

**PRESIDENT CLINTON:  
PREPARING FOR COLLEGE: MENTORING AMERICA'S YOUTH**

February 4, 1998

*"I also ask this Congress to support our efforts to enlist colleges and universities to reach out to disadvantaged children starting in the sixth grade so that they can get the guidance and hope they need so they can know that they, too, will be able to go on to college."*

President Bill Clinton  
January 27, 1998

Today, President Clinton announces a new initiative to inspire more young people to have high expectations, to stay in school and study hard, and to go to college. The High Hopes initiative is a long-term investment -- starting with \$140 million in the FY 99 Budget -- that promotes partnerships between colleges and middle or junior high schools in low-income communities, to help teach students how they should go to college by informing them about college options, academic requirements, costs, and financial aid, and by providing support services -- including tutoring, counseling, and mentoring.

**EDUCATING FAMILIES EARLY ON: COLLEGE IS WITHIN REACH.** Families need to know that college is affordable regardless of their income. The President's High Hopes initiative provides children and their families at middle and junior high schools in low-income communities with a 21st Century Scholar certificate, an official, early notification of the amount of their eligibility for Federal college aid.

**PROVIDING CHILDREN WITH THE SUPPORT THEY NEED.** To make the hope of a college education a reality, the High Hopes initiative encourages degree-granting colleges to establish partnerships with middle and junior high schools with large concentrations of low-income children. Working with parents, community and religious groups, and businesses, these partnerships provide information about what it means and what it takes to go to college, as well as support services -- such as mentoring, tutoring, college visits, summer programs, after-school activities, and counseling -- to help the children stay on track. The partnerships will help ensure that children have access to the rigorous core courses that prepare them for college and let parents know how they can help their children prepare for college.

**STAYING WITH CHILDREN THROUGH HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION.** This new initiative is flexible, allowing partnerships to design their own efforts based on local needs and resources. But, to ensure effectiveness, the programs must:

- begin reaching out to children by the 7th grade;
- continue to help each student through graduation from high school; and,
- help all students in a class, not just the ones who get the best grades.

**REACHING MORE THAN 1 MILLION STUDENTS.** The President's Budget calls for a \$140 million investment in new High Hopes partnerships in 1999, and an additional \$70 million for new partnerships in each of the years 2000 and 2001 (as well as continuation funds for the original partnerships). If each project begins with one sixth or seventh grade class, this would fund partnerships with 2,500 middle and junior high schools. If each project adds an incoming class each year, more than 1 million students would be served over five years.

**WIDESPREAD SUPPORT.** Everyone agrees, the High Hopes initiative is the way to go. More than 300 college presidents, 60 organizations (including Big Brothers/Big Sisters, NAACP, and a variety of other education and religious groups), and 68 members of the House -- Democrats and Republicans -- have endorsed the initiative.

**EXCELLENCE IN EDUCATION**  
**PRESIDENT CLINTON'S HISPANIC EDUCATION ACTION PLAN**

In his State of the Union address, President Clinton reinforced his commitment to excellence in education for all Americans. America cannot prosper as a nation unless educational opportunity is made available to all of our children. Today, about 14 percent of the school-age population is Latino; by 2020, the proportion will grow to about 22 percent. Hispanic students are among the nation's most educationally disadvantaged. To address this educational disparity, the Clinton Administration's FY99 Budget includes more than \$600 million dollars for a comprehensive action plan based on high standards and research-based school reform:

- I. \$393 Million to Strengthen Basic Reading and Math Skills:** Students, including those with limited English skills, must be held to challenging academic standards, with a firm foundation in reading and math. President Clinton proposes to increase funding for Title I --the largest elementary and secondary program --by 5.3 percent -- a \$393 million increase -- to meet these critical needs for all disadvantaged students. Thirty-two percent of those served are Latino.
- II. \$66 Million to Train 20,000 Teachers to Teach Students English, and Help Adults Learn English:** A 17 percent increase -- \$33 million -- in the Federal program for children with limited English skills would help train 20,000 teachers over five years to more effectively teach English in the context of high academic standards. A \$33 million increase in adult education will provide more parents and other adults with English training, including the first year of a five-year, \$100 million effort to promote model approaches to adult English-as-a-Second Language (ESL) programs.
- III. \$30 Million to Transform Schools with High Dropout Rates:** The President is calling for a 25% expansion of a new effort to reform failing schools, specifically targeting schools with high-dropout rates. This increase will allow low-achieving schools to receive expert advice to adopt research-based models to improve teaching and learning.
- IV. \$69 Million to Prepare Disadvantaged Youth for Success in College:** The federal TRIO programs fund outreach and support programs to help disadvantaged students prepare for and successfully complete college through counseling and academic assistance. One of the programs --Upward Bound, which helps high school students with academic preparation for college --has been found to be especially helpful to Hispanic youth. The President has proposed a \$40 million (20 percent) increase in funding for Upward Bound. All other TRIO programs will receive a total increase of \$13 million. In addition, the Federal program to strengthen colleges with large Latino populations is slated for a \$16 million --133 percent --increase.
- V. \$60 Million to Improve Education Programs for Migrant Youth and Adults:** Migrant families face particularly difficult obstacles to gaining the education and training they would need to improve their standard of living. President Clinton seeks significant increases in the Migrant Education Program (16 percent increase of \$50 million), High School Equivalency Program (HEP: 31 percent increase of \$2.4 million), College Assistance Migrant Program (CAMP: 138 percent increase of \$2.9 million) and Migrant Youth Job Training Demonstration (a new \$5 million).

**EDUCATION OPPORTUNITY ZONES:  
STRENGTHENING URBAN AND RURAL SCHOOLS**

January 26, 1998

*I challenge every school district to adopt high standards, to abolish social promotion, to move aggressively to help all students make the grade through tutoring, and summer schools, and to hold schools accountable for results, giving them the tools and the leadership and the parental involvement to do the job.*

*-- President Bill Clinton, October 28, 1997*

**HELPING RAISE ACHIEVEMENT FOR STUDENTS IN HIGH POVERTY COMMUNITIES.** President Clinton's Education Opportunity Zones initiative will strengthen public schools and help students master the basics where the need is the greatest: in high poverty urban and rural communities where low expectations, too many poorly prepared teachers, and overwhelmed school systems create significant barriers to high achievement. The Education Department will select approximately 50 high poverty urban and rural school districts that agree to: (1) use high standards and tests of student achievement to identify and provide help to students, teachers and schools who need it; (2) prevent students from falling behind by ensuring quality teaching, challenging curricula, and extended learning time; and (3) end social promotion and turn around failing schools. Added investments in these communities will accelerate their progress and provide successful models of system-wide, standards-based reform for the nation. The President's initiative will invest \$200 million in FY99, and \$1.5 billion over 5 years, to raise achievement and share lessons learned with school districts around the country.

**ENDING SOCIAL PROMOTION, AND GIVING SCHOOLS THE TOOLS TO HELP EVERY CHILD MEET HIGH EXPECTATIONS.** To be selected as Education Opportunity Zones, school districts will have to demonstrate that they are using their existing funds effectively to raise student achievement by: ■ holding schools accountable for helping students reach high academic standards, including rewarding schools that succeed and intervening in schools that fail to make progress; ■ holding teachers and principals accountable for quality, including rewarding outstanding teachers, providing help to teachers who need it, and fairly and quickly removing ineffective teachers; ■ ensuring students don't fall behind, by providing a rich curriculum, good teaching and extended learning opportunities; ■ ending social promotions and requiring students to meet academic standards at key transition points in their academic careers; and ■ providing students and parents with school report cards and expanded choice within public education.

**EXTRA RESOURCES TO IMPROVE TEACHING, LEARNING, AND LEADERSHIP.** School districts will use Education Opportunity Zone funds to support standards-based, district-wide reforms such as: ■ rewarding schools that make significant gains in student achievement; ■ turning around failing schools by implementing proven reform models, or closing them down and reconstituting them; ■ providing extra help to students who need it to meet challenging standards, through after-school, Saturday, and/or summer school programs; ■ building stronger partnerships between schools and parents, businesses, and communities; ■ implementing sound management practices and accountability systems; ■ providing intensive professional development to teachers and

principals; ■ helping outstanding teachers earn master teacher certification from the National Board for Professional Teacher Standards and giving them bonuses when they do; and ■ implementing programs to identify low performing teachers, assist them to improve, and remove them if they fail to do so.

**COMPETITIVE GRANTS TO SUPPORT PROMISING MODELS.** Districts will be selected as Education Opportunity Zones under a competitive, peer-review process. A mix of large and smaller urban areas will be selected to participate, as well as rural school districts and consortia. Each urban Education Opportunity Zone will receive a 3-year grant of \$10-25 million per year (depending upon size and proposed activities), and each rural Zone will receive from \$250,000 to \$3 million (for consortia). Zones will be selected in two rounds, the first in FY 1999, and the second in FY 2001. Successful applicants will have broad-based partnerships to support their reforms -- including parents, teachers, local government, business and civic groups, institutions of higher education and other key stakeholders. Successful applications will show how the district will use all available resources -- federal, state, and local, as well as any business or foundation funds -- to carry out its reform strategy and maintain it once these federal funds are no longer available.

**REWARDS FOR DEMONSTRATED STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT GAINS.** Each Education Opportunity Zone will agree to specific, ambitious, benchmarks for improved student achievement, lower dropout rates and other indicators of success, for districtwide performance and specific student subgroups. Districts may receive further support in years 4 and 5 only if they have demonstrated success in reaching those benchmarks.

**GREATER FLEXIBILITY IN USING OTHER FEDERAL RESOURCES.** All schools in an Education Opportunity Zone school district -- regardless of poverty level -- will become eligible for schoolwide flexibility in the use of federal education funds. Requirements pertaining to school accountability, as well as special education, health, safety, and civil rights, will continue to be met.

**ASSISTANCE TO HELP DISTRICTS FIND AND SHARE WHAT WORKS.** The Department of Education will offer technical assistance, use technology to help districts consult with each other, and disseminate lessons learned to communities nationwide. Special attention will be given to helping school districts design and implement strategies for providing students who need it with early intervention and extra help to enable them to meet promotion standards. In addition, a national evaluation of the Education Opportunity Zones will be conducted, with the results helping to inform the next reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

**BOLD ACTION TO HELP CHILDREN IN OUR CITIES AND RURAL AREAS.** Education Opportunity Zones are part of a broader set of initiatives to help strengthen high-poverty urban and rural schools. President Clinton is also proposing new initiatives to reduce class size in the primary grades, modernize school buildings, recruit and prepare teachers for underserved urban and rural areas, and dramatically expand the availability and quality of child care and after-school learning opportunities. These and other proposals will have a powerful impact on improving the prospects of children in some of our poorest communities.



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

## The President's Initiative on Race

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*The New Executive Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20503  
202/395-1010*

### **Leadership Conference on Civil Rights Meeting**

Vice President's Ceremonial Office

Friday, March 13, 1998

1:00 -3:00

- I. Introductions and Welcoming Remarks -- Erskine Bowles
- II. Remarks -- Dr. Dorothy Height
- III. Remarks from the Chairman -- Dr. John Hope Franklin
- IV. President's Initiative on Race Goals and Future Activities -- Judy Winston
- V. Policy Overview  
  
Franklin Raines, Director of the Office of Management and Budget  
Gene Sperling, Director of the National Economic Council  
Bruce Reed, Director of the Office of Domestic Policy Council
- VI. The President's Report on Race -- Chris Edley
- VII. Leadership Conference on Civil Rights Response and Dialogue
- VIII. Next Steps -- Sylvia Mathews and Judy Winston

**The President's FY 1999 Budget Proposal:  
Priorities for Creating One America**

*"[T]he greatest progress we can make toward building one America lies in the progress we make for all Americans, without regard to race. When we open the doors of college to all Americans, when we rid all our streets of crime, when there are jobs available to people from all our neighborhoods, when we make sure all parents have the child care they need, we're helping to build one nation."*

President Bill Clinton  
January 27, 1998

President Clinton has proposed a balanced federal budget for FY 1999 -- the first balanced budget in 30 years. However, the President's budget not only ends the federal deficit; it also promotes spending on programs that could greatly help bridge racial divides in America. The following are several examples of spending priorities in the areas of education, economic opportunity, and civil rights enforcement -- areas in which the President's Advisory Board on Race has focused great attention:

- I. Education: The President's Advisory Board on Race has focused extensively on the crucial role of education in creating One America, which was the main topic of the Advisory Board's November and December 1997 meetings. The President's proposed FY 1999 budget includes substantial support for educational programs that will greatly improve educational opportunity for students of all races. For example:
  - Hispanic Education Action Plan: The President has proposed a Hispanic Education Action Plan, which includes more than \$600 million in additional spending on programs that further the educational achievement of Hispanic students and address such critical national problems as that of high dropout rates among Hispanic youth.
  - High Hopes Initiative: The President has announced his High Hopes Initiative, which is a long-term investment -- starting with \$140 million in the FY 1999 budget -- that promotes partnerships between colleges and middle or junior high schools in low-income communities. The High Hopes Initiative will help students achieve in school and go on successfully to college by informing them about college options, academic requirements, costs, and financial aid, and by providing vital support services -- including tutoring, counseling, and mentoring.

## *PIR Summary*

- Initiative to Reduce Class Sizes in Early Grades: The President has proposed a \$12.4 billion initiative over 7 years to help local schools provide small classes with qualified teachers in the early grades. The new initiative will reduce class size from a nationwide average of 22 in grades 1-3 to an average of 18 by providing funds to help local school districts hire an additional 100,000 well-prepared teachers.
  - School Modernization Initiative: To address the crucial issue of school construction, the President has proposed federal tax credits to pay interest on nearly \$22 billion in bonds to build and renovate public schools. Half of this financial support will be allocated to the 100-120 school districts with the largest number of low-income children.
  - Education Opportunity Zones: The President has announced an initiative to provide grants to high-poverty urban and rural communities where low expectations, too many poorly prepared teachers, and overwhelmed school systems create significant barriers to high achievement. The grants will be made to high poverty school districts with clear, comprehensive strategies to promote high achievement. The President's proposed budget includes \$200 million for this initiative in FY 1999 and \$1.5 billion over 5 years.
- II. Economic Opportunity: Economic opportunity was the main topic of the Advisory Board's meeting in January and is again the topic of the Advisory Board's meeting scheduled for February 10 and 11, 1998, in San Jose, California, which will focus on issues of race and poverty. The President has proposed additional spending in this area as well. For example:
- Welfare-to-Work Housing Vouchers: The President's FY 1999 budget includes \$283 million to fund 50,000 new vouchers for people who need housing assistance to make the transition from welfare to work. These vouchers will provide states and communities with a new, flexible tool to help families who need housing assistance in order to achieve self-sufficiency. Families could use these housing vouchers to mover closer to a new job, reduce a long commute, or secure more stable housing to eliminate emergencies that keep them from getting to work every day on time.
  - Empowerment Zones: The President's budget provides \$150 million per year for 10 years (a total of \$1.5 billion) to fund 15 new urban Empowerment Zones (EZs) and \$20 million per year for 10 years to fund 5 new rural EZs. These funds will encourage comprehensive planning to create economic opportunity and revitalize distressed areas.

## *PIR Summary*

- Restoring Benefits to Legal Immigrants: The President believes that legal immigrants should have the same opportunity and bear the same responsibility as other members of our society. In the FY 1999 budget, the President proposes to restore Food Stamp benefits to vulnerable groups of legal immigrants and to provide states the option to provide health assistance to immigrant children.
- Child Care Initiative: The President's budget provides new investments so that working families can afford safe, high-quality child care. The President's budget proposal includes \$7.5 billion over 5 years in block grants for low-income families and a \$5.2 billion tax cut over 5 years to support child care.

III. Civil Rights Enforcement: Despite substantial improvements in race relations over the last 30 years, evidence shows that discrimination remains a real and widespread problem. The President's Advisory Board on Race represented to the President several months ago its belief that adequate funding is essential to the enforcement of existing legal protections that prohibit discrimination in America. The President's proposed budget provides increased resources to support the enforcement of federal civil rights laws. The FY 1999 budget includes \$602 million for civil rights enforcement agencies, which is an increase of \$86 million or more than 16% over the 1998 level of \$516 million. Specific funding items include the following:

- Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC): Under the President's proposed budget, the EEOC, which enforces the principal federal statutes prohibiting discrimination in employment, will receive \$279 million for FY 1999, which is a \$37 million or 15% increase from its FY 1998 appropriation of \$242 million. The EEOC will use the increased resources to further reduce its caseload of complaints by continuing procedural reforms, including greater use of alternative dispute resolution mechanisms, and upgrading technologies.
- Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD): Under the President's proposed budget, HUD's fair housing activities, which include grants to state and local governments and to groups that fight housing discrimination, will receive \$52 million, which is a \$22 million or 73% increase from HUD's FY 1998 appropriation of \$30 million. This money includes \$10 million for an enforcement initiative that will use paired testing -- in which otherwise identical applicants of different races approach realtors or landlords -- to detect and eliminate housing discrimination.

**THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION ANNOUNCES  
NEW CIVIL RIGHTS ENFORCEMENT INITIATIVE**

January 19, 1998

The Vice President today announced a package of civil rights enforcement initiatives that places new emphasis on prevention and non-litigation remedies for discrimination and strengthens civil rights agencies' ability to enforce anti-discrimination law. The plan promotes prevention by providing increased resources for compliance reviews and technical assistance, and offers an alternative to expensive litigation by funding a dramatic expansion of alternative dispute resolution (ADR) mechanisms. The plan also sets specific performance goals for the EEOC to speed processing of complaints and reduce case backlog, and provides for greater coordination across federal agencies and offices. The Clinton Administration's Fiscal Year 1999 balanced budget contains \$602 million for civil rights enforcement agencies and offices -- an increase of \$86 million, or more than 16 percent, over last year's funding.

**Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)**

The Administration's budget proposal expands the EEOC's ADR program over three years to allow as many as 70 percent of all complainants to choose mediation, rather than the lengthy process of investigation and litigation. In the first year of this expansion, the EEOC will provide ADR in a projected 16,000 cases -- 20 percent of all incoming cases and double the number currently sent to mediation. The Administration's budget also sets specific performance goals for the EEOC to reduce its backlog. 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.

In total, the budget requests \$279 million for the EEOC for FY 1999 -- \$37 million or 15 percent more than the enacted 1998 budget. More than one-third of the proposed increase (\$13 million) goes to expansion of the agency's ADR program.

**Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)**

The Administration's budget proposes an increased emphasis on reducing discrimination and ensuring equal opportunity in housing. The highlight of the HUD budget proposal is a targeted enforcement initiative that will use paired testing -- in which otherwise identical applicants of different races approach realtors or landlords -- to detect and eliminate housing discrimination. This systematic, focused testing strategy will allow more accurate measurement and increased public awareness of housing discrimination, while facilitating enforcement actions against violators of the fair housing law.

The Administration's budget proposes \$52 million for FY 1999 -- \$22 million, or about 70 percent, more than last year's funding -- to enable HUD to meet its goals of ensuring equal opportunity in housing. The new paired testing program is funded at \$10 million.

## **Key Aspects of the Budget**

### **\* Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR)**

The plan increases the use of ADR in the Federal government as a voluntary option available to parties that seek a non-litigation solution to their cases. The Administration's budget expands mediation programs in almost every agency, most notably in the EEOC.

### **\* Prevention Activities**

The plan emphasizes efforts throughout the government's civil rights agencies and offices to prevent discrimination from occurring -- for example, through technical assistance, outreach, and compliance reviews. Offices in which such consultative activities will assume added importance include the Civil Rights Center of the Department of Labor and the Offices of Civil Rights of the Departments of Health and Human Services and Education. The Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs of the Department of Labor will increase compliance reviews by 10 percent, while reducing burdens on contractors (paperwork, etc.) by at least 30 percent.

### **\* Improved Coordination**

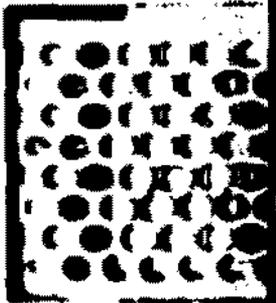
The plan recognizes the need for enhanced coordination of federal civil rights enforcement policy among agencies by highlighting the lead role of the Department of Justice's Civil Rights Division, under the direction of Bill Lann Lee, and providing additional resources for coordination activities. This emphasis will lead to more consistent enforcement of civil rights laws, broader dissemination of best practices, and improved data collection.

**PRESIDENT CLINTON'S FY 1999 BALANCED BUDGET**  
**EDUCATION: PREPARING OUR CHILDREN FOR THE 21ST CENTURY**

**MAINTAINING OUR COMMITMENT TO MAKING EDUCATION OUR NUMBER ONE PRIORITY.** Building on the historic balanced budget agreement in 1997 which secured the largest education investment in 30 years and the largest investment in higher education since the G.I. Bill in 1945, the President's FY 1999 budget includes the following:

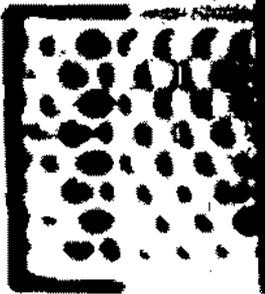
- **Small Classes with Qualified Teachers to Improve Reading in Grades 1-3.** President Clinton is proposing a \$12.4 billion initiative over 7 years (\$7.3 billion over 5 years) to help local schools provide small classes with qualified teachers in the early grades. This initiative will help ensure that every child receives personal attention, learns to read independently, and gets a solid foundation for further learning. The new initiative will reduce class size from a nationwide average of 22 in grades 1-3 to an average of 18, providing funds to help local school districts hire an additional 100,000 well-prepared teachers. The initiative will also provide funds to states and local school districts to test new teachers, develop more rigorous teacher testing and certification requirements, and train teachers in effective reading instruction practices. School districts will be accountable for demonstrating gains in reading achievement. These steps will help ensure that first through third grade students are receiving high-quality reading instruction in smaller classes from competent teachers.
- **Modern School Buildings to Improve Student Learning.** For students to learn, schools must be well-equipped and be able to accommodate smaller class sizes. To address these and other critical needs, President Clinton is proposing federal tax credits to pay interest on nearly \$22 billion in bonds to build and renovate public schools. This initiative provides more than double the assistance of the Administration's earlier school construction proposal, which covered half the interest on an estimated \$20 billion in bonds. The tax credits will cost the Treasury \$5 billion over 5 years, and more than \$10 billion over ten years. Of the \$22 billion in bond authority, nearly \$20 billion for a new School Modernization Bonds. Half of this bond authority will be allocated to the 100 school districts with the largest number of low-income children, and the other half will be allocated to the states.
- **Education Opportunity Zones: Helping Students in Poor Communities Reach High Standards.** This initiative will strengthen public schools and help students master the basic and advanced skills where the need is greatest: in high-poverty urban and rural communities where low expectations, too many poorly prepared teachers, and overwhelmed school systems create significant barriers to high achievement. The Education Department will select approximately fifty high-poverty urban and rural school districts with: (1) a demonstrated commitment to use high standards and tests as tools to identify and provide help to students, teachers and schools who need it; (2) a strategy to prevent students from falling behind by ensuring quality teaching, challenging curricula, and extended learning time; (3) programs to end social promotion and turn around failing schools; and (4) evidence of improved student achievement. Added investments in these communities will accelerate their progress and provide models of successful, standards-based reform for the nation. The President's initiative will invest \$200 million in FY99, and \$1.5 billion over 5 years, in raising achievement and sharing lessons learned with school districts around the country.

