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DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
001	Envelope	[Envelope] - To: Karl Rove - From: Gerard Kern	1	02/18/2003	P6/b6;
002	Email	Fighting the Racism Rap - To: Karl Rove - From: Chase Untermeyer	1	03/03/2003	PRM;
003	Email	Fw: Fact Sheet: The President's Framework to Modernize... - To: Susan Ralston - From: Karl Rove	1	03/04/2003	P5;
004	Email	Re: Social Security Trustees' Report Preview - To: Charles Blahous - From: Charles Blahous	2	03/04/2003	P5;
005	Note	Carl Bildt	1	02/19/2003	P5;
006	Handwritten Note	Carl Bildt	1	02/19/2003	P5;

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508642 [1]

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RESTRICTION CODES

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DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
007	Email	Social Security Trustees' Report Preview - To: Barry Jackson, et al. - From: Charles Blahous	1	03/03/2003	P5;

COLLECTION TITLE:

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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FOLDER TITLE:

508642 [1]

FRC ID:

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RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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508642

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 3/5/03

Date: 3/5/03

To: ~~Margaret Spellings~~
From: Strategic Initiatives Karl Rove

To: ~~Jay Lefkowitz~~
From: Strategic Initiatives Karl Rove

- FYI
 - Appropriate Action
 - Direct Response
 - Prepare Response For My Signature
 - Per Our Conversation
 - Let's Discuss
 - Per Your Request
 - Please Return
 - Deadline
 - Other
- Comments: _____
- _____
- _____

- FYI
 - Appropriate Action
 - Direct Response
 - Prepare Response For My Signature
 - Per Our Conversation
 - Let's Discuss
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January 16, 2003

Mr. Karl Rove
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Second Floor West Wing
Washington DC 20500

EXEC. OFC. PRESIDENT
WH STRATEGIC INITIATIVES
2003 JAN 27 AM 10:15

Dear Mr. Rove,

Enclosed is the article in which you expressed interest. A research team led by my frequent co-author Stanley Rothman surveyed college students, faculty and administrators throughout the United States, asking them to evaluate the quality of their educational experiences and of race relations on their campuses. Their responses were correlated with the proportion of African-American students at each institution.

The results are the opposite of what proponents of enrollment diversity argue - as racial diversity increases, evaluations of the educational and racial environments become more negative, particularly among students. These results are detailed in a forthcoming article in a prestigious peer-reviewed academic journal, the *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* (IJPOR).

Additional material from the survey will appear in the National Association of Scholars publication *Academic Questions* (AQ). One of the findings detailed there is that most faculty and administrators support the use of racial preferences in enrollment, but most students oppose them. More popular versions of the IJPOR and AQ findings will appear this spring in *The Public Interest* and in newspaper op-eds.

Thank you for your expression of interest in this research. I will forward the additional manuscripts to you as they become available.

Sincerely,



S. Robert Lichter
President

DOES ENROLLMENT DIVERSITY IMPROVE UNIVERSITY EDUCATION?

*Stanley Rothman, Seymour Martin Lipset, and
Neil Nevitte*

ABSTRACT

Debate over the value of admissions policies designed to increase racial diversity at American colleges and universities has relied on surveys of students, and sometimes faculty and administrators, which are designed to measure educational environments and intergroup relations. This article evaluates the role of survey research in supporting the diversity model—the argument that increased racial diversity in college enrollment both enriches the educational experience for students of all racial and ethnic backgrounds and also improves relations between students of different races. We found that much of the supporting data suffers from methodological defects, which range from poor item formulation to interpretive problems linked to selective recall and social desirability response set. We utilized a more indirect approach that asked members of the university community non-controversial questions about their perceptions and experiences, and then correlated their responses with an independent empirical measure of diversity. Data were obtained from a 1999–2000 survey of a structured random sample of over 4,000 US students, faculty, and administrators, and from the National Center for Education Statistics. When student, faculty, and administrators' evaluations of the educational and racial atmosphere were correlated with the percentage of minority students enrolled at a college or university, the predicted positive associations of educational benefits and inter-racial understanding failed to appear. Thus, the findings failed to support the argument that enrollment diversity improves the education and racial milieu at American colleges and universities. Our study also raises questions about survey instruments and designs that affect inferences about respondents' beliefs and behavior.

The tools and findings of social science are major contributors to policy, regulatory, and judicial decision-making at all levels of government in the United States. Throughout the justice system, courts routinely rely on information from expert witnesses and *amicus curie* briefs that draw on disciplines such as economics and sociology and allied methodological tools such as econometric and epidemiological analyses. Although it is less common for survey research

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to play such a role in legal battles involving public controversies of great import, affirmative action to increase diversity in higher education has proved to be an exception (Chesler, Sanders & Kalmuss, 1988; Fisher, Horwitz & Reed, 1993; Mayer, 1978).

Nearly a half century after the Supreme Court first mandated the desegregation of educational institutions, the legality of considering race as a factor in college admissions has created such legal confusion, with a patchwork of conflicting lower court decisions, that it appears the Court must soon step in and clarify the situation. Throughout the legal debate, arguments over the value of admissions policies designed to increase racial diversity on campuses have relied on surveys of students, and sometimes faculty and administrators, which are designed to measure educational environments and intergroup relations. Supporters of diversity programs have argued on the basis of survey data on campus opinion that these programs benefit students from all backgrounds, not only African-Americans or other minorities specified as disadvantaged groups (Steinberg, 2000).

This article submits this argument to a systematic empirical test. First, we chart the development of the legal argument over affirmative action, in order to show how data on campus attitudes became central to a debate that once centered on evidence of the practice or effects of prior societal discrimination. Second, in view of the theoretical and practical burden that this evidence carries, it is important that it rest on a methodologically sound foundation. So we will discuss problems in the research instruments, and how they may be ameliorated by using indirect measures and empirical correlates to supplement self-reports. Third, we will specify a diversity model as a set of hypotheses that will be tested for statistically significant relationships in both bivariate and multivariate contexts.

SOCIAL AND LEGAL CONTEXT

The conceptual and legal precursor of affirmative action is the seminal 1954 Supreme Court decision *Brown vs. Board of Education*, which found state statutes segregating students by race unconstitutional and mandated all schools to remove discriminatory policies. In 1956 the Court applied this ruling to higher education. In 1964, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act gave the federal government the authority to withhold funding to institutions of higher education that discriminated on the basis of ethnicity. The term 'affirmative action' first appeared in a 1965 executive order by President Johnson that required all agencies involved in Government contracts take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed . . . without regard to their race, creed, color or national origin' (Tierney, 1997, p. 1767). Affirmative action was eventually applied to institutions of higher education as well. By the early 1970s, federal

administrators began to require universities to include reports of student enrollment as part of their affirmative action plans (Bowen & Bok, 1998).

Initially, affirmative action policies were primarily designed to assist African-Americans who had not only long suffered from serious discrimination, but whose ancestors had been enslaved. By this definition, affirmative action is a response to a clearly defined and delimited moral imperative. However, the practical policy correlates of this principle are by no means clear. It has been used to describe a wide range of policies, from reaching out to identify African-Americans who meet standards for admission but who have been ignored or overlooked, to mandating admission by straightforward racial preferences and quotas as the only corrective for an inherently biased system of selection.

In principle the diversity argument applies to all ethnic and racial minorities. In practice the debate over its application has centered on its impact on African-Americans, who were the original beneficiaries of affirmative action programs and who stand to lose the most from an enrollment system based solely on 'merit' as defined by such criteria as grades and test scores. Indeed many African-Americans adherents of diversity reject such standards as merely a more sophisticated form of institutionalized white-on-black discrimination (Banke, 1994; Rowan, 1996; Cose, 1993).

Survey data reveal considerable confusion about public understanding of the term 'affirmative action.' Some respondents understand it as insuring fairness by remedying past injustices, others as calling for unfair preferences. When asked if they support 'affirmative action', the majority of Americans regularly respond positively. But when the same respondents are asked if they support quotas or timetables or hiring less qualified people for jobs to make up for past injustices, large majorities express opposition. Similar results emerge from surveys of students and academics (Lipset, 1992, 1996; Sniderman & Carmines, 1997; Civil Rights Organization, 1977; NORC, 1998; Sniderman & Piazza, 1993; Thernstrom & Thernstrom, 1997; Lynch, 1989; Wood & Sherman, 2001).

The rationales for affirmative action have evolved over the years to encompass three principles. The first is compensation for past discrimination and the enduring disadvantages that result. The second is correction for present inequalities, which continue to affect the educational opportunities of under-represented minorities. The third and most recent is the need for diversity or multiculturalism in the classroom experience of all students (Tierney, 1997). The last has gradually become the centerpiece of the argument, since the Supreme Court altered the terms of the debate in *Regents of University of California vs. Bakke* (1978). Bakke, a white man, sued the University of California for reverse discrimination when he was not admitted to medical school. The decision established the precedent that colleges and universities may include race as a factor in admissions, because students of all races benefit from a more racially diverse educational setting.

After the Bakke decision, 'diversity' gradually came to supplement or replace affirmative action as a catchall term used to describe both the justification for and the implementation of special admissions or hiring policies. But there is a crucial difference between the two concepts, which would eventually draw opinion research into the legal debate. Whereas affirmative action is grounded in a moral calculus based on historical evidence of injustice, the case for diversity is ultimately a pragmatic appeal to educational and personal enrichment, which rests on a developing evidentiary base involving individual attitudes, perceptions, and experiences. Educational institutions now defend affirmative action or diversity programs by attempting to demonstrate their benefits for the education of all students, not just recompense for past wrongs done to minorities. They turn to a growing body of survey data collected on college and university campuses over the past several years for evidence that diversity benefits all students by exposing them to people with different backgrounds and perspectives.

For example, Bowen & Bok (1998), Orfield & Whitley (1999), Chang (1996), Smith *et al.* (1997), and the American Council on Education and the American Association of University Professors (2000) have argued that diversity improves learning, increases the number of inter-racial friendships, reduces the level of tension on campus, enriches the intellectual environment and in general provides a more fulfilling experience (Levine & Cureton, 1998; Thernstrom & Thernstrom, 1997; Trow, 1999; Wood & Sherman, 2001; Sacks & Thiel, 1995; Bernstein, 1994).

How the evidence on the effects of diversity is evaluated is crucial, because most courts insist that those arguing the case for preferential treatment must demonstrate a significant public need for the use of racial criteria, in order to overcome objections that this violates Constitutional guarantees to equal protection under the law (Steinberg, 2000). For example, a 2000 US District Court decision (*Gratz vs. Bollinger*) permitted the University of Michigan to use diversity claims as a rationale for differential admissions policies based on race and ethnicity. The court did so after hearing expert witness testimony, based on social science evidence, which argued that policies designed to increase diversity benefitted most students of all backgrounds, not only minorities. In its ruling, the court discounted the plaintiff's argument that the evidence introduced could not override Fourteenth Amendment Constitutional guarantees, finding that the empirical evidence of the values of diversity admissions policies was strong enough to pass constitutional muster.

Expert social science testimony was also relied upon in a District Court decision in Washington (*Smith vs. University of Washington*, 2000), in which the court accepted the constitutional legitimacy of the defendant's diversity policies on the grounds of the educational benefits derived from them. The defendant's contention, also accepted by the District Court in the Michigan case, was that the very presence of racial and ethnic diversity in the undergraduate student

body improves the quality of education, even if those students admitted under affirmative action or diversity criteria are not comparable in educational qualifications to those admitted under 'merit' criteria. This is a core principle of the argument for diversity (Bowen & Bok, 1998). Other courts have reached different conclusions, however, and many universities are awaiting clarification from the Supreme Court, which is widely expected to accept one of these cases on appeal.

METHODOLOGY

Unfortunately, the state of knowledge in the social sciences is rarely conducive to the clarity or finality of court decisions. In attempting to demonstrate the consequences of diversity policies on campus life, it is very difficult either to collect data that have concrete measurable correlates or to conduct controlled experiments. So investigators have relied on opinions and self-reports, despite the inherent limitations of such techniques. As a result, much of the accumulating evidence relies on the reported attitudes, perceptions, and memories of students, faculty and administrators, which are subject to a host of problems ranging from selective recall to various response sets. Thus, Bowen & Bok (1998) report that support for campus diversity programs has been steadily growing among alumni of elite colleges; further, both blacks and whites recall such programs as helping them to get along better with members of other races. But both these findings could just as easily reflect increases in socially appropriate responses to the growing emphasis on these programs at elite schools, where they are frequently presented as highly important moral imperatives.

The question wordings in survey instruments can also be problematic, sometimes pushing responses in the hypothesized direction. For example, the following items come from an influential survey by Orfield & Whitley (1999).

How much has a diverse student body in law school helped you to work more effectively and/or get along better with members of other races?

Do you feel that diversity enhances or detracts from how you and others think about problems and solutions in classes?

How many students of a race or ethnicity different from your own do you have as a close friend?

Have you had contact with people of a race or ethnicity different from your own? (note source).

