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Admissions and Public Higher Education in California, Texas, and Florida: The Post-Affirmative Action Era

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Introduction

1996 was a momentous year for higher education in the United States. In that year voters in California adopted Proposition 209, a ballot measure that amended the state constitution to prohibit public institutions from discriminating on the basis of race,[†] sex, or ethnicity. That same year, the Fifth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled in *Hopwood v. Texas* that it was unconstitutional for Texas public colleges and universities to use race as a condition of admission. The decisions in the two states reversed the trend among the nation's major public universities to use affirmative action as a factor in the freshman admissions process. Prior to 1996, every public university in the Association of American Universities (AAU), an organization of the nation's leading research universities, had employed affirmative action to ensure diversity among its entering freshmen classes.¹

Three years later, in November, 1999, Governor Jeb Bush joined Florida with California and Texas, announcing his "One Florida" initiative to eliminate affirmative action in university admissions at the state universities. Bush's decision resulted from a campaign led by Ward Connerly, former University of California Regent and the leading spokesman in the California Civil Rights Campaign, to persuade Florida voters to adopt a referendum similar to Proposition 209. Although in general sympathy with the efforts of Connerly, Jeb Bush worried that the initiative would sharply divide Floridians, create substantial problems for his leadership, and disrupt his efforts to woo black and Hispanic voters into the Republican Party.

With the implementation of "One Florida," three of the four largest states in the nation and the three with the largest high school and college student populations had rescinded affirmative action for the purpose of achieving racial and ethnic diversity. Only New York's public universities, of the nation's four largest higher education systems, continued to use affirmative action in its admission decisions.

What impact did these various developments have on freshmen enrollment in California, Texas, and Florida? In particular, what were the consequences for the most competitive state universities in these three states and what were the consequences for students of all races and ethnicities who were seeking admission to these universities? Thomas Espenslade and Chang Chung argued in 2005:

[E]liminating affirmative action would reduce acceptance rates for African American and Hispanic applicants by as much as one-half to two-thirds and have an equivalent impact on the proportion of underrepresented minority students in the admitted class. White applicants would benefit very little by removing racial and ethnic preferences; the White acceptance rate would increase by roughly 0.5 percentage points. Asian applicants would gain the most. They would occupy four out of every five seats created by accepting fewer African American and Hispanic students. (pp. 303–304)

Was this, in fact, the case for California, Florida, and Texas?

[†] Recognizing the confusion often caused by the nomenclature of racial groups, we should tell the reader the definitions we have used. Blacks are "All Black, Non-Hispanic" and is used interchangeably with African-American. Hispanics are all individuals identifying themselves to the various universities as "Hispanic" and reported on the IPEDS Enrollment Survey using IPEDS definitions as applied by the individual universities.

To determine the results, we selected the five universities in these states that were members of the AAU in 1990—the University of California, Berkeley (UCB), the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), the University of California, San Diego (UCSD), the University of Texas, Austin (UT Austin), and the University of Florida (UF)—and followed freshmen enrollment patterns from that period to the entering freshmen class of 2005. We also examined state high school graduation rates in these three states and added a control group of universities to compare these five universities with those that did not eliminate affirmative action in admissions.²

Before examining the results for the universities in California, Florida, and Texas, it is important to note that each state took steps to ameliorate the effects of the changes in freshman admissions. Following a grave warning by UT President Robert Berdahl that the *Hopwood* decision would lead to "the virtual re-segregation of higher education," then Governor George W. Bush adopted a policy that guaranteed admission of the top 10 percent of Texas high school graduates to the public university of their choice in Texas. On its surface, this decision appeared to have little consequence for admissions. But because housing patterns in Texas were often defined by race and ethnicity, public schools were also heavily segregated as a result. By guaranteeing that the top 10 percent of high school graduates in every Texas school would be admitted to the university of their choice, Governor Bush ensured that freshmen admissions would remain diverse in the Texas system and at the University of Texas, Austin in particular, the state's most competitive university.