- **After-School Learning Opportunities.** The FY99 Budget includes a five-year, \$1 billion investment in school-community partnerships that create or expand before- and after-school programs. The Department of Education's 21st Century Learning Center Program, funded at \$40 million in FY98, would be expanded to \$200 million per year. With a local matching requirement --aided by a \$55 million gift from the C.S. Mott Foundation -- this initiative will leverage a total of \$2 billion overall for after-school programs.
- **Reduce and Eliminate Student Loan Fees.** Saving students \$3 billion over five years, the budget will phase out the fees that students pay on need-based loans (about 60 percent of all student loans), and will reduce fees on other loans by 25 percent. Until 1993, students lost up to 8 percent of their loans in fees to intermediaries and to the Federal government. Already reduced to 4 percent as a result of reforms enacted in 1993, the Administration's new plan would reduce fees on all loans to 3 percent in 1999, and on need-based loans to 2 percent in 2001, 1 percent in 2002, and eliminated completely in 2003.
- **Work-Study.** The Budget includes a \$70 million increase in funding for the Federal Work-Study program, bringing the total number of participants to just over one million in the 1999-2000 school year -- reaching that goal one year earlier than planned. This represents a nearly 50 percent funding increase since 1996.
- **Education Technology.** The President's FY 1999 budget includes an increase of \$137 million over the 1998 level to ensure that all children have access to the Internet, That teachers know how to use technology effectively, and to broaden access to high quality learning opportunities for adults using the Internet and other new technologies.
  - **Teacher Training in Technology.** This program will ensure that all new teachers entering the workforce can integrate technology effectively into the curriculum and can understand new styles of teaching and learning enabled by technology.
  - **Learning Anytime, Anywhere Initiative.** This initiative makes it easier for Americans who live in remote, rural areas, have a disability, or have competing family and work demands to have access to individualized up-to-date affordable education and training.
- **Early Intervention to Promote College Attendance.** President Clinton will soon announce a long-term effort to bring college opportunity to children in high-poverty areas by providing their families with early information about financial aid and appropriate academic preparation, as well as mentoring and other support services to help the children stay on track through high school graduation and into college.



# Economic Report of the President

Transmitted to the Congress  
February 1998



## CHAPTER 4

# Economic Inequality Among Racial and Ethnic Groups

THIRTY-FOUR YEARS AGO the signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 set the Nation on a course toward racial equality. As the economy surged, income differences narrowed for a full decade. The sharp recessions of the mid-1970s and early 1980s hit black and Hispanic Americans particularly hard, however. And in the expansion of the 1980s, economic growth was accompanied by sharp increases in overall income inequality. As a result, despite the economic growth of this period, income differences between black and Hispanic families on the one hand, and non-Hispanic white families on the other, did not diminish. The recession of the early 1990s brought further economic hardship, as the poverty rate climbed to near a 30-year high.

Since 1993, incomes have once again been rising. But the present recovery differs from those of the 1970s and 1980s in one important respect: economic growth has not been accompanied by sharp increases in income inequality. Moreover, this recovery has been accompanied by a narrowing of some measures of racial inequality. The median black family income reached a new high, and the poverty rate for blacks fell to a new low. After nearly 20 years of stagnation, these developments have again raised hope for sustained progress toward economic equality among racial and ethnic groups.

This chapter reviews statistics on the differences in economic status among racial and ethnic groups—whites, blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and American Indians—and evaluates various explanations for those differences (Box 4-1). Three themes are developed in this review. First, although some narrowing of gaps in economic status among racial and ethnic groups has occurred, it has been uneven—faster in some periods and for some groups than others—and substantial differences persist. The median incomes of non-Hispanic white families and of Asian families are nearly double those of black and Hispanic families. The median wealth of non-Hispanic white households is 10 times that of blacks and Hispanics. Poverty rates among Hispanics and blacks are more than triple those of non-Hispanic whites. Unemployment rates for blacks are twice those for whites.

Second, the sources or causes of current differences in economic status across racial and ethnic groups are numerous and complex.

mixture of current conditions, such as the state of the economy, and more permanent characteristics, such as educational background, occupational experience, and family background, which have antecedents in constraints faced in childhood and by previous generations. This commingling of short-term and long-term influences poses a challenge for the interpretation of trends in racial inequality. For example, current progress toward racial equality is due both to the recent effects of the strong economy and to longer term developments such as improvements in educational attainment and reduced discrimination over the past half-century. The complexity of these social and economic processes cautions against a simple explanation of trends in racial and ethnic economic equality.

A third theme of the chapter is that racial inequality and related policy issues are intertwined with the long-term general increase in economic inequality that extends beyond racial differences. Lack of progress toward racial economic equality between the early to mid-1970s and the early 1990s coincided with marked increases in inequality both overall and within racial and ethnic groups.

#### **Box 4-1.—Racial and Ethnic Identity and Classification**

The identification and classification of persons by race and ethnicity are complex and controversial issues. The concepts of race and ethnicity lack precise and universally accepted definitions. Their economic significance depends on a variety of factors, including how individuals identify themselves racially or ethnically, and how others identify and treat them. Most of the data presented in this chapter classify persons by race or ethnicity on the basis of responses to questions about race and Hispanic origin in the decennial Census and other household surveys.

Whenever possible, data for five mutually exclusive racial and ethnic groups are presented in this chapter:

- Hispanics, who may be of any race
- Non-Hispanic whites
- Blacks not of Hispanic origin
- Asians, including Pacific Islanders, not of Hispanic origin
- American Indians, including Alaska Natives (Alaskan Eskimos and Aleuts), not of Hispanic origin.

The term "black" rather than "African American" has been used in government statistics for more than two decades. The tables, charts, and references to statistics in this chapter that rely on these classifications use the term "black."

Hispanic identification is determined by responses to a question about Hispanic origin. Therefore, in tables, figures and discussion of related statistics the term "Hispanic" is used.

The increase in income inequality has two major implications. First, since blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians are disproportionately represented at the bottom of the income distribution, they are affected disproportionately by developments that make all those at the bottom worse off relative to the middle or the top. A second and more subtle implication is that inequality within racial and ethnic groups has grown relative to inequality between such groups. Growing income inequality within the previously largely impoverished black population is partly a product of black economic progress: by some measures more than half of black families have attained middle-class incomes or higher. Despite persistent gaps in income between blacks and whites, the growth of the black middle class, combined with widening inequality within the white population and the general slowdown of economic growth in the 1970s and 1980s, may have fueled opposition to measures or programs perceived to benefit members of minority groups without regard to individual economic circumstances.

#### **Box 4-1.—continued**

The terms "American Indian" and "Native American" are often used synonymously in speech and writing. In this chapter "American Indian" rather than "Native American" is used to avoid confusion caused by the use in some Federal programs of the term "Native American" to include Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders.

On October 30, 1997, the Office of Management and Budget announced its decision to revise the standards for classifying Federal data on race and ethnicity. The new standards recognize the growing diversity of the American population by permitting respondents to mark more than one race on survey questionnaires. In addition, the "Asian or Pacific Islander" category has been divided into two categories, "Asian" and "Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander," making a total of five racial categories ("Hispanic" is an ethnic category). The "black" category has been changed to "black or African American." The ethnicity question will include two categories: "Hispanic or Latino" and "Not Hispanic or Latino." Federal agencies will produce data on the number of individuals who mark only one racial category, as well as those who mark more than one.

Published statistics are not always available for all the groups listed above. At times statistics are lacking because survey sample sizes are too small to yield reliable estimates for small populations such as American Indians or Asians. Specialized surveys or samples are required to remedy this problem.

The chapter begins with a brief description of recent and projected changes in the racial and ethnic composition of the population. The most prominent of these changes are the increase in the proportion of the population that is Asian or Hispanic and the decrease in the proportion that is non-Hispanic white. The chapter then provides a detailed description of differences among racial and ethnic groups in traditional indicators of economic status: family income, poverty, and wealth. The next two sections of the chapter review the evidence and the economic literature in two arenas critical to the determination of economic status: education and the labor market. The chapter ends with a review of evidence of contemporary racial discrimination.

Although it is difficult to quantify the precise contribution of contemporary acts of discrimination to the wide economic disparities across racial and ethnic groups, there is substantial evidence that such discrimination persists in many areas of the economy. Such evidence highlights the need for racial reconciliation, as promoted in the President's Initiative on Race as well as the President's proposals to strengthen enforcement of the civil rights laws (Box 4-2).

## POPULATION COMPOSITION

Since 1970 the percentage of the population that is non-Hispanic and white has fallen substantially; the percentages that are Hispanic, American Indian, and Asian (including Pacific Islanders) have risen rapidly, and the percentage that is black has risen slowly (Table 4-1). The large increases in the Hispanic and Asian populations are largely due to immigration and reflect changes in immigration laws, especially the 1965 Immigration Act, which raised the ceiling on admissions and ended the system of national origin quotas that had restricted immigration from the developing world. The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, which legalized a large number of immigrants, also contributed to these changes. Under the assumption that these trends will continue, the non-Hispanic white population, currently the majority, is projected to fall to about half of the total population in the middle of the next century. (These projections assume there will be no change in rates of intermarriage, although these rates have been increasing.)

These national population changes mask differences across and within regions. The geographic distribution of racial and ethnic groups is important both because it influences the potential for social and economic interaction among them, and because it affects their economic fortunes. For example, over this century employment has shifted from rural to urban areas and, within urban areas, from the central cities to the suburbs.

Hispanics and American Indians are heavily concentrated in the West and, to some extent, the South. Asians are concentrated in the West. Within the South, Hispanics are concentrated in Florida, Texas,

### Box 4-2.—The President's Initiative on Race

On June 14, 1997, the President announced a new Initiative on Race. The President envisions an America based on opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and one community of all Americans. Race relations remains an issue that too often divides our Nation. The President's vision is to have a diverse, democratic community in which all Americans respect and even celebrate their differences while embracing the shared values that unite them. To reach this goal the President has launched a national effort to deal openly and honestly with our racial differences. The effort includes study, dialogue, and action to address the continuing challenge of how to live and work more productively together.

To further the goals of expanded opportunity and fairness for all Americans, and in conjunction with the President's Initiative on Race, the Vice President announced on January 19, 1998, in a Martin Luther King, Jr. Day address at the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, a package of new civil rights enforcement initiatives. These proposed initiatives place an emphasis on prevention and nonlitigation remedies for discrimination, and on strengthening the ability of the Federal civil rights agencies to enforce antidiscrimination law. The Administration's plan increases resources for compliance reviews and technical assistance, and offers alternatives to litigation by funding expansion of alternative dispute resolution mechanisms. The plan would set performance goals for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to speed the processing of complaints and reduce case backlogs, and would provide for better coordination across Federal agencies and offices. The Administration's 1999 budget proposal contains \$602 million for civil rights enforcement agencies and offices—an increase of \$86 million, or more than 16 percent, over 1998 funding.

TABLE 4-1.—Racial and Ethnic Composition of the U.S. Population  
(Percent of population)

Year	American Indian	Asian <sup>1</sup>	Black	Hispanic	Non-Hispanic white
1970	0.4	0.7	10.9	4.5	83.5
1997 (estimated)	0.9	3.8	12.1	10.3	72.9
2050 (projected)	1.1	8.7	13.6	23.8	52.8
1990 by region <sup>2</sup> :					
Northeast	2	2.5	10.3	7.4	79.4
Midwest	5	1.3	9.5	2.9	80.8
South	6	1.3	10.2	7.9	74.8
West	1.6	7.3	5.1	19.1	66.7

<sup>1</sup> Includes Pacific Islanders.

<sup>2</sup> Detail may not add to 100 percent because data for the category "other" are not shown.

Source: Department of Commerce (Bureau of the Census).

and Washington, D.C. And despite massive outmigration over much of the 20th century, the majority of blacks continue to live in the South. In fact, net black migration from the South to the North ended some time in the 1960s.

There are also differences within regions in the racial and ethnic distribution of populations. In 1990 Hispanics, Asians, and blacks were much more likely than whites or American Indians to live in the central cities of metropolitan areas. Hispanics, Asians, and whites were much more likely than blacks or American Indians to live in the parts of metropolitan areas outside the central city. Nearly half of American Indians lived in rural areas; 37 percent lived on reservations or other American Indian and Alaska Native areas.

## ECONOMIC STATUS

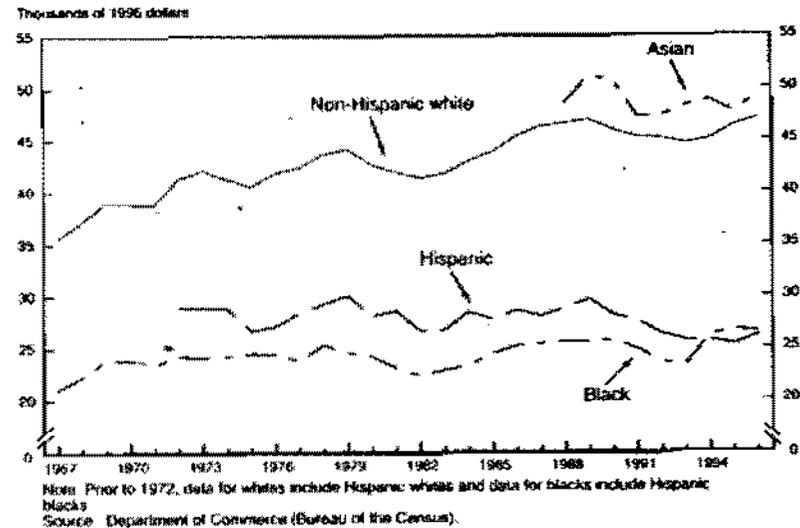
### FAMILY INCOME

Annual income is the most widely accepted indicator of current economic status. This section reports incomes for families, where a family is defined as two or more persons related by birth, marriage, or adoption who reside together. In 1996 the median income of Asian families was about \$49,100, the highest among the groups considered in this chapter. Asians are followed closely by non-Hispanic whites (\$47,100) and, with a \$20,000 gap, by blacks (\$26,500) and Hispanics (\$26,200; Chart 4-1). Because of the smaller size of the American Indian population, reliable national data on their incomes are not available for every year. However, according to the most recent data (from the 1990 Census), American Indians had the lowest median family income (and the highest poverty rate) of the five racial and ethnic groups. With few exceptions these rankings have been stable over the past 25 years.

Black and non-Hispanic white real median family incomes are somewhat higher than they were 25 years ago, and Hispanic incomes are somewhat lower. Since 1972, when data for Hispanics first became available on an annual basis, real median family income has increased 14 percent among non-Hispanic whites and 9 percent among blacks, but has fallen 9 percent among Hispanics.

As a result of faster income growth for non-Hispanic whites, the Hispanic median family income has dropped sharply relative to non-Hispanic white income over the past 25 years, and the relative incomes of blacks has also dropped somewhat over the same period. However, the Hispanic population has grown tremendously over this period, primarily because of immigration. The relative decline in the Hispanic median income reflects, at least in part, compositional changes in the Hispanic population resulting from the immigration of persons with relatively little education. The median incomes of both

Chart 4-1 Median Family Income  
Family income of non-Hispanic whites and Asians has been well above that of blacks and Hispanics.



black and Hispanic families are about 56 percent of the non-Hispanic white median, lower than in 1972. Because these ratios vary by a fair amount from year to year, it is difficult to identify turning points precisely. But it is clear that, between the early to mid-1970s and the early 1990s, black and Hispanic family incomes declined relative to non-Hispanic white family incomes. Since 1993, however, black family incomes have increased faster than those of non-Hispanic white families.

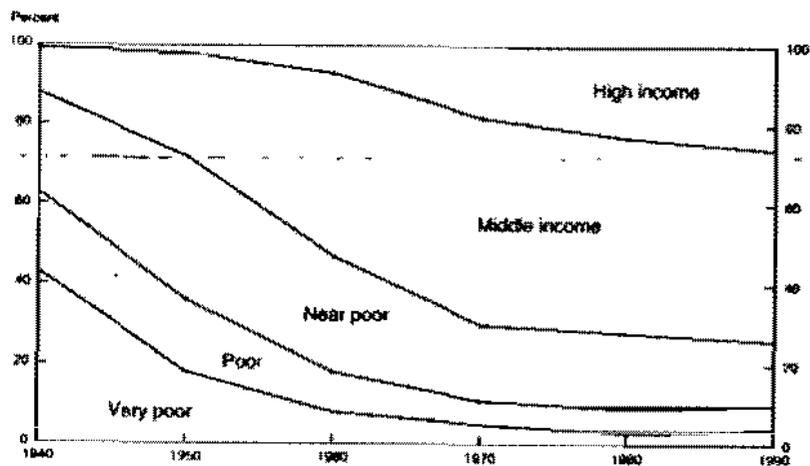
### *Inequality Within Groups and the Growth of the Middle Class*

Although a useful summary measure, median family income is an incomplete indicator of the economic status of entire groups. For example, trends in median income do not reveal the dramatic increases in overall income inequality between the early 1970s and the early 1990s, nor do they speak to inequality within groups. Consideration of other indicators of economic status may alter conclusions about the nature of economic inequality among racial and ethnic groups. For example, despite their higher median family income, the poverty rate for Asians exceeds the rate for non-Hispanic whites by nearly 6 percentage points, indicating that this population is economically heterogeneous.

Definitions of "middle class" are necessarily arbitrary. By one indicator—household income between two and five times the poverty line—a large middle class emerged among both blacks and whites between 1940 and 1970 (Charts 4-2 and 4-3). The poverty line used

here to adjust income corresponds to a 1960s' standard, since the poverty line was developed in the early 1960s and reflects societal standards of economic need at that time.

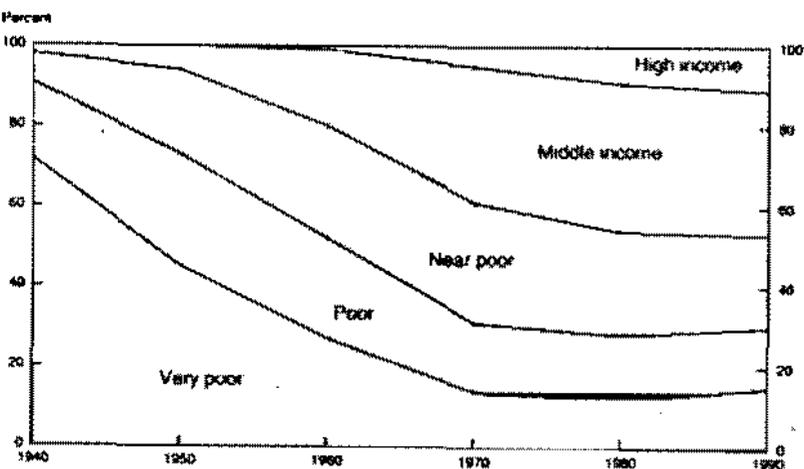
**Chart 4-2 Distribution of White Persons by Household Income**  
Between 1940 and 1970 the white middle class grew. Since 1980 the percent of high-income whites has also grown substantially.



Note: "Very poor" is household income less than 50 percent of the poverty line, "poor" is 50 to 99 percent, "near poor" is 100 to 199 percent, "middle income" is 200 to 499 percent, and "high income" is 500 percent or higher.

Sources: University of Michigan Population Studies Center and Reynolds Farley, Russell Sage Foundation.

**Chart 4-3 Distribution of Black Persons by Household Income**  
Between 1940 and 1970 the proportion of blacks who were poor or very poor fell, and the black middle class grew.

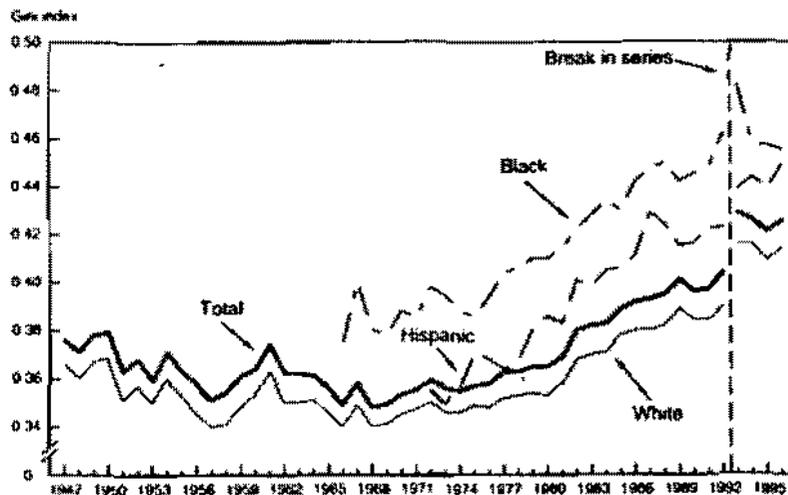


Note: "Very poor" is household income less than 50 percent of the poverty line, "poor" is 50 to 99 percent, "near poor" is 100 to 199 percent, "middle income" is 200 to 499 percent, and "high income" is 500 percent or higher.

Sources: University of Michigan Population Studies Center and Reynolds Farley, Russell Sage Foundation.

According to this measure, the white middle class expanded considerably in each decade from 1940 to 1970, whereas the expansion of the black middle class was greatest in the 1960s. Some scholars have pointed to figures such as these as evidence of tremendous black economic progress since 1940. However, that progress has not been steady. Progress clearly slowed in the 1970s and 1980s. Furthermore, although Chart 4-3 suggests that moderate growth of the black middle class continued over the 1970s, annual data show little growth between the early to mid-1970s and the early 1990s. In sum, a substantial economic expansion of the black middle class between the 1940s and the early 1970s was followed by 15 to 20 years of stagnation between the mid-1970s and the early 1990s, with perhaps a resumption of growth in the mid-1990s.

**Chart 4-4 Gini Index for Family Income**  
Overall and within-group inequality grew steadily from the early 1970s to the early 1990s. Inequality has been consistently higher for blacks than for whites or Hispanics.



Note: The Gini index is a measure of inequality ranging from zero to one, where zero indicates perfect equality.

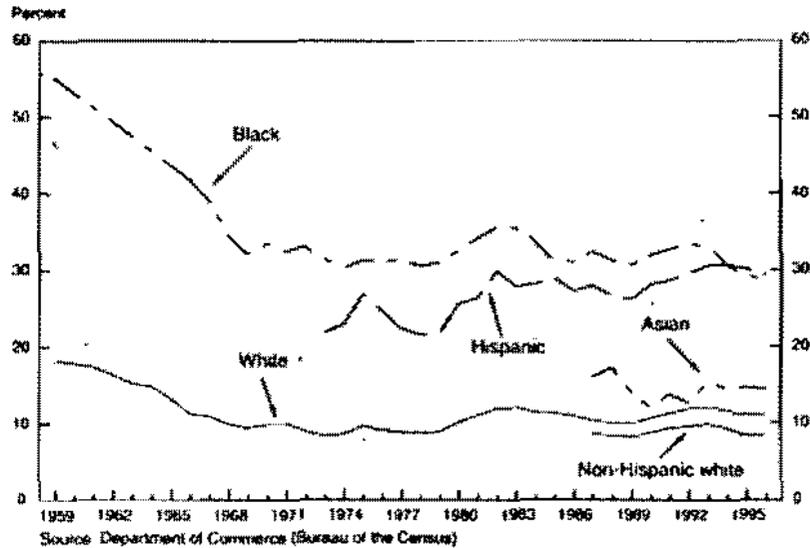
Source: Department of Commerce (Bureau of the Census).

