

**NLWJC - Kagan**

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**Race-Race Initiative - Advisory  
Board Meetings [2]**

language of diversity that will build trust and dialogue.

**Searching for a new language of diversity.** The changing face of America has serious implications for how we will talk about race in the future. We know, as Dr. James Jones stated during an early Board meeting, that race is a “social, not a biological construct,” and that “race is a term whose use and impact is far more consequential to those who have been targets of hostile actions than those who have perpetuated them or been the incidental beneficiaries of their consequences.” [From Testimony of Dr. James Jones, September 30, 1997 at p. 129]

We have seen in our own lifetimes how societal changes can influence the way we understand and talk about race. As we talked with Americans from every part of the country this year, from many different races, we learned that few Americans continue to use the terms “Colored” or “Negro” to refer to blacks or “Oriental” to refer to Asian Pacific Americans and that it appears to be no longer an acceptable social norm to use derogatory racial epithets or caricatures, even though their use continues.

We have had direct experience with the notion that there is no simple way to say what race or racial groupings mean in America, because they mean very different things to those who are within and those who outside of the target “racial” group. At a meeting of the Board in San Jose, California, the Advisory Board was criticized for not including among its membership the views of European-Americans. When two of our Board members who are identifiable as white Americans indicated that they were indeed the descendants of Europeans, the critic denied that

they had the capacity to speak for "European Americans" but when questioned was unable to explain with clarity why he felt that was so.

Many individuals want to identify themselves differently than society does and bear the brunt of the criticism by those who believe those individuals want to deny affiliation with particular racial groups. Tiger Woods, the dynamic young golfer and the youngest to win the famous Masters golf tournament, recognizes the contributions of both his mother's and father's ancestors to his racial identification and calls himself "Cablanasian" -- a recognition of his Caucasian-Black-Native American-Asian heritage<sup>24</sup>.

The racial groupings may also be inadequate because individuals are uncomfortable with the breadth of the categories. For instance, many Americans of Asian Indian descent are uncomfortable with the use of the category Asian Pacific American to describe them or are uncertain if it encompasses them. Cubans do not have the same culture as immigrants from Spain or another "Hispanics" from El Salvador. Similarly, black citizens who are immigrants from Caribbean countries or who have strong roots in the Caribbean are often more comfortable being described as Caribbean-American than African-American. **[add white example of Arab Americans or Italian Americans.]** Racial categories, although useful and necessary to track discrimination, often get in the way of both a clear analysis of facts and a clear-headed dialogue about what individual cultures offer to the broader mosaic of a community and to the country as

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<sup>24</sup> "Census Change Stirs Mixed-Race Debate," **The Detroit News**, Monday, January 5, 1998, A1.

a whole. [Examples!]

The country has moved onto new, as yet unsolidified, ways of thinking and talking about race and ethnicity. Yet there are still troublesome examples of racist symbols, such as the continued use of Indians as mascots. The shifting character of these broad groupings and their deeper meanings makes it hard to have a concrete conversation about what race means to any one group.

**Transitioning to the 21st century.** In trying to develop a framework for the study and discussion of race during the year, the Advisory Board members were aware of a number of reports and studies on the root causes of racial prejudice and its consequences. Two notable examples, Swedish sociologist Gunnar Myrdahl's *An American Dilemma* published in 1945 and *The Report of the Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders* issued in 1968, described the history and systematic racial discrimination suffered by blacks. The Kerner Commission's dire prediction that we are a "nation moving towards two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal"<sup>25</sup> chronicled the deliberate exclusion of Americans of African descent from full participation in American society. Because of the legacy of slavery and the status of blacks as the largest minority group, during the early months of the Initiative, despite our best efforts to broaden them, discussions and examinations of race seemed to veer almost inevitably to black-white issues. Until recently, most of the data gathered on race by government agencies compared black and white disparities. Electronic searches for data about racial categories and issues

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<sup>25</sup> See the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Kerner Commission). March 1, 1968; p. 1.

produce volumes on black Americans and increasingly more on Latinos. But finding good sources of trend data beyond the black-white paradigm and, in recent years, beyond Latinos is difficult. The major analytical reports on race in the past have focused primarily on blacks.

America's history of research obscures today's racial realities and issues. In his critique of the continuing and almost exclusive reference to the black-white paradigm in discussions of race, Professor George Sanchez of the University of Southern California made the following observation:

The history of white on black racism blinds Americans from recognizing any other forms of interracial tensions. Racism against Asian Pacific Americans and Latin Americans is dismissed as either 'natural byproducts' of immigrants' assimilation or as extensions of the white-black dichotomy. Moreover, when African-Americans perform acts of racism, they are quickly ignored or recast except as a threat to the white dominated society.<sup>26</sup>

We agree that America's racial conflict can no longer be confined to a discussion of white versus black. The concerns of Professor Sanchez must be included more often in the conversation on race and in the discussion of solutions. We can approach these issues more constructively perhaps if we acknowledge that the success of the modern civil rights movement is considered by many to have been a powerful influence on this country's consciousness about race and it also

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<sup>26</sup> Sanchez, George, "Face the Nation: Race, Immigration, and the Rise of Nativism in Late Twentieth Century America," *International Migration Review* (1997): 1009-1030.

helped to encourage more advocacy and activism among other minority communities [need citation here?] However, a more important factor influencing the expansion of the dialogue is the growing complexity and changing demographics of race since the 1960s.

**Determining the Facts of Racial Diversity.** To understand fully the challenges we face in the 21st century, it is essential to improve reporting on America's less visible racial groups:

American Indians, Alaska Natives, Native Hawaiians, and all of the subgroups that make up the big umbrella categories of Asian Pacific Americans, and Hispanics. The Advisory Board members often heard anecdotes about individuals feeling "left out" of the discussion because we failed to make appropriate distinctions and references. For example, the experiences of most Vietnamese Americans are different from those of Korean Americans or Japanese Americans. Yet, all fall within the data and under a category labeled "Asian Pacific American". Puerto Ricans have experiences that are distinct from Cubans. Guatemalans have a history different from Mexican Americans. In this case, all are Latinos or Hispanics in the demographic tables.

Steps are being taken to begin to close the data gap. For the first time, a fact book has been published that documents differences in well-being by race and ethnicity in seven broad categories: population, education, labor markets, economic status, health, crime and criminal justice, housing and neighborhoods. The book, *Indicators of Social and Economic Well-Being by Race and Hispanic Origin*, was produced by the Council of Economic Advisors in consultation with the Federal statistical agencies. The information provides a benchmark for measuring future progress and can highlight priority areas for reducing disparities across racial

and ethnic lines.

In addition, the National Research Council, the research arm of the National Academy of Sciences, is convening a conference in October, 1998 to examine past and current data trends for different racial and ethnic groups in key areas, including health, education, employment, and the administration of justice. Researchers will submit papers summarizing social science evidence on these trends for whites, blacks, American Indians, Hispanics, Asian Pacific Americans, and others, and how the trends have been affected by public policy. The conference also will identify key gaps in research and data that are need to promote a clear understanding of race-related issues.

The story of race in America is a story of transition. That we have changed and will continue to change is inevitable -- how we make this transition is the story to be written and it is within our control. Armed with more complete data, we will be better able to identify problems, focus on our challenges, and establish our policy priorities. We also will better equipped to learn about and talk about our diversity in school, at work, and at home. We have good reason to know about all of America's faces because wherever we came from, and however long ago, we are moving into the 21st century together.

## **Chapter Four**

### **Bridging the Gap**

In small discussions, at conferences, and at meetings, the Advisory Board frequently heard that one of the key values that unites us as America is our belief in the value of opportunity: If you work hard and play by the rules, you will succeed; your ideas, passion and determination will be rewarded. For many, the belief in opportunity is real. It was instilled in us by our parents, nurtured in us by our schools and exemplified for us by our mentors.

But for others, the belief in opportunity was never real and is not so today because of their race. For some it is because, their ancestors came to America against their will, some in shackles. For some it is because, their parents and grandparents were openly denied opportunity through discrimination in education and employment. For some it is because, their lives today are played out in areas of concentrated disadvantage with high poverty, ill-equipped schools, high unemployment, low-quality health care, and high crime. For these Americans, opportunity is a mirage. And more often than not, these Americans are persons of color.

As we noted in Chapter Two, significant progress has been made in expanding the promise of America to members of minority groups. By the same token, many minorities still believe that their life chances have been, and continue to be, constrained by their physical appearance, skin color, or accent. In this chapter, we acknowledge the positive changes that have occurred over the past three decades to improve the quality of life for minorities while at the same time we note.



the very real and persistent barriers to full inclusion in American society.

While there has been progress over the last forty years<sup>27</sup>, at every Advisory Board meeting, the evidence and research presented showed that America continues to struggle with racial disparity<sup>28</sup> and discrimination. The most pressing challenge for the next century is to find ways to overcome the legacy of race and color to bridge the persistent gaps found in education, employment, economic opportunity, criminal justice and health.

Opportunity must be real for all Americans. How much genius and creativity are we failing to harness because of continuing disparities in opportunity? As our nation becomes more diverse and our economy more global, continued prosperity hinges on the ability to recognize the values inherent in diversity. The Advisory Board makes specific recommendations in this chapter for ways to meet this challenge.

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<sup>27</sup> To help appreciate this progress, it is useful to recall what conditions for blacks were like in the South in the early 1950's:

They (blacks) could not live where they desired; they could not work where white people worked except in menial positions . . . They could not use the same restrooms, drinking fountains, or telephone booths. They could not eat in the same restaurants, sleep in the same hotels, be treated in the same hospitals . . . They could not attend the same public schools. They could not vote. Gerald Jaynes and Robin Williams (eds). 1989. *A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press, pp. 40–42.

<sup>28</sup> Racial disparity is defined a comparison between racial groups in defined measurable areas such as high school graduation rates, wage earning differentials and home ownership.

