

Declaration of Kenneth Prewitt

I, Kenneth Prewitt, declare under penalty of perjury that the following is true:

1. I received my Ph. D. in Political Science from Stanford University in 1963. In 1998 I was nominated as the United States Census Bureau Director by President Clinton and confirmed by the Senate in September of that year. In that capacity I supervised the 2000 decadal census of the United States. I am currently the Carnegie Professor, School of International & Public Affairs, Columbia University, where I also hold the titles of Director, Project on the Future of Scholarly Knowledge, and Special Advisor to the President. I have held numerous other senior university, foundation, and related academic positions, including Director of the National Opinion Research Center, President of the Social Science Research Council, Senior Vice-President of the Rockefeller Foundation, and Dean of the Graduate School at the New School University. Since 2015, I have been President of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. My *curriculum vitae*, attached hereto as Exhibit A, sets forth additional aspects of my background.

2. The role of the federal government's racial classification system has been central to my scholarly interests since before 1969, when, together with L. Knowles, I published *Institutional Racism in American Society* ( Prentice-Hall, 1969), the earliest book-length scholarly treatment of racial measures and concepts bearing on disparate impact and statistical proportionality. My subsequent term as Director of the Census Bureau led me deeper into research and writing on racial measurement. I have written more than three dozen essays and three books articles on census issues, including a book length examination of racial statistics: *What is Your Race: The Flawed Effort of the Census to Classify Americans* (Princeton University Press, 2012), generally considered the most exhaustive treatment America's

experience with racial measurement and its relevance to public policy. My other publications are listed in Exhibit A.

3. The title of my 2012 study references a flawed effort. When I submitted the manuscript to Princeton University Press, my editor suggested that it should be called not a flawed but a failed effort. But that term would be misleading, as the effort has not failed. The statistics produced by our racial classification scheme are in fact widely used: for public policy, in litigation, and generally by news media, businesses, private non-profit organizations, academics, schools, and the general public. My use of the word “flawed” indicates that the statistics, though heavily used, do not adequately represent the American population. I hold, to a reasonable degree of professional probability, that flaws in the current classification of “races” introduce vagueness, demonstrable error and avoidable tensions into policies, laws and public understanding.

4. We read, for example, that by 2050 America will be a “majority-minority” nation – a proposition that has caused much consternation in certain circles. That assertion, however, is simply a statistical artifact of the government’s official racial classification scheme. The same population in 2050 would be differently described depending on the classifications used. Until the 1930 census, for example, Mexicans were classified as “White.” In 1930 they stopped being “White” and became “Mexican.” As a result of political pressure by Mexican-Americans and the Mexican government, in 1977 Mexicans were re-classified under the umbrella “Hispanic ethnicity.” They thus preserved a linguistic and quasi-national identity even as they joined the same category as immigrants born in (for example) Madrid. Were 120 million Hispanics to turn “White” again, there would be no uproar about white people soon becoming a minority in this

country. (There were many fewer South Asians in the United States, but they too switched, in the 1970 census, from being “White” to being “Asian.”)

### Counting Americans

5. The Constitution established a decadal census, starting in 1790, in order to apportion seats in the House of Representatives and electoral college votes across the 13 original states proportionate to the size of their respective population (and to add new states as people moved westward). The first census counted, separately, free white persons; taxed American Indians and other free persons, including a small number of free Blacks; and slaves, the latter counting as three-fifths of a person each.

6. In subsequent decades, census categories reflected the perceptions and preoccupations of the day. Where the 1820 Census had combined slaves and free Blacks into the single category “Slaves and Free Colored Persons,” following emancipation the census category for former slaves and their descendents became “Black, Mulatto.” In 1890, racial categorization was more finely tuned to include “Black, Mulatto, Quadroon or Octaroon.” This was simplified in the 1900 census to “Black (Negro or of Negro Descent).” As Asian immigration increased throughout the nineteenth century, the census began taking separate note of immigrants who were Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and “Hindu.” (Nativist politics led to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which was extended ten years later and made permanent in 1902.) A particularly notable example of the fluidity of census categories is that of the designation “Mexican,” noted in ¶4.