Since the early 1970s, income inequality has increased not only overall but also within racial groups (Chart 4-4). However, only among Hispanics has increased inequality taken the form of growth in the proportions of both upper income and poor families at the expense of the middle. Although both whites and Hispanics experienced declines in the proportion of middle-income families, among whites there was rapid growth in the proportion at the top, and a small decline in the proportion at the bottom. The proportion of black families in the middle- and upper income groups combined has changed little since the mid-1970s, but by some measures there has been movement of families from the middle of the income distribution to the top.

## Poverty

Gaps in poverty rates between non-Hispanic whites and Asians on the one hand, and blacks and Hispanics on the other, remain substantial (Chart 4-5). However, the gaps in poverty rates between blacks and whites have decreased since 1993, after remaining largely stagnant from the mid-1970s to the early 1990s. In 1996 the black poverty rate reached its lowest level ever, as did the difference in poverty rates between blacks and whites. The decline in the black poverty rate in the current recovery exceeds slightly the declines recorded in the recoveries of the 1970s and 1980s. The poverty rate for Hispanics fell slightly from 1993 to 1996, although it is still high, exceeding the rate for blacks. The poverty rate for Asians has been flat since 1994.

Chart 4-5 Poverty Rates for Persons  
Poverty rates fell over the 1960s and early 1970s, and since then differences across groups have been relatively stable.



## Child Poverty

Differences across racial and ethnic groups in the prevalence of child poverty not only indicate inequality in the current well-being of children, but also represent differences in economic opportunity that contribute to future inequality among adults and in subsequent generations. Although child poverty is associated with health, developmental, and educational disadvantages, the importance of low family income per se as compared with parental education, family structure, or other characteristics associated with poverty remains in dispute (see Chapter 3).

Since 1993, child poverty rates have generally fallen, but they remain too high, and differences in child poverty rates across racial and ethnic groups are stark. Between 1993 and 1996 the poverty rate for white children fell 1.5 percentage points to 16.3 percent. The rate for black children fell even more, from 46.1 percent to 39.9 percent, the lowest rate in more than 20 years but still very high. The rate for Hispanic children fell marginally after 1993 and stood at 40.3 percent in 1996, higher than the rate for black children. The poverty rate for Asian children rose 1.3 percentage points, to 19.5 percent, between 1993 and 1996.

## HOUSEHOLD WEALTH

Household wealth—the total value of a household's material and financial assets, minus its liabilities—contributes to economic well-being independently of income. Greater wealth allows a household to maintain its standard of living when income falls because of job loss; family changes such as divorce or widowhood, or retirement. Financial wealth may also be particularly important in the presence of borrowing constraints. For example, evidence that the receipt of an inheritance increases entry into self-employment suggests that a lack of personal financial capital limits small business ownership.

Wealth has been measured less frequently than income in government statistics. There are two major Federal sources of data on household wealth for the population: the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP) and the Survey of Consumer Finances (SCF). Figures are not comparable across the two surveys for many reasons: for example, the SCF and the SIPP employ different definitions of "family" and "household."

Measures of wealth show even greater disparities across racial and ethnic groups than do measures of income. For example, according to data from the 1993 SIPP, the median net worth of white households (\$47,740) was over 10 times that of black or Hispanic households (\$4,418 and \$4,656, in 1993 dollars, respectively). Figures from the 1995 SCF are \$73,900 for non-Hispanic whites and \$16,500 for all other groups combined (in 1995 dollars). Very substantial wealth gaps between whites on the one hand and blacks and Hispanics on the other are found even among families with similar incomes.

Differences in wealth result primarily from differences in lifetime labor market compensation, differences in saving rates and the return on those savings (including appreciation of the value of assets), and differences in inheritances or other transfers from relatives. Holdings among non-Hispanic whites in all major categories of wealth exceed those of blacks and Hispanics. Three important components of wealth for families are housing equity, holdings of stocks and mutual funds, and private pension wealth.

## Home Equity

The most important asset for most households is the equity in their home. Differences in home equity arise from differences in homeownership rates, in home values, and, among homes of a given value, in the level of equity accumulated. Since 1993 there have been increases in homeownership among all groups, but the homeownership rate among non-Hispanic whites is more than 50 percent higher than that of blacks or Hispanics.

Some evidence suggests that gaps among racial groups in home values, although large, are narrowing. For example, between 1992 and 1995 the median value of the primary residence was unchanged at about \$92,000 for non-Hispanic whites but increased from \$54,200 to \$70,000 for all other groups combined. In 1993 the median equity among homeowners was about \$50,000 for whites (in 1993 dollars), \$29,000 for blacks, and \$36,000 for Hispanics. These values were \$3,000 to \$5,000 higher in 1993 than in 1991 (in 1993 dollars).

This Administration's efforts may have contributed to recent increases in homeownership and home values among blacks and Hispanics. The Administration has strengthened regulations under the Community Reinvestment Act and has stepped up enforcement of fair lending laws. Data collected under the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act show that, between 1993 and 1996, conventional home mortgage lending to blacks has increased 67 percent; such lending to Hispanics has increased 49 percent. These increases are much larger than the percentage increase in conventional home mortgage lending overall in this period.

## Discrimination in Mortgage Lending

There are a variety of possible explanations for differences in homeownership rates among racial and ethnic groups. Research has documented substantially higher denial rates in applications for home mortgages among blacks and Hispanics than among whites. An analysis of lending practices in Boston found that applications from blacks and Hispanics were rejected about 28 percent of the time, compared with 10 percent for whites. However, applications from whites, blacks, and Hispanics differed along many economic dimensions—including income, loan-to-value ratios, and the presence of private mortgage insurance, as well as other characteristics of properties and applicants—which together explained about two-thirds of the difference in rejection rates. Still, about one-third of the gap remained unexplained by these factors.

The remaining gap has three possible explanations. The first is that some relevant economic characteristics correlated with race are observed by the lender but not by the analyst, and average differences in those characteristics across racial and ethnic groups account for the higher denial rate among minorities. However, the Boston study

was careful to incorporate extensive controls, including all factors that lenders, underwriters, and others reported to be important in making lending decisions. The second explanation is that the higher denial rate reflects lenders' expectations of higher default rates among minorities with similar qualifications and other characteristics. This practice—rejecting applications on the basis of group characteristics—is known as statistical discrimination and is illegal. The third possible explanation, "noneconomic" or prejudice-based discrimination, in which lenders discriminate against minorities and lower their profits as a result, is also illegal.

The authors of the Boston study argue that no clear-cut evidence exists of differences by race in default rates, after adjusting for other characteristics of applicants and properties such as those measured in the study. However, this argument and the study itself have been challenged in subsequent studies, which claim to find evidence of higher default rates among minorities. Other researchers have argued in response that differences in default rates between minorities and whites may not be a good indication of their creditworthiness because, for example, whites might be treated more favorably in foreclosure proceedings. As discussed in the concluding section of this chapter, audit studies provide additional evidence of discrimination in home mortgage lending, although continued research is needed on the extent and nature of discrimination in this area.

## Holdings of Major Financial Assets

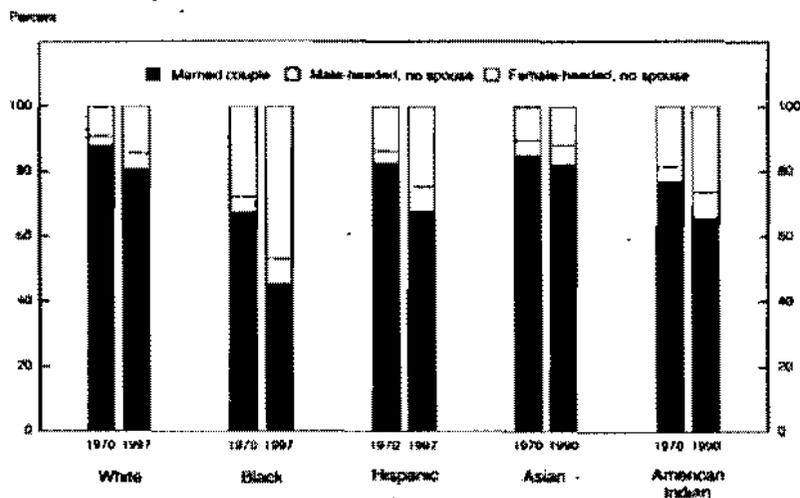
Whites have higher rates of ownership of every kind of major financial asset than do blacks or Hispanics, and among those holding each kind of asset, holdings by whites are much more valuable. This is not surprising given whites' greater median wealth. But some gaps are particularly striking. For example, as of 1993 nearly 95 percent of black households owned no stocks or mutual funds, and 95 percent reported owning no private pension wealth (the corresponding figure for whites is about 75 percent in each category). Differences in stock ownership in 1993 are particularly important because between 1993 and 1997 the value of common stock appreciated enormously: for example, the Standard and Poor's 500 index roughly doubled in value. Another striking difference is in transaction accounts (such as checking accounts), which are held by the vast majority (92 percent) of non-Hispanic white families but by only 69 percent of all other racial and ethnic groups combined.

## THE ROLE OF FAMILY STRUCTURE IN INCOME AND POVERTY

Increases in family income and decreases in poverty rates for both blacks and whites were rapid in the postwar period, especially in the 1960s. Blacks also made progress relative to whites in the 1960s. But

black family income was flat from the early to mid-1970s to the early 1990s, and the ratio of black to white family income generally fell over this period. For example, since 1967 the ratio of black to white average income for all families has fallen slightly, from 0.65 to 0.62. However, black-white ratios of income *within* family types have increased, from 0.71 to 0.80 among married-couple families, and from 0.63 to 0.73 among female-headed families. (The overall ratio of income is lower than the ratios among these subgroups because a larger proportion of black families are female headed, a group with much lower average income than other family types.) During this period the shift toward female-headed families was faster for blacks than for whites (Chart 4-6). Some observers have suggested that these trends—particularly the rise of female-headed families—may largely explain the persistence of differences in family income and poverty rates among racial and ethnic groups. However, an adjustment for changes in family structure since 1967 suggests that such changes explain only about one-fifth of the income and poverty gaps between blacks and whites observed today. Moreover, this adjustment may overstate, perhaps greatly, the adverse effects of family structure on income if those with lower income or lower expected income are less likely to marry or to stay married.

Chart 4-6 Family Structure  
 Since 1970 all groups have experienced increases in the proportion of families headed by single women. The rise has been most pronounced for black families.



Source: Department of Commerce (Bureau of the Census).

The adjustment amounts to taking a weighted average in which the average income or poverty rate specific to a racial group and family type in 1996 is weighted by the corresponding percentage of

families of that racial group and family type in 1967. The adjustment shows that if family structure for blacks and whites had not changed since 1967, in 1996 the black-white ratio of family income would have been 0.70 rather than 0.62, and the ratio of poverty rates would have been 2.6 rather than 3.0. Thus, these ratios indicate that roughly one-fifth of both the income gap and the poverty gap in 1996 is explained by changes in family structure after 1967. These are surprisingly modest effects when one considers that since 1967 the proportion of female-headed families increased from 28 percent to 47 percent among black families and from 9 percent to 14 percent among white families. (Results are similar if the difference in family incomes rather than their ratio is used to measure the income gap between blacks and whites; differences in poverty rates rather than ratios suggest a somewhat larger effect of family structure changes since 1967 on the poverty gap. Also, similar adjustments demonstrate that family structure can account for only a small portion of the difference in income and poverty between Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites.)

If the dramatic changes in family structure since the 1960s account for only a modest portion of current income gaps among whites, blacks, and Hispanics, what accounts for the remainder? Since the labor market is the most important source of family income, a later section of this chapter investigates gaps among racial and ethnic groups in labor market outcomes such as earnings and employment. However, such outcomes are linked to the skills that workers bring to the labor market, many of which are developed prior to labor market entry. The next section therefore discusses differences in education across racial and ethnic groups.

## EDUCATION

Education is one of the most powerful predictors of economic status. Many dimensions of education are important, including the quality of schooling, the quantity of schooling (often called "attainment," for example the number of years completed), and student achievement or learning. The link between educational attainment and earnings has been well established, in part because data on attainment have been collected in the Census and in labor market surveys over a number of years. There is less agreement on the measurement and economic importance of other dimensions of education. Furthermore, the economic importance of a college education has increased dramatically over the past 20 years, as the relative demand for highly educated workers has risen sharply. The focus of this section is on secondary and postsecondary educational attainment. Of course, differences in later educational attainment among racial and ethnic groups can result from effects of discrimination and social and economic disad-

vantages experienced in early childhood or in elementary education. (Chapter 3 discusses early childhood and elementary education.)

## DIFFERENCES AND TRENDS IN EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

### Differences

Substantial gaps in educational attainment persist among racial and ethnic groups. The most recent year for which comparable national data are available for all groups discussed in this chapter is 1990. Asians had the highest average attainment: in 1990, 40 percent of Asians 25 years and older had completed 4 or more years of college, compared with 22 percent of whites, 11 percent of blacks, and about 9 percent of Hispanics and American Indians. About 80 percent of whites and Asians had at least completed high school, versus two-thirds of American Indians and blacks and about half of Hispanics. For Hispanics, attainment also varies considerably between immigrants and the native-born. For example, Hispanic immigrants have much lower rates of high school completion than native-born Hispanics. Asian immigrants, on the other hand, have educational attainment similar to that of their native-born counterparts.

### Trends

To provide an indication of recent changes in educational attainment across racial and ethnic groups, this section examines attainment for younger persons (those aged 25-29 years).

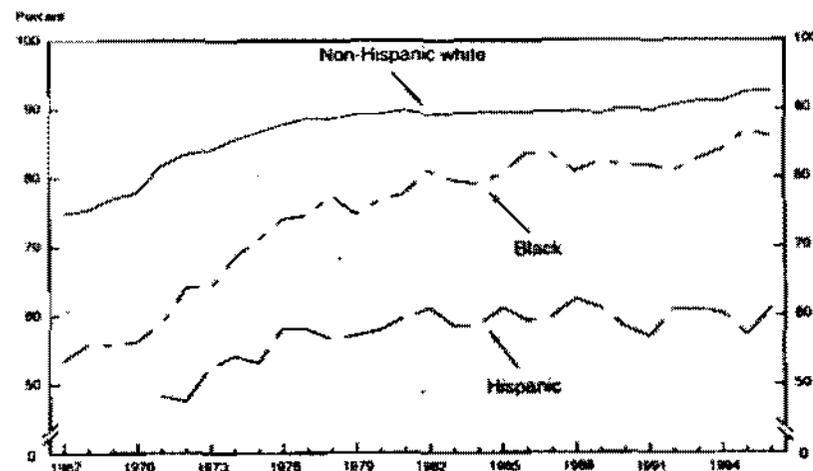
**High school.** High school completion rates have increased steadily over the 20th century. As educational attainment has increased, gaps in high school completion among racial and ethnic groups have generally narrowed, at least among the native-born. In 1967 the gap between blacks and whites in high school completion rates was 20 percentage points. This gap has narrowed considerably, but a 7-percentage-point difference remains between blacks and non-Hispanic whites (Chart 4-7). And although their high school completion rate has risen since the early 1970s, Hispanics lag far behind and have not gained ground relative to non-Hispanic whites. In interpreting these trends, however, it is important to recall that the composition of the Hispanic population has changed rapidly. The Hispanic population has roughly doubled in size between 1980 and 1996, and the fraction that is foreign-born has been growing. In fact, the slow progress in high school attainment among Hispanics is in large part explained by the increasing representation of immigrants with less education. For example, between 1980 and 1990 the proportion of 18- to 21-year-old dropouts (those who were neither enrolled in nor had completed high school) fell from 30 percent to 23 percent among native-born Hispanics, but remained at 47 percent for foreign-born Hispanics.

Still, as of 1990 a substantial gap in high school completion rates remained between native-born Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites.

**Postsecondary education.** Educational attainment beyond high school has increased dramatically for blacks, Hispanics, and whites over the past 30 years, although Hispanics have shown little increase in the 1980s and 1990s. The percentage of non-Hispanic whites with a bachelor's degree or higher is more than twice that of their black and Hispanic counterparts. High school completion rates, college enrollment rates among high school graduates, and college completion rates among college enrollees combine to determine rates of college completion. Some of the gaps in college completion rates reflect differences in high school completion rates. For example, the gap between blacks and Hispanics in completing 1 or more years of college is explained almost entirely by lower high school completion rates among Hispanics. But even among those who have completed high school, non-Hispanic whites are more likely to enter and to complete college than blacks or Hispanics. Again, Hispanics' low college attainment rates appear to be due partly to low rates among immigrants: between 1980 and 1990 the proportion of 18- to 24-year-olds enrolled in college increased from 18 percent to 28 percent among native-born Hispanics, but remained at about 16 percent for foreign-born Hispanics.

Among women aged 25-29, college completion gaps widened between whites on the one hand, and blacks and Hispanics on the other, over the 1980s. In fact, except among white women, there was

Chart 4-7 High School Completion Rates for 25- to 29-Year-Olds  
High school completion rates have risen since the late 1960s, and blacks are closing the gap with whites. The completion rate for Hispanics remains low.



Note: Prior to 1971, data for whites include Hispanic whites, and data for blacks include Hispanic blacks.  
Sources: Department of Commerce (Bureau of the Census) and Department of Education (National Center for Education Statistics).

relatively little increase in college completion rates over the 1980s for men or women of these ages (Charts 4-8 and 4-9). However, in the 1990s rates of college completion among black men and women began to pick up, reflecting an increase in college enrollment rates of black high school graduates in the mid-1980s. College completion also increased among white men in the early 1990s.

### EXPLAINING EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT GAPS

High school completion rates increased sharply in the postwar period. Compared with the rather steady increase in high school completion, college attendance and completion have fluctuated, especially for males, although they have increased steadily since the mid-1980s. Increases in college attainment have been attributed to two developments. First, since the late 1970s growth in demand for highly educated workers has raised the relative wages of college graduates. Second, because educational attainment has generally increased over time, the parents of recent high school graduates tend to be better educated than the parents of high school graduates some years ago. This is important because parents' and children's education levels are highly correlated. Federal financial aid has also expanded dramatically in the 1990s, doubling in real terms since 1993. This expansion is expected to increase college enrollment and attainment among low-income students, but it is too early to assess the magnitude of this effect.

#### Levels

Most studies in the economics literature of gaps in college-level educational attainment among racial and ethnic groups have focused on college entry. Parental education and family income are important determinants of gaps in college entry among racial and ethnic groups. Both factors affect high school completion as well. For example, one detailed recent study concluded that differences among blacks, whites, and Hispanics in family background (primarily parental education and income) can account for all the gaps in rates of high school completion and college entry among racial and ethnic groups. The study found that among young people with similar family income and parental education, rates of college entry appear to be higher among blacks and Hispanics than among whites. The importance of family background and income differences is reduced when achievement test scores are controlled for, but the interpretation of this finding is the subject of great controversy. For example, low test scores result at least partly from disadvantages relating to family background and may therefore be a mechanism whereby such disadvantages are translated into low educational attainment.

Chart 4-8 Women Aged 25-29 with 4-Year College Degree or Higher  
The fraction of women with at least a 4-year college degree has increased for non-Hispanic whites, blacks, and Hispanics, but considerable gaps persist.

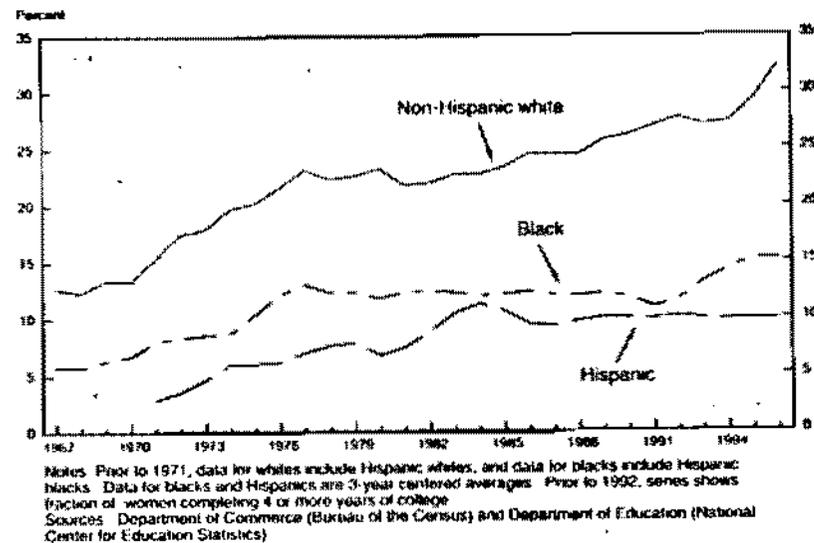
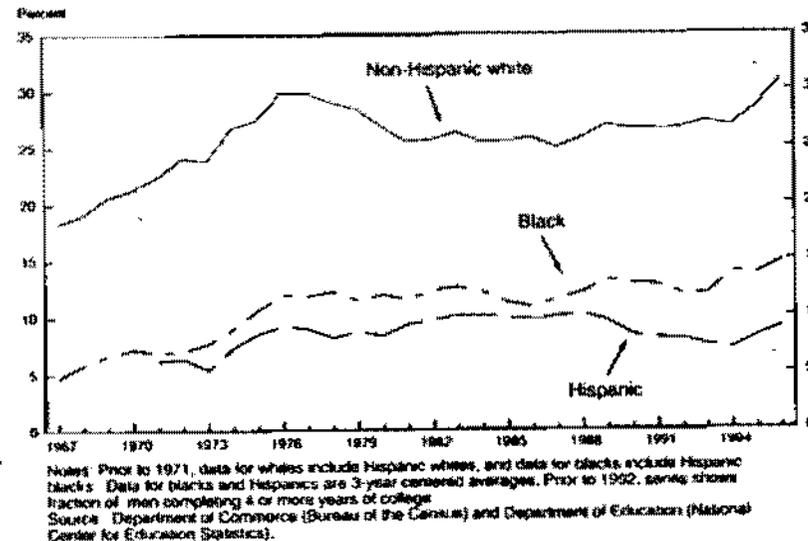


Chart 4-9 Men Aged 25-29 with 4-Year College Degree or Higher  
The fraction of men with a 4-year college degree or higher has tripled for blacks and nearly doubled for whites and Hispanics, but considerable gaps persist.



trends

More attention has been paid to explaining differences in educational attainment among racial and ethnic groups than to explaining their trends. Large inflows of less educated immigrants have kept the average educational attainment of Hispanics relatively flat. As noted above, high school graduation rates have increased for native-born Hispanics but continue to be much lower among immigrants. The narrowing of differences in high school attainment between blacks and whites over the past 30 years can be largely explained by increases relative to whites in black parental educational attainment.