We heard a lot of debate in this country over whether “the issue” is race or class. Based on the experiences of the Advisory Board members, we believe it is both. Socioeconomic factors alone cannot account for all disparities in opportunity; Some believe race continues to play a major role. We cannot build One America unless we overcome racial disparities in opportunity, whether they are caused by socioeconomic or racial factors. **[Additional language on race/class issue?]**

### **The Role of Education in Racial Disparities**

To build One America, we must overcome racial disparities in educational opportunity and provide all our children with the highest quality education beginning in the earliest years and extending throughout the education pipeline. Furthermore, we must seek to educate all our children in high-quality, integrated schools, where they have the opportunity to learn together in ways that can break down negative stereotypes and improve race relations. These goals of high-quality and integration, though not mutually exclusive, are complimentary. Simply put, high-quality integrated schools provide a more complete educational experience for all students than high-quality segregated schools. Conversely, ineffective, racially isolated schools in high-poverty areas present our greatest obstacle.

Despite some important progress over the last several decades, substantial challenges remain to achieving these goals in education.

While many of our nation's teachers are exceptional public servants who deserve great respect and support, there is also consensus that high-quality teachers are too scarce a resource, especially in high-poverty, high-minority communities where many teachers are teaching without certification and/or without a college major or minor in their primary fields. In 1993, for example, 39 percent of math teachers at public secondary schools with greater than 50 percent minority enrollment were not math majors, compared to 25 percent of math teachers at schools with less than 5 percent minority enrollment.<sup>29</sup>

Furthermore, students cannot learn effectively in overcrowded schools with crumbling walls, old wiring, inadequate heat, and/or no air conditioning. Poor facilities hinder teaching and learning, limit access to technology, and dampen students' expectations and feelings of self-worth. Once again, these problems are most prevalent in minority communities where 42% of students (or 4.8 million students) attending schools that are majority of color are in schools with at least one inadequate building.<sup>30</sup>

These and other disparities in opportunity are undoubtedly linked to disparities in achievement. Students of color often trail white students in such outcomes as test scores, high school graduation rates, college graduation rates, and more. For example, while there is evidence of

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<sup>29</sup> National Center for Education Statistics, *Condition of Education 1998*, Table 58-2, ...

<sup>30</sup> General Accounting Office, *School Facilities: America's Schools Report Differing Conditions*, Report (June 14, 1996). It is estimated that building and renovating our public schools to adequately serve all students will cost more than \$100 billion. *Id.*

recent improvements in test scores for students of color, the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) average reading proficiency scores for 17 year old black and Hispanic students in 1996 were less than the average NAEP score for 13 year old whites (265 versus 267 out of a possible 500, respectively).<sup>31</sup>

In addition, while the percentage of white and black persons ages 25–29 who have completed high school are approaching parity at 93 percent and 86 percent, respectively, the percentage of Hispanics ages 25–29 who have completed high school remains considerably lower at 61 percent.<sup>32</sup> This high Hispanic dropout rate is explained in part by the increasing number of Hispanic immigrants in the population, for whom the high school dropout rate in 1990 was 47 percent, but the dropout rate for native-born Hispanics remains high as well at 23 percent in 1990.<sup>33</sup> Studies show that the percentage of American Indians/Alaska Natives age 25 or older who have completed high school is also lower at 66 percent.<sup>34</sup> The overall percentage of Asians/Pacific Islanders age 25 or older with a high school diploma is 85 percent,<sup>35</sup> but that figure masks substantial variation in graduation rates within the population, which in 1990 ranged from approximately 31 percent for Hmong to 88 percent for students of Japanese

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<sup>31</sup> National Center for Education Statistics, *supra* note \_\_\_\_, at Table ...

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<sup>33</sup> Council of Economic Advisers, *Economic Report of the President* (February 1998), pp. 134-35.

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Second, segregation remains a problem both among and within our schools, and the situation appears to be getting worse. For example, a recent study reports that 67 percent of black students and 74 percent of Hispanic students attend primary and secondary schools with greater than 50 percent minority enrollment, and 34 percent of black students and 35 percent of Hispanic students attend schools with more than 90 percent minority enrollment.<sup>37</sup> Most dramatically, 87 percent of those schools are predominantly poor.<sup>38</sup> **[Insert data on whites, Asian/Pacific Islanders, and American Indians/Alaska Natives--see NYT 8/23/98 re: 49% of the 1.3 million Indians who live on reservations.]** These rates of segregation are worse than those from more than 15 years ago for blacks and 30 years ago for Hispanics.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, even in racially diverse schools, policies and programs, such as tracking, often are implemented in ways that resegregate students into racially homogenous classes. **[Add example from OCR.]**

Lack of diversity is also a concern in higher education. Most dramatically, in those states in which affirmative action has been made or declared unlawful, data show a substantial decrease in the numbers of students of color accepted at the most prestigious institutions. For example, in

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<sup>36</sup> U.S. Department of Commerce, *Population Profile of the United States, 1995* (July 1995, p. 49).

<sup>37</sup> Gary Orfield, et al., *Deepening Segregation in America's Public Schools: A Special Report from the Harvard Project on School Desegregation* (199\_) 11.

<sup>38</sup> *Id.* at 19.

<sup>39</sup> *Id.* at 11.

1998, according to university officials, the University of California at Berkeley had to reject more than 800 highly-qualified black, Hispanic, and Native American applicants who had 4.0 or higher grade point averages and scored 1200 or higher on the SAT.<sup>40</sup> As a result, it is estimated that only 12% of Berkeley's 1998 entering class will be black, Hispanic, or Native American versus 24% one year ago.<sup>41</sup> **[Insert data on disparities in college admissions or completion?]**

To build One America, we as a nation must overcome these challenges and promote equity, excellence, and integration in education. There is no excuse for failing to meet these goals for all our children. During the last year, the President proposed several efforts to promote these goals. For example, the President announced his Initiative to Reduce Class Sizes in Early Grades, which would provide \$12.4 billion over seven years to help schools reduce class size in grades 1-3 from a national average of 22 students to 18 students. This initiative would help overcome the modest racial disparities that exist in class size; 1993 data show that average class size is approximately 1-3 students greater at schools where the majority of students are of color than at schools with less than 10 percent students of color.<sup>42</sup> But more importantly, this initiative will help improve learning for all students. Studies show that students learn more effectively as class size moves toward 18 students per class and that this return is even greater for students of color than for white students.<sup>43</sup> Additional steps such as this must be taken to overcome racial

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disparities and segregation in education and to promote excellence in education for students of all races.

During our December Board Meeting, Secretary of Education Richard Riley announced one small but important new effort designed to help bridge racial divides in education. Secretary Riley announced a partnership between the Department of Education and the President's Initiative on Race to produce, as part of the promising practices effort, several case studies of educational programs that are promoting high expectations and positive outcomes for students of all races and can perhaps be replicated and strengthened across our nation. We also released at the December 17 meeting the first such case study -- a study of Bailey's Elementary School in Fairfax County, Virginia, which is a remarkably diverse magnet school that is overcoming past fears of racial diversity and making diversity an asset in education.

There is no excuse for failing to meet these educational goals for all our children. We must debunk the myth that increasing the national commitment to education means increasing national control over education. The President already has made some efforts to reduce disparities in education this year, including the Initiative to Reduce Class Sizes in Early Grades, which would provide \$12.4 billion over seven years to help schools reduce class size in grades 1–3 from a national average of 22 students to 18 students, and the Hispanic Education Action Plan, which addresses the high dropout rate from high school for Hispanic youth. Additional steps must be taken to reduce these disparities even farther and eventually to eliminate them. Equity and

excellence in education, as well as recognizing diversity as a goal, are fundamental to building One America and have a significant influence on economic opportunities for people of color.

## **Recommendations**

### **◆ Education**

The Advisory Board believes that all children in America should be afforded the opportunity to obtain a high quality education, in an environment that inspires the desire to learn and to grow. It is education that will provide future generations of Americans to compete effectively in the information age economy. It is education that will guide Americans to recognize that the racial differences among our people can be a source of strength. It is education that will allow every individual to move beyond their own personal experiences and to understand that the most important values we hold as a nation require informed, active participation of the public at large.

Our concern is that educational opportunities and public resources are being restricted and more importantly, the restrictions are being felt most deeply among poor children, and children of color. The data concerning teacher preparation, early childhood learning, high school achievement, college admission, and school learning environments suggest that there are several steps that both the federal and local governments can take. There is also room for community-based organizations to participate in providing a channel through which research, public education and access to services can be created. In addition, innovative partnerships with private businesses should be considered since many private companies share a concern that the future



workforce of the nation be prepared not only to function, but also to compete in the information age economy. To the extent that the government can encourage partnerships that reflect an effort to collaborate across racial and ethnic lines, such partnerships should be supported through government grant programs and other programs in which public funding is available.

These steps can be taken:

1. Promote teacher equity and preparation by making funding available to encourage educators to dedicate their skills to students in greatest need -- those trapped in poverty in both our urban and rural communities, immigrant children, children in Indian country, and children with special needs and learning disabilities. In addition, funding teacher preparation programs that build competency to address the growing diversity of our student population is essential. Teachers should be encouraged to recognize that such competency will enhance their ability to produce high academic performance from their students. Such programs should be designed to focus on the regional composition of the student population.

2. Develop education pipeline programs that draw upon tutoring, mentorship and other strategies that are designed to increase the opportunity for minority students to achieve academic excellence. Programs that increase expectations of student performance and enhance academic achievement might include increasing the advance placement course offerings in high poverty, high minority student enrollment districts and providing financial support for college test preparation courses. In addition, school/college partnerships should be supported to expand

opportunities in higher education. To the extent that such partnerships produce a vested interest in the achievement of students in a particular school or academic environment, it is anticipated that the numbers of students who will have the opportunity to move on to higher education will increase.