7. Given the disorderliness of the prior attempts at classification, the Statistical Office in the Office of Management and Budget was charged to come up with a scheme for the standardization of racial statistics. In 1977, this led to the promulgation of the OMB's *Race and Ethnic Standards for Federal Statistics and Administrative Reporting*, commonly known as Directive 15. A copy of Directive 15 is attached hereto as Exhibit B. This Directive standardized the categories for collecting and reporting race and ethnic data by federal agencies. The federal categories thus became the *de facto* basis for practice by businesses, universities, and state and local governments.

8. Directive 15 expressly recognized both its limited purposes and lack of scientific basis, reciting as follows at the very beginning:

This Directive provides standard classifications for record keeping, collection, and presentation of data on race and ethnicity in Federal program administrative reporting and statistical activities. These classifications should not be interpreted as being scientific or anthropological in nature, nor should they be viewed as determinants of eligibility for participation in any Federal program. They have been developed in response to needs expressed by both the executive branch and the Congress to provide for the collection and use of compatible, nonduplicated, exchangeable racial and ethnic data by Federal agencies.

9. Directive 15 expanded the three races dating from 1790 to five "racial and ethnic categories" based on existing census classifications: American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian or Pacific Islander, Black, Hispanic and White. But the directive made two modifications. First, South Asians, who had previously been considered White and were counted that way in 1970, were assigned to the Asian category, thereby both effectively redrawing the ethnic boundary between Europe and Asia, and also reducing the proportion of American whites and increasing the proportion of American minorities. Second, the Committee decided that Latinos would be an ethnic group, not a race. These modifications were made with little notice and no controversy,

as South Asians and Hispanics were few in number and were expected to remain so.

10. As of 1977, then, the federal government had confirmed the existence of four official racial groups: White, Black, Native American Indians, and Asian; and two ethnic groups: Hispanic and non-Hispanic. In 1997, OMB made two changes to Directive 15. First, “Native Hawaiians or Other Pacific Islanders” were separated from “Asians.” Second, persons were allowed to choose more than one race – to choose as many as they saw fit, in fact. (Tiger Woods has famously called himself a “Cablinasian,” referencing Caucasian, Black, Native American and Asian.) These changes were added to the 2000 Census questionnaire and carried forward in 2010.

11. The following page reproduces the census ethnic and race questions of the most recent – 2010 – census. This classificatory scheme is used in hundreds of government programs at all levels and in untold numbers of official records of Americans from birth to death. Thousands of private-sector institutions of every sort use the same scheme. These census categories thus form the template for an American system of classfying races, official and unofficial.



→ **NOTE: Please answer BOTH Question 8 about Hispanic origin and Question 9 about race. For this census, Hispanic origins are not races.**

**8. Is Person 1 of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?**

- No, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin
- Yes, Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano
- Yes, Puerto Rican
- Yes, Cuban
- Yes, another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin — *Print origin, for example, Argentinean, Colombian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Spaniard, and so on.* ✓

**9. What is Person 1's race? Mark *X* one or more boxes.**

- White
- Black, African Am., or Negro
- American Indian or Alaska Native — *Print name of enrolled or principal tribe.* ✓

- |                                                                                                                                 |                                                                                                                |                                                |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Asian Indian                                                                                           | <input type="checkbox"/> Japanese                                                                              | <input type="checkbox"/> Native Hawaiian       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese                                                                                                | <input type="checkbox"/> Korean                                                                                | <input type="checkbox"/> Guamanian or Chamorro |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Filipino                                                                                               | <input type="checkbox"/> Vietnamese                                                                            | <input type="checkbox"/> Samoan                |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other Asian — <i>Print race, for example, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on.</i> ✓ | <input type="checkbox"/> Other Pacific Islander — <i>Print race, for example, Fijian, Tongan, and so on.</i> ✓ |                                                |

- Some other race — *Print race.* ✓

12. The fluidity, not to say capriciousness, of our “racial” and “ethnic” categories bear out the cautionary note of Directive 15 that its classifications “should not be interpreted as being scientific or anthropological in nature,” as they were developed to provide data required to advance desired federal policies. These categories exemplify *Statistical races*, addressed below at paragraph 15 *et seq.*