As high school completion gaps between blacks and whites were decreasing steadily, differences in earnings between college and high school graduates of all races were increasing markedly. Naturally, attention has turned to explaining differences among racial and ethnic groups in college enrollment and completion. College attendance among high school graduates has increased for all groups. However, the enrollment rate among recent graduates began to increase for whites around 1980, about 5 years before the rate for blacks began to increase. Therefore, the disparity in college enrollment rates widened in the early 1980s and translated into wider differences in college completion among racial and ethnic groups in the late 1980s or early 1990s (Charts 4-8 and 4-9).

One possible explanation of these differences is the increasing direct costs of college. A recent study found that the schooling decisions of blacks are more sensitive than those of whites with similar incomes to tuition and other direct costs, perhaps because of lower wealth among blacks than among whites with similar incomes. It also found that the rise in the direct cost of higher education explains some, but no more than one-third, of the lower propensity of blacks to enter college in the 1980s. However, college tuition and other costs continued to increase in the late 1980s, a time when black college enrollment began to increase. The study concluded that the positive effects of rising parental education appear to have more than offset the negative effects of rising costs.

## AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN HIGHER EDUCATION ADMISSIONS

The term "affirmative action" encompasses a variety of activities and programs, ranging from outreach and recruitment efforts to programs that consider race as a factor in an evaluation process, which are intended to increase minority representation in employment, education, or contracting. Under the law, and as reflected in Department of Education guidelines, colleges and universities may not establish quotas for admission or set aside a certain number or percentage of admissions slots based on race. However, they may consider race or national origin as one factor in making admissions decisions, for the purpose of remedying the effects of past discrimination or achieving a diverse student body.

Affirmative action in admissions has been the subject of recent contention. The Board of Regents of the University of California voted in 1995 to prohibit universities within its system from considering race in admissions. The California Civil Rights Initiative, known as Proposition 209, prohibits the State from utilizing race- or gender-based affirmative action programs in State employment, public contracting, and education. In *Texas et al. v. Hopwood* the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit held that the admissions procedure used by the University of Texas Law School in 1992 was unconstitutional. However, this Administration strongly supports affirmative action in higher education, and the practice remains widespread.

Such programs are intended to serve a variety of societal purposes, including to remedy past or present discrimination, to secure the educational benefits of a diverse campus community, to compensate for educational or other disadvantages faced by promising applicants, to prepare students for an increasingly diverse society, and to train students to serve the needs of diverse communities. But what are the more narrow economic effects of affirmative action in higher education admissions?

A recent study found that black and Hispanic students are more likely to be admitted to "elite" institutions of higher education (that is, those with average Scholastic Aptitude Test, or SAT, scores in the top 20 percent of 4-year institutions) than non-Hispanic white or Asian students with similar grade point averages (GPAs) and test scores. Of course, in assessing student merit and making admissions decisions, universities consider many criteria, such as letters of recommendation, extracurricular activities, region of residence, and adverse personal circumstances. The study also found no evidence of differences by race, after controlling for test scores and grades, in admissions to the less elite institutions where 80 percent of college students are educated. Nonetheless, admission to elite institutions is of interest because of the strong link between college selectivity and later earnings.

Critics of affirmative action programs in higher education admissions argue that some of the intended beneficiaries may actually be harmed by such policies. (The same criticism could also be made of programs for children of alumni or faculty.) They contend that affirmative action programs impede the academic performance of minority students and increase their college dropout rates by encouraging them to enter colleges for which they may not be well prepared. However, the study discussed above found little evidence of economic harm to these students, as measured by graduation rates and earnings. The key question this criticism raises is whether students admitted to elite institutions because of affirmative action would have fared better had they instead attended less selective institutions. In fact, attending an elite institution is associated with a lower college GPA, but a higher graduation rate and higher earnings, for all

students, after controlling for SAT scores and high school GPA. The relationship between college selectivity and both college completion and earnings is similar for blacks and Hispanics and others.

The higher graduation rate among similar students attending more elite institutions raises questions about which practices at elite institutions increase graduation rates. Possibilities range from more engaging professors or classes to better support services. It is also possible that students expect a higher economic return to additional investment in education at an elite college and are therefore more highly motivated to obtain a degree.

The authors of the study argue that the number of applicants denied admission because of affirmative action programs is small. But many other students who are rejected may erroneously conclude that they would have been admitted in the absence of such programs. As a result, affirmative action in admissions may generate resentment far in excess of its actual aggregate effects. Nonetheless, individuals denied admission as a result of these policies may bear some costs—even if those individuals are difficult to identify and are few in number.

As an alternative to race-conscious admissions policies, some have called for "color-blind" policies that might target low parental income or education. Blacks and Hispanics are, of course, a minority of the population and account for a small minority of the population of youths with high SAT scores. As a result, although blacks and Hispanics are much more likely than whites to be poor, they make up a relatively small share of the low-income population with the SAT scores or GPA needed to gain admission to elite colleges. Therefore, targeting low-income applicants alone would very likely result in a dramatic reduction in minority representation at elite colleges. Class-based, color-blind admissions standards would not yield substantial numbers of blacks and Hispanics at most top-ranked institutions at present. Some commentators have therefore concluded that race-conscious admissions policies are needed to retain a semblance of racial diversity on elite college campuses.

## LABOR MARKETS

The largest share of most families' income is derived from earnings from labor. Changes in labor markets can therefore have considerable effects on economic inequality across racial groups. Differences in labor market outcomes among racial and ethnic groups are intertwined with general developments in labor markets. Among the most important recent developments are technological changes that have increased the demand for highly educated labor, growing immigration and international trade, declining trade union membership, increased participation of women in the labor market, and, most

recently, increases in the minimum wage and expansions of the earned income tax credit. (See Chapter 7 for a discussion of the effects of international trade on labor markets.) Developments that appear race-neutral may nonetheless affect racial and ethnic groups differently. For example, since Hispanics, on average, have much lower educational attainment than whites and blacks, they are more likely to be harmed by falling demand for less educated workers. However, lower demand for less skilled workers would not necessarily be expected to increase wage gaps among racial and ethnic groups for workers with similar levels of education.

In analyzing changes in racial inequality in labor markets it is important to bear in mind the growing economic diversity within racial groups that began to be observed in the mid-1960s. For example, the growing income inequality among blacks described above is mirrored in the labor market, with college-educated professionals at one extreme and labor force dropouts at the other. Although both groups face substantial barriers in the labor market related to race, the nature of these barriers could be quite different. The growing labor market diversity within racial groups cautions against the search for a single explanation for changes over time in differences among racial groups.

Three periods mark changes in black-white inequality in the labor market since 1960: a period of rapid progress from 1965 to the mid-1970s; a period of stagnation or erosion of gains between the mid-1970s and the early 1990s; and a period of mixed results since the early 1990s. The beginnings and ends of these periods are difficult to determine precisely because focusing on different data series and different subgroups can yield somewhat different results.

## TRENDS IN LABOR MARKET OUTCOMES

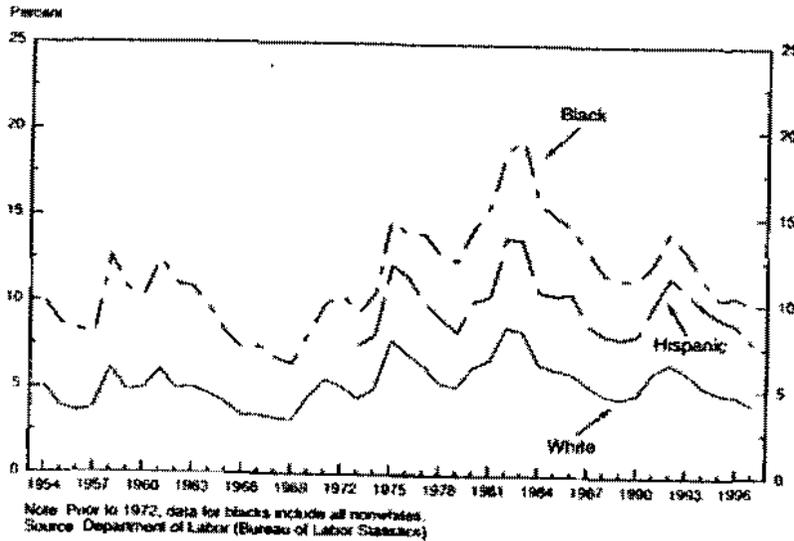
### *Unemployment and Employment Gaps*

The current economic recovery has reduced unemployment substantially for all groups. The overall unemployment rate has been below 6 percent for over 3 years and has been at 5 percent or below since April 1997. Improvement in the employment situation overall has been accompanied by a reduction in the difference in the unemployment rate between blacks and Hispanics on the one hand, and whites on the other. The proportion of black women employed has risen above that for white women in recent months. However, unemployment rates for blacks are more than double those for whites and fluctuate more sharply over the business cycle (Chart 4-10).

*Men.* In 1997 the unemployment rate for black men 20 years and older was 8.4 percent, its lowest annual average since 1974. At 3.6 percent, the white male unemployment rate for 1997 was also near a 20-year low. Although the ratio of black unemployment to white unemployment is thus more than 2 to 1, as it has been for many

years, for the past 3 years the difference in rates has been roughly 4 to 5 percentage points, smaller than the gaps that prevailed from 1975 to 1994. Among men aged 25-54, the labor force participation rate for blacks is about 84 percent, about 9 percentage points lower than the rate for whites. These rates have fallen in the past 25 years for both blacks and whites, although the decline has been somewhat larger among blacks.

Chart 4-10 Unemployment Rates  
Unemployment rates for blacks and hispanics are higher and increase more in recessions than unemployment rates for whites.



**Women.** Labor market outcomes for women are important for understanding differences in economic well-being among racial groups, for two reasons. First, women's earnings have historically made up a larger proportion of two-parent family income among blacks than among whites. Second, because of their much higher rate of single parenthood, black families rely more heavily on female earnings than do white families. For women aged 20 and above the most striking employment trend is a long-term increase in labor force participation. Participation rates for black women have long exceeded rates for white women, but the difference has narrowed considerably and nearly disappeared by the early 1990s. However, beginning in 1995, participation rates of black women accelerated, reaching 64 percent in 1997. The rate for white women appears to have reached a plateau at about 60 percent. But because black women also have higher unemployment rates than white women, their employment-to-population ratios are much more similar than are their participation rates. Still, the black female employment-to-population ratio sur-

passed the white ratio in 1996. Labor force participation rates for Hispanic women are lower than those for either blacks or whites.

Gaps (both ratios and differences) among racial groups in unemployment rates for women are similar to those for men. The black-white unemployment ratio for women has remained above 2, but the difference has been somewhat smaller in the 1990s than in the 1980s.

### Occupations

Like educational attainment, occupation is regarded as an indicator of more permanent economic and social status than are wages or income in a single year or month. Workers in different occupations are affected differently by changes in the economy. For example, workers in blue-collar occupations are more likely than white-collar workers to be laid off in recessions.

Over the postwar period black men and women have both experienced tremendous change in the occupations in which they work. Some of these changes were experienced by all workers, black and white, but some are specific to blacks, due, for example, to reduction in the most overt forms of discrimination and to large migration flows out of the rural South.

**Women.** In 1940, 60 percent of employed black women worked in domestic service occupations, more than triple the percentage among all employed women. The proportion of black women employed in domestic service fell to 35 percent by 1960 and to 2 percent by 1996. Over the same period, black (and white) women moved in large numbers into other service occupations, as well as into clerical and sales jobs. The proportion of black women in managerial and professional occupations increased slowly between 1940 and 1960, then jumped in the 1960s and 1970s, reaching about 19 percent in 1980.

A major revision of the occupational classification system, implemented after 1982, makes tracking changes over the entire 1980s difficult. Since 1983 the fraction of black women employed in managerial and professional occupations grew steadily, but increased less than that of white women. As a result, the gap between white and black women in the percentage working in managerial and professional occupations widened by more than 2 percentage points over the past 15 years. Hispanic women are less likely than black or white women to be employed in managerial and professional occupations, and more likely to be employed in private household service and in the relatively low skill blue-collar occupations of operators and fabricators.

**Men.** In 1940, 41 percent of black men worked as farmers or farm laborers; that share had fallen to only 14 percent in 1960. (The corresponding percentages for all men were 22 percent and 8 percent, respectively.) By 1970 employed black men were more likely than other employed men to work in blue-collar occupations (60 percent compared with 48 percent). Black men were therefore concentrated in

those occupations that were the most affected by the severe cyclical downturns of the 1970s and early 1980s, and at least until recently by the long-term decline in manufacturing employment. By 1996 only about 45 percent of employed black men and 38 percent of all employed men worked in blue-collar jobs.

In the period between 1960 and 1980 the percentages of black men and black women who worked in professional and managerial occupations were roughly equal, and both increased by about 10 percentage points. But since 1980 black men have not moved into professional and managerial occupations as rapidly as black or white women. In 1996 the share of black men working in managerial and professional occupations stood 6 percentage points behind that of black women, 11 percentage points behind that of white men, and 15 percentage points behind that of white women.

Hispanic men are the least likely of all the groups considered here to work in managerial and professional occupations. They are far more likely than black or white men to work in farming and related occupations, more likely than black men to work in precision production ("craft") occupations, and slightly less likely than black men to work in the lower skill blue-collar occupations.

### Earnings Gaps

**Black-white earnings gaps.** By all available measures, the wages of blacks increased rapidly relative to those of whites in the 1960s and early 1970s, but progress slowed or reversed between the mid-1970s and the early 1990s (Charts 4-11 and 4-12). Trends in earnings inequality among racial groups in the 1990s are less clear. Most wage series show little progress in the pay of blacks relative to that of whites. However, one wage series—median annual earnings for full-time, year-round male workers—does show substantial recent progress among black men relative to white men, with the black-white ratio reaching a new high of about 0.8 in 1996. Firm conclusions about black-white pay gaps for men in the 1990s are therefore difficult to reach. Explanations for the narrowing of the pay gap in the 1960s, as well as the widening between the mid-1970s and the early 1990s, are discussed below. Researchers have just begun to examine the record of the 1990s.

Wage growth in the 1960s and early 1970s was faster for black women than for black men, both relative to white women (Chart 4-12) and relative to white men. Between 1967 and 1975 the gap in median wages between white and black women fell from about 20 to about 5 percentage points. Among younger women the differential disappeared, and there is even evidence that young, college-educated black women were paid more than comparable white women in the 1970s. But the earnings gap increased starting in the mid-1970s and stood at about 17 percentage points in 1997. Black and white women have both gained relative to white men.

Chart 4-11 Ratios of Median Weekly Earnings of Male Full-Time Workers  
Since the 1970s, black men's earnings have held roughly constant relative to those of white men, while Hispanic men have lost ground.

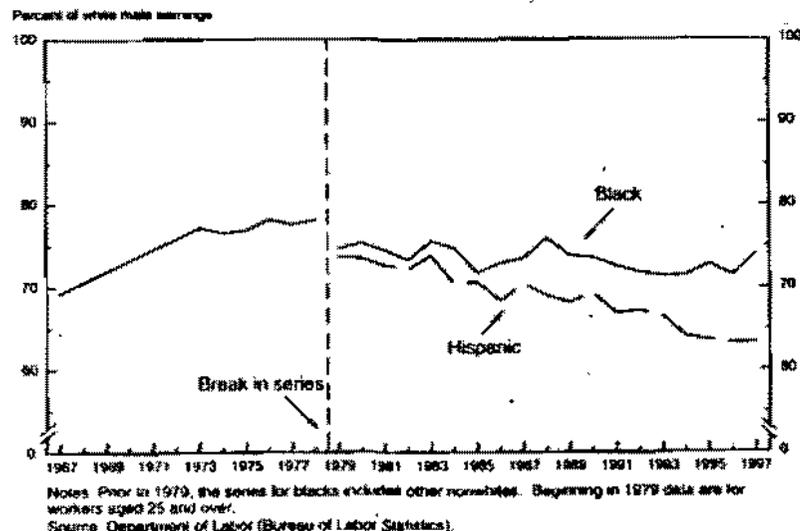
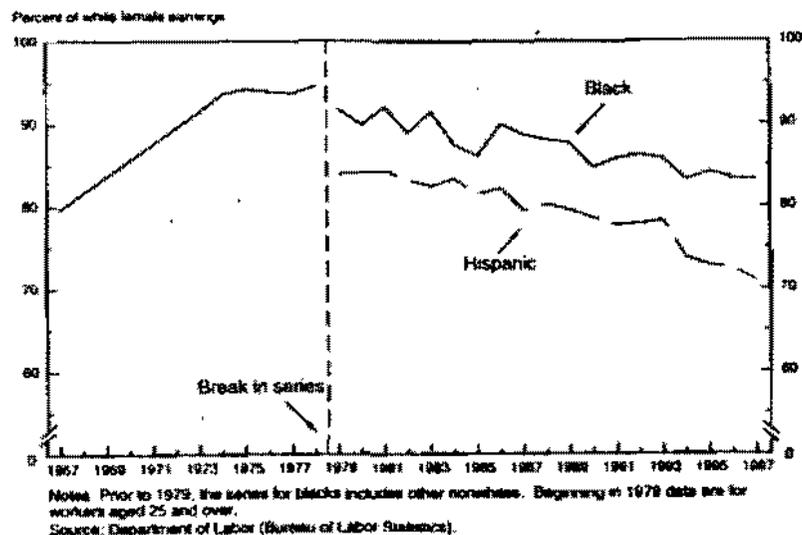


Chart 4-12 Ratios of Median Weekly Earnings of Female Full-Time Workers  
Black women nearly closed the pay gap with white women by the early 1970s, but relative wages of black and Hispanic women have been falling since then.



As noted above, whites on average have higher educational attainment than blacks. But sizable pay gaps among racial and ethnic

groups remain for workers with similar educational attainment (Table 4-2). At least until the 1990s, these trends in black-white pay gaps were more pronounced for younger workers, who tend to bear the brunt of labor market adjustment. For example, the pay gap between blacks and whites narrowed most among young college graduates in the 1960s and early 1970s, and then widened most among this group after 1975.

TABLE 4-2.—*Ratios of Black and Hispanic to White Median Weekly Earnings, 1997*

Sex	Black-white ratio			Hispanic-white ratio		
	All workers	Workers with high school diploma only	Workers with bachelor's degree only	All workers	Workers with high school diploma only	Workers with bachelor's degree only
Men	0.74	0.75	0.74	0.63	0.78	0.86
Women	0.83	0.85	0.90	0.71	0.86	0.94

Note.—Data are for full-time workers aged 25 and over.  
Source: Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics

*Earnings gaps for other groups.* Less information is available about differences in pay between whites and other minority groups. The pay of Hispanic men and women fell relative to that of whites over the 1970s and 1980s. Much of the deterioration in the pay of Hispanics is linked to educational differences and immigration. For example, differences in pay between Hispanics and whites with similar educational attainment are much smaller than the overall differences (Table 4-2). In fact, a recent study reported that, between 1980 and 1990, differences in pay between whites and minorities living in the same metropolitan areas, with comparable levels of schooling and working in similar occupations, widened by 2.5 percentage points for blacks and 4.1 percentage points for American Indians, but by less than 1 percentage point for Hispanics and Asians.

## EXPLAINING EARNINGS GAPS

Differences in pay among racial and ethnic groups can result from differences in the average quantities of factors related to labor market success, such as educational attainment, and from differences in the "prices" of such factors, that is, their value in the labor market. Differences among racial and ethnic groups in the prices these factors command have been attributed to labor market discrimination. But differences in the quantities of these factors may also reflect discrimination outside the labor market or even within it. For example, if blacks with higher educational attainment are discriminated against in the labor market, their returns to investing in education may be artificially reduced. Facing a lower return, blacks may invest less in higher education.

Historically, blacks have received less schooling and attended schools with larger class sizes and smaller budgets than those attended by whites. Largely as a result of the 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the 1968 decision in *Green v. County School Board*, which required active integration of schools, schools became increasingly integrated in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Schooling gains can account for perhaps 20 percent of the gains in black workers' relative earnings in the 1960s and early 1970s.

Other factors that explain trends in wage gaps among various racial groups include migration (especially before the 1960s), regional and industry demand conditions, macroeconomic shocks, and government intervention. Government intervention to increase economic opportunities for disadvantaged minorities has taken many forms, including education and training programs, the enactment and enforcement of civil rights and equal opportunity laws, requirements (under Executive Order 11246) that Federal contractors engage in affirmative action programs, and court-monitored affirmative action programs intended to remedy past practices of discrimination.

## Changes to the Mid-1970s

Between 1920 and 1990 blacks experienced two periods of rapid progress relative to whites in the labor market: the first was during the wartime economy of the 1940s, and the second was the period from 1965 to 1975. Migration from the South was substantial in the 1940s, 1950s, and into the 1960s: 10 to 15 percent of all blacks and roughly 20 to 25 percent of young black men migrated in each of these decades. Wage gaps between blacks and whites were much larger in the South than in other regions. For example, in 1960 the black-white gap in wages was about twice as large in the South (50 to 60 percent compared with 20 to 30 percent outside the South).

Following passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the relative wages of black workers increased sharply—more than can be explained by macroeconomic factors such as growth in gross domestic product. The improvement in relative wages was by far the greatest in the South, where State fair-employment laws were weakest, where institutional discrimination was greatest, and where Federal antidiscrimination efforts were focused. Although there was some progress in the relative earnings of blacks before 1964, the evidence is overwhelming that progress accelerated substantially in the period from 1964 to 1975, and that Federal attacks on racial exclusion in the South were critical to this acceleration.

As noted above, gains in years of schooling and school quality explain perhaps 20 percent of the gain in relative wages for blacks in this period. There were large increases in the economic returns to schooling for blacks. In principle, these could result from either increased quality of schooling or decreased discrimination in the labor

market. However, decreased discrimination is the more compelling explanation, since returns to education increased even among older cohorts whose education had been completed prior to 1965.

But part of the improvement in schooling and school quality is also attributable to Federal actions. The Supreme Court ruled in the *Brown* decision that segregated schools are unconstitutional. Yet despite the *Brown* decision and provisions of the Civil Rights Act that threatened to cut off Federal aid to segregated schools, in the mid-1960s black children in the South still overwhelmingly went to segregated schools. The dramatic changes came after the 1968 and 1969 Supreme Court decisions that required immediate integration. Therefore, improvements in school quality that resulted from school desegregation do not explain improvements in black wages in the South between 1965 and 1975.

Demand forces seem responsible for much of the improvement in relative wages between 1964 and 1975. Partly because Federal actions coincided with a strong economy, the precise role of Federal action, including the associated voluntary compliance, has been difficult to establish statistically. However, the observation that the most rapid progress came in the South, where Federal efforts were concentrated, supports the importance of the Federal role. Detailed studies show that blacks moved into industries in the South from which they had previously been excluded. For example, after 55 years of near-total exclusion, black employment advanced rapidly in South Carolina's textile industry from 1965 to 1975.

