

Presidential Address— Analysis of Race as Policy Analysis

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Modern policy analysis training largely ignores race as a substantive area of inquiry. Many significant race-related topics in contemporary policy have escaped the attention of professionals in the APPAM community. The tools and techniques of modern policy analysis—particularly those that emphasize the tension between equity and efficiency—certainly ought to be of use in finding solutions to nagging problems confronting communities of color. Unfortunately, a quick look at the articles published in the *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management (JPAM)* or the courses taught at the top schools of public affairs reveals a lack of race analysis within the discipline. The discipline that does focus on race analysis—ethnic studies—provides little emphasis on policy analysis. Reviewing the top African American studies programs in the nation, we see that these programs largely ignore policy analysis as a problem-solving tool. Yet there are quite a few reasons to create closer connections between analysis of race and policy analysis, and, happily, there are many opportunities, frequently unexplored, for enhancing these connections.

WHAT IS POLICY ANALYSIS?

Policy analysis makes up half of the name of the organization that publishes the *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* and that has hosted, for nearly a quarter of a century, a highly successful research conference each fall. *Policy analysis* appears in the name of at least one course at top-rated schools of public policy in the nation. And yet there is no universal definition of what policy analysis is. Economists who teach policy analysis often have a propensity to think of the subject as the application of quantitative or microeconomic tools to the investigation of public policy problems. Political scientists tend to have a broader view of what constitutes policy analysis. Some textbooks, such as William N. Dunn's *Public Policy Analysis* (1994), adopt the Lasswellian concept of policy analysis as creating knowledge "of and in the policy-making process" (p. 1). I find this definition useful in my own teaching of policy analysis to students who are largely uninterested in economic analysis for economics alone. My students are primarily interested in resolving perplexing social problems that arise from the involvement of public agencies, bureaucracies, and public decisionmaking mechanisms and from the nature of the policy issue itself. The "of" the policy process refers to the specific policy issues and options that may help solve public problems; the "in" the policy process refers to how the policy apparatus itself works (Dunn, 1994, p.1).¹

¹ For other policy analysis definitions, see Brewer and deLeon, 1983, p. 186; Dery, 1984, p. 20; Friedman, 1984, pp. 11–12; Geva-May, 1997, pp. xxii–xxiii; Hawkesworth, 1988, p. 16; Hogwood and Gunn, 1984, p. 3; Jenkins-Smith, 1990, p. 1; Nagel, 1984, p. 12, Patton and Sawicki, 1986, pp. 15 & 17; and Weimer and Vining, 1989, p. 1.

What may distinguish many APPAM-type schools of public affairs and public policy from traditional schools of public administration is a self-conscious emphasis on quantitative and economic approaches to public policy. While many quantitative skills are taught in these programs—ranging from simple descriptive methods of comparison of inputs and outputs to more complex methods of modeling queuing and dynamic processes—one core ingredient is often present: a focus on efficiency.

The efficiency criterion is central to many components of policy analysis: problem structuring, forecasting, recommendation, monitoring, and evaluation.²

My favorite text expounding this view is that of past APPAM president and former *JPAM* editor Lee Friedman. Friedman's *Microeconomic Policy Analysis* (1984) identifies "cost-benefit" reasoning as key to understanding the logic of public choices. Of course, the reason an economics of public choices is needed at all is that sometimes (or should I say, many times) markets fail to provide the guidance public decisionmakers need when making thorny choices. It is no wonder, then, that risk and uncertainty, discounting of the future, and many aspects of informational imperfections and asymmetries enter explicitly into texts such as Friedman's.

In many ways, however, the more important lesson of conventional microeconomic approaches to policy analysis is that the efficiency criterion is often at odds with alternative criteria that do and must enter into the political decisionmaking process. The most obvious alternative criterion is that of fairness, or justice. While we have developed broadly accepted paradigms for examining the efficiency criterion—along with well-illustrated examples of how public decisionmaking can achieve this criterion despite either market failure or what former APPAM president John Brandl calls "government failure"³—there are few accepted examples for illustrating the fairness, or equity, criterion.

What is evident in our discipline, however, is the tension between the equity and efficiency criteria and the inherent trade-offs between the two. Transportation policies that seek to impose congestion taxes on drivers inherently disadvantage those whose income is low or who must use public transportation (Myers, Chung, and Saunders, 2001; Myers and Saunders, 1996). Environmental policies that seek to reduce pollution often pit gainers in some industries against losers in other industries. Analysis of income-transfer policies typically confronts the tensions between efficiency and equity.⁴ Indeed, one could argue that the tension between equity and efficiency is characteristic of virtually every resource allocation dilemma confronted by modern policy analysis. One of the strengths of microeconomic approaches to policy analysis is the ability to make these tensions and trade-offs explicit in order to make policymaking and the advice to policymakers more effective and useful.

RACE ANALYSIS

Race analysis is the systematic application of the tools of historical and cultural analysis to understand the social and economic circumstances facing blacks and other racial minority group members. W. E. B. DuBois may be the first architect of modern

² These concepts are defined by Dunn, 1994, p. 14, as: "*Problem Structuring* (definition) yields information about the conditions giving rise to policy problem. *Forecasting* (prediction) supplies information about future consequences of acting on policy alternatives, including doing nothing. *Recommendation* (prescription) provides information about the relative value or worth of these future consequences in solving or alleviating the problem. *Monitoring* (description) yields information about the present and the past consequences of acting on policy alternatives. Evaluation, ... provides information about the value or worth of these consequences in solving or alleviating the problem."

³ Government failure is explored in Brandl (1998, p. 135) where it is likened to market failure in that both yield "inefficiency and unfairness." Also, see Brandl's APPAM presidential address (Brandl, 1988).

⁴ For an example of tension between efficiency and equity in welfare policymaking, see Mary Joe Bane's APPAM Presidential Address (Bane, 2001).

race analysis. His pioneering *The Philadelphia Negro* set the standard for analysis for a century, by combining careful historical and cultural observations with quantitative measures of social and economic well-being between and among racial groups. It is notable that DuBois's work appeared during an era when economists and others often began with a set of ahistorical assumptions about the behavior and traits of racial minority group members. DuBois, cognizant of this dominant way of viewing the problem of race, began instead with an attempt to understand *why* divergent racial and ethnic behaviors were evident in the population. It was DuBois who asserted that the problem of the 20th century was the problem of the color line.