13. The following features of the current classificatory scheme bear notice:

- \* In this land of immigrants from all over the globe, all of two "ethnicities" are recognized: "Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin" or not "Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin." The only other recognized category is "race."
- \* The following "races" are recognized: White; Black, African-American or Negro; American Indian or Alaska Native (with provision for designation of tribe); ten or more racialized Asian national or ethnic identities (Chinese, Japanese, Pakistani, Fijian, etc.) and "some other race" -- not, apparently, including "human."
- \* The 2010 ethno-racial scheme permits the identification of over 100 ethnoracial groups, depending on which combination is selected by a "mixed race" responder.
- \* "Some other race" is not considered a separate race by OMB, though 19 million Americans checked that box in 2010 and this option is expected to be chosen increasingly in the future in our increasingly mixed culture.
- \* According to Census Bureau edit rules, one who checks both a formerly "Asian" race (e.g., "Chinese" race) and "Native Hawaiian" race or "Pacific Islander" race is viewed as mixed-race. But one checking two formerly "Asian" races (e.g. Chinese and Japanese) is not.

- \* Following the 2000 census, the Census Bureau investigated the reliability of the "mark one or more" responses by returning a year later to a sample of households, matching their 2001 answers to what had been given a year prior. Forty percent of those who gave multiple-race responses in 2000 answered differently to the survey conducted a year later, either by declaring they were single race or choosing a different race than originally reported. Of those identified as multi-race in the follow-up survey, nearly half (45%) had declared they were in a single race group a year earlier.

14. As common sense alone suggests, the scheme exemplified by the revised OMB Directive 15 and the census questionnaire glosses over and confounds the variety of humanity resident in this country, as well as the terminology applicable to such classification and the resulting policy consequences of that terminology. The scheme has produced *statistical races*.

#### Statistical Races

15. Statistical races are created by the categories chosen by government to classify our nation's inhabitants. If (as was the case in many states until the mid-twentieth century) we choose to classify persons as "white" or "non-white," we will end up with two ("racial") groups. We could as easily count all right-handed and all left-handed people and end up with two races based on handedness. Advances in human genetics can permit us to classify persons based on whatever genetic markers we see fit to select. The result is *statistical races*, *i.e.*, groupings of persons based on the characteristics selected for inquiry. To the extent public and private policy is predicated on those groupings, their selection in the first place emerges as a matter of moment.



When public and political debate is shaped by considerations of which races are doing what, and when public policies and private policies follow, we need to worry whether our conventional classifications tell us what we need to know about what is going on in our polity, economy, and society. We should worry about whether we have the right groupings. Given the purposes we seek to serve, it is demonstrably the case that we do not.

16. As noted, OMB candidly acknowledges it does not draw on science. The race and ethnic classification “should not be interpreted as being scientific or anthropological in nature. . . . They have been developed in response to needs expressed by both the executive branch and the Congress.” Because there is no agreed-upon science on which to base the classification, the OMB offers no consistent rationale for even the five primary race categories. Thus:

- \* For two groups, *color* is at issue: (1) White and (2) Black, African American, or Negro. Persons born of White & Black parents almost invariably self-identify (and are socially considered) as "Black" unless they are light enough to pass as White and do so. Former President Obama, born of a Kenyan father and a white American mother, famously publicized that he identified on the census as Black.
- \* While American Indians and Alaska Native are combined into a single racial category, the *civil status of tribal membership* can impact categorization as well.
- \* The Asian category is a mix of *national* categories (Japanese, Korean, etc.).
- \* The ethnic categorization (Hispanic, Latino and Spanish origin) has its own problems. The term "Hispanic" is commonly understood as a *linguistic* group, and therefore does not include persons of Portuguese origin or Brazilians,

whereas the term "Latino" is commonly understood *geographically, i.e.,*

Latin American, including in this case Brazilians.