A recent evaluation of the impact of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 confirms earlier findings of the importance of Federal equal opportunity law to the labor market progress of blacks. The act expanded civil rights coverage of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act to employers with 15 to 24 employees (previously only larger establishments were covered), as well as to State and local governments. Blacks employed in the newly covered small establishments in States where small employers were not already covered by State fair-employment practice laws, largely in the South, were most affected by this legal change. Blacks gained in relative employment, earnings, and occupational status in small establishments in Southern States after 1972.

#### *Changes Since the Mid-1970s*

*Men.* In the mid-1970s and 1980s, wages for less educated workers and for black and Hispanic workers deteriorated. Wage differences between blacks and whites grew fastest in the North Central region, where employment and earnings declined more generally. On the demand side, the heavy concentration of blacks in central-city manufacturing jobs in the Midwest in the 1970s made them particularly vulnerable to recessions and the decline of manufacturing employment. Ironically, then, the movement out of the South and into

manufacturing employment that had contributed so much to black economic progress in the 1960s and early 1970s also contributed to the deterioration of the late 1970s and 1980s.

Labor supply responses such as migration and training can help offset the effects of reductions in labor demand. Lower mobility will produce larger wage and employment declines in response to demand shocks. There appears to have been slower adjustment out of declining areas and industries among blacks and less educated workers, on average, although it is unclear whether this supply adjustment was slower for minorities than for whites with similar educational attainment.

Perhaps the most important change in the labor market over the past 25 years has been the increase in the demand for more educated workers. But wage inequality has generally increased even for workers with the same educational attainment. Although growing wage differences between blacks and whites could be a symptom of increased discrimination, the increase in general wage inequality makes this inference more difficult. The increase in general wage inequality for workers of the same age and educational attainment could lead to widening differences in wages between blacks and whites, as the following example illustrates. Suppose that in 1975 the median wage for black men aged 30 with a high school degree stood at the 35th percentile of the distribution of wages for the corresponding group of white men. Suppose further that wage inequality increased generally after 1975, so that by 1990, wages at the 35th percentile of the white wage distribution had fallen 10 percent relative to the white median (for this group). Then, even if the black median wage remained at the 35th percentile of the white wage distribution, the general growth of wage inequality would have resulted in a 10-percent decline in the black-white ratio of median wages.

Scholars have recently attempted to quantify these effects. Estimates vary, however, regarding the extent to which the widening of pay gaps between blacks and whites is accounted for by increasing general wage inequality. One early study concluded that such effects could account for the entire increase in black-white wage differences among young workers in the 1980s. But this conclusion has been challenged. For example, the increase in wage gaps between blacks and whites has been greatest among young, college-educated workers. But the median wages of black and white workers for this group were similar in the mid-1970s. Therefore, a general decline at the bottom of the wage distribution relative to the median cannot account for the fall of the black median relative to the white median for this group. For other groups of workers, however, increases in general wage inequality appear to be more important.

Researchers have also hypothesized that the increase in general wage inequality among workers of similar ages and education levels is due to the growing value in the labor market of "unmeasured skills" (skills not measured by years of schooling or age). Some have hypoth-

esized further that the growth in wage differences between blacks and whites is related to differences in unmeasured skills between blacks and whites. For example, skills differences between blacks and whites with the same years of schooling might result from differences in the quality of the schools that blacks and whites attend. Some studies have attempted to explore this issue by directly examining school quality or measures of "skill" such as performance on tests of cognitive achievement or ability. However, important aspects of school quality may be difficult to measure. Studies find that differences in test scores can explain a substantial portion of black-white differences in wages in a given year, but have not been able empirically to account for the reversal in black-white wage convergence since the mid-1970s.

In addition, a recent study concludes that growing returns to unmeasured skills are simply not large enough to account for the stagnation of black economic progress after the mid-1970s. First, changes in school quality cannot explain the widening of pay gaps over time *within* cohorts whose schooling is of fixed quality over their lifetimes. In principle, an increase in the labor market return to school quality could lead to a widening of pay gaps between blacks and whites even within cohorts, if blacks attended lower quality schools. But second, the study found that even after differences in schooling, age, location, and unmeasured skills are taken into account, young, college-educated black men experienced at least a 13-percent drop in wages relative to their white counterparts in the 1980s.

In sum, black men's earnings fell relative to those of white men of similar age and educational attainment in the late 1970s and 1980s. The evidence available indicates that increasing overall wage inequality may have contributed to this deterioration and may be linked to unmeasured skill differences, but these explanations are incomplete. For example, this explanation does a poor job with young, college-educated black men, for whom the erosion of relative pay was substantial. These investigations therefore provide indirect evidence that discrimination also contributed to widening pay gaps across racial groups.

*Women.* Less attention has been paid to recent increases in the wage gap between black and white women. Since the early 1970s, working women have made substantial gains in earnings relative to men. The narrowing of the gender pay gap has been attributed to greater lifetime labor force participation among women and the dramatic increase in the value of education and work force experience.

As noted above, black women reached virtual pay parity with white women in the early 1970s, after a long period of steady improvement (Chart 4-12). Since the mid-1970s, however, the wages of young black women have fallen about 10 percentage points relative to those of young white women. The relative decline was more rapid among

young college graduates. Chart 4-12 shows only ratios of weekly earnings of full-time workers, but the trends in pay gaps among racial and ethnic groups for women are similar in other data series (such as annual earnings of full-time, year-round workers) and for workers of similar ages and educational attainment.

Both labor force participation rates and attainment of a college degree rose more for white women than for black women in the 1980s. Over the 1980s the returns to education also increased. Changes in demand for specific occupations and the decline in unionization rates appear to have hurt black women relative to white women. Black women were also more likely to be employed in declining industries than white women.

Studies document a widening of pay gaps among racial groups for women of similar ages and educational attainment. But since white women's labor force participation rates have increased relative to those of black women (at least until the mid-1990s), their labor market experience at any age may also have increased relative to that of black women. And pay tends to rise with greater labor market experience. Thus, a possible yet unexplored explanation for the decrease in the pay of black women relative to white women since the mid-1970s is the increasing relative attachment of white women to the labor force. Discrimination could also have contributed to the decline in the black-white earnings ratio among women.

#### *Affirmative Action in Employment*

Aside from labor market changes that increased the demand for more skilled labor, weaker enforcement of antidiscrimination laws during the 1980s may have contributed to the decline in black workers' relative earnings between the mid-1970s and the late 1980s. There is evidence that enforcement of equal opportunity and affirmative action laws has an effect on hiring decisions.

Affirmative action programs have proved controversial, but their aggregate effects remain unclear. Because a variety of civil rights and antidiscrimination measures were undertaken in a relatively short time, it has been difficult to distinguish the effects of affirmative action from those of broader civil rights enforcement. The Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP) is responsible for monitoring the hiring and promotion practices of Federal contractors. Large government contractors (those with 50 or more employees and \$50,000 or more in Federal contracts) must develop an affirmative action program to remedy any underutilization of minorities and women and must make good faith efforts to implement the program. One approach to assessing the effects of affirmative action on employment, therefore, is to compare government contractors (who are covered by OFCCP enforcement) with firms that are not government contractors (noncontractors). This approach, however, is subject to biases that can lead it to overstate or understate the effects of affir-

mative action plans. On the one hand, noncontractors often take steps to ensure diversity and compliance with equal opportunity laws, even though they are not covered by OFCCP rules. This would lead the method to understate the effects of affirmative action. On the other hand, increased employment at contractor firms could also result from a shift of employment from noncontractors to contractors. In this case the difference between contractor and noncontractor hiring could overstate the employment effects of affirmative action.

According to these studies, active enforcement by OFCCP during the 1970s appears to be related to government contractors' increasing their hiring of minority workers, although the effect is relatively modest. For example, one study found that the employment share of black males in contractor firms increased from 5.8 percent to 6.7 percent between 1974 and 1980. In noncontractor firms the share increased from 5.3 percent to 5.9 percent. The literature also finds that OFCCP had a significantly positive effect on the employment of black females and a smaller but still positive effect on white females.

A 1996 study concluded that, in contrast to findings for the 1970s, there was no consistent evidence of the success of government antidiscrimination efforts in the 1980s. As noted, in the 1980s OFCCP enforcement was greatly weakened. Debarments of contractors found to be noncompliant, awards of back pay to affected employees, and conciliation agreements following violations all decreased during the decade. Enforcement has apparently increased in the 1990s as new initiatives have been adopted that focus enforcement on the worst offenders, target areas of obvious noncompliance, and strengthen sanctions.

## DISCRIMINATION

No discussion of differences in economic status among racial and ethnic groups would be complete without a consideration of the ongoing importance of discrimination. Two statements appear to be true. First, discrimination is far less pervasive and overt today than it was before the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Second, audit studies and significant judgments in favor of victims of discrimination make it clear that discrimination against members of racial and ethnic minority groups persists in many areas of the economy. However, there is far less agreement about the degree to which current acts of discrimination are responsible for differences in economic status among racial and ethnic groups.

Many States' laws dictated a system of race-based classifications that placed blacks at a disadvantage in the economy, in education, and before the law. As late as the early 1960s overt racial discrimination was common. For example, newspaper advertisements clearly stated employer preferences for whites or blacks for specific jobs. The

practice was common even in States like New York, where antidiscrimination legislation predated national civil rights legislation.

Evidence of continued racial discrimination takes a variety of forms. Perhaps the most convincing evidence comes from audit studies, in which similar white and minority candidates are sent to the same sources to seek jobs, rent apartments, or apply for loans for home mortgages. For example, a white and a black job seeker may be given similar résumés and sent to the same set of firms to apply for a job. These studies typically find that employers are less likely to interview or offer a job to minority applicants, and that minority applicants are treated less favorably by real estate agents and lenders and in some types of consumer purchases (such as automobiles and meals in restaurants). For example, one national study found that the incidence of unfavorable treatment in the housing market was 23 to 30 percentage points higher for a black or Hispanic auditor than for his or her "matched" white counterpart. In the area of housing discrimination the Department of Justice recently launched a national program to test housing developments, seeking evidence of discriminatory practices. Pairs of black and white persons are trained to pose as prospective tenants and sent to ask about the availability of units. In a case brought using evidence developed with this technique, the Department of Justice obtained a consent decree against housing providers in suburban Detroit that resulted in a \$125,000 civil penalty paid to the Treasury and required the defendants to make \$225,000 available to the victims of their discrimination.

Various Federal agencies also receive and resolve thousands of discrimination complaints each year. On the one hand, although a settlement of charges does not always involve admission of discriminatory practice, at a minimum the bringing of a charge indicates the perception that discrimination has occurred. On the other hand, only a portion of employees who experience discrimination actually bring charges. In fiscal 1996 alone, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which is responsible for enforcing the principal Federal statutes prohibiting employment discrimination including Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, obtained \$145 million in monetary benefits (excluding litigation awards) for parties bringing discrimination charges, through settlement and conciliation. From 1993 to 1997 the OFCCP conducted 19,852 compliance reviews and 3,192 complaint investigations and obtained over \$158 million in financial settlements, including over \$60 million in back pay for 30,171 victims of employment discrimination by Federal contractors. During the first term of this Administration, the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) reached out-of-court settlements on 6,517 housing discrimination cases. HUD took enforcement action on 1,085 cases, either issuing housing discrimination charges or referring cases to the Department of Justice. During this period HUD obtained \$17.8 million in compensation for victims of housing discrimination.

The Department of Justice settled major mortgage lending discrimination suits in the 1990s, including suits against large lenders in the Atlanta and Boston areas. In fiscal 1997 the Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights received 1,422 complaints alleging discrimination based on race, color, or national origin in access to equal educational opportunities. The office facilitated a change in 249 of these cases.

Less direct evidence of discrimination comes from earnings comparisons such as those described earlier in this chapter. As noted there, even after adjusting for many characteristics that affect earnings, these studies typically find that blacks are paid less than their white counterparts. The traditional interpretation is that the unexplained differential reflects discrimination in pay. However, these studies are not uniformly accepted as providing evidence of discrimination in the labor market: some researchers have argued that the studies fail to control adequately for differences in average characteristics between groups. Others argue that controlling for such characteristics may not be appropriate if differences in characteristics such as education and labor market experience are themselves partly the result of discrimination both outside and within the labor market.

More direct evidence of labor market discrimination, in addition to that from audit studies, comes from lawsuits that prove in a court of law a pattern and practice of discriminatory behavior. But these narrow, albeit powerful, pieces of evidence do not translate easily into estimates of the aggregate economic impacts on employment or economic well-being of discriminatory behavior. Significant analytical challenges, requiring a combination of approaches, remain in assessing the contribution of current acts of discrimination to current differences in economic status among racial and ethnic groups. For example, minorities who face discrimination by one employer may be able to find employment with another, nondiscriminatory employer. (But even in this case, discrimination imposes psychological costs and additional job search costs on minorities.) This example also suggests that, especially where discrimination is prevalent, reducing discrimination can yield substantial economic benefits, by increasing the number of nondiscriminatory employers.

It is an important goal of social and economic policy to ensure that discrimination does not limit the economic opportunities available to members of racial and ethnic minority groups. This Administration remains committed to ensuring equal opportunity for all Americans.

## Improving E Environment

THE U.S. ECONOMY RI price signals to allocate ex have long recognized that markets in which business interest promotes economic signal how resources should the highest value, and face services to those willing an functioning market the p marginal value to the cons er. So long as there is no social values and costs of tem is likely to bring about resources. Although economic policymakers, it is important quantity of goods and services recognize that sometimes market economy may fail to a failures occur, appropriate improve upon market performance well-being. Examples of investment, promoting health physical infrastructure, and

Potential sources of market

- *Externalities.* An externality by one person or example, by revealing a thing compensation equal (for example, by pollution compensation for the full cost
- *Incomplete or asymmetric* economic transaction do have the same information exchanged, they may face markets from supplying the

**REMARKS AS DELIVERED BY VICE PRESIDENT ALBERT GORE, JR.  
EBENEZER BAPTIST CHURCH, ATLANTA  
DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. DAY  
MONDAY, JANUARY 19, 1998**

Today, we honor the memory of Martin Luther King, Jr., and rededicate ourselves to his work. Thirty years ago, the first eulogies to Dr. King recalled what was said in Genesis by the brothers of Joseph: "Behold, this dreamer cometh. Come now therefore, and let us slay him, and cast him into some pit...and we shall see what will become of his dreams."

Thirty years later, that is still the question: what will become of Dr. King's dream?

It is ironic that some of the modern apostles of apathy now misappropriate Dr. King's own words to support their assertion that the struggle for justice in which he led us is nearly over -- that the time has come for our policies to be, in their phrase, "color-blind."

So let's start at the beginning: what is racism? Is it merely a mistake in reasoning, an erroneous conclusion based on faulty logic which, once corrected, can be banished from human society? Or is it something much deeper and more powerful, more threatening and more persistent?

Dr. King taught us that as human beings, we are vulnerable to the sin of racism. As a young man, he studied the teachings of the theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, who had written that it is foolish to regard racism, in his words, "as a mere vestige of barbarism when it is in fact a perpetual source of conflict in human life." Niebuhr criticized those who "wrongly drew the conclusion...that racial prejudice is a form of ignorance which could be progressively dispelled by enlightenment. Racial prejudice," he said, "is indeed a form of irrationality; but it is not as capricious as modern universalists assume."

What is it about human nature that creates this persistent vulnerability to the sin of racism?

First and foremost, the Bible teaches us, in the words of the Apostle John: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us."

The Bible also teaches that we have the capacity to overcome evil with good. We're called upon to choose. In the words of the famous hymn:

"Once to every man and nation  
Comes the moment to decide  
In the strife for truth and falsehood  
For the good or evil side."

There is a tendency, rooted in human nature, to group up with those who look like ourselves. In the Apocrypha, which is part of Catholic scripture, it is written: "flesh consorteth

according to kind, and a man will cleave to his like."

So even though we understand that diversity is an enriching and ennobling strength, in creating an integrated society, it is foolish and naive to imagine that our differences will disappear and relinquish their claims upon us. Indeed, our challenge is to appreciate and celebrate our differences, as a necessary prelude to transcending them in order to join together in celebrating what we all have in common as children of God.

That does not mean that we ignore difference. Indeed, we ignore it at our peril. Dr. John Hope Franklin has taught that the single most important lesson of his long life of scholarship is that race is always present. Pretending it is not is naive. But if properly acknowledged and responsibly and sensitively dealt with, race can be transcended.

It is far from easy to acknowledge and celebrate differences while simultaneously transcending them, because differences among people automatically carry the potential for unleashing the human impulse to compare, to magnify whatever feelings of insecurity, or abandonment, or loss each individual feels in his or her soul.

Why did Cain slay Abel?

He felt "disrespected" -- because God regarded his offerings differently from those of Abel. "It came to pass... that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him."

Why was Joseph, resplendent in his coat of many colors, thrown into that pit and left for dead by his brothers?

They felt "disrespected" because their father regarded them differently from Joseph. Why do so many young men on the streets with empty lives and loaded guns slay their brothers? They tell us time and again that their brothers "disrespected" them. And often what they are really feeling is that their fathers disrespected them by abandoning their mothers and them.

Those who are quick to feel disrespected often have a spiritual vacuum in their lives, because they feel disconnected to the love of their Father in Heaven. False gods force their way into the hole in their hearts. They search for meaning and respect in trivial forms of group identification. Rival gangs adopt rival colors. The slight difference between a blue bandana and a red bandana has led to the senseless loss of many lives.

What is the difference between the Hutus and the Tutsis? Outsiders who visit Rwanda have difficulty telling them apart. But their slight differences have served as a trigger for an horrific genocide.

Look at Bosnia. There, too, outsiders can't tell the different groups apart. Look at Northern Ireland, the Middle East, Chechnya, Nogorno-Karabakh, and a hundred other places

there's been so much progress that no more such efforts are justified. But they fail to recognize that the tap root of racism is almost 400 years long.

When I was 8 years old, in the little town of Carthage, Tennessee, my family and I lived in a little house on Fisher Avenue, halfway up a hill. At the top of the hill was a big old mansion. One day, as the property was changing hands, the neighbors were invited to an open house. My father said: "Come, son, I want to show you something." And we walked up the hill and into the front door.

But instead of dwelling in the parlor, or the ornate dining room, or on the grand staircase, my father took me down to the basement and pointed to the dark, dank stone walls -- and the cold metal rings in a row.

Slave rings.

We've left Egypt, but don't tell me we've arrived in Canaan.

Don't tell me that our persistent vulnerability to racism has suddenly disappeared, and that we now live in a color-blind society.

What would Dr. King see if he were here with us and walked out of this church, taking us on a tour of America in 1998?

I believe Dr. King would be proud that in the past 30 years, we have cut in half the gap between black earnings and white earnings. But I believe he would not let us forget that the wealth of black and Hispanic households still averages less than one-tenth that of white households.

I believe he would be proud that African-American employment is at its highest level in history, and African-American poverty is at its lowest level in history; Thanks to President Clinton, all Americans are rising with the tide of a stronger economy. But I believe Dr. King would not let us forget that African Americans still earn roughly 62 cents on each dollar that white Americans earn; he would not let us forget that black unemployment is still twice as high as unemployment for whites.

I believe Dr. King would be proud that the gap in high school graduation between blacks and whites has now been virtually eliminated -- and that more African Americans are going to college than ever before in American history. But I believe he would not let us forget that the drop-out rate among Hispanic Americans is still eight points higher, with barely half finishing high school, and far fewer going on to college.

If he were here today, I believe he would be proud that this administration has appointed more blacks, more Hispanics, more Asian Americans, more Native Americans to Cabinet

that dot the broken landscape of our hurting world. In all these places, slight differences have served as an excuse to unleash the evil that lies coiled in the human soul.

Sometimes it seems that the smaller the difference, the more explosive the violence. At the beginning of this century, our greatest scientist, Albert Einstein, taught us that the most powerful and destructive force on earth is found in the smallest container, so small we can't even see it with the naked eye -- the atom. Controlling our vulnerability to racism is every bit as crucial to the future of humankind as controlling the power of the atom.

Our nation was founded on the basis of a highly sophisticated understanding of human nature, which took our vulnerability to sin into account. That's why we have checks and balances, in a Constitution that has been emulated by freedom-loving people all over this earth.

One of our founders, James Madison, wrote these words: "So strong is this propensity of mankind to fall into mutual animosities that...the most frivolous and fanciful distinctions have been sufficient to kindle their unfriendly passions and excite their most violent conflicts...The latent causes...are...sown in the nature of man; and...cannot be removed...Relief is only to be sought in...controlling its effects...The majority...must be rendered...unable to...carry into effect schemes of oppression."

As we have struggled throughout our history to perfect our union, slavery and other manifestations of virulent racism have stained our national conscience.

When the Cherokees were forced on their fateful trail of tears. When Mexican-Americans were forcibly removed from their farms and ranches. When Irish immigrants escaping famine encountered signs in Boston saying "no dogs or Irish allowed." When innocent and loyal Japanese-Americans were imprisoned at the outset of World War II, and when Hispanic heroes of World War II -- who helped all our soldiers end the Holocaust against millions of European Jews and the mass murder of hundreds of thousands of Chinese -- when these heroes came home, they were denied burial in military cemeteries.

But in the aftermath of that war -- a war in which Americans of all racial and ethnic backgrounds joined together to defeat the racist rulers of Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan -- minority groups were emboldened to insist that America live up to our values. Thurgood Marshall led the charge in our courts. And the mass movement led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. gave us a chance to redeem our nation's soul. And much progress has been made.

Yet now we hear voices in America arguing that Dr. King's struggle is over -- that we've reached the promised land. Maybe they're just carried away by the arrival of the Millennium. Maybe they are deluding themselves that when the calendar turns to the year 2000, man will be perfected. They'd better check their computers.

These people who now call for the end of policies to promote equal opportunity say

positions and judgeships and other high posts than ever before in American history. But I also believe that he would not let us forget that in so many places and professions, the glass ceiling still has not been shattered.

I believe he would be proud to see how much we have done to banish discrimination from our laws. But I believe he would tell us that we still have much to do in banishing discrimination from our hearts, and much still to do in enforcing the laws that are on our books.

That is why I'm pleased to announce today that President Clinton and I are proposing, as part of his initiative on race, the largest single increase in the enforcement of our civil rights laws in nearly two decades. Through new reforms and through heightened commitment to enforcement, we will seek to prevent discrimination before it occurs, and punish those who do discriminate in employment, education, housing, health care, and in access for those with disabilities. This is a priority; that is why it receives such an enormous increase in a very tight budget.

I believe Dr. King would be proud of how diverse our culture has become -- with people of all races and ethnicities listening to each other's music, reading each other's books, living and working together. But I believe he would be disappointed by how destructive and dangerous some of our culture has become -- with guns, drugs, and violence against women too often taking the place of family, faith, and community. I think he would find unacceptable the number of broken homes and the failure of so many fathers to accept responsibility for their children. I think he would be heart-broken to see the devastation in too many inner-city communities, with boards still covering the windows and doors of some places burned in anger and grief three decades ago.

In the movie "Grand Canyon," the character played by Danny Glover surveys a desolate portion of South Central Los Angeles and says, "it's not supposed to be this way."

Two thousand years ago, the Apostle Paul explained why it is this way: "All have turned aside, together they have gone wrong."