In Florida, Governor Jeb Bush, brother of George W. Bush, had his aides meet with those advising his brother, and Florida opted to follow Texas's lead with two caveats. First, Florida offered automatic admission to the top 20 percent (named the Talented Twenty Program) of high school graduates, regardless of their standardized test scores. Second, the Florida plan did not guarantee student admission into the university of their choice. It thus left open the question of One Florida's impact on admissions at the University of Florida, which had that state's most competitive admissions process.

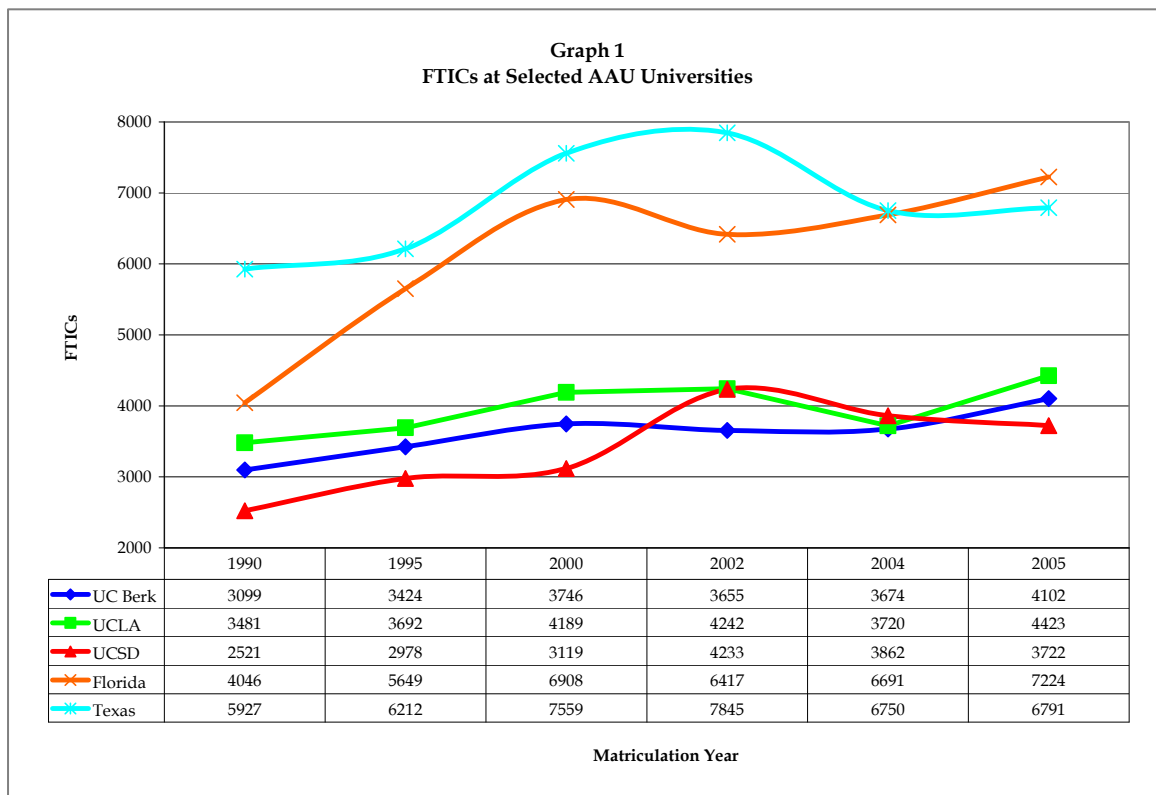
In California, the University of California Regents also made substantive changes to admissions policies following the passage of proposition 209. One of these changes impacted eligibility and the third impacted "selection:"

- Students ranked in the top 4 percent of their high school graduating class were made automatically eligible for admission to UC system, though not necessarily to the campus of their choice. The new standard, entitled *Eligibility in the Local Context*, notified students at the end of their junior year of their eligibility. The impact of this modification was less than might have been expected because most of those so notified were eligible under the old criteria by the end of their senior year.
- Campuses having to select from among eligible applicants could use a combination of academic and supplemental criteria (about 14 in all) to evaluate applicants. Referred to as Comprehensive Review, this process replaced an earlier policy which required campuses to select from 40 to 60 percent of the freshman class using academic criteria alone and the remaining number using a combination of academic and supplemental criteria. In the latter case, the academic criteria were to remain paramount.