- \* The "Some Other Race" line presents a further anomaly. This option has existed since 1920, when the census dropped "Mulatto." (Mulatto had been added in 1860.) In the 2000 census, more than fifteen million Americans rejected the five primary races and adopted the new race called "other." Ninety-seven percent were Hispanic, primarily Mexicans and Central Americans. In 2010, nineteen million respondents used the some other line, again 97% being Hispanics.
- \* Self-identification, permitted by the census, creates other problems. It is well documented that untold numbers of light skinned "Black" people have successfully passed for white. What "race" are they? Or consider the case of Rachel Dolezal, a white civil rights activist and office-holder in the NAACP who presented herself as a black woman. In June, 2015, a white married couple claimed to have given birth to her, telling the press that she was lying about her race. If, as is likely, she checked the "Black" racial category in the 2000 or 2010 census, she would have changed her "official" race by fiat.

17. More recently, OMB considered adding a separate category for people from the Middle-East and North Africa, who are currently "White" under census classifications. A determined effort to create a separate "MENA" category was turned down in 2018. I note that such categorization would have placed into a single class an Israeli Ashkenazi, an Egyptian Bedouin, and a Moroccan Berber. (Of course, they are currently in a single class, as "White.")

18. The anomalies and patterns of incoherence in the nation's statistical races bedevil the attempt to devise programs capable of serving desired policy goals. Other than our artificial statistical races, a host of possible categorizations exist which, if permissibly used, would be of potential consequence to the furtherance of such goals. This includes, for example: level of education, level of parents' education, family generations in the United States, financial circumstances, color, sex, gender identity, age, cultural heritage and language, and physical abilities/disabilities. All these categories will not necessarily be relevant to desired programs, and there may be legal limitations on accessing some of this data -- but to the extent available and used, the data would be verifiable and valid: something that cannot be said about our current racial categorization. In the first half of the 20th century, immigrant assimilation was effectively tracked in the nation's statistical system. This largely disappeared starting in 1970, when the question "Where Were Your Parents Born?" was removed from the census form.

19. Statisticians differ on where to make the trade-off between "lumping" and "splitting," *i.e.*, between focusing on fewer more inclusive categories or focusing on a larger number of more discrete categories. There is little room for debate, however, that lumping together all "White" persons and all "Black" persons yields far less useful information than a more refined inquiry. "White" people include both Bill and Melinda Gates and the marginalized, poverty-stricken and despondent white residents of our Rust Belt. Along similar lines, in his study *Disintegration: The Splintering of Black America* (Penguin Random House, 2011), Eugene Robinson has identified four black Americas that are increasingly distinct, separated by geography, and having different profiles, mind-sets, hopes, fears and dreams:

- (a) A largely abandoned inner-city underclass with little hope of escaping poverty and dysfunction,
- (b) A mainstream middle class with substantial ownership in American society,
- (c) Two emergent groups -- mixed-race and recent black immigrants -- doing well,
- (d) A small transcendent elite with enormous wealth, power, and influence, including the former president of the United States.

20. Consider, as well, the all-inclusive Asian category. Asian Americans trace their roots to any of dozens of countries in the Far East, Southeast Asia and the Indian subcontinent. Each country has its own history, culture, languages, religious beliefs, economic and demographic traits and social and political values, and each affords its emigrants a different pathway into America. Chinese, Koreans, and Japanese are much more likely to graduate from college than Vietnamese, Cambodians, Hmong, and Laotians. To effect desired policy goals, these groups require different treatment, not being recognized and dealt with uniformly as "Asians." This applies to each of the four primary races, and to the two recognized ethnicities as well.

21. According to the Census Bureau, statistics on race are needed "to assess fairness in employment practices, meet legislative redistricting requirements by knowing the racial make-up of the voting age population, learn who may not be receiving medical services, determine disparities in health and environmental risks" and meet related programmatic and policy purposes. The goals are worthy, but the Bureau is relying on incoherent categories in its attempt to measure race and serve those goals. Measurement anomalies of the sort detailed above become measurement flaws when the government's official statistics inadequately equip the

nation to do what it seeks to do. That is decidedly the case with regard to government policies intended to address racial matters.

22. In summary: the statistical races produced by responses to concededly unscientific but officially sanctioned classifications, which we use today for purposes of policy and law and for public understanding and discourse about racial matters, are not up to the task. Today's statistical races were pieced together from a long-discarded science of racial superiority; from practices and policies that for the better part of our history excluded, penalized, and damaged non-white people; from more recent reactive practices and policies intent on undoing that damage; from successive waves of immigrants seen through the lens of race; and from biological and anthropological constructions of fixed racial boundaries. Such boundaries do not exist in the lived world, and their survival in our current scheme of governmental classification by race is counterproductive if not worse.