While much of race analysis was developed by the Chicago School of Sociologists, which produced such African American notables as E. Franklin Frazier and Oliver Cromwell Cox, it has not necessarily been a part of the body of work of modern policy analysts. Reading the literature on racial earnings inequality, for example, one would think that history has played only a little, if any, role in explicating the pathways toward creating different family structures, different neighborhood locations, different types of schools, different outcomes on predictors of pre-labor market success. These factors are often regarded as exogenous in the economics literature.

Race analysts—such as the late Rhonda M. Williams, William A. Darity, Jr., James B. Stewart, Patrick L. Mason, William E. Spriggs, and William M. Rodgers III—have argued individually and collectively for interpreting race within economic models, as an endogenous factor (Darity, 1995, 1998; Darity, Guilkey, and Winfrey, 1995; Darity, Hamilton, and Dietrich, 2001; Darity and Myers, 1995; Darity, Stewart, and Mason, 2000; Darity and Williams, 1985; Mason, 1995, 1997, 1999, 2001; Mason and Martinez, 1998; Myers, 1985, 1993; Myers and Chung, 1996; Myers and Sabol, 1987; Rodgers and Armentrout, 1996; Rodgers and Spriggs, 1996, forthcoming; Spriggs and Williams, 1996; Williams and Kenison, 1996). The endogeneity can take the form of making test scores endogenous in an earnings equation, rethinking the direction of causation between competition in markets and unequal market outcomes, and, indeed, by making the selection of an individual's race on a census form subject to complex decisionmaking based on culture, skin color, and self-identification. Modern race analysis draws on history, psychology, economics, and even biology for its inspiration. The subjects explored range from African Americans in sports to issues of voting and participation in policy arenas. Race analysis is practiced by legal scholars, political scientists, sociologists, and, more generally, those specializing in ethnic studies. Race analysis, however, is largely absent in the discipline of policy analysis.

Illustrations Drawn from Race Analysis

Many of the core problems that occupy the study of race relations can be characterized as problems that pit efficiency against equity. The pareto criterion—can we make one group better off without making another worse off—seems to loom in the background when remedies to various forms of racial and ethnic economic inequality are discussed. This equity concern is at the root of many discussions about racial inequality. Yet surprisingly, illustrations from the race-relations research literature are seldom used to reinforce and emphasize the centrality of policy analysis tools. That is unfortunate because many contemporary race analysis issues can serve as powerful and useful illustrations of policy analysis concepts. A few examples will suffice.

Racial Disparities in Credit Markets and the Use of Credit Scores to Screen for Credit Risk

APPAM stalwarts Helen F. Ladd (1998) and John Yinger (1995) have long contended that racial disparities in loan rejection rates cannot be explained by racial differences

in qualifications of loan applicants alone. They trace the history of the use of the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) data from the days when the data were collected at the census-tract level—and thus were virtually useless in testing hypotheses about racial discrimination based on individual characteristics—to the post-1990s era when individual-level data are routinely used by such advocacy groups as ACORN [Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now] to contest lender policies and to challenge regulatory approval for bank mergers and acquisitions. The now-famous analysis by the Boston Federal Reserve Bank (Munnell et al., 1992) of racial gaps in lending, which combined information on borrower credit-worthiness with characteristics of loans, lenders, and census tracts, stands out as one of the historic policy research documents of the decade that influenced policymakers' understanding and views on a major race-related issue.

Prior to the publication of the Boston Fed's report, the overwhelming policy view about *why* blacks and Hispanics were much less likely to obtain mortgage credit and thereby less likely to own homes was that they are far worse credit risks than whites. When the Boston Fed examined the credit and employment history of blacks, Hispanics, and whites, they did find that nonwhites were greater credit risks, but they also found that controlling for risk did not eliminate the racial gap in loan outcomes. There remained a substantial racial gap in mortgage loan rejection rates.

Although a debate as to whether the Boston Fed's work was sufficient to establish racial discrimination ensued within the narrow confines of the applied econometrics literature, the policy response at the federal level seemed to embrace the view that racial discrimination was partly responsible for lending disparities. A host of successfully argued lawsuits filed on behalf of minority plaintiffs further underscored the legitimacy of the policy research showing large "unexplained" racial gaps in loan outcomes.

In part as a result of the findings of lender discrimination, many commentators began to ask: "If lenders do discriminate, then why?" One prominent explanation was that lenders were merely responding to underwriting criteria imposed on them by government-sponsored enterprises (GSEs). Since these federally chartered private organizations generate billions of dollars of profit in exchange for fulfillment of various social equity objectives, it is appropriate to ask whether the efficiency criterion of improving the performance of loans sold on the secondary market comes at the expense of reducing racial minority group members' access to loans. Much is at stake in this policy analysis, and understanding the effects of race is a crucial aspect of doing the policy analysis correctly.⁵

In the fall of 1999, Freddie Mac, one of the two leading GSE secondary market participants—the other is Fannie Mae—released a report summarizing an analysis of data collected on its behalf by Market Facts. The report showed that blacks had worse credit than whites (Ards and Myers, 2001a). This may not have been the most important finding of the report, and it certainly was not the most statistically compelling, but somehow it quickly became the most controversial finding of the report. Almost immediately, members of the U.S. Congressional Black Caucus denounced the report and questioned the GSE's motives. Congresswoman Maxine Waters held a press conference denouncing the derogatory language used and demanding further examination of the issue. The underlying theme seemed to be that focus on credit scores inherently causes a form of discrimination. While credit scores may not necessarily reflect disparate treatment, the hint was that it resulted in a disparate impact. This episode is an example of a policy situation where race is the subject of analysis and a critical component of the policy process.

⁵ Myers (2002) does in fact examine this hypothesis. He does not find consistent evidence that GSE behavior explains lender racial disparities in loan rejection rates.