In addition to the inherent difficulties of inferring behavior from self-reported perceptions and recollections, these items illustrate some problems in item formulation that are disturbing to find in research on which such far-reaching decisions are based. The first item illustrates several such problems. Rather than a neutral 'whether,' it assures a positive evaluation by asking 'how much'

a diverse student body helps; two options, 'work more effectively' and 'get along better,' are combined in one item; 'other races' means different things to different people; and there is no basis for interpreting what 'a diverse student body' means to the respondent, who presumably has no basis for comparison. This illustrates a more general problem of items such as the other two, which ask about 'diversity' or a 'race or ethnicity different from your own.' At this level of generality and lack of shared meaning, it is difficult to know whether respondents' answers are commensurable. This is particularly problematic for concepts that are so central to current academic life and campus political debate, in which different opinions often reflect differing interpretations of these very terms. Thus, 'diversity' can mean very different things to opponents in this debate, as can references to other 'races or ethnicities'—by whose definition? Even the most skilled item formulation cannot overcome response set limitations that are built into this particular methodology being applied to this particular setting to answer this particular research question.

In order to avoid such problems in testing the hypothesis that enrollment diversity programs benefit the college or university community, we chose a more indirect approach based on indirect measurement. Instead of asking members of the university community directly how they felt about the effects of diversity on campus, we simply asked them to evaluate various aspects of their educational experience and campus environment. This was treated as the dependent variable. Then we correlated their attitudes with an independent empirical measure of enrollment diversity, which was treated as the independent variable.

The measure of enrollment diversity, along with other empirical predictors of the educational experience, was drawn from federal government statistics on the demographic traits of students and the academic and institutional characteristics of American colleges and universities. This article focuses on the racial diversity provided by the presence of African-American students at predominantly white colleges and universities, since the legal and social debate has been focused primarily on this group. In future articles we plan to examine the impact of the presence of other minorities as well.¹ The evaluations of college life were taken from a cross-national survey of student, faculty, and administrators at colleges and universities in the United States and Canada. The analysis in this paper is limited to data from the United States sample.

The US sample included a total of 140 universities and colleges, stratified by institution type according to the Carnegie classifications of Doctoral, Comprehensive, and Liberal Arts schools. Within strata, the schools were randomly

¹ Preliminary data analysis finds that the proportion of Asian students is positively related to favorable evaluations of the educational and racial milieu among students, faculty, and administrators, while comparable findings for Hispanic enrollment are mixed. So the influence of enrollment diversity may be specific to the ethnic or racial group.

selected from the entire universe of qualified institutions with probability of selection proportional to size (faculty and student body combined). Once the initial sampling of schools was drawn, it was examined to ensure representativeness on the key variables of region, quality, and size, with some substitutions made at that time to enhance the school samples' profile on these characteristics.

For both the faculty and student surveys, given that the school selection was proportional to size, the sampling plan called for a roughly equal number of interviews from each school. For the administrators, with the much smaller universe, all eligible targets from all selected schools were placed in the sampling pool. The resulting sample totalled 3,749, consisting of 1,500 students, 1,520 faculty, and 729 administrators. All data collection was conducted by the Angus Reid Group using the firm's network of central location Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) facilities. Interviewing was conducted between March 4 and May 3, 1999.

Response rates among those contacted were 53 percent for the student sample, 72 percent for faculty, and 70 percent for administrators.² Historically black colleges were excluded from the sample used for the analysis presented in this paper.

This article utilizes seven of the survey items, four to operationalize perceptions of the educational environment and three to operationalize perceptions of discrimination and the treatment of minorities. Not all questions were asked of all three samples. The four items concerned with education asked respondents how satisfied they were with their university experience (asked of students only); how good a job the school does educating students, how hard students work at their studies (all groups); and the proportion of students who have the academic preparation to succeed in their classes (faculty and administrators only). The three items concerned with minorities and discrimination (asked of all groups) asked whether minority students are treated better, worse, or about the same as white students; whether you personally have been treated unfairly because of your race or ethnicity; and the extent to which racial discrimination is a problem at your own institution.³ Table 1 shows the question wording in detail.

The argument that racial diversity is beneficial for all students, or the campus

² The relatively low response rate among students did not significantly affect the representativeness of the sample. The sample data and the data on the undergraduate student population, obtained from the National Center for Education Statistics, are similar in the case of both gender and race. For example, the Academic Study Survey sample and the population are respectively 56 percent female and 77 percent White in both, 9 vs. 10 percent Black, 6 percent Asian in both, 4 vs. 6 percent Hispanic, and 5 vs. 1 percent Other. The close correspondence between racial distribution of students in the sample and the population indicates that the refusal rate among Black students did not differ significantly from the refusal rate among White students.

³ Of course, educational environment might be operationalized by measures other than survey responses. However, it is perceptions that are at issue here, since this is the basis for much of the diversity literature on this point. That is, students' favorable perceptions are treated as evidence of the policy's positive impact.

community at large, can be operationalized as a set of hypotheses that increasing black student enrollment (enrollment diversity) in predominantly white student bodies will produce a better educational environment in general, greater attention to and satisfaction with the quality of education, and better relations between white students and students of color. For ease of presentation we will refer to this set of hypotheses as the diversity model. This model predicts that increasing proportions of black student enrollment should be positively associated with more favorable responses to the corresponding survey items listed above. (An alternate of the model predicts only that an increase in diversity will not cause a decrease in academic preparation.)

Data on black student enrollment, along with other individual traits of students and characteristics of educational institutions, were obtained from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), the federal government's primary repository for collecting and analyzing data related to education.⁴

RESULTS

BIVARIATE CORRELATIONS

Table 1 shows the bivariate correlations between the proportion of black student enrollment and attitudes toward the educational experience and racial discrimination on campus. The data were analyzed separately for the student, faculty, and administrator samples. The most important of these three samples are the students, since their attitudes and behavior are the principal focus of the debate over academic diversity. The top row of Table 1 shows small but statistically significant relationships ($p < .01$) between enrollment diversity and four of the six dependent variables—student satisfaction with their university experience, the quality of their education, their assessment of student work efforts, and their complaints of having personally experienced discrimination. In every case, however, the significant correlations were in the direction opposite those predicted by the diversity model. As the proportion of black students enrolled at the institution rose, student satisfaction with their university experience dropped, as did assessments of the quality of their education, and the work efforts of their peers. In addition, the higher the enrollment diversity, the more likely students were to say that they personally experienced discrimination. Although the correlations were low, it is unusual for hypothesis testing of such

⁴ The distribution of percentage of black students in American universities in the sample ranges from 0 percent to 98 percent. However, 97 percent of the respondents attend schools with a black student percentage that ranges from 0 to 43 percent. There are no respondents in schools which are attended by between 44 and 76 percent black students and only three percent of respondents attend schools which are more than 77 percent black. These are all historically black colleges. These cases were dropped from the analysis reported in this article. We obtained the percentage of black student body for each school included in our study from the 1998 US News and World Report College Rankings.

a clearly specified model to produce a reversal of signs on all operational measures that produce statistically significant correlations.

The same pattern held for the faculty sample's evaluation of the educational milieu. Among faculty members enrollment diversity was negatively related to perceptions of the quality of education, the academic abilities of students, and the work efforts of students, with all correlations again significant at the .01 level. However, assessments of race relations were in line with the model's predictions. Enrollment diversity was significantly associated with positive assessments of minority student treatment and an absence of racial discrimination on campus ($p < .01$). This bifurcation of evaluations between educational ratings and minority relations appeared among administrators as well. Like the students, administrators perceived declining educational quality and students' skill as the proportion of black enrollment rose; like the faculty, they also perceived less racial discrimination and better treatment of minority students.

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSES

Overall, the results shown in Table 1 not only failed to support the diversity model, they showed an inverse relationship between enrollment diversity and evaluations of educational quality by students, faculty, and administrators. The results were more mixed with regard to discrimination and minority relations. Among faculty and administrators, enrollment diversity was significantly associated with reports of more positive treatment of minority students and less racial discrimination. But these findings were offset by the absence of similar results among students, who also reported more personal victimization as diversity increased.

The robustness of the findings is also attested by the similarity of results across item categories. Two of the items, satisfaction with university experience and unfair treatment, are behavioral self-reports, while the other five items ask respondents to characterize the campus as a whole. In the student sample both self-reports as well as two of four institutional characterizations produced statistically significant findings that were the reverse of those predicted by the diversity model. This weakens the possibility that their perceptions of the institution represent 'third person' effects at variance with their own personal experiences. The sole self-report for the student and administrator samples, that of unfair treatment toward oneself, produced statistically insignificant correlations whose signs were the reverse of those predicted by the model.

We intended to subject the hypotheses that survived the bivariate test to a more stringent test by controlling for the effects of other demographic, academic, and institutional characteristics. But, most of the hypotheses failed to pass the initial hurdle of producing statistically significant associations linking enrollment diversity to an improved educational milieu and less discriminatory atmosphere

TABLE 1 Correlation between evaluation of college life and enrollment diversity (student, faculty, and administrator samples)

	Satisfaction with university experience	Quality of education	Assessment of student skills	Student work effort	Unfair treatment	Minority student treatment	Racial discrimination
Students	-.08**	-.14**	N/A	-.09**	.08**	.00	.04
Faculty	N/A	-.13**	-.15**	-.09**	.01	.09**	-.07**
Administrators	N/A	-.16**	-.26**	-.03	.05	.06	-.08*

Note: Traditionally black colleges excluded from the analysis. The table contains Pearson's correlation coefficients.

*Significant at the .05 level

**Significant at the .01 level

Question wording: In general, how satisfied are you with your university experience? Let's use a scale of 1 to 7, where 1 means you are 'very dissatisfied' and 7 means you are 'very satisfied'. You may use any number between 1 and 7 to describe your overall satisfaction with your university experience. The variable has been recoded to a scale from 0 to 1.

Overall, do you think your university (college) does (READ LIST) job of educating students? (1) An Excellent (2) Good (3) Fair (4) Or Poor. The variable has been recoded to a scale from 0 to 1.

What proportion of students at your university (college) are academically ready to be there? Almost all, most, only some, or almost none? The variable has been put on a 0 to 1 scale.

Please rate students on a 7-point scale, where 1 means 'very lazy' and 7 means 'very hardworking'. The variable has been recoded to a scale from 0 to 1.

Since you have been a university student here, have you ever personally been treated unfairly because of your race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religious beliefs, or political views? (1) Yes; (0) No. (Similar question to other groups.)

And do you think minority students are treated better, worse, or about the same as white students at your university (college)? (1) Better (.5) Same/Depends (0) Worse.

Here's a list of issues. Please tell me to what extent each of these is or is not a problem on your campus. What about 'racial discrimination'? Is that a problem on your campus? (1) Yes, very serious (.66) Yes, fairly serious (.33) Yes, not very serious (0) No, not a problem

Enrollment diversity is measured as the proportion of black students at each educational institution

on campus. Only three out of 18 cells in Table 1 show statistically significant results in the expected direction. Conversely, nine cells show statistically significant findings in the opposite direction from that predicted by the model. Therefore we proceeded with the multivariate analysis in order to determine whether this frequent reversal of expected results was artifactual. If these relationships could not be explained as the products of some other combinations of variables, the results would strongly suggest a need to reevaluate the enrollment diversity model.

Each evaluation of college life that produced a significant bivariate result was regressed onto a set of background variables taken from the most recently available NCES data, representing major individual demographic categories such as gender and economic status; individual-level academic categories such as major subject for students and discipline for faculty; and institutional categories such as public vs. private status and selectivity, as well as enrollment diversity. Our primary interest lay in determining whether diversity contributed significantly to the variation explained, independently of all other variables in the equation. We treated the individual survey items as dependent variables instead of reducing their number through factor analyses or similar procedures, because our theoretical interest lay in hypothesis testing rather than in maximizing explained variance. We wanted to examine the explanatory contribution of enrollment diversity to each item separately, rather than merging them into more general conceptual dimensions, such as those represented by factor scores.

The regression equations for the student sample appear in Table 2. In all four equations enrollment diversity contributed significantly ($p < .01$) to explaining the variance in students' evaluations of college life, after controlling for all other demographic, academic, and institutional factors. Indeed, it was the only independent variable in the regressions that had a significant effect in all four models. For each of the three dependent variables concerned with educational experience, the overall reduction in variation produced by the entire set of predictors ranged from 5 to 10 percent, in each case significant at the .01 level.

The level of explained variance in students' experiences of having personally received unfair treatment on the basis of their race, gender, religion, etc. was not statistically significant. Even so, the beta weights in this equation are of heuristic interest for assessing the diversity model. Among the attributes of the individual respondents, being white and male were negatively related to experiences of unfair treatment, and being gay or lesbian was positively related to unfair treatment, independently of all other variables. To the extent that these perceptions were accurate, they suggest that historic patterns of discrimination still exist on America's college campuses.⁵ But the key finding in

⁵ When the sample is restricted to white students only, however, the regression still shows that enrollment diversity is positively related to perceptions of discrimination. That is, a higher proportion of black students predicts increased perceptions of discrimination among white students against themselves.

this context is that enrollment diversity was positively related to experiencing unfair treatment after the effects of all these variables were controlled. That is, enrollment diversity contributed to the incidence of encounters perceived as discriminatory rather than decreasing them, after controlling for the effects of a student's membership in a historically victimized group.