3. Promote school construction and modernization so that the learning environments in our public schools inspire students to excel. Crumbling walls, inadequate heat and air conditioning, faulty wiring and dilapidated buildings discourage students from wanting to learn. It is estimated that building and renovating our public schools to adequately serve all students will cost more than \$100 billion. This sum, in comparison to the burgeoning costs of incarceration (currently estimated at an annual cost of \$30,000 per inmate, with a projected growth over the next twenty years of {##} in the inmate population) is inconsequential.

4. Enhance early childhood education through the development of programs that expand learning opportunities for children of all races. Funding for programs that promote parent participation in early childhood education and encourage collaboration between schools and local residents should be made available. To the extent that partnerships can be created between community-based organizations that serve the needs of minority families/children and local school districts, we expect the emergence of innovative programs aimed at promoting basic reading skills, social interaction, and exploration of fundamental concepts of self-esteem.

5. Continue to explore the use of public school choice as a strategy to improve the quality

of education and increase the educational opportunities available to students in need. The Advisory Board has expressed previously its support for charter schools and for the establishment of Educational Opportunity Zones.

6. Implement the Comprehensive Indian Education Policy outlined in Executive Order [###]. The Advisory Board met with tribal representatives to discuss the particular needs and concerns of American Indians. The Indian Education Policy outlines specific tasks that can be undertaken to improve the quality of education for American Indian children and sets forth strategies that will expand the opportunities for American Indians to pursue higher education.

#### Critical Concerns in Education:

The following recommendations relate to critical concerns noted by the Advisory Board in the course of its outreach to America. As mentioned earlier, we believe these issues are important to discuss because they are issues that draw distinct differences of opinion, and often implicate racial and ethnic divides.

7. Bilingual education programs. As you know, the State of California recently passed an initiative that eliminated bilingual education. The Advisory Board has heard from communities in which there are many students with limited English language proficiency. In all instances, the students come from first generation immigrant homes where the native language of the parents is spoken. As you are probably aware, almost every survey conducted among immigrant families

reveals that a high priority is English language acquisition.

Immigrant families understand that language proficiency is the key to success in America. Yet, in political campaigns, the voting public is led to believe that there is a reluctance to learn the English language. Bilingual education, when properly implemented, is a valuable tool that permits limited English proficient students to study math, science and other important subjects in their native language. The transition to English is encouraged and students eventually enjoy the benefit of being proficient in two languages. The Advisory Board recognizes that the twenty-first century is one in which Americans will feel more acutely the meaning of the term "global community." In most other literate nations, it is common for people to speak at least two languages. Americans should be urged embrace the value of bilingualism, especially as we move toward the next century.

8. School vouchers. In essence, all parties claim they seek to improve the quality of education offered in public schools. The conflict centers on a fear that vouchers will drain resources away from already underfunded schools in our poorest communities. These are often schools that have high minority student enrollment. Proponents of the voucher program contend that market forces will compel all schools to improve because of the competition for resources. Little empirical data exists to support this theory. Nonetheless, it may be prudent to commission a pilot study that examines the efficacy of vouchers in a particular school district. Such a pilot program would allow for greater information to be gathered and hopefully would provide the opportunity to uncover other innovative alternatives.

9. Affirmative action. The Advisory Board was repeatedly about its views on affirmative action. We repeatedly expressed our support for using affirmative action as one of many vehicles to identify qualified candidates for admission into colleges and universities across the nation.

10. An integrated curriculum should be part of every state's effort to improve the quality of education offered in public schools. Over and over again, during the course of our public meetings, we heard criticism and frustration about the failure to include historical events that highlight contributions and struggles of racial minorities in America. To the extent that the federal government can provide leadership by convening a meeting of state educators for the purpose of examining ways to promote the use of an integrated curriculum, we urge that this be done. American Indians have a concern that goes beyond the issue of omission. That is, that the portrayal of their tribes not be that of a "vanishing people". Rather, that there be inclusion of American Indians as a contemporary people, functioning under a unique sovereign status within America.

11. Student tracking has deprived minority students of opportunities to improve the chances for success in the future through higher education. Support should be given to assessing the effect of tracking, especially upon minority students, beginning in elementary school.

### **Race and Economic Inequality in American Society**

After disparities in education, the Advisory Board found that disparities in economic opportunity fracture America. While education is important for raising income and living standards, education alone cannot eliminate racial income disparities. The gap in earnings persists at all educational levels. A study by the Economic Policy Institute finds that, in 1997, black males with a high school degree earned 80 percent of the earnings of their white counterparts, and black males with a college degree earned only 77 percent of the earnings of comparable white males.<sup>44</sup> Although there is a clear acknowledgment by most whites and many others that there has been considerable progress by people of color moving into the middle class during the past 40 years, a substantial amount of disparity remains between the economic prosperity and wealth of whites and most minority groups.

**Racial Disparities and Discrimination Persist.**<sup>45</sup> The most tangible, and gripping, evidence that we have seen of racial disparities are accounts of actual discrimination. There is clear evidence of active forms of discrimination in employment, pay, housing, consumer markets, credit markets, and in the area of public accommodations which are more fully explored in this section.

**Employment and labor markets.** Many Americans recall the recent lawsuit and complaints of racial discrimination that were leveled against and settled by Texaco. These complaints alleged

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<sup>44</sup> Lawrence Mishel, Jared Bernstein, and John Schmitt, 1998, *The State of Working America 1998-1999*. Economic Policy Institute Series, Armon: M.E. Sharpe, forthcoming.

<sup>45</sup> By discrimination we mean unfavorable treatment of a person solely on the basis of their membership in a protected class. These protected classes are defined under current US civil rights laws; see Michael Banton. 1994. *Discrimination*. Philadelphia: Open University Press.

discrimination in employment, hiring, training, promotion, tenure, layoff policies, and in the work environment. Other major companies have also faced lawsuits alleging discrimination on the basis of race or national origin and the number of discrimination complaints filed by employees to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission continues to number in the thousands.

Professor Paul Ong made this observation:

DR. ONG: So, for example, if we look at the immigrant-based populations, Latinos, Asian/Pacific Islanders, there are issues, for example, language discrimination. I'm not just talking about that you don't have the English language skill, but the question about whether you could this to access, whether you could use language at the job site.

There are different patterns. Interesting some stereotypes and prejudice in a sense open job opportunities at the same time limiting it. So if you're perceived as being a hard worker, you may have certain type of job opportunities. But at the same time, the serotype may carry farther that prevents you from moving up, it gets -- it's bumping up against a glass ceiling.

And finally, a final point which is sort of interesting. I find remarkable that there seems to be a systematic variety to how minorities react to perceive discrimination. And, in part, this is based on survey work done in Chinatown in San Francisco of workers there. And if anybody knows any history of Chinatown, there's been a -- it is the oldest ghetto in this country. Long before

other urban ghetto were formed. It is a product of racism and there is a legacy understanding of racism. And even today, there is the perception among its residents that employment opportunities is driven in part by discrimination and they feel that they're effected by it.

One of the studies that the Advisory Board reviewed in preparation for the Advisory Board meeting on race and employment discussed an auditing project that in the late 1980s in Chicago revealed clear signs of discrimination against Hispanics and immigrants.<sup>46</sup> This was followed by a major audit conducted in the 1990 by the Urban Institute using matched pairs of comparably qualified job applicants who differed only in their race. This study concluded that black and Hispanic males were three times as likely as an equally qualified white, non-Hispanic male applicant to be turned down for a job. This report also finds that “Hispanics were more likely to experience unfavorable treatment at the application and interview stages than were blacks.” That is, Hispanics appear to encounter even more discrimination in certain labor markets.<sup>47</sup>

A more recent synthesis of evidence in this area submitted to the Advisory Board, by Dr. Marc Bendick, shows that minorities—blacks and Hispanics—are on average likely to be denied

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<sup>46</sup>H. Cross, et al. 1990. “Employer Hiring Practices: Different Treatment of Hispanic and Anglo Job Seekers.” Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.

<sup>47</sup>Margery Turner, M. Fix and R. Struyk. 1991. *Opportunities Diminished: Racial Discrimination and Hiring*. Urban Institute Report 91-9. Washington DC: The Urban Institute Press, p.56. There are recognized limitations to some of this auditing research as discussed by James Heckman and Peter Siegelmen in Michael Fix and R. Struyk. (Eds.). *Clear and Convincing Evidence*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press.



employment at least 20 to 25 percent of the time. As one example, an Hispanic tester applied for the job of receptionist for a position in a Washington suburb. She was told that they were not taking any further applications. A white tester called shortly after and was given an appointment for the next day. In another case, a black tester was offered \$6.50 an hour for the position of sale's assistant in a department store while the white tester was offered \$1 more.

Professor Jose Roberto Juarez illustrated the continuing problem with hiring discrimination during his presentation during the Phoenix hearing:

PROFESSOR JUAREZ: Well, I simply want to point out the difficulty that we face in treating this whole issue of discrimination in the workplace. Because as Dr. Holzer pointed out employers are looking for a variety of skills. But some of those skills can themselves sometimes be a subterfuge for discrimination. So that when we talk about an employer who says, well, the reason that I hired this particular person is because they had better people skills. They were better able to relate to the other employees in the work force.

Quite often that means, gee, the white guy got along a whole lot better with all the other white guys and if we had this Chicano, she was going to make us all uncomfortable and so that's why we didn't hire her. And, of course, the employer isn't saying the last part of that, but that is, in fact, what may be happening. Not always. And I think it is very important to recognize that there are a number of different factors that are operating here.