So it is appropriate on this day to focus on the work that remains to be done.

And I believe Dr. King would urge us to get busy and that he would be proud that for people of all races, creeds, and colors, his birthday is a day of national reconciliation and service. But I believe he would be genuinely surprised that, as Mayor Campbell said, some who actively oppose his agenda roll his words and phrases off their tongues even as they try to roll back equal opportunity.

The phrase "the content of our character" takes on a different meaning when it is used by those who pretend that that is all we need to establish a color-blind society. They use their color blind the way duck hunters use their duck blind. They hide behind the phrase and hope that we,

like the ducks, won't be able to see through it.

They're in favor of affirmative action if you can dunk the basketball or sink a three-point shot. But they're not in favor of it if you merely have the potential to be a leader of your community and bring people together, to teach people who are hungry for knowledge, to heal families who need medical care. So I say: we see through your color blind.

Amazing Grace also saved me;  
Was color-blind but now I see.

The Gospel of Luke tells us of Jesus's reaction to people who willfully refuse to see the evidence before their eyes: "When ye see a cloud rise out of the West, straightway ye say, there cometh a shower; and so it is. And when ye see the South wind blow, ye say, there will be heat; and it cometh to pass. Ye hypocrites, ye can discern the face of the sky and of the Earth; how is it that you do not discern this time?"

"Man sees on the outside, God sees on the inside."

I believe that God has a plan for the United States of America, and has since our founding.

Our mission has always been to advance the cause of liberty and to prove that religious, political, and economic freedom are the natural birthright of all men and women, and that freedom unlocks a higher fraction of the human potential than any other way of organizing human society.

I believe in my heart that our nation also has another, closely-related mission -- one that we did not fully understand when we counted each slave as three-fifths of a person -- a mission we began to glimpse through a glass, darkly, as the terrible Civil War approached.

I believe that God has given the people of our nation not only a chance, but a mission to prove to men and women throughout this world that people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds, of all faiths and creeds, can not only work and live together, but can enrich and ennoble both themselves and our common purpose.

We learned in school about the "lowest common denominator;" America is about the highest common denominator.

That is why Dr. King loved this country. He often spoke about "the glory of America, with all its faults." Even as he was persecuted, even as he was jailed, even as he was hunted, he spoke of the "glory of America, with all its faults." During the bus boycott, he said, "We are not wrong...If we are wrong, the Constitution of the United States is wrong. If we are wrong, God Almighty is wrong."

When the Supreme Court then struck down segregated transportation, he quickly defined the victory as "not a victory for colored folks. Oh no, don't make the victory that small; that was a victory for justice and goodwill!"

And from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, he told us of his dream that America would "live out the true meaning of its creed."

He was a patriot and always believed, as we do today, that America is indeed the last, best hope of humankind. So just as we reproach the apostles of apathy who tell us our work is done, let us condemn those who spread hatred of America -- those disciples of division who preach a separatist philosophy and call people of a different race "devils." To them, I commend the words of Dr. King when he said: "Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred."

The alternatives to bitterness and hatred are understanding and empathy. And we must rise to this challenge with our hearts as well as our minds. We must use, in Niebuhr's phrase, "every stratagem of education and every resource of religion" to promote understanding and mutual respect. And in our hearts, we must nurture empathy.

In 1957, Dr. King quoted Gandhi in saying that "the appeal of reason is more to the head, but the penetration of the heart comes from suffering. It opens up the inner understanding in man."

He said of his approach to the white majority: "The Negro all over the South must come to the point that he can say to his white brother: We will match your capacity to inflict suffering with our capacity to endure suffering. We will meet your physical force with soul force. We will not hate you, but we will not obey your evil laws."

Many ridiculed his reliance on what he called "the weapon of non-violent protest." But the white majority, I promise you, came to understand his humanity and the justice of his cause through his reliance on "soul force."

In my tradition, we believe the world has been transformed by the willingness of Jesus Christ to suffer on the cross. Suffering binds us together, and enables us to see what we have in common, and what we are called upon to do.

It can be summed up simply, as it was in the Gospel of Matthew: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and greatest commandment. And the second is like unto it, thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

So let us not weary in well-doing as we address the unfinished agenda. Let us make Dr. King's dream our agenda for action. And remember, in the words of a hymn he loved:

"In Christ there is no east or West,  
In him, no South or North,  
but on a great fellowship of love  
throughout the whole wide earth.

Join hands, disciples of the faith,  
whate'er your race may be,  
who serves my father as a child  
is surely kin to me."

# # #



Washington, DC 20530

CHARTER  
PRESIDENT'S ADVISORY BOARD ON RACE

A. Authority

This is the charter of the President's Advisory Board on Race (Advisory Board), which was authorized by Executive Order 13050 of June 13, 1997. The Advisory Board is governed by the Federal Advisory Committee Act (FACA) (5 U.S.C. App. 2).

B. Objectives and Scope of Activity

The Advisory Board will advise the President on matters involving race and racial reconciliation, including ways in which the President can:

- 1) promote a constructive national dialogue to confront and work through challenging issues that surround race;
- 2) increase the Nation's understanding of our recent history of race relations and the course our Nation is charting on the issues of race relations and racial diversity;
- 3) bridge racial divides by encouraging leaders in communities throughout the Nation to develop and implement innovative approaches to calming racial tensions; and
- 4) identify, develop, and implement solutions to problems in areas in which race has a substantial impact, such as education, economic opportunity, housing, health care, and the administration of justice.

In carrying out its functions, the Advisory Board will coordinate with the staff of the President's initiative on race. The President's initiative on race will provide staff support to the Advisory Board.

C. Duration and Tenure

The Advisory Board will complete its work by September 30, 1998, unless otherwise provided by the President.

D. Reporting

The Advisory Board will, as from time to time the President may request, report to him on its activities, findings, and recommendations.

E. Support Services

The United States Department of Justice will provide all necessary support services for the Advisory Board. The Attorney General or her designee will serve as the Designated Federal Official (DFO) to the Advisory Board.

F. Duties

The Advisory Board will carry out the functions listed in Item B and, in the manner set forth in Item D, report the results of all deliberations and recommendations. The Advisory Board also will advise on such other matters as from time to time the President may refer to the Board.

G. Annual Operating Costs

Members will serve without compensation, but will be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, in accordance with the Federal Travel Regulations. The estimated cost of operating the Advisory Board, including travel expenses for members, but excluding staff support, is \$24,850 in Fiscal Year (FY) 1997 and \$92,400 in FY 1998. The estimated workyears of staff is one at a cost of \$100,000 in FY 1997 and four at a cost of \$400,000 in FY 1998.

H. Membership

The Advisory Board will consist of seven members selected from outside the Federal government. All members will be appointed by the President and will have substantial experience and expertise on matters involving race and racial reconciliation and shall be representative of the diverse perspectives in the areas to be considered by the Advisory Board. The President will designate a Chairperson from among the members. The Chairperson may, from time to time, invite experts to submit information to the Advisory Board and may establish subcommittees within the Advisory Board to review specific matters.

I. Meetings

The Advisory Board will meet as often as necessary at the call of the Chairperson. The DFO must be present at all meetings of the Advisory Board and perform such other

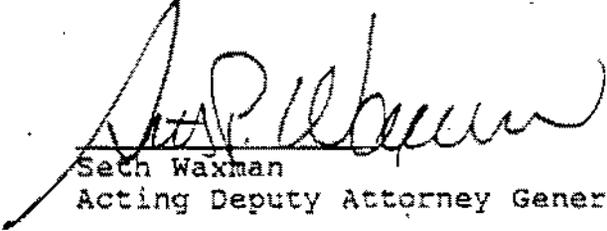
functions as are required by the FACA and any implementing regulations. Meetings will be open to the public except as may be determined otherwise by the Attorney General or her designee. Meetings will be conducted and records of the proceedings kept as required by the FACA.

J. Termination Date

The Advisory Board and charter will terminate on September 30, 1998, unless extended by the President prior to such date.

K. Date of Charter

The date of this charter is June 20, 1997.

  
Seth Waxman  
Acting Deputy Attorney General

## THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE ON RACE: Taking Action To Help Build One America

SUMMARY OF MAJOR EVENTS / ANNOUNCEMENTS.  
AS OF MARCH 12, 1998

### DEVELOPING POLICY THAT OFFERS OPPORTUNITY TO ALL THOSE WHO WORK FOR IT

- **New Civil Rights Enforcement:** On Martin Luther King Jr. Day, January 19, 1998, Vice President Gore addressed the congregation at Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, Georgia. The Vice President announced the Administration's proposal for the largest single increase in the enforcement of our civil rights laws in nearly two decades. Through new reforms and through heightened commitment to enforcement, the Administration will seek to prevent discrimination before it occurs, and punish those who do discriminate in employment, in education, in housing, in health care, in access for those with disabilities. The Clinton Administration's Fiscal Year 1999 balanced budget contains \$602 million for civil rights enforcement agencies and offices -- an increase of \$86 million, or more than 16 percent, over last year's funding.
- **Getting Good Teachers Into Underserved Areas.** In his speech to the NAACP on July 17, 1997, the President announced a \$350 million program to attract talented people of all backgrounds to teach at low-income schools across the nation and to dramatically improve the quality of training and preparation given to our 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. The President proposed doing this by offering scholarships to those students preparing to become teachers who will teach in targeted communities for at least three years. This proposal responds to the nation's need for a diverse and excellent teaching force.
- **Creating "Education Opportunity Zones."** On December 3, 1997, at President Clinton's first Race Town Meeting, the President announced a program aimed at demonstrating comprehensive, coordinated and effective approaches to expanding opportunities for students in high-poverty school districts. These grants are coupled with a balanced approach that places increased responsibility for results on school administrators, educators and students themselves. High-poverty school districts will be eligible for additional Federal funding, if they (1) adopt tough reform measures -- like those adopted in Chicago -- that make administrators, principals, teachers and students truly accountable for success or failure, and (2) in time, show real improvement in student achievement.
- **Acting To Prevent Housing Discrimination.** At a meeting with his Advisory Board on September 30, 1997, President Clinton announced a plan to ensure better enforcement of existing laws preventing housing discrimination. Under the plan, HUD Secretary Andrew Cuomo will double the number of civil rights enforcement actions by the year 2000 to respond to the increase in reported cases of serious fair-housing violations. Secretary Cuomo also committed \$15 million to 67 fair-housing centers around the country to assist in combating housing discrimination this year. Also, Secretary Cuomo now focuses on one race-based housing discrimination case each week and conducts a community forum that focuses around each case.
- **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. The President announced significant law enforcement and prevention initiatives to get tough on hate crimes.

### **ENGAGING AMERICANS IN A BROAD AND CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE**

- **Presidential Town Meetings.** On December 3, 1997, President Clinton led the first Race Town Meeting in Akron, Ohio to open up a national dialogue on race relations. This town meeting -- which brought together people with different viewpoints for a nationally-televised discussion of race relations -- was the first in a series of town meetings the President will be leading throughout the country over the coming months. In conjunction with the President's town meeting, there were more than ninety watch sites held throughout the nation by members of the Advisory Board, the President's Cabinet, and senior Administration officials. On Capitol Hill, Congresswoman Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-DC) and Congressman Tom Davis (R-VA) sponsored a mini-town-hall for the D.C. area.
- **Conversations That Bring Us Together.** The Administration has launched a program that enlists Administration appointees, Advisory Board Members, Cabinet Members, and Race Initiative staff to host conversations in towns and cities throughout the nation. To date, there have been over 100 conversations in 31 cities in 19 states.
- **Presidential Meeting With Conservative Writers and Academics.** When President Clinton launched his Race Initiative, he called for a national dialogue that includes voices from a wide array of views. On December 19, President Clinton brought together a group of conservative thinkers -- including Ward Connerly, Abigail and Stephan Thernstrom, Linda Chavez and Elaine Chao -- to continue the national dialogue and listen to their opinions on race relations in America.

### **HIGHLIGHTING PROMISING PRACTICES THAT ARE WORKING TO BUILD ONE AMERICA**

- **Highlighting Promising Practices On The White House Website.** One of the critical elements of the Race Initiative is that local communities are the source of some of the best ideas and successful programs. The Race Initiative is compiling and assessing information on "promising practices," which are examples of communities and organizations that have ideas and programs that are working to help bring people together as One America. The One America Website highlights 50 such promising practices, and the list continues to grow.
- **Making Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Birthday A "Day On" Instead of A "Day Off."** President Clinton believes that coming together across racial lines to perform community service is a powerful means of bridging the gaps that too often divide Americans of different race and ethnicities. In his November 29, 1997 radio address, the President encouraged the American people to spend Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday volunteering for local community groups and announced that the Corporation for National Service awarded 73 grants to communities from Boston to Los Angeles to help make the day of service a resounding success. On January 19, the President, Vice President and Administration officials joined community leaders throughout the country in a day of service.
- **First Lady Highlights Boston "Team Harmony" Promising Practice.** To highlight successful community efforts, Mrs. Clinton visited Boston, Massachusetts on December 9, 1997 to highlight "Team Harmony," a program that brings together youth of different backgrounds. More than 8000 Boston youth participated in Mrs. Clinton's visit.

### **RECRUITING LEADERS TO HELP BUILD ONE AMERICA**

- **Mobilizing Business Leaders.** On December 1, 1997, Transportation Secretary Rodney Slater and Advisory Board Member Robert Thomas held a meeting with 50 business leaders in Miami, Florida. The business leaders shared best practices for fostering and managing diversity, highlighted the links between majority- and minority-owned firms and discussed strengthening ties between corporations and their

communities. Among the business leaders was Wayne Huizenga, co-chairman of Republic Industries, who stated, "I'm here for the same reason a lot of other people are. I'm very concerned with the whole diversity issue and its importance to the workplace." On January 13, Labor Secretary Alexis Herman held a roundtable discussion in Phoenix, Arizona with business and labor leaders.

- **Partnering With Universities.** Nearly a quarter of America's colleges and universities have agreed to partner with the Race Initiative to encourage every college and university to conduct special programs focusing on race and other dimensions of diversity in American society. The combined membership of ACE and AACU represents over 2,100 colleges and universities across the nation.
- **Reaching Out To Religious Leaders.** Reverend Suzan Johnson Cook of the Advisory Board is leading the Race Initiative's efforts to organize the national faith community so that they too can play an integral part in the effort.

### **FOCUSING ON THE YOUTH OF AMERICA**

- **Public Service Announcement Released.** On December 2, 1997, the President's Initiative on Race released a public service announcement developed in conjunction with the Leadership Conference on Education Fund and the Ad Council. The PSA challenges youth to become more active in eradicating racism and prejudice, and asks young people to let President Clinton know what they are doing to improve race relations in America.
- **Call To Action To Young Leaders.** On November 28, 1997, the President sent a letter to 25,000 high school senior class presidents, college and university class presidents, and other young leaders from national and local organizations. In this letter, President Clinton issued a call to action by asking these young people to each commit to participating in at least one project aimed at moving our country closer together. Hundreds of youth leaders from across the country have responded to the President's call. Many of these youth activities will be highlighted as promising practices on the One America Website at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/initiatives/oneamerica>.
- **Vice President Briefing With Youth Media.** On December 1, 1997, the Vice President hosted a briefing at the White House for youth-oriented and specialty media, such as *Vibe Magazine*, *MTV* and *Univision*. At the briefing, the Vice President spoke about the special emphasis the Race Initiative is placing on youth and activities underway to reach out to America's youth. The Vice President called on the media representatives to find ways to use their creative energies to reach young people on the subject of race.

(Accomplishments Document as of March 12, 1998)



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

## The President's Initiative on Race

*The New Executive Office Building  
Washington, DC 20503  
202/395-1010*

### PROMISING PRACTICES

Promising practices are both community-based and national efforts that are designed to promote racial reconciliation, increase positive dialogues and expand opportunities for every American. In communities across America, people from different racial backgrounds are working together in a variety of programs to improve race relations. These efforts advance the President's vision of One America--a stronger, more just and more united American community, offering opportunity and fairness for all Americans.

Identifying and sharing examples of promising practices is one of the most important priorities of the President's Initiative on Race. Our goal is to highlight as many programs as possible from all sectors (education, business, government, religious institutions, cultural and nonprofit organizations). We want to recognize people and organizations that are already engaged in creating a more unified America, as well as those who were inspired by President Clinton's establishment of the Initiative in June 1997 and created programs to further his vision of One America. Over the course of the next year, examples of promising practices will be featured on the One America Website and disseminated to the public through other means. We hope that the sharing of these programs as part of the President's Initiative will inspire individuals, communities, and organizations across the country to participate in programs that have been highlighted and create positive action on their own.

The President's success in identifying and sharing information about these programs will depend upon individuals and representatives of organizations to take the initiative to bring them to his attention. We are particularly interested in learning about programs that:

1. Educate Americans about the facts concerning race, such as historical knowledge and awareness, the breakdown of racial stereotypes and the increasing demographic diversity of the country
2. Promote constructive racial dialogue to work through the difficult issues surrounding race
3. Reduce racial disparities by expanding opportunities in critical areas
4. Promote the value of diversity
5. Promote our shared values and commonalities which transcend racial lines

To help identify promising practices, the Initiative encourages individuals and organizations to complete the attached "Promising Practices: Program Identification Sheet." Also, please provide, in no more than 300 words, a well written one page description of the program's background, operations, and outcomes or significant accomplishments (see attached example) if you want us to consider highlighting the program as a promising practice on the One America Website.

If you have any further questions about promising practices, please contact:

Promising Practices Team  
President's Initiative on Race  
New Executive Office Building  
Washington, DC 20503  
Phone: (202) 395-1010  
Fax: (202) 395-1006  
E-mail: [OneAmerica@whitehouse.gov](mailto:OneAmerica@whitehouse.gov)  
Worldwide Web address: [www.whitehouse.gov/Initiatives/OneAmerica](http://www.whitehouse.gov/Initiatives/OneAmerica)

## PROMISING PRACTICES Program Identification Sheet

Project/Effort Name: \_\_\_\_\_  
Sponsoring Organization: \_\_\_\_\_  
Contact Name: \_\_\_\_\_  
Address: \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone #: \_\_\_\_\_ Fax #: \_\_\_\_\_  
E-Mail: \_\_\_\_\_

Project operates in which sector (check all that apply):

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> business                  | <input type="checkbox"/> non-profit           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> government                | <input type="checkbox"/> religious            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> criminal justice          | <input type="checkbox"/> education            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> media                     | <input type="checkbox"/> individuals/families |
| <input type="checkbox"/> other (please list) _____ |   |

Participants (check all that apply):

- American Indian or Alaska Native
- Asian
- Black or African American
- Hispanic or Latino
- Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
- White

Participants' age ranges (check all that apply):

- |                                  |                                  |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 0 - 13  | <input type="checkbox"/> 41 - 55 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 13 - 25 | <input type="checkbox"/> 56 +    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 26 - 40 |                                  |

Primary project activity (check all that apply):

- Dialogue** -- forums designed for the exchange of ideas, feelings, and perspectives about race and related issues to improve race relations among different groups.
- Action** -- activities that directly reduce existing disparities between racial groups.
- Education** -- delivery of historical and/or current facts regarding race and related issues.
- Other (please describe):** \_\_\_\_\_

**Purpose:**

1. When did the program start and why?
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
2. What was the program or activity designed to accomplish?

**Activities:**

3. Project activities are intended to affect (check all that apply):
  - individual attitudes/behavior
  - workplace/organization internal environment
  - organization or workplace practices
  - policy of government agency or office (please specify): \_\_\_\_\_
  - other (please specify): \_\_\_\_\_
  
4. Please describe the activities in which participants engage. Please describe what participants learn and/or do as part of the program.

**Impact:**

5. What people and/or institutions benefit from the program most directly? (e.g., program participants, employees, or general community)
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
6. Who indirectly benefits from the program?

**Project Lessons:**

7. What are the most important elements of this program that you feel another community or organization should have before trying to adapt this program to their community?

8. Please describe lessons you have learned through this project that might be valuable to other communities engaged in similar efforts. What worked best? What would you do differently? What were your most valuable resources? What were your biggest challenges and how did you overcome them?
  
9. Please tell us anything else that we should know about the program.

**Please Return** the information sheet and other relevant materials (e.g., press articles) by  
mail: The Promising Practices Team, The President's Initiative on Race, The  
New Executive Office Building, Washington, DC 20503  
fax: (202)395-1006  
e-mail: [OneAmerica@whitehouse.gov](mailto:OneAmerica@whitehouse.gov)  
Worldwide Web address: [www.whitehouse.gov/Initiatives/OneAmerica](http://www.whitehouse.gov/Initiatives/OneAmerica)  
Thank You.

## Promising Practice--SAMPLE SUMMARY

- Program Name:** University of Michigan's Program on Intergroup Relations, Conflict, and Community, Ann Arbor, MI
- Contact:** David Schoem, Assistant Dean for Undergraduate Education: (313) 763-7139
- Purpose:** To improve students' understanding of and respect for diversity and to increase students' skills in responding to intergroup conflicts

### Background

Founded in 1988 during a period of heightened racial and ethnic tensions on campus, the Intergroup Relations, Conflict, and Community (IGRCC) program promotes constructive cross-racial and cross-cultural interactions among the university's diverse students. This interaction helps students learn how to work with people of different races.

### Program Operations

The IGRCC program includes four major components: 1.) academic courses, including first-year seminars, upper-level courses, community service learning courses, and mini-courses on more discrete issues designed to educate students about issues surrounding intergroup relations, conflict, and community; 2.) intergroup dialogues among people of different racial, and ethnic backgrounds. These dialogues bring students from different cultural backgrounds together to learn about each other and work through any fears and uncertainties they may have. The dialogues are led by trained student facilitators and are offered on a wide range of issues, such as "People of Color and White People," "Latinos and Latinas," "Blacks and Jews," and "Latinos and Blacks." Each dialogue meets periodically for one semester, and students receive academic credit for participating; 3.) training programs for student facilitators who will lead these intergroup dialogues; and, 4.) workshops on current topics or concerns.

Within each component, the IGRCC program promotes a multi-faceted approach, bringing members of the university's diverse student body together for study, dialogue, and/or community service.

### Outcomes

Preliminary research, including feedback from student participants, shows that the intergroup dialogues have been successful in improving students' understanding of themselves and others and in helping students learn to manage conflict.

Based on its IGRCC program and other diversity programs, the University of Michigan has been chosen by the Association of American Colleges & Universities (AAC&U) to serve as a resource institution in the AAC&U's American Commitments Project, a program that is part of the Ford Foundation's Campus Diversity Initiative.

Following this sample format, summaries should be no more than 300 words. Please include mailing address, fax, e-mail and Website address, if available.

### Key Questions:

**Background:** When did the program start and why? What are the program's goals and objectives?

**Program Operations:** What does the program do? Who operates the program, and who are the beneficiaries?

**Outcomes:** What has been the impact of the program? (i.e., number of people it has affected, programs or initiatives that have emerged as a result of the program, etc.)