The regression equations for the faculty sample appear in Table 3. Once again, enrollment diversity provided an independent contribution to explaining the variance ($p < .01$) for all three measures of the educational milieu. (The questionnaire item on satisfaction with the university experience was not asked of the faculty and administrator samples, while the item on the academic skills of students was not administered to the students.) With all other variables controlled, enrollment diversity was inversely related to faculty satisfaction with the quality of education, the work effort of the student body, and the academic readiness of students at their institutions. In each case, the entire set of predictors reduced the overall variation by a statistically significant amount ($p < .001$), producing an adjusted R^2 of .10 for educational quality and student work effort and .16 for student academic skills.

Other variables that contributed significantly to explaining the variation in all three measures, such as selectivity (proportion of applicants admitted) and proportion of students living on campus, come as no surprise. But it is notable that the respondent's race contributed independently to evaluations of academic readiness and the quality of education. That is, among faculty members, being white was associated with having a more positive evaluation of educational quality and student skills. This would seem to preclude an alternative explanation of the findings as the product of negative stereotyping on the part of whites.

The only empirical support for the diversity model in the multivariate as in the bivariate analysis came from faculty evaluations of discrimination on campus. As Table 3 shows, the full set of predictors reduced a statistically significant amount of variation in evaluations of the treatment of minorities ($R^2 = .09$, $p < .01$) and racial discrimination on campus ($R^2 = .10$, $p < .01$). Within these equations, enrollment diversity independently predicted positive treatment of minorities ($p < .01$) and an absence of racial discrimination on campus ($p < .05$). Once again, some of the demographic terms in the equations were also suggestive. Being white and male predicted a more favorable evaluation of the treatment of minority students; conversely, belonging to a racial minority and being female predicted more negative evaluations of how minorities are treated. Similarly, being white, male, and heterosexual predicted a more sanguine view of discrimination on campus. Thus, differences in perspectives on campus race relations appeared to persist among college and university faculty along the same fault lines over which many of the on-campus battles over diversity are fought.

Finally, findings from the sample of administrators (Table 4) reinforced the

TABLE 2 Determinants of students' evaluations of college life (Beta weights)

	Satisfaction with quality of education	Student work effort	Satisfaction with university experience	Unfair treatment
<i>Institutional factors</i>				
Faculty-student ratio	-.064	-.018	-.068*	.029
Number of programs offered	.014	.038	-.067	.097*
Doctoral	.009	.105*	.068	-.020
Liberal arts	.036	.067*	.046	-.014
Public university	-.151**	-.190**	-.030	.022
Proportion of black students	-.120**	-.133**	-.089**	.102**
% admitted who applied	-.175**	-.224**	-.050	.027
% students living on campus	-.038	-.127**	-.049	.083
Number of student organizations	.001	-.097*	.003	.000
<i>Socioeconomic factors</i>				
Age	-.055	.057	.023	.039
Income	-.018	-.047	.013	.040
Male	-.020	-.113**	.019	-.063*
Married	.016	-.002	.030	-.047
U.S. citizen	-.037	-.034	-.005	-.001
Protestant	.042	.015	.052	-.025
Catholic	.004	.000	.003	-.020
Religious attendance	.084**	.099**	.112**	.048
White	.097**	-.042	.033	-.112**
Gay or lesbian	-.018	-.041	-.039	.095**
Parent with university education	-.032	-.011	-.011	.025
<i>Academic factors</i>				
High professionals	.093*	.000	.029	-.002
Low professionals	.110**	.035	.073*	.016
Humanities	.047	-.038	-.014	.018
Science	.066*	.034	.009	-.001
Academic success	-.047	.081**	-.148**	.017
Number of years in program	-.057	-.016	-.035	.063*
Paid job	-.012	.012	-.004	.001
Part time job	.020	.031	-.023	.000
Constant	1.282**	.945**	.925**	-.164
Adjusted R^2	.089	.100	.045	.000
Probability F	.000	.000	.000	.030
N	1216	1216	1216	1216

Note: Traditionally black colleges excluded from the analysis

*Significant at the .05 level

**Significant at the .01 level

TABLE 3 Determinants of faculty's evaluations of college life (Beta weights)

	Satisfaction with quality of education	Student work effort	Assessment of student skills	Minority student treatment	Racial discrim- ination
<i>Institutional factors</i>					
Faculty-student ratio	-.018	-.042	-.026	-.011	.004
Number of programs offered	.000	-.025	-.044	-.015	.002
Doctoral	-.015	-.006	.028	.093*	-.032
Liberal arts	.081**	-.002	-.019	.050	-.011
Public university	.058	.020	-.018	-.067	.111**
Proportion of black students	-.094**	-.107**	-.133**	.096**	-.062*
% admitted who applied	-.158**	-.208**	-.200**	.015	.006
% students living on campus	.144**	.104*	.137**	-.069	.111*
Number of student organizations	-.028	.018	.050	-.013	.034
<i>Socioeconomic factors</i>					
Age	-.001	.118**	.017	.087	-.140**
Income	.069*	.057	.079*	.033	-.044
Male	-.037	-.051	.001	.172**	-.151**
Married	.018	-.019	.039	-.005	.007
U.S. citizen	-.017	-.017	-.014	-.025	.003
Protestant	.100**	.003	.068*	.107**	-.085**
Catholic	.051	.026	.084**	.067*	-.087**
Religious attendance	.023	.016	.019	-.032	-.014
White	.068*	.038	.067**	.073**	-.080**
Gay or lesbian	-.027	-.028	-.008	-.060*	.079**
Parent with university education	-.047	-.050	-.023	-.029	.021
<i>Academic factors</i>					
High professionals	.090**	.111**	.098**	.090**	-.119**
Low professionals	.060	.100**	.141**	.028	.006
Humanities	.028	.052	.006	.045	.004
Science	.056	.023	.043	.098**	-.137**
Held administrative position	.013	.018	.043	-.047	.047
Years teaching	.038	-.043	.008	.017	.081
Tenured	-.029	-.046	-.002	.010	.054
Number of articles published	.010	.007	-.001	.047	-.041
Number of books published	-.038	-.008	-.007	-.077**	.011
Hours per month doing outside consulting	.022	.035	-.030	.013	-.029
Constant	.594**	.795**	.580**	.226**	0.55**
Probability <i>F</i>	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
Adjusted <i>R</i> ²	.096	.104	.156	.086	.099
<i>N</i>	1382	1382	1382	1326	1382

Note: Traditionally black colleges excluded from the analysis

*Significant at the .05 level

**Significant at the .01 level

lack of support for the diversity model that we found in tests of the other two samples. For this group only three variables produced the significant bivariate correlations with enrollment diversity sufficient to warrant further analysis. Administrators' assessments of incoming students' academic skills and their satisfaction with the quality of education at their institutions were both independently predicted by enrollment diversity. As diversity rose, assessments of academic preparation dropped ($p < .01$) and satisfaction with educational quality fell, although to a lesser extent ($p < .05$). The full set of variables significantly reduced the variation in the assessments of both student skills ($R^2 = .26$, $p < .001$) and educational quality ($R^2 = .12$, $p < .001$). By contrast, the only bivariate correlation that produced support for the diversity model on the dimension of minority relations failed to pass the test of multivariate controls. Since the bivariate correlation between enrollment diversity and discrimination was so low ($-.08$, $p < .05$), it is not surprising that its contribution should fall below the level of statistical significance owing to covariation among a larger set of variables. As a result, the diversity model lost its sole empirical support from the sample of administrators.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The aim of this paper was to evaluate the role of survey research in supporting what we have called the diversity model—the argument that increased racial diversity in college enrollment both enriches the educational experience for students of all racial and ethnic backgrounds and also improves relations between students of different races. For historical and legal reasons this model has been applied most frequently with regard to preferences for African-American students. We found that much of the data supporting the diversity model suffers from methodological defects, which range from poor item formulation to interpretive problems linked to selective recall and a social desirability response set. Further, there are inherent limitations in research designs that adduce the success or failure of a policy intended to affect behavior simply by asking the affected parties whether they think it is working. (This is especially true when the policy is presented as a moral imperative that is central to the mission of the institution.) For example, one wouldn't evaluate the success of a program to reduce teenage pregnancy on the basis of an attitude survey of teenagers, rather than from empirical data on changes in the pregnancy rate.

We proposed an indirect approach that avoids such pitfalls by asking members of the university community non-controversial questions about their perceptions and experiences, and then correlating their responses with an independent empirical measure of diversity. In this design the question was not whether respondents said that diversity has educational benefits, but whether increasing

TABLE 4 Determinants of administrators' evaluation of college life (Beta weights)

	Satisfaction with quality of education	Assessment of student skills	Racial discrimination
<i>Institutional factors</i>			
Faculty-student ratio	-.039	-.033	-.003
Number of programs offered	.088	-.024	.028
Doctoral	-.019	.108*	.000
Liberal arts	.067	-.050	.007
Public university	.034	-.101	.123*
Proportion of black students	-.080*	-.167**	-.078
% admitted who applied	-.214**	-.176**	.020
% students living on campus	.150*	.165**	.117
Number of student organizations	.042	.093	.096
<i>Socioeconomic factors</i>			
Age	.126*	.039	-.076
Income	.067	.004	-.073
Male	-.040	-.008	-.141**
Married	-.006	.020	.042
U.S. citizen	.022	-.009	-.065
Protestant	.084	.034	-.128*
Catholic	.096	.011	-.051
Religious attendance	-.017	.066	.051
White	-.042	-.063	-.056
Gay or lesbian	-.034	-.050	-.005
Parent with university education	-.032	-.034	.112**
<i>Academic factors</i>			
Now/ever held teaching position	-.039	-.133**	.063
Years teaching	-.012	.106*	.105
Hours per month doing outside consulting	-.069	-.026	.069
Constant	.532*	.846**	.677**
Probability F	.000	.000	.000
Adjusted R ²	.122	.261	.066
N	685	685	685

Note: Traditionally black colleges excluded from the analysis

*Significant at the .05 level

**Significant at the .01 level

diversity was associated with more positive assessments of one's college experience.

When student evaluations of the educational and racial atmosphere were correlated with the percentage of black students enrolled at a college or university, the predicted positive associations of educational benefits and inter-racial understanding failed to appear. A pattern of statistically significant associations appeared, but it was in the opposite direction from that predicted by the diversity model. The results were clear and consistent with regard to the measures of the educational milieu. They were echoed by equally consistent patterns of responses among faculty and administrators. The findings on race relations were more mixed, but certainly insufficient to support the model. Increasing diversity brought increased perceptions of personal discrimination among students, a very troubling finding. Diversity brought perceptions of better race relations on the part of faculty, but similar findings among administrators did not survive the introduction of control variables.

It may seem that our conclusions were largely negative or pessimistic. The findings failed to support the argument that enrollment diversity improves the education and racial milieu at American colleges and universities.⁶ Moreover, our study raises questions about the methodology that provides much of the empirical evidence cited in support of the diversity model. The survey instruments and designs were flawed in ways that undermined their claims to infer beliefs and behavior from responses. Indeed the case of enrollment diversity may be a cautionary lesson of the pitfalls of basing legal and policy decisions too readily on social science research, without taking into account that research findings are not static, and that progress depends on the interplay of art and science in a process of self-correction that pushes our understanding forward.

It is in this larger sense that our findings are also positive in character, by generating the further inquiry that is necessary to insure the wisest application of survey data to public debate. The reversal of signs that our hypothesis-testing produced suggests the need for careful scrutiny and rigorous testing of arguments by critics of diversity programs (Levine & Cureton, 1998; Thernstrom & Thernstrom, 1997; Trow, 1999; Wood & Sherman, 2001; Sacks & Thiel, 1995; Bernstein, 1994). In future articles we will broaden our examination of the effects of enrollment diversity to include other minority groups. And we hope that our methodological critique of the literature will prompt other researchers to find more innovative ways to overcome the validity problems we have identified. But the positive outcome we seek the most is the rigorous application

⁶ We also sought to determine whether this situation might be ameliorated by campus programs that educate students about the history and culture of African-Americans. This question was operationalized by adding to the regressions a dummy-coded variable representing the presence or absence of black studies programs in the college curriculum. Unfortunately, the presence of such programs failed to produce an independent statistically significant effect on the perceptions of educational life and race relations among students, faculty, or administrators.

of survey research to understanding and addressing such contentious issues, whatever the data may show.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

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Diversity and Affirmative Action: The State of Campus Opinion
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Introduction

In December 2000, a U.S. District Court judge ruled that the University of Michigan could provide preference in admission policies to minority students. He relied partly on expert social science testimony, which concluded that such policies advance racial and ethnic diversity and improve the education of all students, not just the minority students admitted under the policy.¹ Shortly thereafter, however, another District Court ruled that preferences by the University of Michigan law school, designed to achieve the same goal, did not pass Constitutional muster.² In his decision, the judge accepted some "facts" about the possible beneficial consequences of diversity, but he

expressed doubt as to whether such facts "trumped" constitutional notions of equal protection. He was later overruled

It is unclear how much of a role social science evidence will play in the forthcoming Supreme Court decision that is expected to address these inconsistencies.³ However, key philanthropic organizations such as the Ford foundation, believing that such evidence will play some role, are continuing to finance major survey research projects exploring the possible benefits of diversity for all students in colleges and universities.⁴

Supporters of diversity-based admissions policies have also relied upon testimonials contained in amicus briefs submitted by business and educational groups, which argue for the importance of increasing diversity through preferential hiring and admissions. A case has to be made to justify the use of racial, ethnic, or other criteria for admission to a selective college before courts, which view any racial criteria for admission with great suspicion. Such reliance sets a heavy burden of proof. Therefore, those arguing the case for preferential treatment must demonstrate a significant public need for the use of racial criteria.⁵ In short, they must demonstrate that all or at least most students benefit from the use of such criteria.