According to the Department of Labor's Glass Ceiling Commission, racial disparities in job opportunities in the private sector are often constrained by race. Minorities who are well qualified for promotion to higher positions often find that the path to future advancement is blocked by the so-called "glass ceiling," namely informal practices or procedures that inhibit minority advancement. **[Cite data on types of jobs (and exploitation) or disparities in salary/income for people of color from Glass Ceiling Report]**

Another major racial indicator that the Advisory Board examined to illustrate the gaps in social and economic development options is the unemployment rate. Since the mid-1950s, [as shown in chart 2: to be incorporated at a later stage], the black unemployment rate has been roughly double that of whites and has increased more for non-whites in recessions than for whites. Indeed, the average rate of unemployment for blacks was over 10% for roughly two decades, and fell below that point for the first time in 1997.[cite (comparing with whites)] Hispanics have an even higher rate of unemployment. **[cite, need actual figure, anything on APAs or American Indians?]**

Much of this disparity persists even when differences in educational attainment are taken into account. Discrimination in hiring and few job opportunities in low-income communities contribute to higher rates of unemployment among minority workers.

Work should be a bridge out of poverty, but for many it is not. In fact, 30% of all workers were in jobs paying poverty-level wages in 1995. They worked for a wage so low that even if they worked full-time, year round, they would not be able to lift a family of four out of poverty.

Minorities are much more likely than whites to work in poverty-wage jobs. Four in ten blacks and almost half of all Hispanic workers were paid poverty-laid wages.<sup>48</sup>

[As seen in chart 3, to be incorporated at a later stage] the differences in the weekly earnings of whites, blacks, and Hispanics from the late 1960s up to the present reveal two important issues: (1) the median wages, after adjusting for inflation, have actually declined since the late 1970s except for white women; and the (2) whites still have higher average earnings than blacks or Hispanics. [cite] The earnings gap between whites and minority workers continues to persist, and is today greater than it was in 1979. In 1997, the weekly earnings of a typical black worker were only 77% of the earnings of a typical white worker, compared to 80% two decades earlier.<sup>49</sup>

The average family income of blacks, for example, [(see chart 4)-will be incorporated at a later stage] has been less than 60 percent of that of whites for the years 1967–1997. Asians have even higher average household incomes than whites, due to more adults living in an average home. Moreover there are great differences within the Asian American group. [it would be useful to discuss the number of people earning wages in the average family.]

## **Recommendations**

### **◆ Economic Opportunity**

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<sup>48</sup> Lawrence Mishel, Jared Bernstein, and John Schmitt, 1997. *The State of Working America 1996-1997* Economic Policy Institute Series. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe.

<sup>49</sup> Bureau of Labor Statistics, Median Weekly Earnings Table, unpublished data. [Info from LCT]

The Advisory Board examined the issue of economic opportunity through a variety of meetings. These included town hall meetings with private business representatives, advisory board meetings concerning employment and poverty, and meetings with tribal representatives concerning economic development in Indian country. The following recommendations represent approaches which we believe to be essential in eliminating racial disparities and promoting a strong, vibrant economy in which every American can participate.

1. Improve racial data collection by enlisting the cooperation of federal agencies that currently gather information about racial disparities in their portfolios. The annual data gathered by the Current Population Surveys should provide a starting point. Every effort should be made to create statistically meaningful population samples, even if this means over-sampling certain populations, including Asian Americans, American Indians, and Hispanics.

2. Commission a study to examine the persistent problem of income inequality. The Advisory Board heard evidence about long-term patterns of racial disparity and income. The federal government should convene a meeting of senior policy analysts, congressional leaders, private industry leaders and labor for the purpose of identifying available means to reduce the extremes of this persistent pattern of inequality and systemic poverty.

3. Direct the Department of Labor and the Department of Health and Human Services to evaluate the effectiveness of job training programs designed to reach minority and immigrant

communities. Identify elements that appear to be predictive of successful job placement along with elements of the training programs that address the specific training needs of these populations so that replication of the training programs is possible.

4. Facilitate a meeting between tribal government representatives and major lending and investment companies so that discussions concerning the development of financial products and strategies to build home equity and individual savings can take place.

5. Commission a broad study to examine Indian Economic Development to address the growing concern among American Indians about capacity to engage in community economic development programs and technology infrastructure needs in Indian country. The SBA has already made a commitment to provide a report concerning the development of a plan to coordinate existing economic development initiatives, including private sector involvement.

6. Support a Citizens Progress Report on Race to be produced every five? years. The report should be based upon innovative testing procedures designed to reveal racial disparities in employment, housing, access to financing for residential and commercial purposes, access to health care services, educational opportunities, incidence of hate crimes, and rates of incarceration.

7. Support the right of working people to engage in collective bargaining. Organized labor has demonstrated its ability to protect job security, reduce wage disparities and provide necessary

benefits to working people. Organized labor should be encouraged to continue its outreach to minority and immigrant workers who commonly face exploitation in the workplace.

8. The current economic boom should be used to promote innovative partnerships between the public and private sector to discuss increasing the minimum wage, developing job training and placement programs, and utilizing the workforce emerging from our welfare rolls.

#### Critical Concerns in Economic Development

9. Environmental justice is becoming an issue that can no longer be placed at the margins. The concerns about environmental justice are expansive, including placement of dump sites, the discovery of toxic substances near schools, transportation equity, and green space. The EPA should be charged with the task of convening a national summit to address the concerns being expressed by community-based organizations across the nation. The summit should produce a coordinated plan, with a timetable and identification of a responsible federal agency assigned to address priority problems in each of our states.

10. The Labor Department should be urged to collaborate with other agencies on creating a strategic plan to address the anticipated growth in the Hispanic and Asian/Pacific Islander populations. These populations are projected to more than double, and triple, respectively, in the next fifty years. There are enormous opportunities to diversify job training programs that may promote the use of this emerging workforce in innovative international public/private sector

collaborations.

**Housing markets.** The Advisory Board learned at the Newark, New Jersey meeting on housing issues that although there are fewer virulent and blatant acts of racial and national origin discrimination, currently blacks and Hispanics are likely to be discriminated against roughly half of the time that they go to look for a home or apartment.<sup>50</sup>

In both 1977 and 1989, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development funded national audits of discrimination in both the rental and sales markets. The studies examined a wide range of different types of behavior associated with renting or purchasing a home. These two studies reveal a “gross” measure of discrimination in which black or Hispanic auditors experience some form of differential treatment roughly half of the time. The more conservative net figure is that discrimination occurs 25 percent of the time. The Fair Housing Council of Greater Washington reported that in 1997, discrimination occurred 35 percent of the time a black or Hispanic tester tried to rent an apartment, with higher levels reported for suburban jurisdictions.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> John Yinger. 1995. *Closed Doors, Opportunities Lost: The Continuing Costs of Housing Discrimination*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation; see also, John Goering and Ron Wienk (eds.) *Mortgage Lending Discrimination and Federal Policy*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute Press.

<sup>51</sup> Fair Housing Council of Greater Washington. 1997. “The Fair Housing Index: An Audit of Race & National Origin Discrimination in the Greater Washington Real Estate Market: 1997.” Washington, DC: The Fair Housing Council of Greater Washington. On credit market discrimination see: S. Smith and C. Cloud. 1996. “The Role of Private, Nonprofit Fair Housing Enforcement Organizations in Lending Testing.” In John Goering and R. Wienk (eds.) *Mortgage*

Many poor minority residents live in segregated, isolated and stigmatized neighborhoods. Some journalists and social commentators argue that this segregation of ethnic and racial minorities is really not all that bad. Some minority groups flourish because of the close ethnic and immigrant ties and assistance found in these enclaves. Recent research by Drs. Cutler and Glaeser at Harvard, however, reveals that the effects of segregation—at least for blacks—is almost all bad. Increases in residential racial isolation, including limited contact with whites, leads to reduced earnings, higher rates of dropping out of school, “idleness,” and increased chances of becoming a single mother. [cite] Racial segregation, limited job opportunities and discrimination continue to serve as a basis for persistent minority poverty; as a result, efforts to remove these barriers to prosperity are important, although not easy, and it will require commitment from government, the business and nonprofit community, and the local communities.

**[Include evidence on lending discrimination ██████████]**

**Numerous Complaints about Discrimination Regarding Public Accommodations and Consumer Goods.** Unequal treatment in daily encounters and experiences exacerbate our difficulty in overcoming racial difference. The 1997 Gallup Poll, which the Advisory Board reviewed, found that 30 percent of blacks report high levels of discrimination when they are shopping in stores (within the last 30 days) and another 21 percent report unfair treatment in restaurants, bars or theaters. Professor Joe Feagin and Melvin Sikes provide graphic, empirical

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*Lending, Racial Discrimination, and Federal Policy.* Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.



detail on numerous instances in which middle-class blacks were refused service or treated worse than whites in restaurants and other places of public accommodations in the 1990s.<sup>52</sup> [insert chart?]

For example, one black minister reports that he and his guests were refused service at a southern restaurant. "We were refused service, because they said they didn't serve black folks. It was suggested that if we stayed there any longer, there would be a possibility that our tires would be slashed." [cite]

In another case, blacks and whites were sent to see if they would receive equal treatment when purchasing an automobile. The results revealed that black males are likely to be charged over \$1,000 more than their comparable white teammates, thus illustrating the powerful cost that discrimination can impose.<sup>53</sup>

[any examples for other minority groups?]

### **Disparities in Living Standards Continue**

[We need to insert some discussion of welfare--some statistics on welfare by race and how

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<sup>52</sup> Joe Feagin and Melvin Sikes. 1994. *Living with Racism: The Black Middle Class Experience*. Boston: Beacon Press; see also Kerry A. Scanlon and M. Bendick. 1993. "Racial and Ethnic Discrimination in Restaurant Franchising." (June 30). Testimony before the House Committee on Small Business.

<sup>53</sup> Ian Ayres and Peter Siegleman. 1995. "Race and Gender Discrimination in Bargaining for a New Car." *American Economic Review*." 85( June): 304-321.

