

DRAFT

To: Race Initiative Contacts in Federal Agencies
From: Judith Winston

Thank you for agreeing to be the President's Initiative on Race's contact in your agency and for all the work you have done already in that capacity. We are currently trying to gather data on race in the United States. We believe that the federal agencies already have the information we are seeking, so we are requesting your help in compiling the data.

We have identified key demographic data, as well as eight broad categories that require researching. Data elements for each of these categories are outlined on the attached sheets. These elements are only suggested, so please feel free to substitute statistics you feel are better measurements for the information we are seeking. For each of these categories, we would like to identify the following information:

1. Key indicators of progress- the best ways of measuring success in each category
2. Trends in disparities among races
 - where have positive changes occurred (especially those where government intervention has made a difference)
 - where are disparities growing
 - where are disparities due to race and where are they due to class
 - what are the effects of urban/rural location
3. Costs of discrimination
4. Data sources, upcoming studies, other sources of information

I have asked Michele Cavataio of my staff, Jose Cerda of the Domestic Policy Council, and Sandy Korenman of the Council of Economic Advisors to pull together a meeting with you and the appropriate statistician/researcher in your agency to discuss what data your agency has available. This meeting will take place on Wednesday, August 20, from 2-3 PM in the Old Executive Office Building, room _____. We would appreciate it if you would come prepared to discuss the information on the attached sheets. In addition, we suggest that you share this information with and obtain input from your civil rights division. Please call Michele Cavataio at 395-1013 to confirm your attendance or if you have any questions.

Thank you very much. We look forward to meeting with you soon.



ONE AMERICA IN THE 21ST CENTURY

The President's Initiative on Race

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

MEMORANDUM

To: Data Collection Working Group
From: Judith Winston *JW*
Date: August 13, 1997
Re: Data collection needs

1) Add or Subtract Topics
2) Names + phone helpful people
By Tuesday
→ Green Book
→ Chodwell-Berry

Thank you for your help collecting data for the President's Initiative on Race. In addition to the data requests in this document, we would also like you to provide us with basic demographic data including:

- the racial composition of the U.S. population, including origin of recent immigrants
- the geographic distribution of races, ethnicities, immigrants
 - distribution among rural, suburban, and urban areas
- components of change, including birth, death, immigration and migration
- projections for the future

as well as any other data you deem useful.

We have identified eight broad categories that require researching. Suggested data elements for each of these categories are outlined on the attached sheets. For each of these categories, it would be helpful for you to identify the following information:

1. Key indicators of progress
2. Trends in disparities among races
 - where have positive changes occurred (especially those where government intervention has made a difference)
 - where are disparities growing
 - where are disparities due to race and where are they due to class
 - what are the effects of urban/rural location
3. Costs of discrimination
4. Data sources, upcoming studies, other sources of information

We assume that you will work with relevant federal agencies to obtain this information. We would like to have a first draft of the statistics by the end of the month. Please contact Michele Cavataio at 395-1013 if you need assistance.

Thank you very much.

① 50 pgs CEA report (Addendum)
② "A Common Destiny"

1. Economic status

a. Income, poverty, child poverty

b. Labor markets

- employment (specified for age/sex), unemployment, non-employment
- hours (and number of jobs held)
- wages and non-wage compensation (health benefits, pension)
- occupation/industry (manufacturing vs. service)
- non-wage characteristics of jobs (e.g. working conditions, health risks)
- impact of immigration on labor markets
- promotion/mobility/leadership positions
- segregation
- access/enrollment in job training
- success rates of job training
- access to transportation to jobs
- access to child care
- is there some way to measure social networks?

c. Wealth/credit

- wealth
- business ownership
- home ownership
- retirement wealth
- access to credit and credit institutions
- AFDC/food stamps/ other forms of assistance

Possible Resources:

DOL Glass Ceiling Reports

Small Business Association

Bureau of Labor Statistics

EEOC, Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Private Industry

2. Educational status

a. Early childhood education

- family reading to young children
- access to kindergarten/early childhood programs

b. Enrollment

- grade retention
- expulsion/suspension rates
- remedial education, tracking, special education
- dropout rates
- detached youth (youth neither in school nor working)
- post-secondary enrollment
- immediate transition from high school to college
- college completion (2 year, 4 year)
- enrollment in vocational schools
- graduate schooling
- access to after-school programs
- education attainment levels
- receive student aid (federal, private)
- receive school breakfasts/lunches

c. Quality of schooling

- access to technology
- teacher quality (% teachers with degree in subject they are teaching)
- teacher/student ratios; class size
- funding
- facilities
- parental involvement
- perception of safety at school
- parent perception of school quality
- desegregation; impact of desegregation (successes and failures)

d. Achievement

- NAEP math, science and reading at 4, 8, 12 grades
- achievement gaps between high and low poverty schools
- SATs/ACTs

e. LEP

- children with difficulty speaking English
- children who speak something besides English at home
- access to/quality of bilingual education

f. Civil Rights Complaints

Possible Resources:

Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics

National Center for Education Statistics:

 Youth Indicators 1996

 Digest of Education Statistics

 The Condition of Education 1997

Department of Education Planning and Evaluation Service

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Office of the Assistant
Secretary for Planning and Evaluation

Children's Defense Fund

3. Health Status and Health Care

a. Pregnancy and Infancy

- access to early prenatal care
- infant mortality
- low birthweight

b. Childhood and young adulthood

- child mortality rates
- homicide rates/victims of violent crimes
- Prime killers of children and youth (e.g. motor vehicles, firearms)
- immunization
- children in households reporting "not enough to eat"
- teen birth rates

c. Adulthood

d. Older ages

e. Specific diseases or conditions

f. Health Care

- access to insurance
- availability of health services
- comparative costs of health services
- quality of health services

g. Health behaviors

- drug, alcohol, tobacco use
- fire arm access

Possible Resources:

Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics

National Center for Education Statistics, Youth Indicators 1996

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation

Centers for Disease Control

Children's Defense Fund

4. Civic Behavior and Attitudes

a. Political Behavior

- voting, by age cohort
- holding public office, by different levels and rural vs. urban
- impact of having minorities in public office
- causes of transitions in big cities from black to white mayors
- redistricting
- other political participation

b. Religious behavior

- church attendance
- political/educational activity through church
- church segregation/integration

c. Social behavior

- peer influence
- TV watching
- computer use
- civic disengagement

Possible Resources:

Southwest Voter Research Institute

Midwest/Northeast Voter Education Project

LEAP

Native American Law Center, Boulder, CO

National Indian Youth Council, Albuquerque, NM

Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies 1997 National Opinion Poll

Gallup Poll

University of Michigan, Institute for Social Research

Professor Robert Putnam, Harvard (civic disengagement)

5. Criminal Justice

- a. Nature and distribution of offenses, offenders
- b. Bias in criminal justice system (sentencing, death row, probation)
- c. Characteristics of offenders/victims
- d. Recidivism
- e. Literacy of prisoners/ prisoner education opportunities
- f. Public attitudes towards criminal justice system
- g. Jury participation by race
- h. Police brutality
- i. Hate crimes
 - violent crimes
 - vandalism

Possible Resources:

Bureau of Justice Statistics Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics
Anti-Defamation League
U.S. Sentencing Commission
DOJ Study on Police Brutality

6. Kinship Relationships

- a. 2 parent vs. single parent
- b. female-headed households
- c. multi-generational households
- d. family size
- e. foster care/adoption
 - inter-racial adoptions
- f. care of elderly
- g. child care patterns
- h. child support

Possible Resources:

Census

7 . Housing and Residential Patterns

- a. homelessness
- b. residential stability
- c. % in poor neighborhoods
- d. quality of housing
- e. segregation
- f. impact of change in neighborhood composition on property values

Possible Resources:

HUD

Lawyers Committee on Civil Rights

Professor Massey, U. Penn (residential segregation)

8. Race Relations

- a. Racial attitudes (intergenerational differences)
- b. Developments in the 1990's
 - Rodney King beating, trials, and riots
 - OJ Simpson trials
 - The Bell Curve Controversy
 - Challenges to Affirmative Action in California
 - Immigration Scapegoating
 - Positive developments, for example:
 - responses to hate crimes (e.g. Boise, ID)
 - inter-racial, inter-denominational rebuilding of burned churches
 - US military

Possible Resources:

ACD?

Harvard/ Kaiser Washington Post Polling Data

Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies 1997 National Opinion Poll

Gallup Poll

National Conference- Louis Harris

Time

Newsweek

Children's Defense Fund

USA Today/CNN poll on affirmative action

Community Relations Service

US Commission on Civil Rights

Brainstorming Meeting Notes: President's Race Initiative August 9, 1997

Getting started

1. 5 goals:
 - a. Articulate the President's vision of a just, unified America
 - b. Educate all Americans about the facts of race
 - c. Promote a constructive dialogue
 - d. Encourage leadership
 - e. Identify and disseminate solutions
2. study-dialogue-action
3. Need a common language to build one America / can we agree on shared values?
 - a. common ground
 - b. opportunity
 - c. family
 - d. race has impeded building of one America