Much of the evidence that addresses this requirement relies on the reported attitudes, perceptions, and memories of students, faculty, and administrators with regard to the usefulness or effectiveness of diversity programs. Surveys of one or more of

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the three university constituencies have been conducted at individual schools and occasionally in national polls.⁶ In order to advance this debate, we included some items about attitudes relevant to campus diversity in a large-scale survey that was administered to representative samples of students, faculty, and administrators in the United States and Canada. To our knowledge this is the first representative cross-national survey of all three groups, which permits direct comparisons of their attitudes toward affirmative action and diversity. In the body of this article we will first outline the historical and legal context of this debate, showing how social science data gradually became a major factor in it. Then we will describe the procedures and findings of our survey, and discuss their implications for the current debate.

The Issues

Conceptual and legal precursors of affirmative action legislation can be found in two seminal court cases during the 1950s.⁷ In the famous 1954 case, *Brown v. Board of Education*, the Court ruled that state statutes segregating students by race were unconstitutional and mandated all public schools to remove discriminatory policies.⁸ Two years later, in *Florida ex rel. Hawkins v. Board of Control*, the Court determined that the *Brown* ruling also applied to higher education.⁹

However, progress in desegregating education proved to be slow. Merely removing barriers to integration did not seem to be

effective in fostering it. Thus, the federal government under Lyndon B. Johnson undertook a more proactive position. In 1964, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act gave the federal government the authority to withhold funding from institutions of higher education that discriminated on the basis of ethnicity.¹⁰ The term "affirmative action" itself came to the fore in an executive order issued by Kennedy in 1964 and expanded by Lyndon Johnson in 1965.

The Johnson administration's policy required that all agencies involved in government contracts "take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed . . . without regard to their race, creed, color or national origin."¹¹ Affirmative action was eventually applied to institutions of higher education as well. By the early 1970s, federal administrators began to require universities to include reports of student enrollment as part of their affirmative action plans.¹²

Affirmative action has henceforth evolved to entail the concepts of "diversity" and "multiculturalism." On American college campuses today, the concepts remain contentious, but the terms of the debate are not always clearly defined. Affirmative action and diversity or multiculturalism are often treated as equivalents and are intertwined.¹³ But they do not carry the same meaning. To complicate matters, the meaning of affirmative action itself has changed. The original definition is still employed, but the term is now often used in ways that do not always correspond with the intentions of those who first defined it.

Initially, affirmative action policies were primarily designed to assist African-Americans who not only had suffered from serious discrimination over a very long period of time but whose ancestors, taken from their homelands by force, had been enslaved. By this definition affirmative action is primarily a moral issue.¹⁴

Even so, the practical implications of following the policy are by no means clear. The term is used to justify policies as varied as ending discrimination against blacks; reaching out to identify African-Americans who meet standards for admission to elite universities but who have been ignored; and straightforward racial preferences, timetables, and/or quotas. Reaching out and ending discrimination were emphasized in initial discussions of affirmative action. However, as early as the Nixon administration's "Philadelphia Plan" (and even in some initiatives supported by Lyndon Johnson), timetables, goals, and quotas came into play.¹⁵

Survey data also reveal considerable confusion about the term "affirmative action." Some respondents understand it as insuring fairness or reaching out to minorities. However others are persuaded that it calls for preferences. Thus, when asked if they support affirmative action, majorities of Americans respond positively. But when the same respondents are asked if they support quotas or time tables or hiring less qualified people for jobs to make up for past injustices, large majorities of Americans express their opposition. Even majorities (though

smaller ones) of African-Americans often oppose such policies. A similar pattern of results emerges from surveys of students and academics.¹⁶ A 1998 National Opinion Research poll found that 85 percent of respondents are opposed to hiring preferences, even when such policies were placed in the context of acknowledged previous discrimination.¹⁷

The justification of timetables or quotas springs from the belief that, without such mechanisms, people who wish to will find ways to continue to discriminate against blacks despite the law. To take individual legal action against such persons is a long and cumbersome procedure. Consequently, it is argued that the only way to insure fairness for blacks is some sort of quota system, generally based on estimates of the proportion of African-Americans who would be hired or admitted to college if fair policies are followed. So important has this perception become that many civil rights activists regard those who support hiring or admissions policies based on criteria for assessing individual merit as merely sophisticated bigots.¹⁸ They believe that so-called "merit" bases for hiring or admission are merely subterfuges.

The landmark court case, *Regents of California v. Bakke*, re-framed much of the affirmative action discussion.¹⁹ Bakke, a white man, sued the University of California for reverse discrimination after he was rejected for admission to the medical school at the U.C.-Davis campus in 1978. He won the case and was admitted.²⁰ After the Supreme Court's decision, "diversity"

gradually came to supplement affirmative action as a basis for special admissions or hiring policies, (although, as already noted, the terms are often used interchangeably). The argument, based on Justice Powell's opinion in the Bakke case, is that the university should be allowed to hire or admit diverse groups of persons in order that Americans learn to deal effectively with an increasingly varied nation and world.

Educational institutions now defend affirmative action or diversity programs by attempting to demonstrate their benefits for the education of all students. For evidence they turn to social science research.²¹ Based on such studies they argue that diversity itself contributes to positive educational outcomes for students of all racial and ethnic origins.²² But there are key differences between diversity and affirmative action with regard to special hiring and admissions policies. If affirmative action addresses a moral question, diversity can be construed as a largely pragmatic approach. The issue in the latter case is not one of making up for past injustice.

In theory, colleges and universities will seek out all under-represented ethnic or racial groups, where under-represented tends to mean less than a group's proportion in the relevant population. In California, for example, Latinos and blacks were included among those "people of color" admitted to the California system under diversity programs, whereas Asian Americans were not.²³ In general the presence of Asian Americans in elite American colleges and universities (e.g., 34 percent of

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the undergraduate student body at Stanford, 25 percent at Columbia, 18 percent at Harvard, and 17 percent at Yale) tends to be discounted.²⁴ But students of Asian background surely add to diversity.

In agreeing to focus on diversity claims, African-Americans face a real dilemma. Affirmative action concerns support their demands more than that of any other group in American society with the possible exception of indigenous Americans. But vigorously advocating such claims potentially deprives African-Americans of allies among Hispanic groups who lack the same historically based moral standing. Diversity criteria are attractive in the strategic sense that they increase the number of possible allies among other people of color. On the other hand, invoking diversity criteria implies that the legitimacy of black claims to preference is no greater than that of other racial or ethnic minorities.

Nonetheless, recent cases suggest that diversity issues will dominate court proceedings. The argument is not only that black and Latino students will bring different and complementary perspectives to universities, but also that their admission to universities will also make non Hispanic whites realize that blacks and Latinos are diverse rather than monolithic groups in their opinions and attitudes.

Multiculturalism is clearly tied to diversity claims. It is often associated with a desire to broaden perspectives by the study of other cultures, including those of other countries as

well as racial and ethnic groups. However, it is now also associated with the demand for college courses that examine issues of groups defined as marginal in the United States. Such groups include women, blacks, Hispanics, as well as gays, lesbians, and transsexuals. The argument is that all these groups represent distinct cultures that are worthy of study and contribute to a fuller understanding of social life.

Supporters of policies designed to increase diversity relied on social science evidence and/or expert testimony that sought to demonstrate that such policies benefited most, if not all, students. Those making the case for diversity have also relied on widespread public expressions of support for ethnically and racially sensitive hiring and admission programs by college staff and national university organizations. In *Gratz v. Bollinger*, the Court discounted the plaintiff's argument that the evidence introduced could not override fourteenth amendment constitutional guarantees. It found the evidence of the value of diversity in admissions policies strong enough to permit Michigan's revised admissions program to pass constitutional muster.²⁵

The contention accepted by the District Court is that the mere presence of racial and ethnic diversity in the undergraduate student body improves the quality of education. This is true even if those students admitted under affirmative action or diversity criteria are not quite comparable to those admitted under "merit" criteria. In *The Shape of the River*, Bowen and Bok, for example, argue that increasing the diversity of American elites is more

important than maintaining a supposed meritocracy based on paper and pencil tests.

However, the decision in *Gratz v. Bollinger* was an exception to the general trend in the past decade. Neither the courts nor the public have seemed favorably disposed toward either affirmative action or diversity policies in college admissions or hiring. Some programs were overturned by voters in referenda, and the courts started to reject both affirmative action and diversity as grounds for special treatment.²⁶

When faced with negative court decisions and referenda, some states have adopted admissions policies designed to insure substantial enrollment by black and Latino students without relying on explicitly racial or ethnic admissions criteria. In such states as Texas, Florida, and California, these policies include reducing reliance on, or replacing, standardized tests like the SAT, and/or admitting a certain percentage of students who are in the top tier of their high school graduating class. Given the relative racial segregation of public schools, such policies insure the admission of black and Hispanic students who otherwise might not have been accepted by flagship state universities. Similar policies are being adopted by some private colleges and universities.²⁷ But future efforts will be contingent upon the Supreme Court's decision. And in making their decisions, the justices will consider the survey data on campus attitudes.

The Survey

In an effort to shed new light on attitudes toward diversity on college campuses, we analyzed results from our cross-national survey of student, faculty, and administrators at colleges and universities in the United States and Canada. The survey was conducted for the authors in 1999 by the survey research firm of Angus Reid. The analysis in this paper is limited to data from the United States sample. The sample included a total of 140 universities and colleges, stratified by institution type according to the Carnegie classifications of Doctoral, Comprehensive, and Liberal Arts schools. Within strata, the schools were randomly selected from the entire universe of qualified institutions with probability of selection proportional to size (faculty and student body combined). Once the initial sampling of schools was drawn, it was examined to ensure representativeness on the key variables of region, quality, and size, with some substitutions made at that time to enhance the school samples' profile on these characteristics.

For both the faculty and student surveys, given that the school selection was proportional to size, the sampling plan called for a roughly equal number of interviews from each school. For the administrators, with their much smaller universe, all eligible targets from all selected schools were placed in the sampling pool. The resulting sample totaled 3,749, consisting of 1500 students, 1520 faculty, and 729 administrators. All data collection was conducted by the Angus Reid Group using the firm's

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network of central location Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) facilities. Interviewing was conducted between 4 March and 3 May 1999. Response rates among those contacted were 53 percent for the student sample, 72 percent for faculty, and 70 percent for administrators. Historically black colleges were excluded from the sample used for the analysis presented in this paper.

With directly comparable data from the three components of the university community, it is possible to explore the scope and degree of agreement and disagreement within universities.

Most surveys of the academy indicate that students, faculty, and administrators typically wish to increase the diversity of the student body, the faculty, and the administration, at least in principle.²⁸ Our survey addressed several facets of campus opinion with regard to diversity issues. While there was substantial agreement among students, faculty, and administrators on most issues, there were also some important differences. There is widespread support for offering multicultural courses on American campuses, but not for requiring them. Only one out of six (Table 1) American students (16 percent) believes that courses about the experience of minorities should be required, but a much larger group, 38 percent, believe that such courses should be encouraged. Hardly anyone thinks that such courses should not be offered. Support for encouraging multicultural course offerings is even higher among faculty and senior

Table 1
Support for Course Diversity

Thinking about courses on the experience of racial minorities.			
For undergraduates, should these be ... (3.4c)			
Standards	Fac %	Stu %	Adm %
Required	16.9	15.9	17.4
Encouraged	42.4	37.5	46.4
Made Available	38.9	45.3	34.8
Not Offered	1.5	1.2	0.7
(Dk/Ns)	0.3	0.0	0.7
Total	100	100	100
N	1594	1569	789

Source: 1999 North American Academic Study.
Note: Results are for the U.S. only. Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding. Higher mean values indicate more responses towards "Not Offered."

administrators. Seventeen percent of faculty and administrators believe such courses should be required, and 42 percent of faculty and 46 percent of administrators believe they should be encouraged.

In general there is widespread endorsement of the ongoing discourse on minority issues at colleges and universities, and of the treatment of minorities on campus. Most members of the university community do not believe an inordinate amount of attention is invested in diversity issues. Over 80 percent of faculty, students, and administrators either moderately or strongly disagreed with the statement: "This university pays too much attention to minority issues" (Table 2). Students deviate slightly from the other groups,

Table 2
Attention to Minority Issues

	This university pays too much attention to minority issues. (11.1e)		
	Fac %	Studs %	Admns. %
Strongly Agree	1.9%	3.6%	0.3%
Moderately Agree	10.3	14.2	6.7
Moderately Disagree	45.1	47.9	44.6
Strongly Disagree	42.0	33.8	48.4
(Dk/Ns)	0.7	0.5	0.0
Total Agree	12.2	17.8	7.0
Total Disagree	87.2	81.7	93.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Respondents	1594	1569	789

Source: 1999 North American Academic Study. Note: Results are for the U.S. only. Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding. Respondents from historically Black colleges have been excluded.

with 18 percent agreeing there is too much attention paid to minority issues, compared to 12 percent among faculty, and 7 percent among administrators.