In all fairness, Freddie Mac had commissioned five historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) to hold focus groups, design the questionnaire, and pretest some of the questions before Market Facts collected its data. Benedict College, whose vice president is former APPAM Vice President Sheila Ards, was contracted to perform the statistical analysis. Interestingly, that analysis discovered that much of the racial gap in loan outcomes could be explained by racial differences in credit scores and that there was indeed a major justification for focusing on borrower education and credit improvement as a way of reducing the racial gap in loan outcomes (Ards and Myers, 2001b; Betsey, Lindsey-Taliaferro, and Amdet, 2001). Another important outcome of the HBCU research was that in addition to the problem of minority borrowers who were high credit risks, was the problem of minority non-applicants who were of low credit risk. The analysis showed that a non-trivial number of persons who otherwise might obtain loans do not apply for loans because they believe they will be turned down. The resulting pools of applicants who do apply, therefore, are actually of higher risk than the (unobserved) total population of potential applicants. The lender, unfortunately, only observes those who actually apply and then correctly predicts that minorities on average have higher risk. This outcome clearly is undesirable from an efficiency point of view but also thwarts efforts to obtain a fairer or more equitable distribution of loans to racial minority group members (Ards and Myers, 2001a).

The policy response was to contest or restrict the use of credit scores or to use automated underwriting criteria as a way of forcing lenders and secondary market buyers to make more loans to minority members. This was clearly flawed. Advocates for minority home ownership were committing what Howard Raiffa coined the “error of the third type (E_{III}).”⁶ This process of getting the right answer to an incorrectly formulated policy question is characteristic of many race-related policy questions. Industry proponents were no less guilty of this error, for while their own data showed possible efficiency improvements in making loans to minority borrowers, the debate somehow ended as if they were arguing *for* efficiency and *against* equity, hardly something that businesses under federal and state regulatory control and oversight should do.

Neither the advocates of fair lending in minority communities nor industry proponents of efficiency-first seemed to be aware of the historical backdrop of minority involvement in credit markets. Both seemed to believe the “bad-credit” myth as if it has always been true that blacks have worse credit than whites. As Ards and Myers demonstrate, however, blacks have historically had higher-than-average savings rates, and until World War II actually had fewer opportunities than whites to display high risk in credit markets (Ards and Myers, 2001a). Many simply saved to purchase consumer items and never sought loans at all. The failure to explore the historical and cultural antecedents to the existing racial disparities in credit markets easily can lead to faulty policy prescriptions.

Examination of the activity of producing knowledge of and in the policy process of improving minority access to home mortgage loans would illustrate both the inherent tensions between equity and efficiency *and* an important aspect of race analysis. The

⁶ Dunn (1994, p. 184) defines “error of the third type (E_{III})” as “The formulation of the wrong substantive or formal representation of a problem when one should have formulated the right one. Type III errors should be distinguished from type I and type II errors, that is, rejecting the null hypothesis when it is true (E_I) and accepting the null hypothesis when it is false (E_{II}).” Raiffa (1968, p. 264) refers to E_{III} errors as “solving the wrong problem.”

analysis of race would provide the historical and cultural context needed to enhance the analysis of mortgage lending disparities.

Minority Admissions and Scholarships

One can easily see the tensions between equity and efficiency in the analysis of minority admissions and scholarships to college. But one can also see how important it is to understand the historical background and contemporary political climate regarding race relations when analyzing the many issues related to minority representation in higher education. The case of *Podberesky v. Kirwan* is a classic illustration.⁷

Daniel Podberesky, a student of Hispanic heritage, graduated from high school with a 4.0 average and scored 1340 on the SAT examination. He applied to the University of Maryland, College Park for admission in the fall of 1989. He requested that he be considered for a scholarship.

One scholarship for which he applied was the Benjamin Banneker scholarship, named after the black mathematician and native Marylander. The scholarship was created in part to respond to complaints over the years from the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) alleging that the state of Maryland operated a segregated system of higher education. In order to increase African American student enrollments, the University of Maryland initiated a merit-based scholarship program ostensibly to attract middle-class black students who might play a formal leadership role in the college and thereby attract more and better qualified African American students. By 1988, the scholarship was worth more than \$33,500 over four years. The minimum requirements for consideration were a 900 SAT score and a 3.0 high school grade-point average.

Podberesky was denied a Banneker Scholarship because he was not black. He was also denied another merit scholarship open to all students—the Francis Scott Key Scholarship) because he did not meet the academic qualifications for that scholarship. He filed suit in federal court alleging that he had been discriminated against in violation of 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution guaranteeing equal protection under the law. The U.S. District Court for the District of Maryland, at Baltimore granted summary judgement for the university. The plaintiff appealed and the decision was reversed and remanded for a showing that the race-conscious policy was narrowly tailored and served a compelling governmental interest. The appeals court required that there be a showing of sufficient present effects of past discrimination to justify the race-conscious program.

The University of Maryland made four claims to support its contention that there were lingering effects of prior discrimination, justifying the continued use of a race-based remedy. First, it cited the poor reputation that the University has within the black community, stemming from a long history of segregation. Second, the University pointed to significant underrepresentation of African American students on campus. Third, the University identified the problem of low retention rates and graduation rates among African American students. And, finally, the university stated that African Americans faced a hostile campus climate. The district court agreed. Plaintiff appealed. The appellate court ruled that the evidence was insufficient to conclude lingering effects of prior discrimination.

This is a tailor-made example of the tension between equity and efficiency. The university, attempting to craft a remedy for prior discrimination, is faced with the

⁷ The details discussed below are drawn from: *Podberesky v. Kirwan*, 956 F.2d 52 (4th Cir. 1992); 38 F.3d 147 (4th Cir. 1994).

challenge of finding a means to improve minority student representation, retention rates and graduation rates *without* taking race into account to achieve an equity goal, but also *with* taking race into account in order to achieve the goal most effectively. The university believed, perhaps correctly, that without taking race into account, it would not be able to improve black representation, retention, and graduation rates. The university, without fully documenting or appreciating the paths by which prior discrimination is transmuted into current inequality, was unable to persuade the appeals court.⁸

In addition to the obvious equity versus efficiency trade-off, a more intimate understanding of race is required to appreciate this case fully. The previous chancellor of the University of Maryland was John B. Slaughter, one of the first African American policy council members of APPAM. Slaughter, an electrical engineer by training and a member of the National Academy of Engineering, had been the executive director of the National Science Foundation before being selected to be the university's first (and only) African American chief executive. Slaughter was charismatic, highly respected within both the black community and the broader academic community, and, in the words of many, "worked miracles" at the university. He helped to establish credible programs in science, technology and minority communities and oversaw a significant increase in minority enrollment. The university's national standings rose and its prestige increased.