Dated: June 11, 2019

RaceCase\Witnesses\PrewittK\DeclarationPrewitt(2019-0609)



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Kenneth Prewitt

September, 2015

**KENNETH PREWITT**

Carnegie Professor of Public Affairs  
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**EDUCATION**

B.A. 1958, Southern Methodist University  
(History and Government)  
M.A. 1959, Washington University (Political Science)  
1960, Harvard Divinity School (one year, as Danforth Fellow, no degree)  
Ph.D. 1963, Stanford University (Political Science)

**PRIMARY PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS**

2013- Director, The Future of Scholarly Knowledge  
2012-2013 Special Advisor to the President, Columbia Univ.  
2007-2012 Vice-President for Global Centers, Columbia Univ.  
2004-2006 Chairman, Dept. of International & Public Affairs, Columbia U.  
2002- Carnegie Professor of Public Affairs, Columbia University  
2001-2002 Dean, Graduate Faculty, New School University  
1998-2001 Director, United States Bureau of the Census  
1995-1998 President, Social Science Research Council  
1985-1995 Senior Vice President, The Rockefeller Foundation  
1979-1985 President, Social Science Research Council  
1976-1979 Director, National Opinion Research Center  
1975-1976 Chairman, Department of Political Science  
The University of Chicago  
1965-1982 Assistant, Associate, Full Professor, Department of Political Science  
The University of Chicago  
1963-1964 Assistant Professor, Washington University

## SECONDARY POSITIONS

1979-1983 Adjunct Professor, Department of Political Science  
Columbia University

1974 Rockefeller Foundation Consultant to the  
Mae Klong Integrated Rural Development Project  
Kasetsart University, Bangkok, Thailand

1970-1973 Rockefeller Foundation Visiting Research Fellow  
University of Nairobi, Kenya

1964-1969 Associate Director, "Comparative Studies of  
Legislative Behavior in Small Decision-Making Groups"  
Stanford Institute of Political Research

1965-1966 Visiting Lecturer, University of East Africa- Makerere, Uganda

1964-1965 Visiting Assistant Professor, Stanford University

## PROFESSIONAL HONORS

Honorary Doctor of Public Policy, Carnegie Mellon University

Distinguished Service Award, New School for Social Research

Honorary Doctor of Humane Letters, Southern Methodist University

Fellow and Vice President, American Academy of Arts and Sciences

Fellow, The American Academy of Political and Social Science

Fellow, American Association for the Advancement of Science

Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences

Guggenheim Fellowship

Fellow, The Hastings Center

The Officer's Cross of the Order of Merit, Federal Republic of Germany

Fellow, The Russell-Sage Foundation

Charles E. Merriam Lifetime Career Award, American Political Science Association

Lifetime National Associate of the NRC/NAS

## CURRENT BOARD MEMBERSHIPS

American Academy of Political and Social Sciences (President)

NORC, University of Chicago (Vice-Chair)

State of the USA (Vice-Chair)

W.T Grant Foundation

**CURRENT PROFESSIONAL COMMITTEES**

Advisory Council, Hertie School Project on Roles of German Foundations  
World Economic Forum – Committee on Future of Higher Education  
AUC, School of Global Affairs & Public Policy – International Advisory Committee  
Stanford Institute for Research in the Social Sciences  
Population Association of America – Committee on Federal Race Statistics  
Institute for Human Sciences (Vienna)  
Project on Social Solidarity

**National Academies of Science**

DBASSE (Division Behavioral & Social Sciences & Education; Chair, Advisory Board)  
Use of Social Science Knowledge (chair)  
Committee on Civic Health (chair)  
Presidential Advisory Committee on Key Natl. Indicators  
New School for Social Research  
Advisory Committee on Future of Liberalism Project  
Board of Editors, Social Research