This commitment to racial discourse apparently does not stem from widespread concern over racism on campus. When faculty, students, and administrators were asked, "And do you think minority students are treated better, worse or about the same as white students at your university?" over 70 percent of all respondents answered "the same." However, among those who do believe that minorities are treated differently, the proportion who believe they are treated worse than whites is over twice as great as the number who see their treatment as better: faculty, 18 percent Worse vs. 7 percent Better; students, 14 percent Worse

vs. 6 percent Better; and administrators, 17 percent Worse vs. 6 percent Better.

Table 3
Treatment of Minorities and Majorities

	Do you think minority faculty are treated better, worse, or about the same as white faculty at your university (college)? (10.6a)			And do you think minority students are treated better, worse or about the same as white students at your university (college)? (10.6b)		
	Faculty %	Studs. %	Admns. %	Faculty %	Studs. %	Admns. %
Better	11.6%	-	8.3%	7.4%	5.8%	6.2%
Same	72.4	-	77.4	73.0	79.3	76.4
Worse	12.4	-	12.7	18.0	14.1	16.6
(Dk/Ns)	3.1	-	1.0	1.0	0.2	0.6
Total	100.0	-	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

From the following four groups, who do you think faces the toughest time getting hired for a faculty position at the average university? (10.7)

	Fac %	Adm %
White females	10.1%	12.2%
Minority females	18.6	17.4
Minority males	15.0	18.1
White males	43.3	36.6
No diff. (vlntrd)	5.5	6.1
(Dk/Ns)	7.6	9.6
Total	100.0	100.0
Respondents	1594	789

The results were similar when faculty and administrators were asked, "Do you think minority faculty are treated better, worse or about the same as white faculty at your university (college)?" Faculty and administrators are inclined to believe

that minority faculty are treated the same as whites (Table 3): 72 and 77 percent, respectively (students were not asked this question).

Indeed, a plurality believes that it is white males who have the most difficult time becoming a member of the university faculty. Faculty and administrators were asked, "From the following four groups (White females, Minority females, Minority males, and White males), who do you think faces the toughest time getting hired for a faculty position at the average university?" A plurality of both groups (Table 3) feel that it would be hardest for a white male to become a member of the faculty (43 percent of faculty and 37 percent of administrators, respectively). By contrast, white females were the least likely to be chosen as the group having a hard time becoming faculty: 10 and 12 percent, respectively. Minority females (19 and 17 percent, respectively) and minority males (15 percent of faculty and 18 percent of administrators, respectively) were in between.

Merging the data by ethnicity, the proportion who feel that it is hardest for whites to find a faculty position outweighed those who see more difficulty for minorities by 53 to 34 percent of faculty respondents, and 49 to 36 percent of administrators. Similarly, when the data were merged by gender, we found that males were selected as having the more difficult time, by about a two to one margin—58 to 29 percent of faculty and 55 to 30 percent of administrators, respectively.

Taken together, these findings suggest that most university staff members did not subscribe to the notion of white male hegemony in the present-day professoriate. Most respondents also contested the notion that merit- as opposed to race-based hiring policies favored white applicants. Approximately two thirds of all faculty, students, and administrators disagreed with the statement, "Traditional standards of merit for jobs and school admission are basically affirmative action for white males" (Table 4).

Table 4
Merit and Objectivity

Traditional standards of merit for jobs and school admission are basically affirmative action for white males. (13.1a)			
United States			
	Fac %	Stu %	Adm %
Strongly Agree	6.6	4.7	3.5
Somewhat Agree	24.0	29.0	20.1
Disagree	36.7	42.5	42.8
Strongly Disagree	30.5	22.3	29.4
(Dk/Ns)	2.2	1.6	4.2
Total	100	100	100
Total Agree	30.6	33.7	23.6
Total Disagree	67.2	64.8	72.2

Source: 1999 North American Academic Study.

Note: Results are for the U.S. only. Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Beyond tapping the perceptions of respondents about minority issues, we examined the more highly contested concerns as to what measures colleges and universities should take in order to further campus diversity. On these matters, a major difference in opinion separates students from staff when the prescriptions for insuring diversity involve admissions and hiring standards. In response to the statement, "No one should be given special

Table 5
Admissions and Jobs

No one should be given special preference in jobs or college admissions on the basis of their gender or race. (11.1f)			
	Fac %	Stud %	Admn. %
Strongly Agree	34.2%	66.7%	26.2%
Moderately Agree	21.3	18.7	21.5
Moderately Disagree	32.6	10.0	41.4
Strongly Disagree	11.1	4.6	10.0
(Dk/Ns)	0.8	0.1	1.0
Total Agree	55.5	85.4	47.7
Total Disagree	43.7	14.5	51.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Respondents	1594	1569	789

Source: 1999 North American Academic Study. Note: Results are for the U.S. only. Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding. Respondents from historically Black colleges have been excluded.

preference in jobs or college admissions on the basis of their gender or race," two thirds (66.7 percent) of the students strongly agree, compared to only one third of the faculty (34 percent) and one quarter (26 percent) of the administrators

(Table 5). An overwhelming 85 percent of students agree with the statement either strongly or moderately, as compared to a slight majority (56 percent) of the faculty and only a minority (48 percent) of administrators.

Similar fault lines appeared on policies concerning admission standards and minority students, although the differences among groups were not as great. Seventy-five percent of the students disagreed with the statement (Table 6): "More minority group undergraduates should be admitted here even if it means relaxing standards." Lower percentages (though still majorities) of faculty (57 percent) and administrators (55 percent) joined the students in disagreeing. On the issue of easing standards if necessary to appoint minority faculty, there was more agreement. Eighty-one percent of faculty, 76 percent of students, and 83 percent of administrators disagreed with the statement: "The normal academic requirements should be relaxed in appointing members of minority groups to the faculty here."

Thus, majorities of all three groups oppose lowering standards to increase minority representation on campus. Members of the university staff are more opposed than are students to lowering standards for faculty. But students consistently oppose the lowering of standards for minority students as well as faculty, while the faculty and administrators express greater reservations when the policy will affect the composition of the faculty.

Table 6
Attitudes towards Affirmative Action and Its Consequences

	United States			United States		
	Fac %	Stu %	Adm %	Fac %	Stu %	Adm %
More minority group undergraduates should be admitted here even if it means relaxing standards. (10.1)						
The normal academic requirements should be relaxed in appointing members of minority groups to the faculty here. (10.2)						
Strongly Agree	9.4	7.1	7.6	2.5	6.6	1.2%
Agree w/ Rsrv.	31.7	17.7	35.8	15.9	17.0	15.8
Disagree w/ Rsrv	31.1	31.7	33.5	32.0	29.6	34.5
Strongly Disagree	25.8	42.8	21.3	48.6	46.3	47.9
(Dk/Ns)	2.0	0.7	1.8	1.0	0.5	0.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total Agree	41.1	24.8	43.4	18.3	23.5	16.9
Total Disagree	57.0	74.5	54.8	80.6	75.9	82.4
	United States			United States		
	Fac %	Stu %	Adm %	Fac %	Stu %	Adm %
What impact, if any, do you think special admissions policies for minority students have on academic standards? (10.3)						
What impact, if any, do you think special hiring policies for minority faculty have on academic standards? (10.4)						
Much higher	0.9%	2.7%	0.4%	2.0%	3.2%	1.0%
A little higher	2.1	7.3	1.6	4.1	9.5	2.6
No real impact	56.5	53.0	66.2	54.8	57.9	69.4
A little lower	30.2	27.8	24.9	28.2	21.8	20.3
Much lower	7.6	6.8	3.7	7.7	6.5	3.7
(Dk/Ns)	2.9	2.5	3.2	3.2	1.1	3.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total higher	2.9	10.0	1.9	6.1	12.7	3.6
No real impact	56.5	53.0	66.2	54.8	57.9	69.4
Total lower	37.8	34.6	28.6	35.9	28.3	24.0
N	1594	1569	789	1594	1569	789

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However, most members of the three groups we studied do not believe that weighted criteria will have a substantial impact on academic quality. In response to the two statements, "What impact, if any, do you think special admissions policies for minority students have on academic standards?" and "What impact, if any, do you think special hiring policies for minority faculty have on academic standards?" the majority (53 percent or more of each of the three groups) assert that there is "no real impact" (Table 6). On the other hand, among those who believe that there is an impact on academic standards, the greater proportion (24 to 35 percent) expresses the belief that such policies lower them, as opposed to only two to 13 percent who maintain that standards will be raised by such policies.

Conclusion

On the whole, the state of American campus opinion evinces a relative consensus in regard to some diversity issues, such as the attention that should be given to minority concerns and the desirability of offering (but not requiring) courses on the study of racial or ethnic groups other than their own. However, opinion on using preferential policies to achieve greater diversity is divided between students, on the one hand, and university staff on the other. Reflecting an apparent difference in core beliefs, students are more likely to oppose such affirmative action policies in principle, whereas faculty and administrators show greater willingness to support them. A slight majority of

administrators support special admissions criteria in some instances, whereas a solid majority of faculty members is opposed to them.

One finding belies the assumption on many campuses that university faculties are sanctuaries of white male privilege. Our respondents are most likely to believe that white males actually have the hardest time gaining entry. We cannot know whether this perception is a historical assessment or the result of contemporary affirmative action policies. Nonetheless, what is uncontested is that members of the university do not believe that the customary putative meritocratic approaches to hiring and admissions currently favor white males. Thus, it should not be surprising to find that most members of the academic community prefer traditional (non-preferential) hiring practices.

Overall, there is a tendency on campus to reject a system of preferences, which is especially strong among students. While majorities believe that such policies will not undermine academic standards, a significant minority believes that they will, and far fewer believe they will raise standards. Such views call into question some of the arguments presented by those who maintain that important benefits will flow from increasing diversity.²⁹

In sum, our results are perhaps more ambiguous and nuanced than much of the literature on diversity would predict. To be sure, most members of the academic community embrace discussion and learning opportunities with regard to racial diversity.

However, they also eschew traditional affirmative action

practices, if they are seen to result in lower academic standards. Students differ sharply from faculty and administrators in the extent of their reluctance to endorse the principle of using preferential policies to increase diversity. It is especially worrisome that a majority of teachers, administrators, and students believe that such policies have made no difference in the educational quality of the institution, and a significant minority believe that the policies have lowered academic standards. Few respondents in any of the three groups believe that standards have been raised as a result of current diversity policies.

Notes:

1. *Gratz v. Bollinger*, 97-CV-75231-DT, 122 F. Supp. 2d 811, United States District Court for the Eastern District of Michigan, Southern Division, 2000.
2. *Grutter v. Bollinger*, Civil Action No. 97-CV-75928-DT, United States District Court for the Eastern District of Michigan, Southern Division, 2001.
3. On 2 December 2002, the Court announced it would hear both Michigan cases with a decision to be reached by June 2003. See Adam Liptak, "Diversity's Precarious Moorings" *New York Times*, 3 December 2002, The Nation section, 3.
4. "Powerful Groups and Figures Weigh In for U. of Michigan in Affirmative-Action Case," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 22 June 2001, 21.

5. For a recent review of the relevant literature see Thomas E. Wood and Malcolm J. Sherman, *Is Campus Racial Diversity Correlated with Educational Benefits? Part IV of Race and Higher Education: Why Justice Powell's Diversity Rationale for Racial Preferences in Higher Education Must Be Rejected* (Princeton, NJ: National Association of Scholars, 4 April 2001). See also "Powerful Groups and Figures," *Chronicle of Higher Education*; Peter Schmidt, "How Michigan Won Corporate Backing for Its Defense of Affirmative Action," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 24 November 2000, A21; and "Ford Foundation Moves to Promote Defense of Diversity." Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, News and Information Services, 12 July 2001.

6. For instance, Gary Orfield and Dean Whitley "Diversity and Legal Education: Student Experiences in Leading Law Schools," Cambridge, MA: The Civil Rights Project, Harvard University, August 1999.

<http://www.law.harvard.edu/groups/...rights/publications/lawsurvey.html>.

7. William T. Trent, "Student Affirmative Action in Higher Education: Addressing Underrepresentation," in *The Racial Crisis in American Higher Education*, ed. Philip G. Altbach and Kofi Lomotey (New York: State University of New York Press, 1991).

8. *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

9. *Florida ex rel. Hawkins v Board of Control*, No. 624, Supreme Court of The United States, 350 U.S. 413; 76 S. Ct. 464; 100 L. Ed. 486; 1956 U.S. Lexis 1290, 12 March 1956.

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10. Trent, "Student Affirmative Action in Higher Education."

11. William G. Tierney, "The Parameters of Affirmative Action: Equity and Excellence in the Academy," *Review of Educational Research*, 67, 2 (1997): 167.

12. William Bowen and Derek Bok, *The Shape of the River: Long-Term Consequences of Considering Race in College and University Admissions* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998).

13. It seems that diversity is increasingly and explicitly replacing affirmative action in the arguments for concerns about minority students, because it is clear that the present Court, at least, is unlikely to accept the constitutionality of affirmative action initiatives. The University of Michigan has made diversity the centerpiece of its argument before the courts.