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

The President's Initiative on Race

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## PROMISING PRACTICES

*In communities across America, there are many programs that are successfully bringing together people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds to work collectively to solve shared problems and to accomplish common goals. Promising Practices highlights efforts designed to improve race relations and build One America.*

*One of the most important goals of the President's Initiative on Race is to learn about and from community efforts and to share them with all Americans. The following is a summary of the 80 Promising Practices that the Initiative has identified to date. More detailed summaries of these efforts can be found on the One America Website ([www.whitehouse.gov/Initiatives/OneAmerica](http://www.whitehouse.gov/Initiatives/OneAmerica)).*

1. **Action for a Better Community** in Denver, Colo., was founded in 1992 to campaign for the improvement of living conditions of minorities in Colorado. The organization hosts monthly meetings for members to share information on community developments, and it organizes speaker forums and entertainment events throughout the year to encourage community-building efforts. [Contact: Gloria Yellow Horse, Staff Community Organizer: (303) 893-9710]

2. **The African American, Latino, Asian, Native and American Program (ALANA)** in Brattleboro, Vt., brings together communities of color and government institutions by addressing various social issues in a culturally sensitive manner. ALANA operates five programs: HIV/AIDS education and prevention; BODY & SOUL women's health, education, and economic development; AWARE, a multi-cultural youth peer education program; CAN-DO youth empowerment and leadership project; and FIT, a project for families in transition. [Contact: Naima Wade, Director: (802) 254-2972]

3. **The Alternatives in Medicine: HIGH School Exposure Program (A.I.M. HIGH)** in Dallas, Texas, at the University of Texas Southwestern Medical School was created in 1992 by the Student National Medical Association. A.I.M. HIGH provides underrepresented minority high school students with access to information about and exposure to minority role models in the health profession. Applications for the program are distributed throughout the Dallas Independent School District to 9th and 10th grade high school students at 12 local high schools that have a predominantly minority student population. [Contact: M. Renee Valdes or Gussie Robinson, Program Directors: (214) 648-2168]

4. **Anytown** is an award-winning summer program created by The National Conference for youth and emerging leaders to focus on reducing prejudice and increasing understanding among people of different races and ethnicities. High school students who are interested in attending the program must submit applications expressing their desire to learn about other cultures, promote peace and commit to positively affect the world. Selected students participate in a week-long camp session where they share ideas and perspectives on race, culture and diversity. [Contact: (212) 206-0006]

5. **The Arizona Opportunities Industrialization Center** in Phoenix, Ariz., increases the education and economic opportunities of low-income Phoenix area residents by providing various skills training and education programs. Founded in 1967, the Arizona Opportunities Industrialization Center is an affiliate of the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America and works collaboratively with other community-based organizations to ensure the social and economic viability of disadvantaged individuals in the Phoenix area. [Contact: Gene Blue, President & CEO: (602) 254-5081]

6. **Asian Neighborhood Design (A.N.D.)** in San Francisco, Calif., began its work in 1973 by helping to make improvements in low-income Asian neighborhoods in the San Francisco Bay Area. By the late 1980s, A.N.D. decided to partner with other ethnically diverse communities both regionally and nationally. The organization operates programs that focus on business

development, employment training, and housing and community development. [Contact: Maurice Lim Miller, Executive Director: (415) 982-2959]

7. Since 1994, the **Bridging the Gap Project (BTG)** in Atlanta, Ga., offers support to refugees in transition, and provides assistance in helping them settle into a more stable lifestyle in America. The project is sponsored by a number of institutions, including the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services' Office of Refugee Resettlement, the U.S. Department of Justice's Community Oriented Policing Services and the Governor of Georgia's Children and Youth Coordinating Council. [Contact: Gail A. Hoffman, Director: (404) 872-9400]

8. The **Center for Living Democracy** in Brattleboro, Vt., published "Bridging the Racial Divide: A Report on Interracial Dialogue in America," based on a year-long survey of interracial dialogue groups in over 30 states. It offers practical lessons and success stories of citizens engaged in dialogues that lead to cross-cultural collaboration in solving community problems. The report is being followed by a companion volume, "Interracial Dialogue Groups Across America: A Directory." [Contact: (802) 254-1234]

9. The **Central and South Florida Higher Education Diversity Coalition** is a coalition of 11 colleges and universities in Florida committed to incorporating diversity programs throughout their campus activities. The group was initiated by Barry University in Miami, Florida. [Contact: Fran Freeman, Project Director, Miami office: (305) 899-3649]

10. **Chicanos Por La Causa** in Phoenix, Ariz., is a community development corporation formed in 1969 by concerned Hispanic citizens to address social issues in their community. Chicanos Por La Causa works collaboratively with other area organizations to increase the employability of all disadvantaged community members. [Contact: Elosie Enriquez, Executive Director: (602) 269-6485]

11. **Citizens Upholding Racial Equality (C.U.R.E.)** was created in October 1996 by the First Presbyterian Church of Freemont, Ohio, to discuss racial issues in the city. On a weekly basis, C.U.R.E. sponsors informal community dialogues on race relations, and it also initiated the Minority Recruitment Program which promotes racial and cultural diversity within the city's school system. [Contact: James B. Falls, (419) 334-3309]

12. As part of the AmeriCorps program, **City Year**, which is based in Boston, Mass., began in 1988 to generate community service projects that break down social barriers, inspire citizens to civic action, develop new leaders for the common good, and improve and promote the concept of voluntary national service. [Contact: Alan Khazei or Michael Brown, Co-founders: (617) 927-2500]

13. The **Cleveland Residential Housing and Mortgage Credit Project** includes local bankers, realtors, appraisers, insurers, and others involved in the home mortgage market area who agreed to attempt to eliminate barriers and improve race relations by identifying and

addressing discrimination in home buying in the Cleveland metropolitan area. [Contact: Dr. Barbara Grothe, Program Manager, Greater Cleveland Roundtable: (216) 579-9980]

14. **The Coming Together Project** in Akron, Ohio, promotes racial harmony by fostering dialogue, presenting educational programs, and encouraging cultural awareness and appreciation through the arts. The project was created following a 1993 year-long series in the *Akron Beacon Journal* called "A Question of Color." [Contact: Dr. Fannie Brown, Executive Director: (330) 379-3832]

15. **The Common Ground Program** in New Orleans, La., was created to provide the catalyst for discussion on racial and religious divisions in Louisiana. Organized in 1993, the program develops forums through which Louisiana residents can discuss race relations. In addition, the program places an emphasis in training participants to become moderators for discussions on race. [Contact: Lance Hill, Director: (504) 865-6100]

16. **The Community Diversity Appreciation Teams (CDAT)** was founded in 1994 in Columbia, Iowa, by the Iowa Civil Rights Commission (ICRC) to develop community-wide plans to fight discrimination and teach the value of diversity. CDAT's objectives include conducting anti-discrimination and diversity workshops, and promoting study circles on racism and race relations. Along with ICRC, CDAT serves as an outreach program to organize and engage communities in the fight against discrimination. [Contact: Don Grove, Executive Director: (515) 281-8084]

17. **The Community-based Fire Protection Program** of the Los Angeles Fire Department strives to make fire departments in Los Angeles become more sensitive to the social and ethnic diversity of their communities. In 1994, the Los Angeles City Council investigated the hiring and promotion practices of the Los Angeles Fire Department (LAFD) and found a need to improve its practices with regard to racial equity. [Contact: Kwame Cooper, Captain, LAFD Station No. 68: (213) 735-4444]

18. **CommUNITY Pride** in E. Jackson, Ohio, was formed by local citizens in 1994 to recognize and strengthen the abilities of the citizens of the Appalachian Ohio communities. Members of CommUNITY Pride have established a library and clothing distribution drives, and sponsored training sessions on CPR, first aid, and conflict resolution. The organization, which represents a community that is primarily low-income and multiracial, works with county officials, the sheriff's department, the county health department and others to provide people with information and resources that will improve their lives. [Contact: Clarice Shreck, President: (614) 947-5304; Marilyn Knisley, Community Organizer, Rural Action: (614) 947-1577]

19. **The Cradleboard Teaching Project** in Kapaa, Hawaii, nurtures the self-esteem of both Indian and non-Indian children by improving cultural awareness and relations. The project, which encourages schools to implement a curriculum designed to provide a Native American perspective while supplementing national standards in Geography, Social Studies, History,

Science and Music, also asks students to exchange videos and materials designed to communicate students' sense of collective cultural identity. [Contact: Buffy Sainte-Marie, Founder: (808) 822-3111]

20. **The Democracy Resource Center** of Lexington, Ky., began in 1990 under the auspices of the Kentucky Local Governance Project. The center's primary goal is to encourage residents to take a greater interest and involvement in local government. Over the years, the center has placed greater emphasis on working with communities of color to ensure their civic participation in electoral politics as well as to enhance the living conditions of these communities. [Contact: Liz Natter, Director: (606) 278-8644]

21. **The DuPage Media and Community Network** in Wheaton, Ill., works to improve the coverage of people of color in newspapers, television and radio. In creating the DuPage Media and Community Network, the local religious and media leaders met to explore how different racial groups can have radically divergent perceptions on the same social issue. The leaders wanted to explore the root causes of these disparities. [Contact: Reverend Andre Allen: (630) 260-0190]

22. **Facing History and Ourselves** in Brookline, Mass., is a non-profit foundation devoted to teaching about the dangers of indifference and the values of civility. The program helps middle and high school students confront the complexities of history in ways that promote critical and creative thinking about the challenges we face and the opportunities we have for positive change. The foundation provides teachers with developmental opportunities in the form of workshops, institutes, and seminars. [Contact: (617) 232-1595]

23. **The Fulfillment Fund** in Los Angeles, Calif., assists disadvantaged students in completing high school and advancing their education. Created in 1977, the fund works with both disabled and able-bodied young people to provide comprehensive, structured mentoring approaches. The fund has provided over 1,300 youth with a comprehensive portfolio of program activities, all designed to increase the likelihood that disadvantaged youth will attain degrees in higher education. [Contacts: Andrea Cockrum, Executive Director, or David Roth, Director of Educational and Government Affairs: (310) 788-9700]

24. **The Grow Your Own Program** in Ashland, Ohio, is a consortium composed of eight Ohio public school districts and Ashland University that address the issues of Ohio's decreasing diversity in the teaching force and increasing diversity in the student population. The program's goal is to expand the pool of minority and underrepresented teacher applicants, and the hiring of the applicants for teaching positions in consortium districts. [Contact: Lowell Smith, Director: (419) 289-5298]

25. **The Hands Across Cultures, Corp.** in Espanola, N.M., utilizes intercultural programming targeted for youth to develop healthy communities. To overcome the historical effects of exclusion and racism on Hispanic and American Indian peoples in Rio Arriba County,

Northern Santa Fe County, and the surrounding Pueblos in New Mexico, a local coalition of businesses, schools, and community members joined together to form Hands Across Cultures. [Contact: Harry Montoya, President: (505) 747-1889]

26. The **Healing Racism Institute** in Little Rock, Ark., is one of the primary education efforts of the Racial and Cultural Diversity Commission, a local organization formed in 1994 to improve race relations in Little Rock. The institute is an in-depth examination of the complexity and pervasiveness of racism and prejudice. The goal of the program is for participants representing many sectors of the community to be equipped with an analysis of racism that empowers them to make changes in their homes, neighborhoods, workplace and city institutions. [Contact: Cathy Collins, Director: (501) 244-5464]

27. The **Help Increase the Peace (HIP) Project** in Kansas City, Mo., was developed in 1990 by the American Friends Service Committee staff in Syracuse, New York, to address violence in schools. The city of Kansas City adapted HIP to accommodate the needs of its own local residents. It is based on the conviction that conflict-resolution techniques can improve the lives of all individuals. [Contact: Ira Harritt, Program Coordinator, American Friends Service Committee: (816) 931-5256]

28. **Hope in the Cities** is an interracial, multi-faith network in Richmond, Va., that bridges racial divides by hosting a series of constructive dialogues on race and ensuring the participation of government and non-governmental personnel in the dialogue. The organization operates several public education programs to increase awareness of racism, and it highlights models of hope that demonstrate effective partnerships to address racism. [Contact: Robert Corcoran, National Coordinator: (804) 358-1764]

29. The **Human Efforts at Relating Together (HEART) Program** in Los Angeles, Calif., was created in 1991 to encourage and train youth as conflict-resolution facilitators in on-campus disputes. The program takes "at-risk" youth who have leadership potential and provides avenues for all students to invest their energy positively into their schools. The HEART Program sponsors several school events that promote respect for cultural diversity, such as fall and spring cultural diversity festivals that highlight the various cultures which make up the school. [Contact: Joell Juntilla, Youth Relations Unit, Los Angeles Unified School District: (213) 625-6440]

30. The **Human Relations Council (HRC)** of McHenry County, Ill., located about an hour northwest of Chicago, began in October 1995 in response to the growing diversity of the county's population. Originally an agriculture-based, white community, the county has witnessed a transformation from a rural economy to an increasingly urban one, with a growing Hispanic community. The County Board of Commissioners formed the HRC to educate and build awareness of racial diversity. [Contact: Dianne Klemm, Chair, McHenry County Board of Commissioners, and Joel Blanco, President: (815) 334-4221]

31. The **Illinois Ethnic Coalition** was created in 1971 in Chicago, Ill., to bring together Chicago's white ethnic, African American, Asian and Latino communities to work together on projects of common concern. The coalition has worked on a variety of issues, including multicultural education, hate crimes and immigration. [Contact: Jeryl Levin, Executive Director: (312) 368-1155]

32. **Imagine South Carolina** in Charleston, S.C., is a six-year statewide effort created in 1996 in response to the growing number of hate crimes in South Carolina. The goal of the program is to increase public dialogue on the issue of race. Two of the community efforts that Imagine South Carolina has established are the LINKS project, a statewide network of 80 organizations committed to improving race relations, and Building Cultural Bridges, a statewide partnership that organizes race unity task forces in every high school. [Contact: Steve Skardon, Lead Agent: (803) 577-4122]

33. **Interfaith Action for Racial Justice, Inc.**, in Baltimore, Md., is a local nonprofit organization that promotes understanding and tolerance among people of diverse racial backgrounds and religious traditions. In 1994, the organization launched a new five-year initiative to increase interracial and interreligious understanding called "The Baltimore Metropolitan Area: A Call to Community - An Honest Conversation About Race, Reconciliation and Responsibility." [Contact: John C. Springer, Executive Director: (410) 889-3333]

34. The **-ISM (N.) National Diversity Project** in Durham, N.C., has three components: 1.) a one-hour television drama that chronicles the lives of seven college students across the country who are ready to face the challenges of living in a diverse society, 2.) the curricula and faculty development project, a program that works with colleges and universities to develop courses that integrate video production with experiential learning, and 3.) the multimedia campus diversity summit, an event that involved four weeks of campus activities addressing diversity issues at 36 colleges and universities nationwide and culminated in a live town-hall style videoconference with 8,000 students. [Contact: Tony Deifell, Executive Director: (919) 688-0332]

35. In November 1995, Time Warner, Inc., launched **It's US: A Celebration of Who We Are in America Today**, a photographic exhibition that poses four questions: 1.) What does it mean to be and become an American?; 2.) What traditions and dreams do we share?; 3.) What challenges prevent us from living in harmony?; and 4.) How can we meet these challenges? Developed as a public service in partnership with the American Library Association, It's US aimed to jump-start a national dialogue on race and American diversity. [Contact: Toni Fay, Vice President, Community Relations, Time Warner, Inc.: (212) 484-6401]

36. The **Kentucky Commission on Human Rights (KCHR)** in Louisville, Ky., enforces the Kentucky Civil Rights Act and provides education and outreach on civil rights matters throughout the state. In response to the rising concern about the level of racial incivility, the KCHR, in partnership with the Kentucky Educational Television (KET), conducted a statewide live broadcast of conversations on race relations. Additional educational activities have been

generated throughout the state as a result of the broadcast. [Contact: Beverly L. Warts, Executive Director, KCHR: (502) 595-4024]

37. **The Leadership Conference Education Fund (LCEF)** was established in 1969 to support educational activities relevant to civil rights issues. Specifically, LCEF serves as an information clearinghouse on civil rights issues, issues reports, sponsors conferences and symposia, and through its civil rights education campaign, seeks to build a national consensus to combat bigotry of all kinds. In addition, LCEF provides materials for young people, parents, and teachers to help them raise children who will grow up to accept and embrace the diversity of the country. [Contact: (202) 466-3434]

38. **The Leadership Development in Interethnic Relations Program (LDIR)** of Los Angeles, Calif., was created in 1991 by the Asian Pacific American Legal Center (APALC) to address the many calls for crisis intervention, mediations and other race-related conflicts. Since the program's inception, established civil and human rights organizations representing several ethnic groups have joined APALC to form a partnership to aid planning, set policy, and review program operations for LDIR. [Contact: Jan Armstrong, Program Director: (213) 748-2022]

39. **The Lt. Governor's Committee on Diversity** in Dubuque, Iowa, provides information, resources and support to communities throughout the state of Iowa so they can combat prejudice and racism. The committee has produced a television program about racism in Iowa, handed out awards to groups or individuals in Iowa whose efforts promote the value of diversity, and sponsored an annual conference that provides dialogue and leadership skills focused on diversity training. [Contact: Carol Zeigler, Coordinator: (515) 281-3421]

40. **The Marathon County Diversity Management Education Program** in Wasau, Wis., educates county government employees on the value of diversity. With the growth of the refugee population in Marathon County, particularly among the Hmong community, came concern about the delivery of services in Marathon County, particularly in the public school system where as much as 15 percent of the school-aged population was Southeast Asian by the mid-1990s. The goals of the program include enhancing the understanding and appreciation of the Southeast Asian culture, developing leadership skills to overcome barriers to diversity, and enhancing the understanding of the value of a diverse population and workforce. [Contact: Brad Karger, Director of Personnel, Marathon County: (715) 847-5451]

41. **The Customer Service and Cultural Diversity Program** was created in 1994 by the Community Relations Department of **Maricopa Integrated Health System (MIHS)** in Phoenix, Ariz., in response to growing concerns about the lack of cultural understanding shown towards patients. MIHS is a service of the Maricopa County government and is the primary source for low-income health care in the Phoenix region. [Contact: Sharon Fabian, Maricopa Integrated Health System Community Relations Director: (602) 267-5712]

42. **The Memphis Race Relations and Diversity Institute (MRRDI)** in Memphis, Tenn., is

a nonprofit organization that encourages changes in behavior and attitude among the citizens of Memphis so they can gain a better understanding of the value of diversity. The institute was created in 1993 by Goals for Memphis, a group that works to provide a vision for the city of Memphis. MRRDI provides diversity-awareness training to organizations and businesses located within the Memphis area. [Contact: Leslie Saunders, President and CEO: (901) 578-2504]

43. **Men Against Destruction - Defending Against Drugs and Social Disorder (MAD DADS)** in Omaha, Neb., was founded in 1989 when a father from the city learned that his son had been attacked by gang members. Along with 18 other African American men in the neighborhood who were also concerned about the well-being of young people in their community, Foster created MAD DADS. The signature program of MAD DADS is Street Patrol, which involves men and women in the community paroling streets of various neighborhoods to find unsupervised youth of all races. MAD DADS also operates other programs, such as mentoring, block parties and graffiti clean-ups. [Contact: Eddie Staton, National President: (402) 451-3500]

44. **The Metropolitan Human Rights Center (MHRC)** in Portland, Ore., was started in the 1970s to address concerns about the racial integration of blacks and whites in Portland's schools and housing. As the city's ethnic and racial population has broadened to include people of Hispanic, Southeast Asian, Russian and Romanian descent, the mission of MHRC has expanded to ensure that all ethnic groups feel like valued members of the metropolitan community. [Contact: Linda Hunter, Coordinator: (503) 823-5136]

45. **The Minnesota Churches Anti-Racism Initiative (MCARI)** was sparked by the 1992 Rodney King verdict and the subsequent disturbances in South Central Los Angeles. The initiative engages the Minnesota religious community in efforts to combat individual and institutional racism. [Contact: Nadine or James Addington, Co-Directors: (612) 871-0229]

46. **The Montana Human Rights Network (MHRN)** in Billings, Mont., was formed by local human rights groups in 1990 in response to the increased membership and recruiting efforts of white supremacist groups in Montana. Its mission is to oppose these groups by using three types of strategies: research and exposure, community organizing and public policy initiatives. [Contact: Ken Toole, Director, or Christine Kaufman, Director of Research: (406) 442-5506]

47. **The Multi-Cultural Advisory Committee on the Media** in Chicago, Ill., serves as a resource for all of the Chicago metropolitan area's print and electronic media on issues of race, ethnicity and religion. Among its various activities, the committee helps citizens monitor the media to ensure fair and accurate coverage of all of the Chicago area's minority communities. It also sponsors regular meetings between its members and the editors and general managers of the area's newspapers and television stations. [Contact: Cheryl Zaleski, Project Manager: (312) 456-7745]

48. **The National Coalition Building Institute (NCBI)** is a nonprofit leadership-training

organization based in Washington, D.C. Founded in 1984, NCBI has been working to eliminate prejudice and intergroup conflict in communities around the country. NCBI has trained leadership teams in a variety of settings, including high schools, colleges, universities, corporations, foundations, as well as government agencies. Currently, NCBI has 50 city-based leadership teams, 30 organization-based teams and over 40 college and university teams known as campus affiliates. [Contact: Cherie Brown, Executive Director: (202) 785-9400]

49. **The National Conference**, founded in 1927 as the National Conference of Christians and Jews (NCCJ), is a human relations organization dedicated to fighting bias, bigotry and racism in America. NCCJ promotes understanding and respect among all races, religions and cultures through advocacy, conflict resolution and education. [Contact: (212) 206-0006]

50. **The New Majority Joint Venture Initiative** in New York brings together business owners from minority communities to improve communications and promote sustainable business relations. The initiative has three objectives: to conduct outreach and market research to identify the businesses that are interested in entering into joint ventures for the development of new markets; to pair white businesses with business owners from diverse ethnic groups to form and sustain these joint ventures; and to provide participating businesses with technical assistance in financing, marketing and business development. [Contact: John Wang, Project Chief: (212) 483-8898]

51. **The North Carolina Students Teach and Reach Program (NC STAR)** of Raleigh, N.C., was founded in 1989 by the People for the American Way in North Carolina. It began in 1990 as a part of a program to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the Greensboro sit-in protests. In the program, college volunteers are trained to lead discussions in North Carolina's secondary schools on issues such as liberty, citizenship and race. [Contact: John Seay, Director: (919) 832-2700]

52. **The Not in Our Town Campaign** of Oakland, Calif., initiates discussion on how individuals, schools, workplaces and communities can stop hate, violence and intolerance. Groups are encouraged to watch two videos--"Not in Our Town" and "Not in Our Town II"--that show how individuals can confront hate crimes and relate these videos to situations they may face locally. [Contact: Debra Chaplan: (510) 268-9675]

53. **The Oakland Citizens Committee for Urban Renewal (OCCUR)** was founded in 1954 to address Oakland's transition to an ethnically and economically diverse community. The organization's initial focus was the redevelopment of inner-city neighborhoods through the use of federal funds. While the founding members of OCCUR were primarily concerned with business interests, the organization now reflects the interests of Oakland's low- and moderate-income communities. [Contact: David Glover, Executive Director: (510) 839-2440]