Measures of success

1. Nation is better educated
 - a. Number of blacks in the US is not 50 percent
 - b. Percentage of minorities in America is changing so that there will be no majority race in a few decades
 - c. Discrimination exists
2. Judicial system
 - a. Vigorously enforce civil rights' laws/ commit adequate resources
 - b. Tie federal funds to training
3. Education system
 - a. Broad support for testing
 - b. What kind of public education system do we want? Consider resources, access.
 - c. Admission's criteria -- how to help schools measure all characteristics of a candidate and value diversity
 - d. Quality education at lower levels ensures qualified students in the pipeline

Dialogue

1. Don't let debate focus only on affirmative action
 - a. We need to treat the symptoms until we cure the disease, but we also need to focus on the disease.
2. Debate should move us to acknowledge racial tensions in our history
3. Debate should move from English only to English plus

4. Difference between prejudice which is a belief and racism which is acting on prejudice
5. America needs to agree on common values / aspirations
6. We need to educate Americans on the facts e.g. why are there haves and have nots? What are impediments to equal opportunity?
7. Recognize that not everyone will be starting in the same place
8. Should group membership include people from different races in proportion to population?
 - a. What adjustments do we need to bring about this result?
9. Helpful to understand what majority thinks.
 - a. Whites don't recognize their own privilege
 - b. Where do poor whites fit in the discussion?

Outcomes

1. Is the nation better educated about racism?
2. Do they care?
3. Are they willing to do something about it?

Strategies for realizing outcomes

1. Convince folks that diversity is important. Why?
 - a. Enlightened self interest, globalization of the economy
 - b. We don't have a person to waste
 - c. Reality: whites aren't majority in the future
 - d. Cost of discrimination (need to measure)
2. Use the bully pulpit (President, Cabinet)
3. Bring together CEOs from majority and minority communities
4. Get kids to talk to each other
5. Sponsor a Race for the Races - footrace before town meetings
6. Identify what works and share this information broadly
7. Involve public officials e.g. U.S. Conference of Mayors
8. Involve the media
 - a. Challenge networks to hold their own town meetings
 - b. Create PSAs/ Network sponsorship of primetime PSAs
 - c. Encourage commercials rather than lengthy specials
 - d. Need to educate media, too
9. Sponsor unity concerts

Audience

1. White soccer moms
2. Internet users
 - a. Email (85% has been very positive)
 - b. Capture best practices on website
 - c. Sponsor interactive dialogues
3. Folks who aren't invested

4. People who don't believe that racism exists
 - a. Mystery shopper testing is a good way to demonstrate existence of racism
5. Whites and other races - need to measure changes in attitudes
6. Policy makers
7. Corporate America -- believes in traditional meritocracy, need to broaden vision of what merit is
8. Federal Government must model behavior
 - a. E.g. military believes every person can achieve with adequate support/training
 - b. How to respond to the culture of entitlement, especially for non-performers

Concluding remarks

1. Year long initiative needs to lay foundation for continued progress
2. Need to narrow focus of initiative to concrete goals

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

File -
Race Initiative

July 15, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: ERSKINE BOWLES
SYLVIA MATHEWS
JUDITH WINSTON

FROM: BRUCE REED
ELENA KAGAN *EL*

SUBJECT: RACE INITIATIVE POLICY PROCESS

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

Research and Investigation

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

Interagency Policy Development Process

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Participating agencies are: Education, Interior.

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

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

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

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

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

Participating agencies are: HHS, Interior.

This Week's Policy Announcement

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

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

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

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

Draft CEA Research Agenda

Part I: Demography

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

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

1. Economic status

a. Income and Poverty

b. Labor markets

employment, unemployment, non-employment
hours

wages and non-wage compensation

occupation/industry

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

c. Wealth/credit

financial

business ownership

home ownership

retirement wealth

credit and credit institutions

2. Educational status

a. Enrollment

Drop out rates; college enrollment and completion rates

b. Quality of schooling

c. Achievement

d. Training

3. Health status and health care

a. Health status

Pregnancy and infancy

Child hood and young adulthood

Adulthood

Older ages

{Specific diseases or conditions}

b. Health care

Insurance

Availability of health services

Health behaviors

4. Political status

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

5. Criminal justice

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

6. Family organization

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

7. Impact of immigration

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

Part III: Race relations

1. Racial attitudes and behaviors

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

2. Racial segregation

Residences
Schools
Workplaces
Other

3. Bias crimes, etc.

4. Developments in the 1990s

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

Part IV: Discrimination

1. Measurement/methods: econometric vs. audit studies

2. Links between discrimination and outcomes.

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

3. Causes of discriminatory behavior

4. Consequences of discrimination for society

Has the nature of discrimination changed?