During Slaughter's tenure, William Kirwan, a mathematician who had spent nearly his entire career at the University of Maryland, was provost and vice president. Kirwan succeeded Slaughter as president, and was a popular and well-respected administrator in his own right. One of his former graduate students, Howard P. Rawlings, (who never completed his dissertation) had become one of the most important black power-brokers in the state of Maryland. Delegate Rawlings chaired the appropriations committee of the Maryland House of Delegates. It was no secret within the black community that the selection of Kirwan as Slaughter's successor came with the expectation that Kirwan would at minimum continue the progress begun under Slaughter's leadership to increase black representation, black retention and graduation and improve the campus climate for people of color.

Rational policy analysis may argue for finding ways to improve the representation of African Americans without diminishing the opportunities for other students—particularly other students of color. But, as Richard Nelson (1977, pp. 13–17) notes in *The Moon and the Ghetto*:

...[W]hat is a problem, and what is a solution, are not questions that rational analysis alone can decide. The questions of what values, and whose values, ultimately are to count inherently must be answered through political process, not rational analysis alone. Some groups may be unhappy with their lot. However, all demands and all groups can never be satisfied. Some "problems" simply reflect the realities of political power that cannot be influenced by rational analysis.

Understanding how certain choices are made in race cases, such as the Baneker case, requires knowledge about the political, personal and historical aspects the policy evolution as much as it does about the analysis of efficiency. While these aspects of

⁸ The key point of the appeals court, however, was that the district court erred in concluding that the university had proven present effects of past discrimination.

race analysis make the case more complex, more unwieldy and more difficult to resolve, they offer a glimpse of reality that might improve policy analysis and policymaking.

Racial Disproportionality in Child Protection Services

Another classic example of the interface between equity and efficiency as well as the role of race analysis is the problem of the overrepresentation of African American children in the child protective services and in out-of-home placements. African American children make up about 15 percent of the overall population but they comprise more than 25 percent of reported and substantiated cases of abuse and neglect. In part because of the higher-than-average representation among substantiated cases, African American children are disproportionately found in foster care and out-of-home placements (Ards, Chung, and Myers, 1998).

No social workers or caseworkers want to find their name or case on the front pages of the *New York Times*. Difficult decisions at a minute level are made several times a day about whether to remove a child from an abusive home, what type of services to provide and when and whether to return the child to its biological parents. But, no matter how well-intended, sometimes decisions made are accompanied by unexpected and often gruesome outcomes. One recent example is that of a child in New York who died from being scrubbed with Brillo pads (Bernstein and Newman, 2001). The parents had been accused of child maltreatment on numerous previous occasions. Literally hundreds of thousands of dollars in services had been spent over the years to support the family via social services. But no matter how well intentioned, the decision to keep the children in the abusive family environment backfired.

In part to shield caseworkers from individual recrimination with respect to administrative decisions such as that in the Brillo-pad case, many states have begun to initiate risk assessment protocols. The logic is that if we are able to determine statistically whether a child is likely to be subjected to additional abuse or neglect by returning her to the biological family, we can reduce the human error associated with these deeply emotional decisions.

Factors that often enter into the risk assessment criteria include whether the parent is a drug user; whether there has ever been a criminal complaint or arrest; the social and demographic characteristics of the family; and whether the household is headed by a woman. The head of the Child Welfare League, Thomas Morton (1999), has argued that such risk assessment protocols have a disparate impact on African American children. He contends that the overrepresentation of African American children is due principally to reporting bias and other forms of racial bias within the child protective services that render statistical analyses using data on reported and substantiated cases suspect.

This is a controversial area of policy analysis because of unresolved issues of race. Are African American children really discriminated against in the child protective services and what is the nature of the discrimination? If they are overrepresented in the system, does that mean they are more likely to receive needed services? Or, as many black social workers contend, while they may be overrepresented among reported and substantiated cases, their families are not getting the expensive services they need in order to reunite. As a result, black children are disproportionately found among those languishing in foster care, and are neither in a permanent adoptive home nor reunited with their biological parents.

The controversy hinges in part over whether services provided are “culturally appropriate” and whether service providers have the necessary training or experience to deal with clients of diverse backgrounds. But the controversy is also in part one

about *analysis*. How is racial disproportionality in reported abuse cases measured? Does one compare the child population to the population of reported cases? Does one estimate the “at risk” population and compare that to the reported population? One series of national surveys—the National Incidence Studies (NIS)—provides underlying data needed to compute racial gaps in report rates. Surprisingly, blacks are not more likely to be reported than are whites, even when one accounts for differences in characteristics of reporters, type of maltreatment and characteristics of the child and family as well as possible sample selection bias (Ards, Chung, and Myers, 1998). If racial disparities in reporting are to explain the overrepresentation of black children among reported abuse and neglect cases, then black children will need to have higher report rates than whites. This finding does not seem to emerge when the NIS data is examined.

Of course, bias might exist elsewhere, as Thomas Morton (1999) and others (Ards, Chung and Myers, 1999, 2001; Sedlak, Bruce, and Schultz, 2001) contend. The bias might occur in the opening of a case for investigation; it might occur at the stage of substantiation; it might occur at the stage of service provision; it might occur at the stage of placement in foster care. Still, without any substantial data supporting these possibilities, there is a generic belief among many black professionals working in child protective services that racial bias is the explanation for the overrepresentation of black children in the child protective services.