Enrollment Patterns from 1990 to 2005

So what were the results of Proposition 209 as modified by the UC Regents, the *Hopwood* decision as amended by Texas’s 10 percent plan, and One Florida with its 20 percent plan for admissions? Additionally, what were the consequences for each of the ethnic and racial groups seeking admission to these competitive universities—who, in effect, were the winners and losers—as a result of these changes and other state developments during this time period? To answer these questions, we examined admissions data at the five universities between 1990 and 2005.

The first graph identifies numerical changes for all First Time In College (FTIC) students at the five AAU universities from 1990 to 2005. The graph reveals some dramatic fluctuations in the size of the entering freshmen classes at each of the universities as they adjusted to the elimination of affirmative action, to enrollment pressures in their fast growing states, and to their desires to increase funding by adding enrollment.



Enrollment at UCB experienced less fluctuation than the other four universities, but even here the number of FTICs rose steadily from 3,099 in 1990 to 3,746 in 2000 and then increased to 4,102 in 2005; UCLA rose from 3,481 in 1990 to 4,242 in 2002 before declining to 3,720 in 2004 and then rising sharply to 4,423 in 2005 as both these schools responded to state enrollment demands and Proposition 209. Despite such significant shifts in enrollment, these two schools were remarkably stable in FTIC enrollment when compared to the other three—UCSD went from 2,521 in 1990 to 4,233 in 2002 before declining to 3,722, UT Austin enrollment rose dramatically from 5,937 in 1990 to 7,845

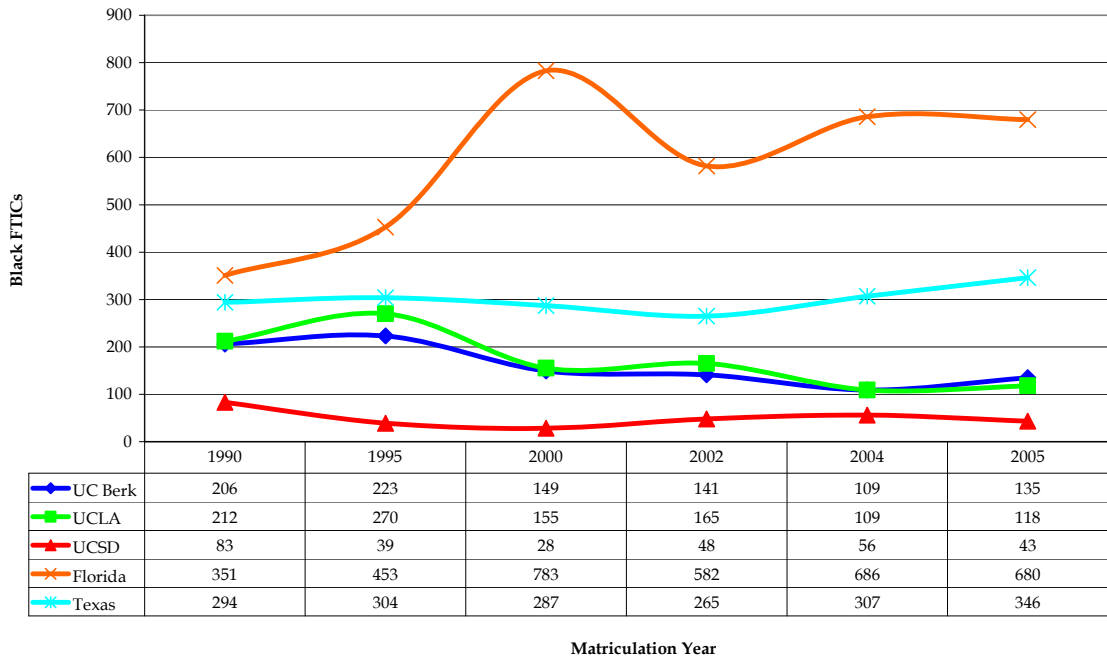
in 2002 as the full impact of the state's 10 percent plan took hold, before the plan was amended and enrollment declined to 6,791 in 2005. Florida's enrollment fluctuated significantly throughout the post-One Florida period from 4,046 in 1990 to 6,908 in 2000, declining to 6,417 in 2002 and then reaching 7,224 in 2005 as it adjusted its admissions policies to meet the Governor's Talented Twenty program, maintain its diversity, and address the increase in high school eligible graduates.