54. **OpNet: The Multimedia Opportunities Program** in San Francisco, Calif., assists economically disadvantaged young people of color in gaining employment in the multimedia

industry. OpNet is a project of the Local Economic Assistance Program, the nonprofit affiliate of a community development bank located in Oakland. [Contact: Dan Geiger, Program Director: (415) 648-9491]

55. **Operation Understanding DC** is a nonprofit organization based in Washington, D.C., that develops leadership, dispels stereotypes and promotes mutual respect, understanding, cooperation and dialogue between African American and Jewish youth. The program allows participants to develop their personal strengths, enhance their leadership abilities and build a positive coalition based on common bonds. [Contact: Karen Kalish, Founder & Executive Director, or Christian Dorsey, Program Director: (202) 234-6832]

56. Established in 1947, the **Phoenix Indian Center** is a multi-faceted social service organization in the greater Phoenix and Maricopa County area. The center provides employment training, education and support services to a predominantly American Indian population. Each client is assigned an employment counselor to help them develop an action plan toward economic independence. Traditional classroom training, work experience and community-service projects are part of the course curriculum. [Contact: Karen Thorne, Job Training Partnership Act Coordinator: (602) 263-1017]

57. **The Power Represented by Individuals who value Diversity and Equality (PRIDE)** Program in the Abington Friends School of Philadelphia originated in 1992 when two young African American women at the school were looking for a teacher who would sponsor a group that wanted to discuss race, education in conflict resolution and celebration of the variety of cultural traditions students bring to the community. The idea was immediately embraced by a large number of students in the community. [Contact: Jerry Clark: (215) 386-4350]

58. In 1991, the Levi Strauss Foundation created **Project Change** to address racial prejudice and institutional racism in Levi Strauss & Company plant communities. The program initiated in three pilot sites--Albuquerque, El Paso and Valdosta; in 1993, it was expanded into Knoxville. Each site is located in communities where Levi Strauss & Co. has facilities, and each site has a multiracial task force comprised of 12-15 volunteers from a cross section of business, law enforcement, religious, government, neighborhood association and nonprofit and community institutions. Beginning with a one-year planning stage and then moving into a three-year action phase, the task force stimulates locally driven strategies that: change institutional policies, ease tensions between majority and minority groups, promote diversity in the leadership of key community institutions and prevent overt acts of racial and cultural prejudice. [Contact: Shirley Strong, Director: (415) 561-4880]

59. **Project Harmony** in Volusia County, Fla., is a program intended to cultivate student leaders in middle school and promote ethnic harmony. In 1994, increased racial tensions at the Deland Middle School forced school officials to explore ways of averting a serious incident. They sought assistance from the Volusia County Sheriff's Office, which developed Project Harmony. [Contact: Bobby Lambert, Coordinator: (904) 736-5995]

60. The **Racism Awareness Program (RAP)** in Akron, Penn., was created in 1993 to create a network of Mennonite and Brethren individuals in churches around the country who would be committed to ending racism in their communities. Since then, RAP has expanded its mandate to provide anti-racism training, education, resource development and consultation to the Mennonite and Brethren in churches around the country. RAP offers individuals several services, including training workshops and both individual and institutional consultations on racism. [Contact: Tobin Miller Shearer, Director: (717) 859-3889]
61. *Reaching Out* is a unique participatory TV program that was produced following 10 weekly town-hall meetings that were held in Oakland, California in 1991. A sequence of seven 30-minute video segments, the *Reaching Out* television series weaves highlights from the Oakland town-hall meetings with remarks made by focus groups that were formed in conjunction with the town-hall meetings. [Contact: Joseph Tieger, Executive Director: (510) 832-0444]
62. In 1996, administrators of the **Samuel S. Fels Cluster** of the Philadelphia School District initiated an extensive diversity program to ensure that students could be prepared to live in a multicultural world. The cluster serves eight schools with over 9,000 students of 40 different ethnicities. [Contact: Jan Gillespie, Fels Cluster Leader: (215) 335-5037]
63. "Skin Deep" is a documentary film that was made in 1995 in response to increasing racial tensions and incidents of racial violence on college campuses. The filmmaker went to colleges around the country and interviewed over 200 students before selecting a group to participate in a facilitated weekend workshop of interracial dialogue. A diverse group of students were chosen for their willingness to speak candidly and constructively about the difficult and often unspoken issues surrounding race, ethnicity and racism. The film has been distributed to over 1,000 colleges and universities nationwide, as well as to high schools, churches, corporations, police departments, correctional institutions and many community organizations. A comprehensive study guide was created to accompany the film for use in leading discussions on the issues raised in the film. [Contact: Frances Reid, Director: (510) 845-5415]
64. **South Carolina Links**, founded in 1995, is a coalition of four organizations that united to seek redress for crimes committed against racial and ethnic residents in South Carolina. These four organizations are: the South Carolina Christian Action Council (a statewide ecumenical organization), the South Carolina Human Affairs Commission, the Palmetto Project (a statewide not-for-profit organization) and the Greater Columbia Community Relations Council (an organization encompassing several counties in the Midlands of South Carolina.) South Carolina Links organizes bi-annual meetings to address the specific concerns of various ethnic and racial groups in the area. [Contact: Julia W. Sibley, Director: (803) 786-7115]
65. The **Summer Of Unity and Liberation (SOUL)** in the San Francisco-Bay Area, Calif., grew out of the 1995 student movement at the University of California-Berkeley to support affirmative action. Modeled after the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer Project of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), SOUL was founded by four women--Rona

Fernandez, Harmony Goldberg, Tho Vinh Banh and Amanda Enoch—who were directly involved in the Berkeley campus organizing. They agreed there was a need to create a program that would address the challenges within multiracial coalitions that organize for social change as well as develop links between college campuses and community organizing. [Contact: Harmony Goldberg, Education Coordinator: (510) 540-5764; Rona Fernandez: (510) 288-6496]

66. The **Student Unity Task Force** of Columbia, S.C., was created by the Greater Columbia Community Relations Council in 1996 to build interpersonal relationships and support the development of cross-cultural communication and leadership skills. The task force sponsors training sessions for students, faculty and administrators in every public high school in Richland County. Two private high schools were also included. [Contact: Jesse Washington, Executive Director, Greater Columbia Community Relations Council: (803) 733-1130]

67. The **Study Circles Resource Center (SCRC)** in Pomfret, Conn., is a project of the Topsfield Foundation, Inc., a nonprofit, nonpartisan foundation dedicated to advancing deliberative democracy and improving the quality of public life in the United States. The Center carries out its mission by helping communities use study circles—small-group, democratic, highly participatory discussions—to involve large numbers of citizens in public dialogue and problem solving on critical issues such as race, education, crime and youth issues. [Contact: (860) 928-2616]

68. The **Task Force on Police and Urban Youth** began in Massachusetts in December 1993 when the U.S. Justice Department's Community Relations Service (CRS) convened a meeting of police officers, youth advocacy agencies and academicians to address the considerable tension between police and minority youth throughout the state. The task force sponsors forums for dialogue on race relations and youth to occur. [Contact: Marty Walsh, Regional Director: (617) 424-5715]

69. The **Teaching Tolerance Project** in Montgomery, Ala., was created by the Southern Poverty Law Center to offer free, high-quality educational materials to help teachers promote interracial and intercultural harmony in the classroom and beyond. The program produces teaching kits containing a video, a text and a teacher's guide for grades K through 12. [Contact: fax: (334) 264-3121]

70. **Team Harmony** of Boston, Mass., promotes understanding and respect for differences among young people through participation in interracial projects. [Contact: Beth White, Event Coordinator: (617) 536-6033]

71. The **Three Valleys Project (3VP)** is a two-year project funded by the Rockefeller Foundation. (The Three Valleys Project refers to the target areas of the Mid-Willamette Valley, the Hood River Valley and the Tualatin Valley in Portland, Oregon.) The program is designed to build bridges of understanding and community and civic engagement among people of different cultures. The project's primary objective is to assist small towns at easing racial tension by

facilitating roundtable discussions among various racial and ethnic groups. [Contact: Sharif Abdullah, Site Director: (503) 281-1667]

72. In 1994, the Biet Hashoah Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles, Calif., established the **Tools for Tolerance for Professionals** training course as a two-year pilot program under a grant from the James Irvine Foundation. The goals of the program are to raise the awareness of intolerance using the museum's resources and to help professionals—including law enforcement officers, educators, attorneys, city employees, health care providers and social workers—become more sensitive to their clients' needs. [Contact: Liebe Geft, Director: (310) 843-0017]

73. **Uniting Neighbors in Truth and Equality (UNITE)** in Huntington, W. Va., promotes unity and racial reconciliation in the community. The organization consists of community activists from faith, youth and civic groups, as well as representatives from state and local government, educational institutions, and businesses. [Contact: Sally Lind, Co-Coordinator: (304) 696-5592 and Michael Thomas, Co-Coordinator: (304) 696-4461]

74. **United National Indian Tribal Youth, Inc. (UNITY)** in Oklahoma City, Okla., was formed in 1976 on the premise that American Indian youth must be provided with opportunities to develop leadership skills and organizational experience. In addition, UNITY provides a positive environment for young people to share their own tribal histories and cultures with other tribal youth to assist in the acceptance of the differences among tribes and other peoples. UNITY's goal is to promote "unity" within individual families and tribes, and also among American Indian tribes and other peoples. UNITY respects the diversity of the various tribes and encourages youth to maintain their respective cultures. [Contact: J.R. Cook, Executive Director: (405) 424-3010]

75. **The University of Kansas Medical Center: A Comprehensive Diversity Initiative** in Kansas City, Kan., is an interactive approach to addressing individual prejudices, while moving towards changing systems and practices. The diversity initiative addresses diversity issues from a personal, professional and organizational perspective. [Contact: Alisa Lange, Diversity Coordinator: (913) 588-5080]

76. **The University of Maryland's Diversity at UMCP: Moving Toward Community Program** in College Park, Md., promotes coordination, visibility and institutional support for diversity programs throughout the campus community. The goal of the initiative is to make diversity a more pervasive part of the campus community by coordinating diversity activities into a single, united effort. [Contact: Gloria J. Bouis, Associate Director, Office of Human Relations Programs: (301) 405-2842]

77. **The University of Michigan's Program on Intergroup Relations, Conflict, and Community (IGRCC)** in Ann Arbor, Mich., improves students' understanding of and respect for diversity and increases their ability to respond to intergroup conflicts. Founded in 1988 during a period of heightened racial and ethnic tensions on campus, IGRCC promotes constructive

cross-racial and cross-cultural interactions among the university's diverse students. [Contact: David Schoem, Assistant Dean for Undergraduate Education: (313) 763-7139]

78. The **Wind River Initiative (WRI)** in Laramie, Wyo., was created in 1994 by Dr. Albert Karnig, Vice President for Academic Affairs at the University of Wyoming, to establish a formal link between the University of Wyoming and the Wind River Indian Reservation. Composed of representatives from various programs and departments within the university, the initiative coordinates all university activities and services that are provided to the residents of the Wind River Indian Reservation. [Contact: Judith Antell, Chairperson: (307) 766-6521]

79. A **WORLD OF DIFFERENCE Institute** in New York was initiated in 1985 as a campaign by the Anti-Defamation League and WCVB-TV in Boston to combat prejudice, promote democratic ideals and strengthen pluralism. The campaign evolved into an international institute with diversity education programs utilized by schools, universities, corporations, community organizations and law enforcement agencies throughout the United States and abroad. [Contact: (212) 885-7800]

80. The **Young Heroes Program** was created in Boston in 1995 to unite sixth-, seventh- and eighth-grade students from all racial and socioeconomic backgrounds to perform community service. The program--affiliated with City Year, an AmeriCorps program that unites young adults age 17 to 24, from diverse racial, cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds for a year of full-time community service, leadership development and civic engagement--is located in several sites around the country; including Boston, Mass.; Chicago, Ill.; Cleveland, Ohio; Columbia S.C.; Columbus, Ohio; Philadelphia, Penn.; Providence, R.I.; San Antonio, Texas; and, San Jose/Silicon Valley, Calif. [Contact: Nicole Sanchez, National Director: (617) 927-2397]

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

## President Clinton's Initiative on Race

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### YOU ARE INVITED

- WHAT:** Meeting of the Advisory Board to the President's Initiative on Race
- WHEN:** **Monday, March 23, 1998**  
7:00 pm to 9:00 pm **Community Dialogue on Stereotypes**
- Tuesday, March 24, 1998**  
9:00 am to 12:00 pm **Panel on Stereotypes**  
2:00 pm to 3:00 pm **Concluding Roundtable: Advisory Board Discussion**
- TOPIC:** Race and Stereotypes
- WHERE:** Auraria Campus  
Turnhalle, Tivoli Student Union  
900 Auraria Parkway  
Denver, CO

*The Advisory Board to President Clinton's Initiative on Race will meet in Denver, Colorado, on March 23 and 24, 1998. The Initiative is a year-long effort, led by the President, to engage the nation in moving toward a stronger, more just, and unified America, one that offers opportunity and fairness for all Americans.*

*On March 23 and 24, the Advisory Board will hold its seventh meeting which will focus on the causes, effects, and strategies for combating racial stereotypes. The meeting will begin on March 23 when the Board will host a Community Dialogue on stereotypes. At the conclusion of this dialogue there will be some time for members of the community to raise issues of general concern related to race and stereotyping.*

*On March 24, the Advisory Board will reconvene to hear from a panel of experts on stereotypes from 9:00 am to 12:00 pm. The discussion will bring together national experts who will offer insight on the causes and effects of racial stereotyping, the link between stereotypes and prejudice/racism, and the strategies for lessening the effects of stereotypes on race relations. The session will conclude with a question-and-answer period in which the public will be able to participate.*

*From 2:00 pm to 3:00 pm the meeting will reconvene for a roundtable discussion among the Advisory Board Members to wrap up the meeting.*

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

**All events are open to the public.**

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

Please visit our Website and learn more about the Initiative: [www.whitehouse.gov/Initiatives/OneAmerica](http://www.whitehouse.gov/Initiatives/OneAmerica)



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

## The President's Initiative on Race

*The New Executive Office Building  
Washington, DC 20503  
202/395-1010*

March 3, 1998

Dear College/University President:

In June 1997 on the campus of the University of California at San Diego, President Clinton announced the creation of The President's Initiative on Race, an effort to help us become one America in the 21st century -- a place where we respect others' differences and, at the same time, embrace the values that unite us. It is not surprising that the President chose to announce this historic effort on a university campus. Every year, America becomes more racially and ethnically diverse, and it is clear that young people, America's future leaders, are the most important constituency to reach in our effort to create one America. Institutions of higher education are primary vehicles for reaching young people, and education is vital to bridging racial divides. Therefore, America's colleges and universities have an essential role to play in the success of the President's Initiative on Race.

As Secretary of Education and Chairman of the Advisory Board to the President's Initiative on Race, we are writing to request your active participation in an effort to involve the higher education community more directly in the President's Initiative on Race. During the week of April 6-9, 1998, the President's Initiative on Race will engage colleges and universities across the nation in a Campus Week of Dialogue on Race. The week is part of a larger focus on dialogue throughout the month of April. The week will consist of both national events led by the President's Initiative on Race, including a town hall meeting with university students, and campus events led by institutions across the nation. Through this letter, and in partnership with numerous higher education and community organizations, we are asking you to galvanize your institution and participate in this historic Initiative.

We ask you to join this effort by committing to have your institution organize one or more, and hopefully all, of the following events during the week of April 6-9:

- Campus Town Hall Meeting on Race: Participate in the Campus Week of Dialogue by organizing a campus town hall meeting or series of meetings with students, faculty, and staff to discuss the complex issues of race on your campus, in your community, or in society.
- Campus-Community Partnerships: Colleges and universities are also part of their surrounding communities where issues of race are often dramatically different from those on campus. Host a meeting involving both campus and community leaders and discuss ways that you can work together to improve race relations.

March 3, 1998

Page 2

- Student Leaders Meeting: Student leaders, including those who represent racial/ethnic student groups, are a central force on many campuses. Reach out to the student leaders from all races on your campus and encourage them to convene a campus meeting of student leaders to discuss issues of race on campus and how they can work together across racial lines.
- Other Campus Activities: Sponsor other events during the week, including faculty lectures on racial issues, film showings, cultural festivals, community service projects, and encourage faculty to set aside class time on the day of your campus's town hall meeting to promote further discussion of racial issues in their classes. In addition, please help the Initiative identify promising practices. A more complete description is attached.

We hope you will participate in the Campus Week of Dialogue. We know that some campuses are already planning these types of events or meetings and ask that you try to schedule them during the week of April 6-9. If your campus is on break during April 6-9, we encourage you to participate by organizing events throughout the month of April. We also hope that you will build on these events to promote concrete outcomes and that you will provide us with feedback. We will share your feedback with the President to assist with the development of his report on race to the American people. Please complete the attached reply form and return it to the President's Initiative on Race as soon as possible. After we receive your reply form indicating how you will participate in the Campus Week of Dialogue, we will send you materials with suggestions to help you carry out your activities, including a race dialogue kit to guide campus discussions of racial issues.

We look forward to hearing from you. If you have any questions or concerns, please contact Jacinta Ma, Special Assistant to the Executive Director of the President's Initiative on Race, at (202) 395-1010 and indicate that you are calling about the Campus Week of Dialogue.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Richard W. Riley  
U.S. Secretary of Education



Dr. John Hope Franklin  
Chair, President's Advisory Board on Race

Attachments

**The President's Initiative on Race**  
**CAMPUS WEEK OF DIALOGUE**  
**April 6-9, 1998**  
**PARTICIPATION REPLY FORM**

*"As we enter the 21st Century, we know that one of the greatest challenges we still face is learning how we can come together as one America" -- President William Jefferson Clinton.*  
By participating in this historic effort, you will be helping to lead the country in a national conversation about America's racial diversity and about the strength it brings our nation. We appreciate your commitment to helping our country by organizing these events on your campus.

**NAME OF COLLEGE/UNIVERSITY**

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**ADDRESS**

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**CONTACT NAME**

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**PHONE**

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**FAX**

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**E-MAIL**

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**WHAT ACTIVITIES WILL YOUR CAMPUS ORGANIZE?**

- Campus Town Hall Meeting on Race (Date if known: \_\_\_\_\_ )
  - Campus-Community Partnerships (Date if known: \_\_\_\_\_ )
  - Student Leaders Meeting (Date if known: \_\_\_\_\_ )
  - Other Campus Activities (Please describe below)
- 
- 

Don't know, but would like to receive more information.

If your campus will be on break, indicate when you will organize your campus events (Date: \_\_\_\_\_ )

**PLEASE FAX THIS FORM AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO: JACINTA MA (202) 395-1006.**

**ONCE WE RECEIVE THIS REPLY FORM, WE WILL SEND YOU MORE INFORMATION.**

**THANK YOU!**



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

## The President's Initiative on Race

*The New Executive Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20503  
202/395-1010*

### **CAMPUS WEEK OF DIALOGUE: WHO WILL BUILD ONE AMERICA?**

#### WHAT IS THE CAMPUS WEEK OF DIALOGUE?

The month of April 1998 has been designated by the President's Initiative on Race (PIR), as a "Month of Dialogue." During the "Campus Week of Dialogue," which is from April 6-9, colleges and universities across America will take responsibility for leading the nation in organizing race-related events and laying the foundation for building one America. A letter from U.S. Secretary of Education Richard Riley and Dr. John Hope Franklin, Chairman of the Advisory Board to the President's Initiative on Race, invites college and university presidents to commit to this effort by organizing events on their campuses during this week.

We expect that this week will bring people together across racial lines, reach young leaders, and stimulate solutions and next steps. The Campus Week of Dialogue theme, Who Will Build One America?, evokes the notions of community, personal responsibility, and opportunity. Building one America is truly in the hands of every American.

#### HOW CAN CAMPUSES ACROSS THE NATION PARTICIPATE?

Campuses can participate:

- Campus Town Hall Meeting on Race: By organizing a campus town hall meeting or series of meetings with students, faculty, and staff to discuss the complex issues of race on campus, in the local community, or in society.
- Campus-Community Partnerships: By hosting a meeting involving both campus and community leaders to discuss ways to work together to improve race relations.
- Student Leaders Meeting: By reaching out to student leaders from all races on campus and encouraging them to convene a campus meeting of student leaders to discuss issues of race on campus and how they can work together across racial lines.
- Other Campus Activities: By sponsoring other events during the week, including faculty lectures on racial issues, film showings, cultural festivals, community service projects, and by encouraging faculty to set aside class time during the week to promote further discussion of racial issues in their classes.
- Promising Practices: By identifying promising practices, community-based and national efforts that are designed to promote racial reconciliation, increase positive dialogues, and expand opportunities for every American. For more information about promising practices, visit the PIR web site at [www.whitehouse.gov/Initiatives/OneAmerica](http://www.whitehouse.gov/Initiatives/OneAmerica).

#### HOW WILL THE CAMPUS WEEK OF DIALOGUE HELP?

Participation in the campus week of dialogue will:

- Identify committed campus leadership to sustain efforts to build One America.
- Engage thousands of young leaders in the President's Initiative on Race.
- Identify new Promising Practices.

**FOR MORE INFORMATION PLEASE CONTACT JACINTA MA,  
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, AT (202) 395-1010.**



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

## The President's Initiative on Race

*The New Executive Office Building  
Washington, DC 20503  
202/395-1010*

### STATEWIDE DAYS OF DIALOGUE FACT SHEET

\*The President's Initiative on Race, in cooperation with the nation's Governors, the YWCA of the U.S.A., and a wide range of other community partners, is launching Statewide Days of Dialogue on Race to promote interactive, meaningful communication among people from racially diverse backgrounds in order to bridge existing racial divisions and build One America.

\*Participating Governors will choose an appropriate day to proclaim as his/her state's Day of Dialogue. It is our hope that this will become an annual event.

\*The YWCA of the U.S.A., through its local affiliates in 4000 communities, including at least one community in each of the 50 states, will build inclusive partnerships with other organizations, with public officials and with State and local human rights commissions, to organize and implement local dialogues on the proclaimed day in participating states.

\*It is our hope that these dialogues will continue beyond the proclaimed day and will lead to local actions designed to bridge racial divisions.

\*The President's Initiative on Race will provide materials to assist local communities in carrying out these dialogues. The materials are currently being developed in cooperation with the Community Relations Service of the U.S. Department of Justice, the YWCA of the U.S.A., The National Conference, the National Multicultural Institute, Hope in the Cities, National Days of Dialogue, and Study Circles. They will be distributed in March.

\*A Governor may simply choose to issue the proclamation, or he/she may choose to participate in a dialogue or engage in any other related activities of his/her choosing.

\*Statewide Days of Dialogue will be launched on April 30 in conjunction with the National Day of Commitment to Eliminate Racism, proclaimed unanimously by the U.S. Senate last year.

\*Shortly, YWCA local affiliates will contact their Governors to formally request that they proclaim a Statewide Day of Dialogue.

\*For further information contact Michael Wenger (202-395-1010) at the President's Initiative on Race, Fred Duval (202-456-1414) at the White House Office of Intergovernmental Affairs, or Cyria Lobo (212-273-7800) at the YWCA of the U.S.A.