How does one undertake good policy analysis in an area where a huge segment of the stakeholder population believes that there is bias? How does one undertake efficiency improvements, such as the risk assessment protocols being initiated around the nation, when many believe that the data used to calibrate these efficiency tools is tainted by prior racial disparities? Unresolved issues of race and the limited availability of careful race analysis in the area of child abuse and neglect could hinder the implementation of effective new tools designed to improve the administration of public services.

Racial Profiling

A quick search of Lexus/Nexus database reveals literally hundreds of law review articles on racial profiling published in the past decade. The entire subject has emerged under an umbrella called, “Driving while black.” This literature has produced not only technical articles examining various aspects of 4th Amendment protections that are forfeited when suspects are in their automobiles rather than in their homes, but also a broad array of popular articles and journalistic reports (e.g., Bustillo, 2000; Doxsey, 2001; Eddings, 2001; *FindLaw Legal News*, 2000; Higgin and Mihalopoulos, 2000; Jones, 2001; Kennedy, 1999; *Nando Times*, 2000; *Poughkeepsie Journal*, 2001; Still, 1999; *Times Union*, 2001; Wilson, 2000).

Racial profiling—or the use of race as a marker for possible illegal behavior—has all the characteristics of screening and information imperfections that have occupied the economics literature over the past quarter century. Nobel laureate Joseph Stiglitz, for example, has examined the problem of credit market signaling that anticipates much of the current debate surrounding the use of credit scores that have been calibrated on a possibly biased sample of loan applicants (Stiglitz and Weiss, 1981). In the case of U.S. Customs screening for drug dealers, for example, black women are believed to be more likely than others to serve as couriers, or “mules,” in the drug trade. This belief justifies in part the higher rate of intrusive searches conducted on this group as compared to other groups. And, indeed, many black women, once stopped, do in fact turn out to be carrying drugs. In traffic stops, state highway patrols

believe that Latino and African American males are more likely to transport drugs than others. And, indeed, many Latino and African American males stopped and searched are found to be carrying illegal drugs. The problem is that in both instances—in airport searches and traffic stops—carefully assembled evidence often suggests that racial minorities stopped and searched are no more likely, and are often less likely, than others to be found guilty of crimes for which they have been stopped.

The U.S. General Accounting Office (2000a) reviewed a database of more than 100,000 arriving international passengers for the years 1997 and 1998 who were subjected by U.S. Custom Service officials to personal searches. The vast majority of these searches arose from the suspicion of contraband or weapons. Searches could take the form of pat-downs, strip-searches, or x-ray searches. African American women were nine times more likely to be x-rayed after being frisked or patted down than were white American women. Yet African American women were only half as likely as white women to be found carrying drugs or weapons.

Temple University social psychology professor John Lamberth designed and conducted a data collection strategy in 1995 to determine whether there was racial profiling along the I-95 corridor from the White Marsh, Maryland exit to the Elkton, Maryland, exit. The test consisted of driving along the highway at the speed limit and observing the number and race of persons who passed the tester and who did not pass the tester. The sample of persons who passed the tester (speeders) was considered to be the at-risk population. Most of the drivers on the highway were speeding. Lamberth found that of those speeding, 21.8 percent were minorities. Of all drivers, 21.1 percent were minorities. Next, Lamberth examined the distribution of those stopped by Maryland State police from data mandated by a consent order. Of all drivers stopped, 80.3 percent were minorities (Lamberth, 1996). Using statewide data on the discovery of drugs in the automobiles or on motorists' persons, Lamberth shows that blacks and whites have nearly the same rates of offending.⁹ The probability that the resulting disparity between the minority share of the at-risk population (those speeding) and the minority share of the stopped population could occur by chance "is less than one in one quintillion."

Although both the National Association of Police Organizations and the International Association of Chiefs of Police have condemned racial profiling, neither organization reportedly supports racial data collection on traffic stops (U.S. General Accounting Office, 2000b, p. 4). Nonetheless, by spring of 2000, legislation had been introduced or passed in 13 states, from Arkansas to South Carolina, requiring the collection of such data. Bills were introduced in another 17 states by November 2001. Organizations such as AELE (Americans for Effective Law Enforcement, Inc.) have set up high-profile training sessions to assist state and local law enforcement agencies in shielding themselves from liability in racial profiling litigation.¹⁰ This despite the fact that little or no policy analyses have been conducted to determine the trade-offs between the efficiency goals of improved policing via targeted stops and searches and the equity goals of equating minority shares of stops to minority representation in the at-risk population.

On one hand, study of racial profiling can help enhance the understanding of the tools and techniques of policy analysis. There are resource allocation issues involved. There are issues of imperfect information and screening involved. There are issues of conditional probabilities and inferences drawn from potentially biased samples

⁹ Lamberth argues that the state data do not differ substantially from the I-95 data.

¹⁰ <http://www.aele.org/race.html>

involved. These sorts of issues are illustrated in detail in a case note found elsewhere in this volume that deals with the attempted passage in Minnesota in 2001 of a bill mandating race data collection in traffic stops.

On the other hand, understanding the dynamics of race could better help those who conduct research on topics like racial profiling. It is no secret that Congressman James E. Clyburn (D. South Carolina) was the chair of the Congressional Black Caucus and requested the GAO to conduct an analysis of what federal and state data was available to measure racial profiling. It is no secret that Congressman John Conyers, one of the most senior members of the Congressional Black Caucus, is the lead sponsor of the House version of the “End Racial Profiling Act of 2001” (H.R. 2074).¹¹ These African American legislators have chosen a particular approach to racial profiling—data collection on stops and searches—that begs for an intimate understanding of both the individual lawmakers and of the larger constituencies and stakeholders they represent. Knowledge of the racial profiling policies, such as those embraced in recent legislation, requires the pursuit of knowledge *in* the racial politics of the process of creating these new initiatives.

POLICY ANALYSIS TRAINING AND RACE ANALYSIS

In the *Moon and the Ghetto*, Richard Nelson (1977) poses this question: Why are we able to put a man on the moon while we seem so helpless in solving the problems of the ghetto? Is it that we simply lack skilled persons who are equipped with the tools and the apparatus needed? Are the organizations that put the man on the moon better equipped, better resourced, better managed and operated than those charged with the task of solving problems of the ghetto? Or, is it that ghetto problems are so intractable that they defy solutions, unlike moon-exploration problems that have well-defined goals and objectives with nearly universal agreement on the nature of the problem to be solved?