African-American Enrollment

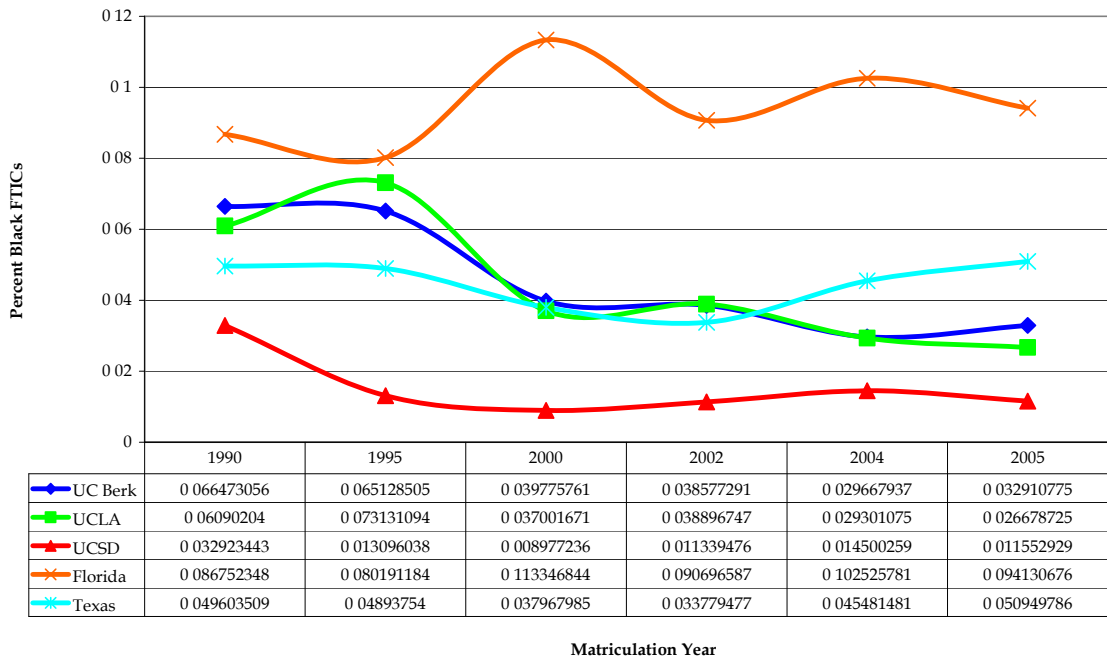
How did African-American enrollment fare during this tumultuous period? Did the numbers of black students decline as many predicted? For the three California universities (see *Graph 2* and *Graph 3*), it fared much as university leaders feared. In 1995, UCB reported 149 African-American freshmen or 6.51 percent in its entering class, but by 2005 that figure had dropped to 109 freshmen and just 2.97 percent. UCLA saw nearly the same decline, with the percent of black freshmen declining from 7.31 percent in 1995 to 2.67 percent in 2005. UCSD fared somewhat better, but the number of African-American freshmen among FTICs went from 83 students in 1995 to only 56 in 2005, and the percent of black freshmen decreased from 1.31 percent in 1995 to an even more negligible 1.16 percent in 2005. As in previous studies, the results show substantial differences between racial and ethnic groups.