14. In *We Are All Multiculturalists Now* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), Nathan Glazer reports that he now supports affirmative action for African-Americans. Though he was for many years a strong and highly regarded critic of preferential policies [see his *Affirmative Discrimination* (New York: Basic Books, 1975)], he has changed his mind because his expectation that African-Americans would integrate, much as have Italians and Jews, has not come to pass and Glazer believes that new policies are required. While Glazer argues that the nation owes a particular moral debt to African-Americans, he does not support affirmative action for Latinos, discrimination against whom is more comparable to experiences of newly arriving Jews or Italians than to the black experience in America. Indeed the
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situation of Latinos is probably better than it was for Italians, Irish, or Jews, given the fact that the great majority immigrated at a time when civil rights laws were fully in place.

Rhetorically, at least, it is considered wrong to discriminate, and there is also available a wide range of social services that did not exist for earlier generations of immigrants. See Seymour Martin Lipset, "Affirmative Action and the American Creed," *Wilson Quarterly*, 16 (Winter 1992): 52-62.

15. Stephen Thernstrom and Abigail Thernstrom, *America in Black and White: One Nation, Indivisible* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997).

16. See Lipset, "Affirmative Action and the American Creed"; Paul M. Sniderman and Edward G. Carmines, *Reaching Beyond Race* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997); Civil Rights Org., "A Majority of Americans Support Affirmative Action Programs for Women and People of Color," June 1997, http://www.civilrights.org/policy_and_legislation/pl_issues/affirmative_action/background/majority_support.html; Gallup Organization, *Race Relations*, 9-12 March 2001, <http://www.gallup.com/poll/indicators/indrace.asp>; Paul M. Sniderman and Thomas Piazza, *The Scar of Race* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1993); Thernstrom and Thernstrom, *America in Black and White*; Frederick R. Lynch, *Invisible Victims: White Males and the Crisis of Affirmative Action* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989); Charlotte Steeh and Maria Krysan, "Affirmative Action and the Public, 1970-1995 (The Forthcoming in the Fall 2002 issue of *Academic Questions*)

- Polls-Trends)" *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 60, 1 (1996): 128-158;
- and Thomas E. Wood and Malcolm J. Sherman, *Is Campus Racial Diversity Correlated with Educational Benefits? Part IV, Race and Higher Education: Why Justice Powell's Diversity Rationale for Racial Preferences in Higher Education Must Be Rejected* (Princeton, NJ: National Association of Scholars, 4 April 2001).
17. NORC 2001, *General Social Survey: Affirmative Action*, Men/Women benefit at expense of opposite sex, DISCAFFW, Question 516b <http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/GSS/>
18. James A. Banke, *Multiethnic Education: Theory and Practice*, Third Edition (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1994); Carl Rowan, *The Coming Race War in America: A Wake-Up Call* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1996); and Ellis Cose, *The Rage of a Privileged Class* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993).
19. *Regents of University of California v. Bakke*, 438 U.S. 912, 98 S. Ct. 3140, No. 76-811, US Supreme Court, 1978.
20. Tierney, "The Parameters of Affirmative Action."
21. Such social science research might include: Bowen and Bok, *The Shape of the River*; "Deposition of Patricia Gurin, February 12, 1999 in the matter of: *Barbara Grutter v. Lee Bollinger, et al.*," Esquire Deposition Services, Ann Arbor, MI. Original File 021299PG.ASC, 90 pages, Min-U-Script® File ID: 1373710982; Gary Orfield and Michael Kurlaender, *Diversity Challenged* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University-Harvard Education Publishing Group, 2001); Orfield and Whitley, "Diversity and Legal Education"; Daryl Smith et al., "Diversity Works: The Emerging Picture of How Students
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Benefit—An Executive Summary," Featured Monograph from the AACU web page, 10 December 1997; and Wood and Sherman, *Is Campus Racial Diversity Correlated with Educational Benefits?*

22. On the other hand, Arthur Levine (in "The Campus Divided, and Divided Again," *New York Times*, 11 June 2000, Section 4, 17,) and Arthur Levine and Jeanette S. Cureton (in *When Hope and Fear Collide: A Portrait of Today's College Student* [San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1998]) paint a more negative picture.

Multiculturalism and other factors have led to self-segregation and considerable tension. Furthermore, in "Do facts matter?" (*Jewish World Review*, 18 October 2001;

<http://www.jewishworldreview.com/cols/sowell.html>), Thomas Sowell, argues that black students, finding themselves in the lower quartile of students at the schools to which they have been admitted, react by seeing prejudice and rejecting "white" knowledge, an approach that has now been picked up by other groups. In whites a sense of guilt and doubt wrestles with a sense of perceived unfairness.

23. Stephen Thernstrom, "Asian Americans vs. Multiculturalism," *Academic Questions* (Spring 1999): 34-39. Also, Martin Trow, "California After Racial Preferences," *Public Interest* (Spring 1999): 64.

24. Thernstrom, "Asian Americans vs. Multiculturalism."

25. As already noted, late in 2000, a U.S. District Court decision (*Gratz v. Bollinger*) did permit the University of

Michigan to use diversity claims as a rationale for differential admissions policies based on race and ethnicity.

26. See Bowen and Derek, *The Shape of the River*; Levine and Cureton, *When Hope and Fear Collide*; Thernstrom and Thernstrom, *America in Black and White*; Trow, "California After Racial Preferences"; and Wood and Sherman, *Is Campus Racial Diversity Correlated with Educational Benefits?*

27. Marcia Yablon, "Test Flight," *New Republic*, 30 October 2000, 24.

28. For instance, Zogby International, *Report on Academic Life*; Levine and Cureton, *When Hope and Fear Collide*; and Orfield and Whitley, "Diversity and Legal Education."

29. We deal with question in more detail, which includes subjecting additional survey items to a multivariate data analysis, in Rothman et al, "Does Diversity Improve Educational Quality?" *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, Spring 2003, in press.

Date: 3/7/03

To: ~~Ruben Barrales~~
From: Strategic Initiatives Karl Rove

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 - Direct Response
 - Prepare Response For My Signature
 - Per Our Conversation
 - Let's Discuss
 - Per Your Request
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 - Other
- Comments: _____
- _____
- _____

508642

Date: 3/7/03

To: ~~Tim Goeglein~~
From: Strategic Initiatives Karl Rove

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- Comments: _____
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- _____



Ruban -
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AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

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To: Karl Rove

Fax: 202-456-0191

From: Karen Bailey

Americans for Tax Reform
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(202)785-0266
(202)785-0261 (fax)

Date: March 4, 2003

Pages
(including cover): 3

Comments:

Mr. Rove,
Enclosed is the legislation passed by Colorado supporting the President on Iraq. In addition, California will be introducing the resolution in the next few days along with the South Dakota House that introduced it on Friday.

Thanks,
Karen

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COLORADO 1ST REGULAR SESSION OF THE 64TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 16

[FIRST REGULAR SESSION
SIXTY-FOURTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY
STATE OF COLORADO

2003 Bill Text CO S.J.R. 16

VERSION: Adopted

VERSION-DATE: February 25, 2003

SYNOPSIS:

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 03-016

CONCERNING HONORING PRESIDENT BUSH'S LEADERSHIP IN HIS EFFORT TO PROTECT THE UNITED STATES AGAINST SADDAM HUSSEIN.

TEXT: WHEREAS, The dictatorship of Iraq has continued to develop weapons of mass destruction in violation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1441; and

WHEREAS, Iraq's dictator, Saddam Hussein, has demonstrated a willingness to use weapons of mass destruction against neighboring nations and the citizens of Iraq; and

WHEREAS, Saddam Hussein threatens the Middle East and the world with the threat to use weapons of mass destruction; and

WHEREAS, Saddam Hussein and his regime maintain a continuing, documented involvement with the global terrorist movement; now, therefore,

Be It Resolved by the Senate of the Sixty-fourth General Assembly of the State of Colorado, the House of Representatives concurring herein:

That the General Assembly expresses its support of President George W. Bush and his cabinet, in cooperation with the United States Congress and the United Nations, for their unwavering determination to either disarm Saddam Hussein or remove him from power, and also expresses its support of the men and women of the United States armed forces for their courage and dedication to this mission.

Be It Further Resolved, That copies of this Joint Resolution be sent to President George W. Bush, Speaker of the House J. Dennis Hastert, Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, Secretary of State Colin L. Powell, and each member of Colorado's congressional delegation.

SPONSOR:

Andrews

SUBJECT: MILITARY WEAPONS (92%); WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION (92%); LEGISLATORS (78%); WEAPONS INSPECTIONS (78%);

COUNTRY: NORTH AMERICA (87%); UNITED STATES (86%); IRAQ (75%); ASIA (75%);

STATE: COLORADO, USA (87%);

LOAD-DATE: February 27, 2003

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 3/7/03

To: ~~Robert Barron~~
From: Strategic Initiatives Karl Rove

- FYI
 - Appropriate Action
 - Direct Response
 - Prepare Response For My Signature
 - Per Our Conversation
 - Let's Discuss
 - Per Your Request
 - Please Return
 - Deadline
 - Other
- Comments: _____
- _____
- _____

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

508642

Date: 3/7/03

To: Jim Geoghegan
From: Strategic Initiatives Karl Rove

- FYI
 - Appropriate Action
 - Direct Response
 - Prepare Response For My Signature
 - Per Our Conversation
 - Let's Discuss
 - Per Your Request
 - Please Return
 - Deadline
 - Other
- Comments: _____
- _____
- _____



AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

FAX TRANSMITTAL

Ruban -
Tom G. FYI

1920 L STREET, N.W. - SUITE 200 - WASHINGTON, DC 20036 - 202-785-0266 - [HTTP://WWW.ATR.ORG](http://WWW.ATR.ORG)

TO: Karl Rove

FAX: (202) 456-0191

FROM: Karen Bailey

Americans for Tax Reform
1920 L Street, NW Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 785-0266
(202) 785-0261 (fax)

DATE: March 5, 2003

PAGES 3
(Including Cover):

Comments: Mr. Rove,
South Dakota House passed the Iraq
resolution yesterday. A copy of the
resolution is attached.

Best,
Karen

This message is intended only for the use of the individual or entity to which it is addressed and may contain information that is privileged, confidential, and exempt from disclosure under applicable law. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient or the employee or agent responsible for delivering the message to the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any dissemination, distribution, or copy of this communication is strictly prohibited. If you have received this communication in error, please notify us immediately by telephone and return the original message to us via the US Postal Service.

State of South Dakota

SEVENTY-EIGHTH SESSION
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 2003

264I0800

HOUSE RESOLUTION NO. 1002

Introduced by: Representatives McCaulley, Adelstein, Bartling, Begalka, Bradford, Buckingham, Burg, Christensen, Craddock, Cutler, Davis, Deadrick (Thomas), Frost, Fryslie, Garnos, Gassman, Gillespie, Hackl, Hargens, Haverly, Heineman, Hennies, Hundstad, Hunhoff, Juhnke, Klaudt, Koistinen, Konold, Kraus, Kroger, LaRue, Lintz, Madsen, McCoy, McLaughlin, Michels, Murschel, Novstrup, O'Brien, Olson (Mel), Olson (Ryan), Pederson (Gordon), Peterson (Bill), Peterson (Jim), Rave, Rhoden, Rounds, Schafer, Sebert, Smidt, Solum, Teupel, Valandra, Van Etten, Van Gerpen, Weems, Wick, and Williamson

1 A RESOLUTION, Honoring President Bush, the President's Cabinet, the United States
2 Congress, the United States Armed Forces, and South Dakotans for their courage and
3 commitment to disarming Iraq.

4 WHEREAS, the dictatorship of Iraq has continued to develop weapons of mass destruction
5 in violation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1441; and

6 WHEREAS, the dictator of Iraq, Saddam Hussein, has demonstrated a willingness to use
7 weapons of mass destruction against neighboring nations and the citizens of Iraq; and

8 WHEREAS, Saddam Hussein threatens the Middle East and the global economy with the
9 threat to use weapons of mass destruction; and

10 WHEREAS, the danger posed by Saddam Hussein and his weapons cannot be ignored or
11 wished away. The danger must be confronted; and

12 WHEREAS, the safety of the people of South Dakota and the American people depends on



1 ending this direct and growing threat. Acting against the danger will contribute greatly to the
2 long-term safety and stability of our world; and

3 WHEREAS, over three thousand South Dakotans have been called upon by the United
4 States Armed Forces to participate in Operation Noble Eagle, Operation Enduring Freedom, or
5 a possible war with Iraq;

6 NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, by the House of Representatives of the Seventy-
7 eighth Legislature of the State of South Dakota, that the South Dakota Legislature supports
8 President George W. Bush, the President's Cabinet, the United States Congress, the South
9 Dakotans serving our country in the United States Armed Forces, and the other men and women
10 of the United States Armed Forces for their courage and commitment to disarm Iraq fully, either
11 peaceably or through force.