Do APPAM schools train their students so that they are equipped to analyze policy problems such as racial profiling, disbursement of minority scholarships and admissions, racial disproportionality in child protective services, and racial disparities in loan rejection rates? Or, should APPAM schools not be organized in such a way that they can train their students to be able to tackle these questions? To train our students well in tackling these problems, wouldn't some exposure to race analysis be helpful?

The moon-ghetto comparison raises some preliminary questions about the nature of public policy training and the professional preparedness of analysts to address issues related to race and racial inequality. The moon-ghetto comparison permits us to ask: Does policy analysis fail to resolve racial problems because policy analysts poorly understand race?

As an exploration on this theme, one might pose these questions: Do top policy schools include race analysis courses in their curriculums? Is policy analysis central to programs that specialize in race analysis? Does race analysis have a prominent place in our literature?

Race Analysis Courses at the Top 50 Graduate Programs in Public Affairs

Two University of Minnesota graduate assistants identified the top 50 graduate programs in public affairs from the rankings published by *U.S. News and World Report*

¹¹ Six other anti-racial profiling bills were introduced in the U.S. House and Senate in 2001, including one bill introduced by Georgia Congressman Lewis banning racial profiling among international travelers.

(2001a). They then used search engines to find descriptions for all courses listed and recorded instances where any of the following words were included in the course titles: race, racism, racial, (or any other variation of the term “race”), specific racial/ethnic groups (black, African American, Hispanic, Native American, etc.), minority, ethnicity, people of color, discrimination, and immigration. Table 1 records the results of the search.

Eleven schools among the top 50 had at least one course with race or race-related words in a course title. Among the 11, there were a total of 26 race-related courses out of 1222 total courses offered. In short, the share of courses on race-related topics was a mere 2.13 percent. The top-ranked schools—Harvard and Syracuse—had the largest number of race-related courses (5 and 6) but they also offered the largest number of courses (292 and 321) and thus had somewhat lower averages than many of the lower ranked programs. From these statistics we conclude that there is a minor presence of race-related courses at the top 50 schools: 39 out of 50 have no race-related courses and of the 11 remaining, the share of all courses that are race-related is extremely small.

Policy Courses in Ethnic Studies Programs

There is no ranking of ethnic studies programs comparable to the *U.S. News and World Report* (2001a) rankings of public affairs programs. Two alternative rankings exist. One is the list of ethnic studies programs in the top national universities ranked by *U.S. News and World Report* (2001b). To narrow the search further, it is possible to focus on Afro-American, African American, Africana, or black studies programs and departments. Of the 20 top-ranked schools, five do not have such programs.¹² An alternative is to use the *Black Issues in Higher Education* (2000) ranking of degrees awarded in black studies programs from 1996 to 1998.¹³

Table 2 shows that 15 schools of the top 20 ranked U.S. national universities with black studies programs, only five had any courses with “policy” in the title. Four had only one course, and one, Berkeley, had two courses, yielding a meager six courses with policy offered among the top schools. Using the *Black Issues in Higher Education* ranking, of the 19 schools (Table 3)¹⁴ with black studies programs, five had courses with “policy” in the titles. Two had one course each. Two had two courses each. One had three courses. Thus, using this alternative ranking, the number of policy courses is found to be slightly higher: a total of nine.

Race Analysis in the JPAM Literature

All articles in volumes 1–20 of the *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* were reviewed. Out of a total of 828 articles, 15 or 1.8 percent had one or more variant of the term race, racism, racial, ethnic, or names of specific racial minority groups in the title. Table 4 shows the list of titles obtained. Over the years, the representation of race-related articles in *JPAM* clearly has been on the upturn. Figure 1 shows that the slope for the time trend is positive and that if one estimates a polynomial function, one obtains a good fit with an upward trajectory for the current era. The figure shows

¹² The five are: California Institute of Technology, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Johns Hopkins University, University of Notre Dame, and Rice University.

¹³ We summed the total degrees for each year and then produced the rankings in Table 3.

¹⁴ Not all of the ranked schools with ethnic studies programs had black studies programs. State University of New York at Old Westbury, which awarded 54 ethnic studies degrees from 1996-1998, does not have a separate, specific program in African American, Africana, Afro-American, or Black Studies.

Table 1. Eleven public policy schools with race relevant courses.

University	Course Name	# of Relevant Courses	Total # of Courses	Ratio
Harvard University	Seminar in Racial and Ethnic Minority Leadership The Politics of Racial Demographics Race, Class, and Poverty in Urban America Sociological Perspectives on Racial Inequality in America Native Americans in the 21st Century: Nation Building I and II	5	292	1.71%
Syracuse University	Race and Law Studies in African American History Readings and Research in Latin American History Seminar in Urban Research: The Black Community Latinos and Social Policy Poverty, Inequality, and Discrimination	6	321	1.87%
Princeton University	Immigration, Ethnicity, and Public Policy Public Policy and the Demography of U.S. Minority Groups	2	121	1.65%
University of Michigan	Race and Ethnicity in International Relations	1	65	1.54%
State University of New York–Albany	Minorities and the Politico-Legal System	1	45	2.22%
University of Chicago	The Diverse Society: Race and Ethnicity in the Political Process Hispanics in the USA: Creating a Public Policy Agenda	2	87	2.30%
University of Minnesota	Racial Inequality and Public Policy Analysis of Discrimination	2	91	2.20%
New York University	Race and Health Policy Race and Class in American Cities Population Change, Immigration, and Public Policy	3	68	4.41%
University of Pittsburgh	Gender, Race, and Public Policy	1	37	2.70%
Georgetown University	Race, Gender, and the Job Market	1	57	1.75%
University of Arizona	Development of Federal Indian Policy American Indian Policy and Law	2	38	5.26%

Table 2. African American studies undergraduate courses with “policy” in title top 20 national universities.