**welfare reform has changed the racial composition of welfare--John and Sonia]**

Even more troubling to the Advisory Board are the continued disparities in poverty rates. In the 1950's, the black poverty rate was nearing 60 percent; the white poverty rate was less than 20 percent, and while this gap declined substantially by the mid-1990s [(see chart 1): this will be incorporated at a later stage], it has not been eliminated. As of 1996, for example, 11 percent of whites, 14.5 percent of Asians, 27 percent of American Indians [is it higher?], 28 percent of blacks, 29 percent of Hispanics, and are living in poverty. [it would be useful to add difference by ethnicity for APAs] [cite] Despite the higher relative rates of poverty for minority groups, it is also useful to recall—as many easily forget—that nearly half of all the poor people in the United States are white.<sup>54</sup> As of 1996, non-Hispanic whites constitute 45.1 percent of the nation's poor while blacks are 26.5 percent and Hispanics 22.4 percent. The fact that poverty and unemployment often affect 40 to 50 percent of American Indians living on reservations or tribal lands represents a major continuing source of frustration for all Federal agencies charged with delivering housing, development, and social services to Indian country.

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<sup>54</sup>Poverty data (SIPP and PSID) reveal that white households typically spend less time living in poverty, have shorter durations living in poverty, then do blacks of Hispanics and less time drawing down AFDC benefits. In addition, recent evidence finds that as welfare rolls continue to plunge that “white recipients are leaving the system much faster than black and Hispanic recipients, pushing the minority share of the caseload to the highest level on record.” This is in part due to important differences in education: while 64% of Hispanic recipients lacked a high school education, this was true of only 33% of whites and 40% of blacks. Jason DeParle. “Shrinking Welfare Rolls Leave Record High Share of Minorities: Fast Exodus of Whites Alters the Racial Balance.” *The New York Times*. (July 27, 1998): A1, A12.

The current rate of economic growth has been a major stimulus to reducing the number of unemployed poor. The worry, of course, is that if labor markets again become slack many, of the newly engaged workers will once again be separate from the economic mainstream. In addition, all too many jobs—while employing an individual full time—will not lift that individual out of poverty. Blacks and Hispanics are much more likely to work in jobs paying poverty-level wages, meaning that working full-time, year round will not lift a worker and his or her family out of poverty. The Nation should take advantage of the current economic boom to reach out to the working poor. A higher minimum wage that ensures a decent living for low wage workers and their families is needed. Furthermore, more and more jobs are nonstandard work arrangement, with little job security and no income stability. More permanent, full-time jobs paying a living wage must be created to increase living standards and reduce poverty among minority workers.

As Professor William Julius Wilson argued, the structural transformation of our economy has meant, and will continue to mean, decreased demand for certain types of unskilled workers and the lack of access to jobs for many inner city residents who live in “jobless ghettos.”<sup>55</sup> These major social and economic dislocations and restructuring cut minorities off from job networks, making it almost impossible for them to find able employment.

**Economic Prosperity For Urban Areas.** The reason the health of our nation’s cities is critical to the issue of racial disparities is that a disproportionate number of minorities reside in cities. [

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<sup>55</sup> Wilson, William J. *When Work Disappears*. New York, NY: Vintage Books. 1997.

cite] Over the past five years, the President has worked to create an urban renaissance by creating 125 empowerment zones and enterprise communities, offering tax cuts to clean up and redevelop brown fields, building a network of community development banks and strengthening the Community Reinvestment Act. The President's balanced budget proposal builds on these efforts by:

- Proposing new housing vouchers to help people stay off welfare and move closer to jobs.
- Expanding the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit.
- Creating new opportunities for home-ownership.
- Instituting tougher efforts to fight housing discrimination.
- Creating a \$400 million Community Empowerment Fund (CEF) to help local communities invest in businesses—the CEF is expected to leverage an estimated \$2 billion in private sector loans and will support an estimated 280,000 jobs when projects are completed. [Is this a recommendation? Why is this here? Or is it just stating one step in the process?]

These are positive steps in the right direction and more must be done to reduce the disparities in economic opportunity.

### **Race, Crime and the Administration of Justice**

**[add sentencing disparities figures, use of racial profiling from Stone presentation]**

**[add discussion on access to courts]**

Based on our discussions and readings during the last year, including our May 1998 meeting,

which focused on issues of race in criminal justice, it is clear to the Advisory Board that racial disparities exist in both the realities and perceptions of crime and the administration of justice. Communities of color often absorb a disproportionate amount of the social, economic, and personal costs of crime. These communities want and need strong law enforcement. However, studies show that persons of color have less confidence in the fairness of the criminal justice system than do whites. Building One America requires building a criminal justice system that serves and treats Americans of all races fully and fairly. To do so, we must build trust in our criminal justice system and reduce crime in communities of color.

Substantial challenges remain to achieving these goals in criminal justice. First, criminal victimization rates are significantly greater for persons of color than for whites, especially with regard to violent crime. For example, at our May Advisory Board meeting, Christopher Stone, Director of the Vera Institute of Justice, reported that the homicide rate for white males is approximately 5 per 100,000, while the homicide rate for males of color is approximately 8 per 100,000 for Asians/Pacific Islanders, 18 for American Indians/Alaska Natives, 25 for Hispanics, and 58 for blacks.<sup>56</sup> In general, 1994 victimization rates for all crimes were approximately 65 per 1000 for blacks, 63 for Hispanics, 52 for whites, and 49 for others (which includes Asian/Pacific Islanders and American Indians/Alaska Natives).<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Christopher Stone, *Race, Crime, and the Administration of Justice: A Summary of the Available Facts 2*, Presentation at May Advisory Board Meeting (May 19, 1998).

<sup>57</sup> *Criminal Victimization in the United States, 1994*, viii, U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics (May 1997).

Second, studies show that persons of color have less confidence and trust in our criminal justice system than do whites. For example, a 1997 survey by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies found that approximately 81% of blacks and 83% of Hispanics agreed that “police are much more likely to harass and discriminate against blacks than whites,” and 56% of whites agreed with that statement as well.<sup>58</sup> Several factors likely contribute to mistrust in our criminal justice system among persons of color. According to participants in our May meeting, these factors include negative interactions between persons of color and law enforcement personnel (which may range from unjustified police stops to improper use of force), racial disparities in the administration of justice (including disparities in incarceration rates, sentencing, and imposition of the death penalty), and the lack of diversity in law enforcement (among police, prosecutors, judges, and more).

**Racial Profiling.** Of particular concern to the Advisory Board and participants at our May meeting was the use of racial profiling in law enforcement. Racial profiling refers to the use of race by law enforcement as one factor in identifying criminal suspects. Some in law enforcement may see racial profiling as a necessary, legitimate practice given limited law enforcement resources and evidence of racial disparities in criminal behavior. But racial profiling also imposes costs on innocent persons, perpetuates and reinforces stereotypes, creates situations that can lead to physical confrontations, and contributes to tensions between persons of color and the criminal justice system. Furthermore, scholars and practitioners at our May meeting universally

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<sup>58</sup> David A. Bostis, *1997 National Opinion Poll: Race Relations 6*, Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies (June 1997).

agreed that racial stereotypes are presently being used in ways that inappropriately target persons of color.

For example, at our May meeting, we discussed a study of Maryland State Troopers and the rates at which they searched motorists of different races for drugs following traffic stops along Interstate 95. Evidence indicates that black motorists comprised approximately 17 percent of motorists and of those violating traffic laws in 1995, but they comprised 77 percent of those searched for drugs by Maryland police following traffic stops (409 of 533 searches).<sup>59</sup> Why were black motorists searched so much more often? Mr. Stone explained it at our May meeting as follows:

The police explain that blacks are more likely to be carrying contraband. And the statistics show this to be true: [T]he police found contraband in 33 percent of the searches of black motorists, and in 22 percent of the searches of white motorists. But the mischief in this practice is quickly exposed. Blacks had a 50 percent higher chance of being found with contraband, but were searched more than 400 percent more often. The result is that 274 innocent black motorists were searched, while only 76 innocent white motorists were searched. The profiles apparently used by the Maryland State Troopers make 17 percent of the motorists pay 76 percent of the price of law enforcement strategy, solely because of their race.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Katheryn K. Russell, *The Color of Crime* 41-42 (1998); Stone, *supra* note \_\_\_\_.

<sup>60</sup> Stone, *supra* note \_\_\_\_ at 3.

**Differential Rates of Arrest, Conviction , and Sentencing.** Of additional focus at our May meeting was the persistence of racial disparities in the administration of justice. Data show that disparities exist throughout the criminal justice process. For example, a majority of all federal, state, and local prison and jail inmates are nonwhite. Data show that blacks comprise approximately 50 percent of state and federal prison inmates, four times their proportion in society, and Hispanics comprise approximately 15 percent.<sup>61</sup> These disparities are likely due in part to underlying disparities in criminal behavior. But evidence shows that these disparities are also due in part to discrimination in the administration of justice and to policies and practices that have an unjustified disparate impact on persons of color.

The most controversial example of a policy with an unjustified disparate impact is the present 100:1 disparity in sentencing for possession of crack versus powder cocaine, which was discussed at length at our May meeting. Under current federal law, possession of five grams of crack cocaine triggers a five-year mandatory minimum sentence compared to possession of 500 grams of powder cocaine. This 100:1 ratio has been widely criticized in part because of the resulting racial disparity in drug sentencing -- black defendants comprise 86% of those convicted for crack cocaine offenses (compared with 35% of those convicted for powder cocaine offenses).<sup>62</sup>

To build One America, we must build confidence and trust in our criminal justice system by eliminating racial stereotypes and discrimination from the administration of justice, and we must reduce crime in communities of color. Several efforts have shown signs of success, including community policing strategies, which have the potential to improve relations between law enforcement and communities of color, enhance confidence and trust in law enforcement, and

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<sup>61</sup> See Ronald Weitzer, *Racial Discrimination in the Criminal Justice System: Findings and Problems in the Literature*, in *Journal of Criminal Justice* 316, Vol. 24:4 (1996); U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics...