508642

Date: 3/7/03

To: Kimmi Ellison

From: Strategic Initiatives Sarah Lockart

- FYI
- Appropriate Action
- Direct Response
- Prepare Response For My Signature
- Per Our Conversation
- Let's Discuss
- Per Your Request
- Please Return
- Deadline
- Other

Comments: _____

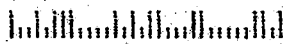
Mr. Gerard Kern
(b)(6)



EXECUTIVE PRESIDENT
WILSON CENTER INITIATIVES

200 MAR - 6 PM 5:21

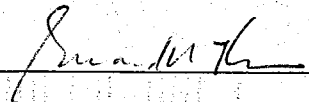
Mr. Karl Rove
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500



2-14-03

Dear Mr. Rove:

It is distressing to read about your disagreement with Rep. Tom Tancredo over immigration policy. He should be supported, not ostracized. He is correct in warning that U.S. immigration policy could lead to another horrific terrorist attack on American soil. The risk of another such attack outweighs the perceived benefits of allowing more immigration. We have learned that the Bush administration is continuing a Clinton policy of allowing thousands of people from Somalia to enter the U.S. As you know, Somalia was a hide-out for Osama bin Laden, and an Islamic terror group linked to him still operates there. Do you think it is wise to open our borders to such people when the President is trying to win a war on terrorism?





CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE PRESIDENCY

~~Decline due to travel~~
 declined 3/7 508642

DAVID M. ABSHIRE
 President

HONORARY CHAIRMEN:
 GEORGE H.W. BUSH
 JIMMY CARTER
 WILLIAM J. CLINTON
 GERALD R. FORD
 RONALD W. REAGAN

March 5, 2003

Via Facsimile
 (202) 456-0191

Mr. Karl Rove
 Senior Advisor to the President
 The White House
 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
 Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Karl:

Another favor. Once again we have assembled 65 of the best and brightest undergraduate and graduate students from the top schools across the country. See the list attached. These Center Fellows will hear Tom Ridge speak over dinner on Thursday April 3, in the evening.

→ On April 4 in the afternoon the Fellows will visit the White House. With your unique view of history it would be a treat to have you speak to the students during their visit, if your schedule permits. I will be with them.

With warm regards,

Sincerely yours,

Center for the Study of the Presidency



COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES OF CENTER FELLOWS

Barnard College, Layla Shetty	The Citadel, the Military College of
Boston College, Sean Collier	South Carolina, Timothy Anderson
Brown University, William Heil	Tulane University, Jonathan Roy Davis
Bryn Mawr College, Rebecca Jane Brown	United States Air Force Academy,
Bucknell University, Michael Boland	Megan Hember
Colby College, Catherine Jessop	United States Air Force Academy,
Colgate University, Bonnie Patricia Rust	Raymond Rounds
College of William & Mary, Stephen Ng	United States Coast Guard Academy,
Colorado College, Kyle DeBeer	Staci Krueger
Columbia University, Ajay Sutaria	United States Coast Guard Academy,
Cornell University, Il Hyun Cho	Rachel Cost
Dartmouth College, Russell Sample	United States Military Academy,
Davidson College, Adam Hill	Steven Hemmann
Duke University, Tyler William Will	United States Military Academy,
Emory University, Christopher Richardson	Seth Johnston
Fitchburg State College, Alyne Butland	United States Naval Academy,
Gannon University, Emily O'Connell	Christopher Blackburn,
George Mason University, Jason Hartke	United States Naval Academy,
George Washington University,	Adam Tisdall
Blake Newmark	University of California-Berkley
Georgetown University, Will Adams	Jed Harris
Georgia Institute of Technology,	University of California-Los Angeles,
Whitney Setzer	Teresa Breen
Gettysburg College, Jonathan Goldberg	University of Michigan, Christianne Hall
Harvard University, Alicia Kolar	University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill,
Howard University, Crystal Frierson	Katherine Carter
Johns Hopkins University, Seth Korman	University of Notre Dame,
Middlebury College, H. Timothy Perry	Andrea Swinehart
Morehouse College, Louis Jared Boyd	University of Pennsylvania,
Mount Holyoke College,	Ralph Brett Tompkins
Whitney Alann Russell	University of Tennessee-Chattanooga,
North Georgia College & State University,	W. Adam Izell
Brendon Eli Terry	University of Texas Austin,
Northwestern University, Matt Irwin	Eli Van Camp
Norwich University, Phillip Newman	University of the South, Mark Cummings
Pennsylvania State University,	University of Virginia, Walker Forehand
Adam Tarosky	University of Wisconsin-Madison,
Princeton University, Andrew DeFilippis	Matthew Dull
Rice University, Lindsay Lawley	Vanderbilt University, Matthew Merkle
Rollins College, Ryan Williams	Vassar College, Mike Schmidt
Smith College, Kate Monninger	Virginia Military Institute,
Stanford University, Meena Mallipeddi	Luke Blaine Kingree
Texas A&M University, Nathan Cook	Williams College, Edward Hall O'Donnell



David A. Cole
President-Industry Markets

SBC Communications Inc.
One Bell Plaza
Room 3702
Dallas, TX 75202

214.464.7899 Phone

508642

NAN

March 7, 2003

Dear Karl:

Thank you for taking the time to write back to me after our call. I am sure you have seen by now the fallout in the marketplace from the FCC's decision. As you know we had hoped for a different outcome, one that I believe would have begun to put the tech/telecom sector back on the road to economic recovery. As you know we have significantly reduced our investment in the market and have laid off over 30,000 employees in the past 2 years.

I know you have a lot on your mind and I appreciate your taking the time to discuss this issue with me.

As we move forward, we here at SBC are supportive of the Administrations call for a stronger economy that will promote investment and create jobs.

Please call me if I can be of assistance to you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Cole", written over a horizontal line.

SBC INDUSTRY MARKETS

ONE BELL PLAZA
ROOM 3702
DALLAS, TEXAS 75202

FAX NUMBER (214) 464-7727

Date: 3/7/03

FROM:

David A. Cole X
President-Industry Markets
214-464-7899

Teresa D. Walling _____
Assistant to the President-
Industry Markets
214-464-7733

THIS FACSIMILE IS FOR: Carl Rove

FAX NUMBER: 202-456-0191

THIS FAX IS 1 PAGE/S IN LENGTH NOT INCLUDING THE COVER SHEET

Withdrawal Marker

The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Fighting the Racism Rap - To: Karl Rove - From: Chase Untermeyer	1	03/03/2003	PRM;

**This marker identifies the original location of the withdrawn item listed above.
For a complete list of items withdrawn from this folder, see the
Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet at the front of the folder.**

COLLECTION:

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

Subject Files - FG006-27 (Office of Senior Advisor - Karl Rove)

FOLDER TITLE:

508642 [1]

FRC ID:

9707

OA Num.:

10731

NARA Num.:

10789

FOIA ID and Segment:

2015-0037-F

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

Deed of Gift Restrictions

- A. Closed by Executive Order 13526 governing access to national security information.
- B. Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the document.
- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Records Not Subject to FOIA

Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

Withdrawal Marker

The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Fw: Fact Sheet: The President's Framework to Modernize... - To: Susan Ralston - From: Karl Rove	1	03/04/2003	P5;

**This marker identifies the original location of the withdrawn item listed above.
For a complete list of items withdrawn from this folder, see the
Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet at the front of the folder.**

COLLECTION:

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

Subject Files - FG006-27 (Office of Senior Advisor - Karl Rove)

FOLDER TITLE:

508642 [1]

FRC ID:

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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Records Not Subject to FOIA

Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

SPEECH COVER SHEET

BILL NOVELLI

DCN: 2002135

EVENT

Description: American Medical Association 2003 National Advocacy Conference

Theme: Protecting the Commitment to Our Medicare Patients

Key Participants: In this session: Sen. Max Baucus, Ranking Member, Senate Finance Committee follows you

Sponsor: AMA

Date: March 4, 2003

Time: 1:30 – 5:15 p.m.

Location: Washington, DC (Washington Hilton and Towers – International East)

AUDIENCE

Size/Demographics: 700 physician leaders including: members of the AMA's Board of Trustees and House of Delegates; physician leaders of state, county, and national medical specialty societies; and medical students, residents and young physicians.

Comments:

SPEECH

Length/Format: 20 Minute Plenary Session speech with Q&A

Subject: Prescription drugs and Medicare Reform

Comments: They want to understand the perspectives of the AARP membership and the impact of the problem on our members.

CONTACTS

Sponsor: Richard Deem, VP Gov. Aff.

Phone: (202) 789-7413

Writer: Boe Workman

Phone: (202) 434-2565

AARP Specialist: Kirsten Sloan

Phone:

WRITER'S NOTES OR COMMENTS

**William D. Novelli
Executive Director and CEO
AARP**

Prescription Drugs and Medicare Reform

**American Medical Association
2003 National Advocacy Conference
Washington, DC
March 4, 2003 at 1:30 p.m.**

OUTLINE

I. Introduction

- a. Thank Dr. Maves and the AMA for inviting you.
- b. Pay tribute to the important work physicians do...their contribution to living longer and living better
- c. We still face significant challenges.

II. AARP released a study last spring titled, *Beyond Fifty: A Report to the Nation on Trends in Health Security*, which identified the primary factors that influence the health security of 50+ Americans:

- a. Increased reliance on prescription drugs and other new health technologies has brought about major changes in the delivery of health care and has driven health-care costs and coverage structures.
- b. Chronic diseases and conditions are common among people over age 50, especially in the oldest age segments. But the systems that serve the chronically ill remain oriented largely toward acute medical care. Increasingly, the health-care needs of this population involve a range of services across the spectrum of physician, inpatient, outpatient, and long-term care.
- c. Greater longevity—and the functional limitations that accompany old age—have highlighted the need to live more independently and increased awareness of the quality of life, especially during the last stages of life.
- d. There is increasing recognition among those who provide or pay for care that patients need choices about quality and value. Informed decision-making is an increasingly important—yet often missing—dimension in consumer thinking about health security. For those needing long-term care, especially, the challenge of navigating a fragmented, uncoordinated, patchwork of public and private programs is very, very difficult.
- e. High and rising health-care costs make care less accessible for many 50+ Americans. Average spending per person over age 50 has increased, fueled largely by the increase in chronic conditions and spending for prescription drugs. Out-of-pocket spending on prescription drugs and long-term care represent the greatest health-related financial risk for older Americans.

III. Prescription drugs

- a. I have heard people say, and seen newspaper articles claim that AARP is at war with the pharmaceutical industry. This just isn't true. Our members and their families need and value the products the industry develops and produces. I, personally, have great respect for pharmaceutical companies and have worked with them in health promotion, disease prevention and pharmaceutical product marketing virtually my whole career.
 - i. Without the basic research and the products that follow, Americans' lives would be more difficult and, in many cases, shorter. We certainly appreciate the pharmaceutical industry and our publicly-funded medical research for bringing us such important advances.

- ii. We have a lot to be grateful for — and a lot to look forward to — as medical research into Alzheimer's, Parkinson's, and other diseases progresses. But we face a major problem: our members and their families cannot afford or sustain current drug costs. When I say we need these products, I'm also saying we need them to be affordable. The marketplace is out of balance, and spending on these wonderful drugs that combat disease and ease suffering is too high. Here's what I'm talking about.
 - 1. Spending on prescription drugs rose on average about 13 percent a year between 1993 and 2001. For the next decade, it is expected to rise about 12 percent a year.
 - 2. Prices of brand name prescription drugs have been rising at nearly four times the rate of general inflation.
 - 3. Nearly one American woman in five between the ages of 50 and 64 did not fill a prescription because it was too expensive.
 - 4. Millions of seniors are skipping doses or splitting pills to save money.
 - 5. Prescription drugs are the fastest growing item in many state health-care budgets, not just because the prices are higher, but because more people are using them, and often they are demanding the Cadillac when the Chevy would work just as well.
- b. A recent study by Harris Interactive found that higher out-of-pocket drug costs are causing massive non-compliance in the use of prescription drugs. Millions of Americans do not ask doctors for the prescriptions they need, do not fill the prescriptions they are given, don't take their full doses and take their drugs less often than they should. Moreover, the higher people's out-of-pocket costs for drugs, the more likely they are to be non-compliant.
 - i. We hear from our members every day on this. It is a huge and persistent problem that won't go away by itself. It affects not just low-income seniors, but middle-class people on fixed incomes, as well. We are committed to helping our members, and all older Americans and their families, to cope with this.
- c. Our goal is affordable drug coverage in Medicare, with some cost containment so that a Medicare benefit can be sustained. We are also concerned about Medicaid and the states' abilities to sustain these programs. Forty states currently face Medicaid shortfalls driven by unsustainable drug costs. High drug costs are continuing to drive the increase in Medigap premiums. And as you no doubt know, businesses large and small are feeling the squeeze of high drug costs. Many are either dropping drug coverage or requiring employees and retirees to pay significantly more.
- d. This problem won't solve itself. Until we achieve affordable and sustainable drug coverage in Medicare, pressures for other cost-reducing measures will only increase...pressures for reimportation, more state solutions, price controls and increased litigation.