**PRIOR BOARD MEMBERSHIPS (selected)**

African Economic Research Consortium, Nairobi, Kenya  
American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C. (Vice President)  
American Academy of Political and Social Sciences  
Board of Scientific Counselors, National Center for Health Statistics (US-HHS)  
Center for Global Development (Executive Committee)  
Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Palo Alto, California  
Children's Village, Dobbs Ferry, New York (President)  
Consortia of Social Science Organizations (President)  
Foundation Center – Research Advisory Board (chair)  
The Energy Foundation, San Francisco, California (Chairman)  
German-American Academic Council, Bonn, Germany (Vice-Chairman)  
International Centre of Insect Physiology and Ecology, Nairobi, Kenya (Chairman)  
LEAD, Inc. (Leadership for Education and Development)  
Rockefeller Archive Center, Governing Council  
Social Science Research Council  
Society for the Study of Social Biology  
Southern Methodist University  
Washington University



**PRIOR ADVISORY COMMITTEES/COUNCILS (Selected)**

**Alexander von Humboldt Foundation - International Advisory Committee (chair)**

**American Association of University Professors:**

**Commission on Academic Freedom**

**American Academy of Arts and Sciences:**

**Vice-President; Council Member; Committee on Studies**

**American Political Science Association:**

**Vice-President; Committee on Investments**

**Committee on Interdisciplinarity**

**American Association for the Advancement of Science:**

**Section K – Chair (2005-7)**

**Association of American Universities:**

**Assessing Quality of University Education and Research**

**American Anthropological Association:**

**Understanding Race & Human Variation**

**Carnegie Initiative on the Doctorate :**

**Advisory Committee**

**Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences:**

**Committee on Special Projects (Chairman)**

**Center for Global Development:**

**Board & Program Committee**

**Civic Enterprises - Civic Health Working Group**

**Conference Board:**

**Committee on Scholarly Communication with China**

**Council on Foundations**

**Committee on International Grantmaking**

**Foundation Center**

**Advisory Committee on International Grantmaking Report**

**Harvard University, Visiting Committee to the**

**Department of Government (Chairman)**

**Institute of Medicine, National Academy of Sciences**

**Committee for the Oversight of AIDS Activities**

**International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis**

**U.S. Advisory Committee**

**Latino National Survey (Advisory Committee)**

**MacArthur Foundation**

**Advisory Panel on International Security Program**

**National Academies**

**Committee on Basic Research in the Behavioral and Social Sciences**

**Committee on International Education**

**Committee on National Statistics -- Panel on Data Access**

**National Election Studies Advisory Committee**

**National Science Foundation**

**Committee on International Science**

Advisory Committee – Division of Behavioral Sciences  
National Broadcasting Corporation  
Advisory Panel to Election News Unit  
OECD, Paris Co-ordination Group for the Global Project on “Measuring the progress  
of Societies (chair)  
Princeton University (Center for Arts & Cultural Policy Studies)

Russell-Sage Foundation  
Working Group on Terrorism (chairman)  
Committee on 2010 Census  
Social Science Research Council (Committee on Katrina)  
Urban Institute, Diversity Data & Research Working Group  
Wissenschaftszentrum (Berlin)  
Advisory Council  
World Bank/UNESCO  
Task Force on Higher Education (Vice-Chairman)  
Various Consultancies  
United States Information Agency  
Advisory Panel on International Educational Exchange

#### EDITORIAL ACTIVITIES

Co-editor, Public Policy Section of the International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences Elsevier Science Limited, 2001.

Series Co-Editor, Urban Governors Series, Bobbs-Merrill, 1970-1975

National Opinion Research Center's Social  
Science Research Series, Jossey-Bass, 1978-1980

#### Editorial Boards

American Political Science Review, 1976-82  
American Journal of Political Science, 1974-1979  
British Journal of Political Science, 1971-1975  
Social Science Research, 1975-1998  
Evaluation Quarterly, 1977-85  
Knowledge: Creation, Diffusion, Utilization, 1978-1988  
International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences,  
1997-2001 (Section Editor)  
Political Behavior, 1979-1985  
Society, 1981-1998  
American Behavioral Scientist, 1982-1998

WRITINGS ON THE U.S. CENSUS, FEDERAL STATISTICAL SYSTEM AND SCIENCE & GOVERNMENT

Books:

*Civic Engagement and Social Cohesion: Measuring Dimensions of Social Capital to Inform Policy* (chair & co-editor). Washington, DC: The National Academies Press, 2014.