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reduce crime. During the last year, the President announced several initiatives designed to further these goals, including the initiative to provide \$160 million in additional COPS grants to underserved areas. These grants would fund 620 new community policing officers in 18 cities with the greatest need, many of which are communities of color. In addition, the President proposed a \$182 million initiative to strengthen law enforcement in Indian country. These and additional steps must be taken to ensure that our criminal justice system operates in a way that is fair and effective for Americans of all races.

**[need to give other side that b/c of statistics some pre-judging is unavoidable – BT]**

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At its Advisory Board meeting in May, the Advisory Board learned that racial divides in the realities and perceptions of crime and the administration of justice greatly challenge our efforts to build One America. Data show that some communities of color absorb a disproportionate amount of the social, economic and personal costs of crime. For example, the homicide rate for white males is approximately 5 per 100,000, while the homicide rate for males of color is approximately 8 per 100,000 for Asians/Pacific Islanders, 18 for American Indians/Alaska Natives, 25 for Hispanics, and 58 for blacks. [cite] Studies also show that persons of color have less confidence in the fairness of the criminal justice system than do whites. [cite] There are several problem areas that likely fuel mistrust in our criminal justice system among persons of color: (1) negative interactions between persons of color and law enforcement personnel, which may range from unjustified police stops to improper use of force; (2) racial disparities in the administration of justice, such as in incarceration rates, sentencing, and imposition of the death penalty; and (3) the lack of diversity in law enforcement, including police, prosecutors, and judges.

**[need to give other side that b/c of statistics some pre-judging is unavoidable – BT]**

Building One America requires building a criminal justice system that serves and treats Americans of all races fairly. To do so, we must build confidence in our criminal justice system and reduce crime in communities of color.

**Health [cites are needed for all the data/stats in this section]**

**[do we need to discuss diet issues?]**

**[Dr. F. Wants us to mention that AIDS is an emerging concern among blacks and recommend that the health care community recognize this fact.]**

Primarily from evidence and discussion at the meeting on health issues sponsored by HHS, the Advisory Board concluded that we cannot become One America as long as there are substantial inequities in access to health services and in the quality of health care. Difficulties accessing the health care system are largely related to disparities in employment, income and wealth, people of color receive medical treatment less frequently and in the later stages of health problems than whites. These inequities lead to disparities in the rates of sickness, disease, suffering, and death [or “lower life expectancy”] and mortality among different racial groups. For example, the black infant mortality rate is 15 percent, more than twice the rates for whites, Hispanics, and Asians/Pacific Islanders, which are between 5 percent and 6 percent. The infant mortality rate for American Indians/Alaska Natives is also higher at 9 percent. Furthermore, studies indicate that these disparities persist even when controlling for socioeconomic status. For example, a recent study in California showed that regardless of income level, communities with a high percentage

of black and Hispanic citizens are less likely to have access to health services.

The Advisory Board heard community service providers or health advocates poignantly and personally discuss ways people of color do not have equitable health care access and some of the causes for the variance in access between different racial groups.

**Structural inequities.** Throughout the year, the Board heard considerable testimony about disparities in employment, income, and wealth between people of color and whites. These disparities have significant implications for access to health care. For example, 14 percent of white adults are medically uninsured, compared with 21 percent of African American adults and 35 percent of Hispanic adults. Most Americans gain access to affordable health insurance through their own employer or the employer of a family member. However, blacks and Hispanics are less likely to work in jobs with health insurance coverage. In 1996, 66% of whites in the private sector had employer-provided health insurance, while 60% of blacks and only 45% of Hispanics had employer-provided health insurance.<sup>63</sup> **[any data on APAs and American Indians?]** Because of poverty, minorities are more likely to be insured by Medicaid, which often affects the terms of care provided to them by managed care organizations. Furthermore, minorities are more likely than whites to live in areas that are medically underserved; the minority representation in these areas is nearly three times their portion of the U.S. population. As a result of these factors, minorities have significantly less access to health care systems.

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<sup>63</sup> Lawrence Mishel, Jared Bernstein, and John Schmitt, 1998. *The State of Working America, 1998-1999*. Economic Policy Institute Series. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, forthcoming.

**Discrimination by providers.** Racial issues also may affect relationships between health care providers and patients of color in ways that lower the quality of health care. Health care providers, like other persons, are subject to racial stereotypes and may lack the language skills or cultural competency to fully serve patients of color. Health care providers—doctors, nurses, clinic attendants, and others—can either purposefully or unintentionally discriminate against patients based on stereotypes. This can result in differences in care, such as medical treatment being unnecessarily delayed, inadequate, even cursory when given at all. **[add specific example for Board experience or testimony submitted.]**

**Cultural competency of providers.** In addition to structural inequities and provider discrimination, racial disparities in health care access also are due in part to differences in language and/or culture between the provider and the patient. Providers need to be more culturally competent, so they can deliver effective medical care to people from different cultures. To some extent, cultural competency means addressing the barriers in language between providers and clients, not merely working around them or soliciting the assistance of untrained (and sometimes non-adult) interpreters. However, it is important to recognize that cultural competence is relevant not only when providers and clients speak different languages, but also when they both speak the same language but come from different cultural backgrounds. In many health care settings, patients are confronted with providers who do not recognize or respect their patients' culturally influenced values and beliefs, which often affect their attitude toward the provider's advice. In many cases, these cultural differences undermine the necessary cooperation between providers and clients, which results in less effective medical services.

**Lack of minority providers and researchers.** Finally, the Advisory Board found that the disproportionately low number of physicians of color in America likely has a negative effect on health care for persons of color, especially with regard to research on health problems that uniquely affect racial and ethnic minorities. The medical establishment is disproportionately white, and the portion of physicians who are black, Hispanic, and American Indian/Alaska Native is dropping, even as these groups' portion of the population is growing. [cite] Data show that approximately 81 percent of physicians are white, 11 percent are Asian/Pacific Islander, 5 percent are black, 5 percent are Hispanic, and 0.1 percent are American Indian/Alaska Native. [cite] People of color are underrepresented within the ranks of physicians, the most senior level of the health provider hierarchy. This under-representation has significant implications for health care access, largely because physicians of color are more likely to treat Medicaid or uninsured patients. For this and other reasons, it also appears that minority physicians are more likely to see patients of color than other physicians. The gaps in minority enrollment in medical schools has a negative effect not only on health care for minorities but also on the racial inclusivity of the topics, methodologies, and patients involved in health research.

The President's recently announced effort to eliminate longstanding racial disparities in the areas of infant mortality, cancer screening and management, heart disease, AIDS, and immunizations by 2010 is a bold and significant step, yet the Advisory Board believes there are more disparities to eliminate.

### **Recommendations**

Our recommendations reflect these consensus strategies from health care experts:

1. *Continue advocating for broad-based expansions in health insurance coverage.* We recommend that you continue your vigorous efforts to expand medical insurance coverage to all Americans. To the extent that you are successful, your efforts to expand coverage generally will help close racial disparities, because minorities tend to be disproportionately represented in demographic groups with limited or no insurance. For example, universal health insurance coverage could be thought as disproportionately helping Latinos, blacks, and American Indians, since these groups are over-represented in the ranks of the uninsured.
2. *Continue advocacy of increased health care access for under served groups.* The demographic differences and physical isolation of communities of color create the potential for closing health disparities by developing programs that are aimed at increasing the health care access of specific under served groups, but are not aimed at specific racial populations. For example, because minority groups comprise a higher portion of the child population than the adult population, a successful effort to increase children's access to health care would likely help close the gaps in access between whites and people of color. Your Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP) is an excellent example of a strategically targeted effort that will have the effect of closing racial disparities in health care access. In addition to supporting your insistence on obtaining full allocations for CHIP from Congress, we want to

encourage your considering other efforts to target specific populations with major gaps in health care access. For example, a similarly effort targeted toward public housing tenants or migrant farm workers would have a similar effect of closing gaps in health care access by race.

3. *Continue pushing Congress for full funding of your Race and Ethnic Health Disparities Initiative.* In February, you announced a new federal Initiative to eliminate racial health disparities by 2010. As you recall, the Initiative includes several innovative components that represent innovative efforts by the administration, such as the outreach campaign led by Dr. Satcher, a national conference co-hosted by HHS and Grantmakers in Health, and a commitment to develop national health goals for 2010 in cooperation with public health groups, medical and minority organizations, and the private sector.

It is imperative that these on-going efforts be complemented with full funding by Congress of the Initiative's proposed \$400 million expenditure on developing new models and expand proven programs that reduce racial disparities in health. In addition to recommending that your commitment to the full funding for Initiative remain strong through budget negotiations, we also want to encourage you to regard this year's commitment as building an important foundation for the future. As the program expands in future years, you should consider expanding its components to include assisting efforts to gather data on local health disparities. A number of

panelists told us that having better community-based data about racial disparities in health would greatly assist their efforts to bring greater local resources to bear on minority health concerns.

4. *Increase funding for existing programs targeted to undeserved and minority populations.* In addition to broader health initiatives, there are opportunities to strengthen programs that are dedicated to helping the under served and minorities increase their access to health care. A few simple numbers help illustrate the point. According to HHS, there are about 43 million people who live in medically under-served areas in the United States. About 10 million of these have adequate health care access through medical insurance. Nevertheless, there remains a gap of about 33 million people -- disproportionately minorities -- who live in under served areas and have insufficient access to health care.

Some of this gap in health care is being met by programs that have a proven track record in helping under served and minority populations receive access to care. For instance, community health centers (CHCs) specifically target poor and minority communities to provide both preventative and ameliorative care. In addition, there are several HHS programs that increase minority representation in the health professions and/or directly place providers into under-served areas. Such programs include the disadvantaged faculty loan repayment, general practice dentistry residency, physician assistant training, advanced nurse education, preventative medicine residency, and the



National Health Service corps (NHSC). Community health centers, the National Health Service Corps, and the Indian Health Service currently provide health services to about 10 million people, leaving about 23 million people in medically under-served with no access to care.