- i. Efforts to provide relief through discount cards and other means, while laudable, are simply not enough. The problem is much bigger than that, and we must solve it systemically. All the while we need to be cognizant of the need to continue research into new lifesaving and life-prolonging drugs that will improve the quality of life for us all.
- e. Last year, Congress came close to achieving drug coverage in Medicare. The foundation for success has been laid. The House passed a bill, though in our view, it needed improvement. Although the Senate failed to pass its own legislation, 99 Senators voted for some form of a prescription-drug benefit for Medicare beneficiaries. The Senate essentially reached an implicit bipartisan agreement on a number of key issues, including the need to contain the spiraling cost of drugs.
 - i. They could not agree, however, on two issues:
 - 1. Whether to target the limited dollars to seniors most in need—those with low incomes and/or high drug expenses. This was essentially about the money available.
 - 2. The role of private insurers vs. the government in delivering the benefit and controlling the cost. This was partly ideological.
- f. While these differences are substantial; they are not insurmountable. Both public and private insurance can co-exist, just as they have in Medicare under the Medicare Plus Choice program.
 - i. We are working hard again this year to help achieve reliable and affordable prescription-drug coverage in Medicare that will assure access to, and appropriate use of, drugs for Medicare beneficiaries. In the absence of a benefit, our over 35 million members will continue to struggle with drug costs. And pressures for cost controls will continue to increase.
 - ii. Congress has many priorities and the nation's deficits are higher, so finding adequate resources for drug coverage will be difficult. But it seems clear that the situation is going to change. Something must be done to help seniors with skyrocketing drug costs. There is simply too much public and political pressure – and too much pain – to maintain the status quo.
 - iii. This is a new day, but a lot of the old politics remain. We are well aware of the pharmaceutical industry's heavy spending and successes in the November elections. We understand the challenges the industry faces on Wall Street. We are assuming, however, that the industry's leaders see that the world of drug pricing and drug costs is changing. They want to manage that change and control it to the degree they possibly can. I hope we can work together to do this.
 - iv. We are interested in a pragmatic, bipartisan, workable solution for the politicians, the industry, the states and America's health-care consumers, including our own members and their families.

IV. Medicare Reform

- a. It may be possible to integrate drug coverage into a total benefit package. We are concerned, as is the pharmaceutical industry, that a drug-only benefit in Medicare may be unstable due to rising costs. We are also concerned that it may not offer a benefit that is generous enough to attract an adequate number of enrollees. If that were the case, the risk pool would be too small to hold down premium costs and to sustain the program over the long term.
- b. Elements of Medicare Reform
 - i. Preserve Medicare's pledge to provide affordable, accessible, high quality health care to older Americans
 - ii. Defined package of benefits including new voluntary, affordable prescription-drug coverage
 - iii. No exclusions due to age, geography, health status, or ability to pay
 - iv. Extra protections for lower income beneficiaries
 - v. Improvements to the original fee-for-service option
 - vi. Stable financing
- c. Medicare improvements should take into account the surge in beneficiaries that will begin in 2011 when the first baby boomers become eligible for benefits. And, they should reflect advances in medicine, such as greater coverage of prevention benefits and the greater use of drug therapies that are replacing more expensive hospital stays for many people.
- d. It is critical that we find a solution to this problem. Until we do, no one will be able to feel secure from the rising costs of drugs.

V. Conclusion: We need your voice in this debate

- a. Lack of prescription-drug coverage in Medicare is having a detrimental effect on your patients...it undermines the treatment you provide.
- b. We recognize and understand the tremendous amount of respect our members have for you, their doctors.
 - i. We stood up—in the midst of the drug debate in the last Congress—and said we supported the effort to correct the physician reimbursement problem in Medicare.
 - ii. Now, we challenge you to stand up and tell the Congress and the President that your patients are suffering from the lack of prescription-drug coverage in Medicare.

Good afternoon. It's a pleasure to be here. You have had quite a line up of speakers already today with more to follow, and I'm certainly proud to be part of it. I especially want to thank Dr. Mike Maves for inviting me to speak to you on behalf of AARP's 35 million+ members.

You and your colleagues—physicians, researchers, medical scientists, public health experts—are largely responsible for the enormous progress we have made in helping people to live longer and to live better in 21st century America.

But as you know, despite all of this progress, we still face serious challenges regarding health and health care.

Last spring, AARP released a study titled, *Beyond Fifty: A Report to the Nation on Trends in Health Security*, which identified the primary factors that influence the health security of 50+ Americans:

1. Increased reliance on prescription drugs and other new health technologies has brought about major changes in the delivery of health care and has driven health-care costs and coverage structures.
2. Chronic diseases and conditions are common among people over age 50, especially in the oldest age segments. But the systems that serve the chronically ill remain oriented largely toward acute medical care. Increasingly, the health-care needs of this population involve a range of services across the spectrum of physician, inpatient, outpatient, and long-term care.

3. Greater longevity—and the functional limitations that accompany old age—have highlighted the need to live more independently and increased awareness of the quality of life, especially during the last stages of life.
4. There is increasing recognition among those who provide or pay for care that patients need choices about quality and value. Informed decision-making is an increasingly important—yet often missing—dimension in consumer thinking about health security. (For those needing long-term care, especially, the challenge of navigating a fragmented, uncoordinated, patchwork of public and private programs is very, very difficult.)
5. High and rising health-care costs make care less accessible for many 50+ Americans. Average spending per person over age 50 has increased, fueled largely by the increase in chronic conditions and spending for prescription drugs. Out-of-pocket spending on prescription drugs and long-term care represent the greatest health-related financial risk for older Americans.

I'm not going to talk about all of these today, but they do provide a good context for the issue I do want to focus on-- prescription-drug coverage in Medicare and Medicare reform.

We face a major problem in this country today: older Americans and their families cannot afford or sustain current prescription drug costs. We truly need these products, but we also need them to be affordable.

The marketplace is out of balance, and spending on these wonderful drugs that combat disease and ease suffering is too high.

- Spending on prescription drugs rose on average about 13 percent a year between 1993 and 2001. For the next decade, it is expected to rise about 12 percent a year.
- Prices of brand name prescription drugs have been rising at nearly four times the rate of general inflation.
- Nearly one American woman in five between the ages of 50 and 64 did not fill a prescription because it was too expensive.
- Millions of seniors are skipping doses or splitting pills to save money.
- Prescription drugs are the fastest growing item in many state health-care budgets, not just because the prices are higher, but because more people are using them, and often they are demanding the Cadillac when the Chevy would work just as well.

A recent study by Harris Interactive found that higher out-of-pocket drug costs are causing massive non-compliance in the use of prescription drugs. Millions of Americans do not ask their doctors for the prescriptions they need, do not fill the prescriptions they are given, don't take their full doses and take their drugs less often than they should. Moreover, the higher people's out-of-pocket costs for drugs, the more likely they are to be non-compliant.

We hear from our members every day on this. It is a huge and persistent problem that won't go away by itself. It affects not just low-income seniors, but middle-class people on fixed incomes, as well. We are committed to helping our members, and all older Americans and their families, to cope with this. Our goal is affordable drug coverage in Medicare, with some cost containment so that a Medicare benefit can be sustained.

We are also concerned about Medicaid and the states' abilities to sustain these programs. Forty-nine states currently face Medicaid shortfalls driven by unsustainable drug costs. High drug costs are continuing to drive the increase in Medigap premiums for the few plans that offer drug coverage.

And, businesses large and small are feeling the squeeze of high drug costs. Many are either dropping drug coverage or requiring employees and retirees to pay significantly more.

Until we achieve affordable and sustainable drug coverage in Medicare, pressures for other cost-reducing measures will only increase... pressures for drug reimportation, more state solutions, price controls and increased litigation.

Last year, Congress came close to achieving drug coverage in Medicare. The foundation for success has been laid. The House passed a bill, though in our view, it needed improvement. Although the Senate failed to pass its own legislation, 99 Senators voted for

some form of a prescription-drug benefit for Medicare beneficiaries. The Senate essentially reached an implicit bipartisan agreement on a number of key issues, including the need to contain the spiraling cost of drugs.

They could not agree, however, on two issues:

1. Whether to target the limited dollars to seniors most in need—those with low incomes and/or high drug expenses.
2. The role of private insurers vs. the government in delivering the benefit and controlling the cost.

While these differences are substantial; they are not insurmountable. Both public and private insurance can co-exist, just as they have in Medicare under the Medicare Plus Choice program.

Congress and the administration has many priorities, and the nation's deficits are higher, so finding adequate resources for drug coverage will be difficult. But there is simply too much public and political pressure – and too much pain – to maintain the status quo.

This morning you heard the President address this, and present a framework for debate and action. We are very encouraged by the President's leadership on this issue. Policymakers in Congress in both parties and both Houses are working on this. So the Medicare debate is moving forward, and there is broad commitment to find a solution. But it will not be easy.

Some lawmakers believe that adding prescription drugs to Medicare is the single, urgent need and should be the goal. Others say that Medicare itself must be reformed and prescription drugs should be just a part of this overhaul.

Our position is that Medicare should be strengthened for the decades ahead. But we must also remember that it is a program that works. And, it works reasonably well, especially when compared to most other aspects of the American health-care system.

We advocate sensible improvements to strengthen Medicare, as long as they include prescription-drug coverage and ensure that the program remains the solid rock of health care that more than 40 million Americans rely on.

The first step is to ensure that enough money is available in the budget to accomplish these goals. The Administration's willingness to increase the level of funding for a Medicare prescription-drug benefit and other reforms is an important step. As all the research and analysis shows, an adequate Medicare drug benefit is going to require a very substantial funding commitment.

So, what does that benefit look like? Our members tell us a prescription-drug benefit must meet five criteria. It must:

1. Ensure all Medicare beneficiaries have access to affordable, meaningful prescription-drug coverage in all Medicare options—

no exclusions due to age, geography, health status or ability to pay;

2. Provide stable coverage that beneficiaries can rely on from year to year;
3. Protect beneficiaries from extraordinary out-of-pocket costs;
4. Provide lower-income beneficiaries with additional assistance;
5. Not create incentives for employers to drop current retiree coverage or disadvantage beneficiaries in the traditional Medicare.

Older Americans and their families don't expect first-dollar coverage, but they do want a benefit they can depend on over time. To meet these criteria, it may be possible to integrate drug coverage into a total benefit package. We are concerned that a drug-only benefit in Medicare may be unstable due to rising costs.

We are also concerned that it may not offer a benefit that is generous enough to attract an adequate number of enrollees. If that were the case, the risk pool might be too small to hold down premium costs and to sustain the program over the long term.

Medicare improvements should take into account the surge in beneficiaries that will begin in 2011 when the first baby boomers become eligible for benefits. They should include greater coverage of prevention and detection benefits so that illnesses can be detected earlier and managed better, improving the delivery of care

to chronically ill beneficiaries and the greater use of drug therapies that are replacing more expensive hospital stays for many people.

We must find a pragmatic, bipartisan, workable solution to this problem. Until we do, no one will be able to feel secure from the rising costs of drugs. The payoff—in increased independence, quality of life and financial savings—is huge.

Well-thought-out, and well-funded, policies can be transformational in our society. But public policy alone has limits. We must also address individual behaviors and personal responsibility for our own health.

So it is important for people to understand and use medications wisely. Our research shows that, even though people 45 and older are taking lots of prescription drugs—especially those 65 and older—they are not realizing the full benefits of these drugs because they're often not taking them as directed. And many are not using generics despite their comparable efficacy and lower cost. They don't fully understand what generics are.

On the basis of this research, here is our basic message that we tell our members and the public:

- If generics are available, then take them, as long as your physician agrees.
- If a drug is not necessary, there is no reason to take it. Over-utilization can be physically harmful; can compromise the

effectiveness of other drugs, and wastes money. And don't go in for overkill. For example: take Tums or Maalox for heart-burn, and save the expensive Prilosec for reflux disease.

- Under-utilization is just as bad. Take the medication your doctor prescribes. For example, some higher cost drugs such as statins, for high cholesterol and anti-hypertensive medications have been shown to be under-utilized.

We reach a lot of people, and we are going to continue to educate our members and others to use prescription-drugs wisely.

Information and education are critical in bringing down drug costs.

When people can take better care of themselves they may rely less on medical interventions to lead healthy lives.

We have reached a new era in this country. People turning 50 today have half of their adult lives ahead of them. They are using that milestone to question what they want to do with the rest of their lives, instead of viewing it as a time of decline. For many it is a time to enjoy new-found freedoms, make new choices, and dream new dreams.

There is a lot to feel good about because we know more and more about aging, and aging itself is getting better for us all. Increased and improved longevity is one of our greatest success stories, and today

we have the knowledge, innovation and technology to make it even better. The question is: do we have the will?

I believe the answer is yes. But, it will take all of us working together to face the new challenges our progress has brought us. Tomorrow, I will be standing with your AMA president, Dr. Yank Coble, and the leaders of other national organizations to kick off the *Cover the Uninsured Week* campaign to bring greater awareness to the problem of the more than 40 million uninsured people in this country.

Recently, AARP joined with you to advocate for fixing the physician payment formula, because it was an obvious error that needed to be corrected. We told the Congress that, "Our members want physicians who treat Medicare patients to be paid fairly," and that "errors or miscalculations in Medicare payment formulas should be corrected."

And now, we need to join together in the Medicare debate. Our members are your patients. And, lack of a meaningful prescription-drug benefit in Medicare is harming them. It undermines the treatment you provide.

It must be very difficult for you to know that you are prescribing important drugs that many patients will not be able to afford. That's

sad. Together, we can put a stop to much of it with a meaningful prescription-drug benefit in Medicare. Let's work together on this.

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Re: Social Security Trustees' Report Preview - To: Charles Blahous - From: Charles Blahous	2	03/04/2003	P5;

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COLLECTION:

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

Subject Files - FG006-27 (Office of Senior Advisor - Karl Rove)

FOLDER TITLE:

508642 [1]

FRC ID:

9707

OA Num.:

10731

NARA Num.:

10789

FOIA ID and Segment:

2015-0037-F

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

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