms. But then we stalled. And now we must move forward, and do so in a context much changed from the 1960s [The demographics of race move us beyond the black-white paradigm.] The competitive global economy attaches higher costs to misfires in American's opportunity engine. All of this requires a new and expanded agenda to achieve the racial justice required for One America. That agenda, while continuing necessary elements of our present work, must be multifaceted. It is largely about opportunity and responsibility for all, including an opportunity agenda for the underclass. But, of immediate importance to the Race Initiative, we cannot move forward without addressing the separation and exclusion that weaken us.]

This is not about integration in the old sense, nor about antidiscrimination law enforcement alone. You have framed a broader goal of opportunity and responsibility, reaching every American. Achieve that goal requires us to face the age-old problems of interethnic hostility, suspicion, and rivalry based on color, particularly as compounded by class. We must do this to forge the social compact for the New Economy. We must do this for One America that is just.

**Content of the Race Initiative itself:** In so far as possible, the above themes should both inform and be propelled by all the speeches, Advisory Board meetings, public events, outreach activities and policy announcements associated with the Initiative. The themes are the connective tissue.

Beyond that, in a procedural sense the initiative has two tracks:

**Dialog:** Measures to engage the nation on the plane of values and understanding:  
*What unites us? What divides us? How can we build bridges of understanding and community across lines of color and class?*

**Action:** The policy initiatives -- both public and private -- that will build community, create opportunity, encourage people to take responsibility, and close the racial divide: your workplan for the nation, moving toward One America.

Each event or task within the initiative should support one of these two tracks, and each track is critical. The policy track is how social and economic facts change, but the dialog-and-values track creates the foundation for the bold policy measures needed for so difficult a challenge.

To Mrs. 7<sup>th</sup>,  
change - name Josaba by  
providing a concrete solution to  
road problems  
that makes it harder to have some  
old debate

As an idea larger than traditional racial politics

crime  
education -