Funding by the Health Resources and Services Administration of the CHCs and the NHSC has remained constant over the last several years, even as the population of the medically under-served is increasing. The Indian Health Service, which fulfills a very old promise to this segment of the population, is reported by many as under-funded as well. In order to close racial disparities in health care access, we recommend significant increases in funding for the Indian Health Service, community health centers, the National Health Service Corps, and other HHS programs with a track record of placing providers in under-served areas.

5. *Enhance financial and regulatory mechanisms to promote culturally competent care.*

There are some existing controls that influence the delivery of health services that may affect efforts to provide culturally competent care. Specifically, current regulations for Medicaid reimbursements often do not reflect the additional difficulties of serving non-English speaking client populations. As a result institutions that use interpreters to foster clear, confidential communication between providers and non-English speaking patients are often not re-imbursed for this expense. If providers could be fully reimbursed when such expenses are needed, they would more

likely provide such services and improve access to care.

In addition, the CHCs function as very important laboratories for increased understanding about the importance and complexities of culturally competent care. However, current funding mechanisms do not support non-patient hours so that practitioners can dissect and publish their lessons learned for the benefit of other providers serving ethnic populations.

Our recommendation is that the appropriate agencies review the Medicaid reimbursement procedures and the CHC funding mechanisms with the specific goal of changing regulations that unduly impede the expansion and increased understanding of culturally competent services.

6. *Emphasize importance of cultural competence to institutions training health providers.* HHS should strongly encourage medical training institutions and accrediting associations to require that students receive some training in cultural competency. Although the federal government does not directly accredit medical training institutions, these institutions and the organizations that accredit them are likely to be responsive to strong encouragement about cultural competency from the federal government. HHS should be encouraged to explore alternatives for reinforcing the administration's commitment that newly-trained health providers be prepared to serve Americans of all cultures.

## **Lack of Environmental Justice for People of Color**

**[Some statistics on disparities would be helpful.]**

Angela Oh represented the Advisory Board at the environmental justice meeting on July 11 convened by the White House Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ) and the Race Initiative which served as the main vehicle for the Advisory Board to learn about environmental justice issues. The meeting was held in south Central Los Angeles and focused on environmental justice concerns in that community. It included presentations from community members as well as small-group meetings with senior policy officials from the U.S. Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Housing and Urban Development (HUD), Interior, Justice and Transportation and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA).

Community participants described the immediate health threats in their community and expressed high levels of frustration with the limited assistance and attention they have received from all levels of government. Community leaders focused on air quality and public health, children's exposures to toxic emissions from facilities close to residences and schools, related siting and land-use issues, transportation impacts, economic development, water quality, and environmental justice claims under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Community residents told compelling stories of their children's exposure to toxic chemicals while attending schools located too close to industrial processing facilities that emit toxic chemicals and gave graphic descriptions of the impact of these chemicals on children's health. They described several schools in the area which had been repeatedly closed and hospitalization of children because of routine chemical emissions or catastrophic accidents near the schools. The community felt strongly that the federal government should assume greater responsibility in siting and zoning decisions that may give rise to environmental justice concerns. They expressed the need for buffer strips and other approaches to ensure that schools and residences are separated from industrial plants or other sources of toxic emissions.

These same residents repeatedly emphasized the need to encourage economic development that could provide new jobs and new vitality to the community. A number of areas were identified where sites with known or suspected contamination, owned by insolvent or defunct owners, were blights on the community and impediments to economic development because of the lack of either public or private funds for cleanup.

The community residents also expressed strong concerns about the impact upcoming major transportation construction projects may have on their community. The concerns ranged from the health effects of increased diesel traffic congestion in and surrounding residential communities to increased airport noise and fumes to the

possible excavation of contaminated soils as work on the projects begin.

Common to each presentation were three overarching concerns that are typical of environmental justice concerns in low-income and minority communities across the country: 1) these communities have not been accorded their rightful **priority** in government programs, funding and enforcement activities, 2) they **lack** an effective voice or opportunity to participate in governmental decisions concerning the environment and public health that most directly affect them because **there** is no single point of contact from whom residents could seek help when **confronted** with public health and environmental threats and Federal agencies often **do** not coordinate amongst themselves or with their counterparts in state and local government, and 3) are too often the dumping ground when facilities that may present **public** health or environmental risk are sited, leading to multiple and cumulative **exposures** of residents to sources of risk.

**Chapter Five: Forging A New Future**

**Background on the Final Recommendations of the Advisory Board**

If we are to succeed in the mission of creating a more just nation, the work of the President's Initiative on Race must continue. Not only must it continue in name, but it must continue in the spirit with which this Initiative began. In the fifteen months during which the members of the Advisory Board reached out to Americans across the nation, we learned that there is a genuine recognition by many that the challenges presented by racial and ethnic divides in the country must be answered.

These recommendations are intended to preserve the integrity of the principles that lie at the core of our democracy: justice, equality, dignity, respect and inclusion. It is with these principles in mind that the Advisory Board acted on behalf of the President in the year-long effort to engage in a process of study and constructive dialogue about race relations in America. At times, the efforts of the Advisory Board met doubt, distrust and even disbelief, which seemed to draw more attention than any positive impact of the work in which we were engaged. However, in most instances, our efforts were met with appreciation for the leadership that was being asserted by the White House. Literally tens of thousands of Americans shared in dialogues to weave our different, and common, experiences together so that paths toward deeper understanding might emerge. While many of the conversations allowed for greater insight and a shared sense of

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commitment to find ways to advance race relations, some conversations ended without resolution. But that is the nature of dialogue -- a process that invites differing points of view and is open to possibilities yet unrecognized.

The information that has been gathered over the past several months has been used to frame the recommendations concerning education, economic opportunity, housing, health and the administration of justice. A fundamental belief of the Advisory Board is that the creation of greater opportunities, and the reduction of racial disparities in these important facets of American life will lead us closer to the goal of creating a more just society. In this regard, we have previously reported to the President our observations about the issues discussed in this Report and set forth recommendations, some of which have already been adopted.

The Advisory Board also holds a strong belief that this nation has the capacity to incorporate the growing racial and ethnic diversity of its people into the planning for our future. The complexity of being inclusive has grown in part due to the changing nature of race relations caused by our increasing diversity and also is a function of advances we have realized in telecommunications, transportation and computer technology. The changes related to our human experiences are being affected by the changes related to our societal infrastructure. The Advisory Board recognizes that the extent to which we are able to harness the technological advances we have achieved, to serve the human needs we have identified, will be key.

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In this chapter we begin our discussion by presenting a suggested approach to continuing the work of this Initiative. We then highlight the recommendations that we believe to be essential to advancing race relations as we move into the twenty-first century. Finally, we have taken the liberty to discuss challenges that remain to the goal of improved race relations, those issues which were not subject to the close examination that the topics discussed throughout this Report received from the Advisory Board. These are some of the more complicated topics that have emerged during our meetings and are issues that are currently being debated in different parts of the country.

These challenging issues discussed in the final section need to be considered in the preparation of any plan that contemplates options for the future because they are issues that will likely continue to draw distinct differences of opinion, and will likely implicate racial and ethnic difference. In short, they are likely to remain lightning rod issues or points of racial conflict in the future. These issues, in particular, need thoughtful consideration and thorough examination of available factual information.

### **Mapping the Road to Racial Justice and Equality**

During the past year, the Advisory Board heard and reviewed an enormous amount of information concerning race relations in America. Much of the information we received was vital to laying the foundation for the process we were asked to undertake. In this section we have



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summarized what we believe are essential elements that must be considered in developing any meaningful long-term strategy to race relations in the 21st Century.

### **The President's Council for One America: Continuing the Work of the Advisory Board**

The first recommendation of the Advisory Board speaks to the need to make a long-term commitment to the mission of the President's Initiative on Race. The goal of creating a more just, and unified society is one that will require continued leadership from the Office of the President. The momentum that has been created must be guided by the vision of the President as public discourse about race relations continues to expand, and public policy recommendations are put into action. The understanding about the quality of leadership that must be asserted cannot be stated more strongly than by establishing the President's Council for One America,<sup>64</sup> which would become the vehicle for helping the nation forge a new future.

Establishing the President's Council will ensure that the work that lies ahead will be focused and productive. Ensuring accountability in connection with these efforts is of concern to all those

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<sup>64</sup> We wish to take this opportunity to note that there has been some criticism of the use of the term, "One America". Some have said the term is misleading and even worse, hypocritical. This Advisory Board urges that the term continue to be used. Since we are all proud of, and celebrate in word and song the geographic diversity of our nation's mountains, rivers, deserts, and plains, we should celebrate equally the diversity among our people. Black, white, red, brown, yellow and mixed people are as much a part of the landscape of this country as its geography. We are thankful for the resources and talents Americans provide and look with pride and appreciation upon the bounty of our human resources to match the bounty of our natural resources. We strive to be one America, and call this nation, our America.

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who have expressed interest in the President's Initiative on Race. In light of the fact that literally tens of thousands of people across the nation have been involved in this first year of study and dialogue, with hundreds more having been identified as Promising Practices, the establishment of the President's Council for One America will send a message that the President's Initiative on Race was not simply a political gesture. Rather, it was a genuine beginning to a larger, more extensive and ambitious program with respect to the whole matter of race, racial reconciliation and bridging the racial divides that separate people in the country.

The more extensive and ambitious program that the Advisory Board believes should be created is one that will be multi-faceted, and will preserve certain aspects of the initial effort. For instance, the future plans should support opportunities for sustained dialogue at all levels, on-going identification of leadership being demonstrated in local communities, expansion of research to include the experiences and analyses of emerging populations, and a continuing campaign to educate the public about the facts/myths surrounding racial disparities and the value of our racial diversity to building a stronger nation.

Moreover, the Council should focus on producing a White House Monograph on the State of Race Relations in America at the end of the 20th Century. We envision the monograph as a set of volumes containing work from a wide range of disciplines. The contributions to the White House Monograph should be solicited through national professional associations from every field- business, health, mental health, social work, law, religion, psychology, political science,

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sociology, journalism, and others. In addition, contributions should be solicited from advocacy organizations, artists, and youth organizations.