Rank	University	# of Courses	Course Name
1	Princeton University	0	
2	Harvard University	0	
3	Yale University	1	AFAM 285aG: Race, Class, and Public Policy
5	Stanford University	0	
5	University of Pennsylvania	0	
8	Duke University	1	PUBPOL273S.01: Public Policy and African American Life
9	Columbia University	0	
9	Dartmouth College	0	
9	University of Chicago	0	
12	Northwestern University	0	
14	Cornell University	1	ASRC 420: Public Policy and the African American Urban Community
14	Washington University–St. Louis	1	AFAS 4561: Topics in American Politics: Urban Politics and Policy
16	Brown University	0	
18	Emory University	0	
20	University of California-Berkeley	2	AFRICAM 107: Race and Public Policy AAS 253A: Public Policy Analysis 1: Race and Culture in Domestic Policy

Source: U.S. News and World Report, 2001b.

the trend of all 852 regular articles plus Insights, Reflections, Presidential Addresses, Symposiums, and Curriculum and Case Notes. What we have, though, is a relatively small share of all articles published in the premier policy journal that deal with race. Only a few courses that deal with race are taught at major public policy schools. There are few courses taught in top ethnic studies programs that deal with policy.

A number of caveats are in order. The review of articles and courses focused on titles and not on a detailed content analysis. For example, the most highly cited *JPAM* article is the Ricketts and Sawhill (1988) article on the underclass. The content of this article deals with race but the title does not include race, racism, black, etc. and thus is not included in our count. Barbara Nelson’s (1999) curriculum note on diversity is similarly omitted. The review of courses is limited to regularly offered courses listed on the web. There may be instances where black studies courses on public policy or public affairs courses on race are special topics courses or courses that are not regularly offered. They would not have been included in our analysis. One can think of other data collection strategies that may yield different counts for numbers of courses or numbers of articles on race. But it is unlikely that the substantive

Table 3. African American studies undergraduate courses with “policy” in title, top 20 national universities with African American baccalaureate degrees awarded in area/ethnic/cultural studies, 1996–1998.

# of Degrees	University	# of Courses	Course Name
80	University of California–Berkeley	2	AFRICAM 107: Race and Public Policy AAS 253A: Public Policy Analysis I: Race and Culture in Domestic Policy
62	Rutgers University–New Brunswick	0	
50	California State University–Northridge	0	
41	Temple University	0	
40	California State University–Long Beach	0	
40	City University of New York–Lehman College	0	
39	Wesleyan University	1	AFAM282 SP: Race, Public Policy, & the City
38	University of California–Santa Barbara	2	100. Africa and United States Foreign Policy 160. Analyses of Racism and Social Policy in the U.S.
36	University of North Carolina–Chapel Hill	0	
34	State University of New York–Albany	0	
33	Ohio State University	0	
33	University of Washington	0	
32	University of Maryland–College Park	3	Public Policy and the Black Community Applied Policy Analysis and the Black Community Policy Seminar in Afro-American Studies
30	University of Michigan	0	
30	City University of New York–Hunter College	0	
30	Oberlin College	0	
27	University of Virginia	0	
27	San Francisco State University	0	
27	University of California–Los Angeles	1	Race, Inequality, and Public Policy

Source: Black Issues in Higher Education, 2000.

Table 4. *JPAM* articles with race-related titles.

Title	Author	Citation
Unintended Onus: How FCC Ownership Policy Handicaps Minority Broadcasters	Loy A. Singleton	1986 <i>JPAM</i> 1(4), 538
Overcoming Ethnic Inequalities: Lessons from Malaysia	Robert Klitgaard and Ruth Katz	1987 <i>JPAM</i> 2(3), 333–349
Mexicans or Tomatoes? Immigration and Imports	Gary Thompson, Ricardo Amon and Phillip L. Martin	1989 <i>JPAM</i> 4(4), 602
Growing Inequality in Black Wages in the 1980s and the Emergence of an African-American Middle Class	Bennett Harrison and Lucy Gorham	1992 <i>JPAM</i> 11(2), 235–253
Labor Market Experiences of Low-Income Black Women in Middle Class Suburbs: Evidence from a Survey of Gauthreaux Program Participants	Susan J. Popkin, James E. Rosenbaum and Patricia M. Meaden	1993 <i>JPAM</i> 12(3), 556–574
“Not Like Us”: Removing the Barriers to Recruiting Minority Faculty	Paul Light	1994 <i>JPAM</i> 13(1), 164–179
Ghetto Poverty Among Blacks in the 1980’s	Paul A. Jargowsky	1994 <i>JPAM</i> 13(2), 288–310
Black Employment Problems: New Evidence, Old Questions	Harry J. Holzer	1994 <i>JPAM</i> 13(4), 699–722
Testing for Environmental Racism: Prejudice, Profits, Political Power?	James T. Hamilton	1995 <i>JPAM</i> 14(1), 107–132
Who Benefits from Minority Business Set Asides? The Case of New Jersey	Samuel L. Myers, Jr. and Tsze Chan	1996 <i>JPAM</i> 15(2), 202–226
Weighing the “Burden of ‘Acting White’”: Are There Race Differences in Attitudes toward Education	Philip J. Cook and Jens Ludwig	1997 <i>JPAM</i> 16(2), 256–278
Race-Based versus Class-Based Affirmative Action in College Admissions	Maria Cancian	1998 <i>JPAM</i> 17(1), 94–105
Within Cities and Suburbs: Racial Residential Concentration and the Spatial Distribution of Employment Opportunities Across Sub-Metropolitan Areas	Michael A. Stoll, Harry J. Holzer, and Keith R. Ihlanfeldt	2000 <i>JPAM</i> 19(2), 207–231
Are Whites Still Fleeing? Racial Patterns and Enrollment Shifts in Urban Public Schools, 1987–1996	Charles T. Clotfelter	2001 <i>JPAM</i> 20(2), 199–221
Deregulation and the Racial Composition of Airlines	Jacqueline Agesa	2001 <i>JPAM</i> 20(2), 223–237