*What is **Your** Race? The Flawed Effort of the Census to Classify Americans*, Princeton University Press, 2013.

*The Use of Science as Evidence in Public Policy* (chair & co-editor). National Academies Press, 2012.

*The Federal Statistical System: Its Vulnerabilities Matter More Than You Think*, (ed), Annals of the American Academy of Political & Social Sciences, September, 2010.

*The Hard Count: The Political and Social Challenges of Census Mobilization*. New York, The Russell Sage Foundation. (with D. Sunshine Hillygus, Norman Nie and Heili Pals) 2006.

*Politics and Science in Census Taking*. New York: The Russell Sage Foundation and Washington D.C., The Population Reference Bureau. 2003; reprinted in R. Farley and J. Haaga (eds.). *The American People: Census 2000*. New York: The Russell Sage Foundation, 2005.

Articles/Chapters:

Science or Journalism? [Pacific Standard Staff](#) • July 02, 2014 • 2:00 AM

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<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2014.932413>

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"Applying the Social and Behavioral Sciences to Policy and Practice." (with Robert Hauser). *Issues in Science and Technology*, National Academy of Sciences. vol XXIX, 3 Spring 2013. Pp. 53-57.

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"When You Have a Hammer . . . The Misuse of Statistical Races", *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*, volume 9, issue 02, pp. 281-301  
[http://journals.cambridge.org/repo\\_A879WsKA](http://journals.cambridge.org/repo_A879WsKA)

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*Journal of Official Statistics*, Vol. 29, No. 2, 2013, pp. 223-231.

"Why It Matters to Distinguish Between Privacy & Confidentiality," *Journal of Privacy and Confidentiality*. Vol. 3: Iss. 2, Article 3. 2011  
<http://repository.cmu.edu/jpc/vol3/iss2/3/>

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[www.sciencemag.org](http://www.sciencemag.org)

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"Saving the Census," (with Stephen Fienberg), *Nature* 466, 1043 (26 August 2010)

"How to fix Census' Broken Race Question," *USAToday*, July 12, 2010

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Office of Management and Budget (OMB)  
DIRECTIVE NO. 15  
Race and Ethnic Standards for Federal Statistics  
and Administrative Reporting  
(as adopted on May 12, 1977)

This Directive provides standard classifications for record keeping, collection, and presentation of data on race and ethnicity in Federal program administrative reporting and statistical activities. These classifications should not be interpreted as being scientific or anthropological in nature, nor should they be viewed as determinants of eligibility for participation in any Federal program. They have been developed in response to needs expressed by both the executive branch and the Congress to provide for the collection and use of compatible, nonduplicated, exchangeable racial and ethnic data by Federal agencies.

**1. Definitions**

The basic racial and ethnic categories for Federal statistics and program administrative reporting are defined as follows:

- a. American Indian or Alaskan Native. A person having origins in any of the original peoples of North America, and who maintains cultural identification through tribal affiliation or community recognition.
- b. Asian or Pacific Islander. A person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, the Indian subcontinent, or the Pacific Islands. This area includes, for example, China, India, Japan, Korea, the Philippine Islands, and Samoa.
- c. Black. A person having origins in any of the black racial groups of Africa.
- d. Hispanic. A person of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race.
- e. White. A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, North Africa, or the Middle East.

**2. Utilization for Record keeping and Reporting**

To provide flexibility, it is preferable to collect data on race and ethnicity separately. If separate race and ethnic categories are used, the minimum designations are:

- a. Race:
  - American Indian or Alaskan Native
  - Asian or Pacific Islander
  - Black
  - White
- b. Ethnicity:
  - Hispanic origin
  - Not of Hispanic origin

When race and ethnicity are collected separately, the number of White and Black persons who are Hispanic must be identifiable, and capable of being reported in that category.

If a combined format is used to collect racial and ethnic data, the minimum acceptable categories are:

- American Indian or Alaskan Native
- Asian or Pacific Islander
- Black, not of Hispanic origin