The Council should be responsible for identifying contributing sources, coordinating the selection, reviewing, editing, and ultimately producing a work that will be of value to future generations of Americans concerned about the issue of race relations in this country. Taken as a whole, the White House Monograph on Race Relations in America would provide the contours of the current public discourse about bridging our racial and ethnic divides. What makes this effort valuable is that it will continue the dialogue that was started this year, it will invite deeper examination about the possibilities of racial reconciliation, and it will permit the commitment and dedication of many individuals to contribute to the creation of an unprecedented, single piece of work.

While a substantial amount of the Council's work would be associated with the process of publishing the White House Monograph, the main function of the President's Council for One America should be to monitor the implementation of policies designed to increase opportunity, and eliminate racial disparities. Members of the Cabinet, as well as public members who are not a part of the Administration, should be asked to serve. Bi-partisan participation, similar to the model offered by the Glass Ceiling Commission, should be sought in selecting public members. Public members would be drawn from a wide range of sectors, including but not limited to: local governance associations (Conference of Mayors, National Association of Governors),

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philanthropy, faith-based organizations, private business, and advocacy groups.

The priority of the President's Council would differ dramatically from those of the Civil Rights Enforcement Unit at the Department of Justice, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, those units that already seek to ensure compliance with our anti-discrimination laws. In contrast the nature of the Council's work would be to expand upon the process started in 1997-1998: to coordinate the White House Monograph, to take the next step with Promising Practices identified over the past year by convening a national meeting, to respond to the continuing requests for information about what the Federal Government knows about race in America, and to permit opportunities for greater inclusion in the dialogue that was started. In addition, the Council would work with the White House and other Federal agencies charged with the responsibility for carrying out civil rights policies to ensure a comprehensive approach to the goal of promoting racial equality and justice. The unique role that the President's Council for One America could play would almost certainly provide added value to the work already being done at the Federal level and would further stimulate the creation of new partnerships between government and non-governmental entities.

### **Policies to Encourage Early Education about Race**

The Advisory Board applauds the many education initiatives of this Administration introduced during the course of this year and earlier. But we want to encourage the

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Administration to empower the Council to propose new policies that reflect an understanding that education about race relations and the value of our nation's diversity cannot begin too early in the formal education process. In addition to expanding opportunities through educational empowerment zones, early childhood education programs and enhanced teacher recruitment and training, the Advisory Board urges that a new policy initiative be introduced to improve the learning environment itself. If children are being taught in dilapidated school rooms, with inadequate heating, air conditioning, lighting and equipment, the ability to convince minority children that they are valued members of society will certainly be limited. Matching Federal funds should be made available to states in order to meet construction and renovation needs, a recommendation discussed more fully below.

At the same time, the Administration should convene a summit meeting to discuss the practicality of developing and making available to schools and colleges an "integrated curriculum" that is inclusive of the experiences and contributions of racial minorities to the building of this nation. Based upon our public meetings, we learned that some states [cite] already are utilizing such a teaching approach and they should be encouraged to share their materials, evaluation results and student performance data at a summit meeting. In discussions concerning an integrated curriculum, steps should be taken to include input from educators who have worked with immigrant children, children with learning disabilities, and children in high poverty school districts because their experiences may shed new light on some of the subjects that should be covered in such a curriculum. Finally, to meet the particular needs of American Indian students, we urge that the Administration assure the effective implementation of the

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Comprehensive Indian Education Policy outlined in Executive Order 13096. This policy includes strategies for expanding educational opportunities for American Indian children who wish to pursue higher education.

**Policies to Improve Race Relations Through Enhanced Economic Opportunity**

The Advisory Board strongly urges that the Council be enabled to propose policies that recognize the enormous impact improving economic opportunity will have on easing racial tensions. There is a tremendous need to continue dialogue about economic opportunity because there are so many useful strategies that can be pursued. The vital cross section between race and economic status was emphasized by both members of the public and experts who appeared before the Advisory Board during the year. Clearly, there is a need to support innovative and new research that takes into account the diverse population mix of the nation.

In light of what we know about the population projections over the next fifty years, it is essential that research and analysis be supported that target the emerging populations. The strategies for expanding meaningful, constructive dialogue can, and should, take many forms: an economic development summit involving the highest levels of corporate leadership from private industry which would examine both domestic and international economic growth; a joint labor/industry summit meeting to discuss critical concerns for the American workforce in the 21st Century; a follow-up meeting with tribal nations to assess the status and implementation of the economic development options discussed at the summit 1998 conference with Indian

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Country; and a meeting of researchers to assess strategies that must be implemented to eliminate the persistent problems related to poverty and the prevention of poverty as we move into the next century, to name a few. The particular concerns of youth, immigrants and the disabled should be an integral part of each meeting that is organized.

### **Developing a Media Campaign about the Value of Diversity**

Another area the Advisory Board agreed needed special attention was the need to develop a media campaign to communicate facts about race to offset myths and stereotypes which often hamper racial reconciliation. In fact, a campaign which emphasizes our common values and principles would also demonstrate how our nation's strength is derived from the diversity among our people. A national "Report Card" on the progress we make toward improving race relations should be part of such a campaign.

Developing the benchmarks of this self-assessment can be part of the Council's task, utilizing existing evaluation techniques that the Federal Government has developed over the past several decades. The data that are most compelling can be used to create "fact bulletins" that can easily be incorporated into a strategy utilizing PSA's, street flags/signs, airport terminal signs, and more. This campaign should also target our new citizens who during their swearing-in ceremony, often view a film about becoming an American. The film should be updated to include a message about the strength of our nation being derived from our diversity and

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commitment to principles of our democracy. Presidential authority throughout this campaign, along with bi-partisan support, would ensure a broad reach for this effort.

### **Organizing a Series of Calls to Action**

We only started the process of advancing our commitment to embrace the multi-racial and multi-cultural reality of our nation during the past year. An essential part of any future plan must include, and perhaps even rest upon, leadership at the local level. Based upon input from citizens and organizations across the country, the Advisory board was affirmed in its belief that local action is essential to meaningful improvements in race relations. There should be a call to action sent out to the mayors of all of our cities. That call should invite cities to submit local plans of action to address the racial and ethnic divides in their communities. The plans should include the approaches that are being currently utilized, along with suggestions that outline views concerning appropriate ways in which the Federal Government can provide support to local efforts.

Since Federal funding almost certainly will be one of the suggestions for appropriate federal support for local efforts, the call should urge local leaders to deliver recommendations that reflect innovative ways in which grants or matching funds can be made available. A priority should be placed upon encouraging public/private/nonprofit partnerships. Many communities already have Human Relations or Human Rights Commissions that perform a wide range of local governance functions. The Council for One America should consider designing a research project that documents the different ways in which local governments have institutionalized their efforts to

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improve relationships across racial and cultural divides, and to the extent possible, measure the effectiveness of the different approaches. Other calls can be sent out to governors, educators, religious leaders and other who play an important role in shaping public attitudes, opinion, and beliefs about race and race relations in our nation.

### **Stimulate Greater Racial Cooperation with a Focus on Youth**

As we have stated earlier, there is no single strategy, group, organization, political party or religion that can single-handedly make racial reconciliation a reality. The goal of creating a more just society is one that must flow from the collaborative efforts of many, and public will of our populace to give true meaning to the words - justice, equality, respect, dignity and inclusion. The Federal Government is in a position to promote coalitions that transcend racial and ethnic differences, to address complicated issues related to both our domestic and international obligations to provide moral leadership concerning the need to find common ground among diverse people, and to facilitate collaboration between innumerable organizations, agencies and individuals working in both the public and private sectors.

In the past year we had the opportunity to identify some of the more compelling issues and successful programs that have advanced the goal of stimulating greater collaborative effort. This beginning was productive in that we have improved understanding about the history of the treatment of minorities in this country, we have identified through our Promising Practices some of the more creative and effective efforts used to transcend race and ethnic divides, and we have

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started to introduce initiatives that improve race relations through education, economic development and strong support for civil rights enforcement. There remains a tremendous amount of work to be done. Our young people provide a fertile and essential starting point to stimulate greater collaboration. We urge you to identify entities that have commitment to youth and to develop a plan that would enhance programs that focus on leadership development, violence prevention, creative arts, and educational achievement. The National Council of Foundations, along with those foundations that have already demonstrated understanding about the value of investing in our youth should be a part of this process. Special attention should be given to including in the planning process individuals who are knowledgeable about the experiences of youth with disabilities, immigrant youth, and high poverty population.

The country is facing a number of important challenges in communities where the racial and ethnic differences have already created points of tension. Leadership that reflects an understanding of the importance of building bridges and finding common ground must be sustained because, in fact, we have no alternative but to work together. We are in search of a common language that allows differences to be respected, change to be less distressing, and traditions of honor to be understood among people who bring with them diverse experiences of America. In considering options for the future, the single most valuable approach that should be supported is sustained dialogue, with an emphasis on seeking reconciliation. In the end, our nation's ability to prosper and continue to lead in the global community rests on our ability to demonstrate that our democratic principles can embrace the reality of our multi-racial and multi-

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cultural future.

**REMAINING CHALLENGES**

- C. Challenges that Remain .....
- a. Civil Rights .....
- 1. Affirmative Action .....
- 2. Police Brutality .....
- b. Media & Stereotypes .....
- c. Technology .....
- d. Bilingualism .....
- 1. Immigration .....
- 2. International Human Rights .....
- e. Integration vs. ColorBlind Ideal .....
- 1. Intra-racial divides .....
- 2. Building a new Consensus .....
- f. Reaching Beyond The Choir .....
- 1. Educating Americans About Different Histories .....
- 2. Becoming More Comfortable With Our Diversity .....
- g. Ten Things Every American can do to Advance Race Relations. ....

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D. Staff of the President's Initiative on Race .....