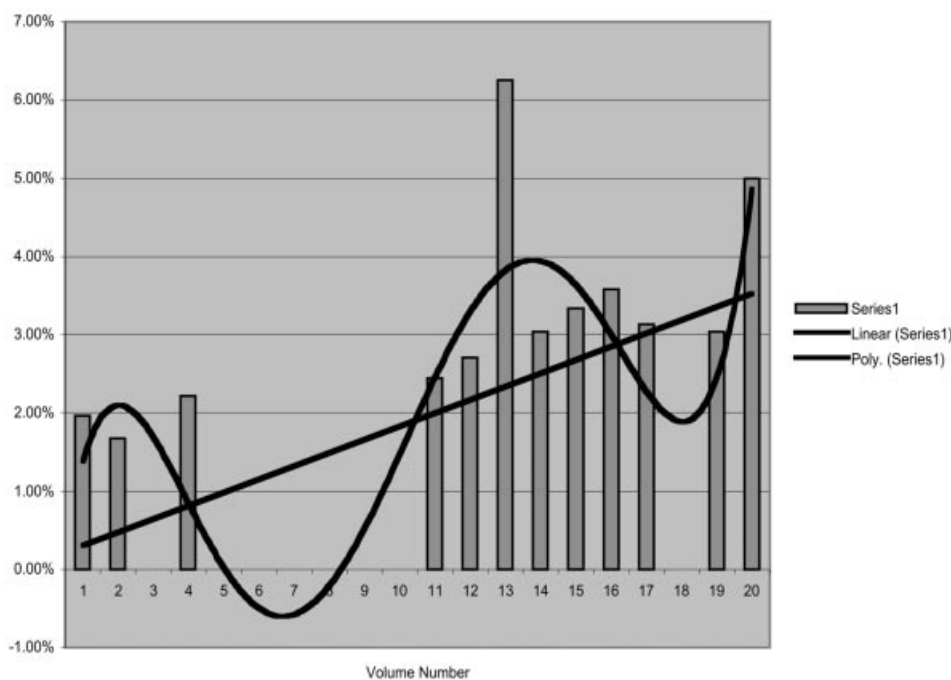


Figure 1. Share of *JPAM* articles with race-related titles.

conclusion would be much different: there is very little presence of race analysis in the top public affairs schools' curricula. There is little presence of policy analysis in the top ethnic (black) studies programs. And, there is little representation of race analysis in the top journal on public policy analysis.

The dilemma, as I see it, is that policy analysis education, training and scholarship could be enhanced by a more conscious infusion of analysis by race; and that the analysis of race can be improved by a more thorough infusion of policy analysis. As it stands now, however, analysis of race and policy analysis stand at distinctly non-overlapping corners of the scholarly world. There are many missed opportunities and omissions that may thwart the development of policy analysis as a field.

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

The organization of policy analysts could take the lead in bringing together ethnic studies and race analysis scholars to transfer knowledge and improve our understanding of each field. This can be accomplished through more targeted efforts to attract researchers from other fields to the APPAM annual research conference and at the same time make our conference inviting and interesting to others outside of policy analysis.

More can be done to create case studies, problem sets and exercises on policy analysis and race. I thank the Curriculum and Case Notes editor for publishing here a case study and exercise on racial profiling that I have found useful in my graduate course on policy analysis (Myers, 2002).

We might think more seriously of hosting separate workshops and training sessions on policy research methodologies and their intersection with race analysis. These sessions might be independent of the annual research conference or perhaps held on the morning before the full research meetings.

More effort can be made to involve top-research centers and think tanks that are active in race analysis to participate in the APPAM annual conference and to become institutional members. Organizations that come to mind are the Morehouse Research Institute, the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, the National Urban League's research office, as well as the many race relations research centers housed in universities around the nation.

APPAM instructors interested in learning more about race research and race analysis should consider attending the national ethnic studies conventions. These include the National Association of African-American Studies (NAAAS), the National Association of Hispanic and Latino Studies (NAHLS), the National Association of Native American Studies (NANAS); International Association of Asian Studies (IAAS) and numerous other similar organizations.¹⁵ Closer to home are the organizations of minority public policy analysts and public administrators.¹⁶

Intra-university collaborations might be emphasized. We note that on many of the campuses that house the top public affairs schools there are highly rated ethnic studies programs. Jointly offered courses between public affairs and ethnic studies and even joint faculty appointments would enhance dialogue and interaction between race analysis and policy analysis. Cross-listing and team teaching courses would offer the opportunity for expanding the knowledge base between race analysis and policy analysis.

One can imagine devoting a special edition of the *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* to race analysis. A recent edition of *The Journal of Public Health* has done just this, to an admirable effect (Mukamel, Murthy, and Weimer, 2000). There might be a special call for papers on race analysis for inclusion in the journal and presentation at the annual research conference. There could be more outreach to race analysis scholars in the allied professions (economics, political science, etc.) who otherwise might not join APPAM. Susan Gooden, from Virginia Polytechnic Institute, has recently organized a caucus of scholars interested in race analysis and policy analysis. This caucus could serve as the catalyst for new efforts to attract race analysis scholars to APPAM.

In many respects these proposed initiatives for bridging the gulf between race and policy analysis are consistent with ongoing efforts to improve the connection between policy analysis and policymaking, the theme for the 23rd annual research conference, and the efforts to improve the connection between users and doers of policy analysis, the theme of the 22nd annual conference. In a way, then, finding the solution to the problem I pose at the outset of this essay may be linked to our search for the organization's mission. In pursuing both endeavors, we will challenge ourselves and challenge the organization. Hopefully we will make many new discoveries as to how we can improve policy analysis and management tools and techniques. It has been an honor to have served as your president.

¹⁵ The National Association of African American Studies (NAAAS) <http://www.naaas.org>; the National Association of Hispanic and Latino Studies (NAHLS) <http://www.naaas.org/nahls.html>; the National Association of Native American Studies (NANAS) <http://www.naaas.org/nanas.html>

¹⁶ National Forum for Blacks Public Administrators (NFBPA) <http://www.nfbpa.org> and The Conference of Minority Public Administrators (COMPA) <http://www.compa.org>

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