In Texas and Florida, however, the special initiatives by the Governors Bush had less damaging affect on African-American freshmen enrollment, but in each case the percent of black freshmen declined. Texas saw the total number of African-American students decline slightly from 304 in 1995 to 287 in 2000, but the number of incoming freshmen had increased dramatically during this five-year period so that the percent of black freshmen went from 4.89 percent in 1995 to 3.38 percent in 2002. Texas's Ten Percent Plan, however, gradually corrected for this downturn, and by 2005, the percent of black FTICs had increased to 5.05 percent. Following the implementation of One Florida, the number of African-American students at UF declined from 783 in 2000 to 582 in 2002. While the number rebounded to 686 in 2005 as UF adjusted to One Florida, the overall number of FTICs declined by slightly more than 200 students in this four-year period. And the percent of black freshmen at UF declined from 11.33 percent in 2000 prior to the implementation of One Florida to 9.41 percent in 2005.

Graph 2
Black FTICs Enrolled in Selected AAU Schools

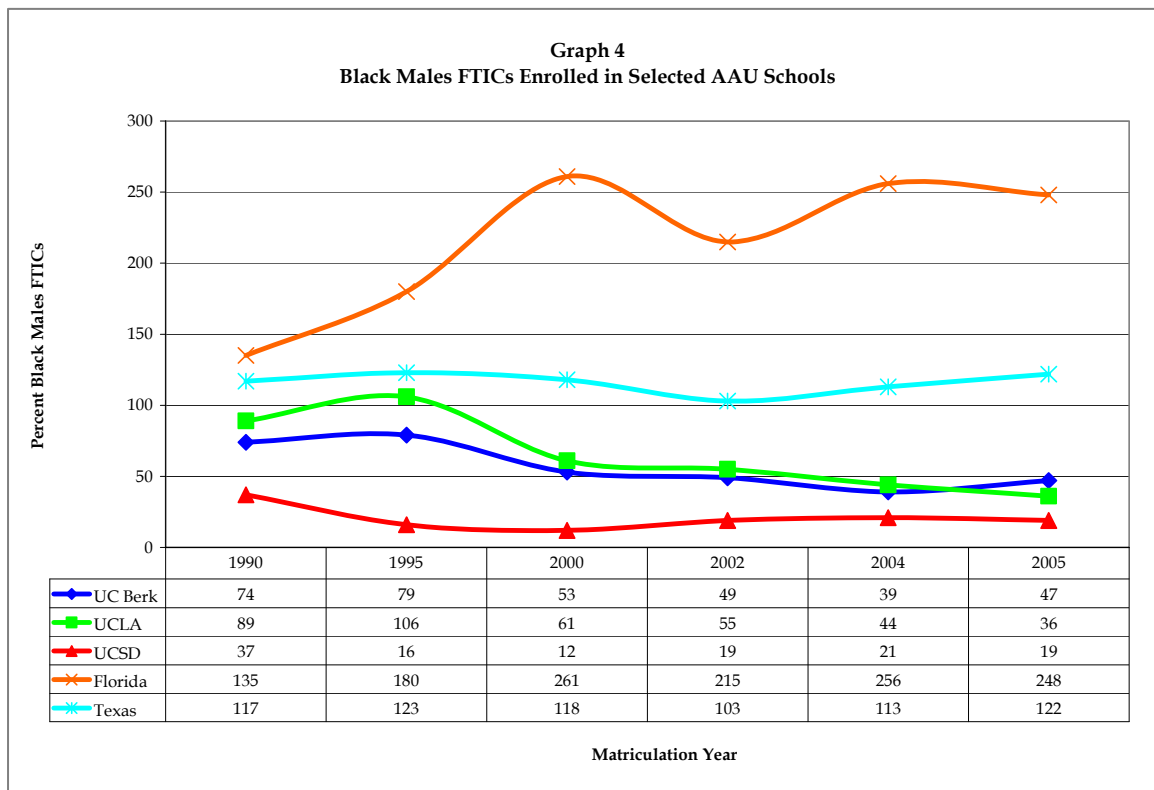


Graph 3
Black FTICs Enrolled in Selected AAU Schools

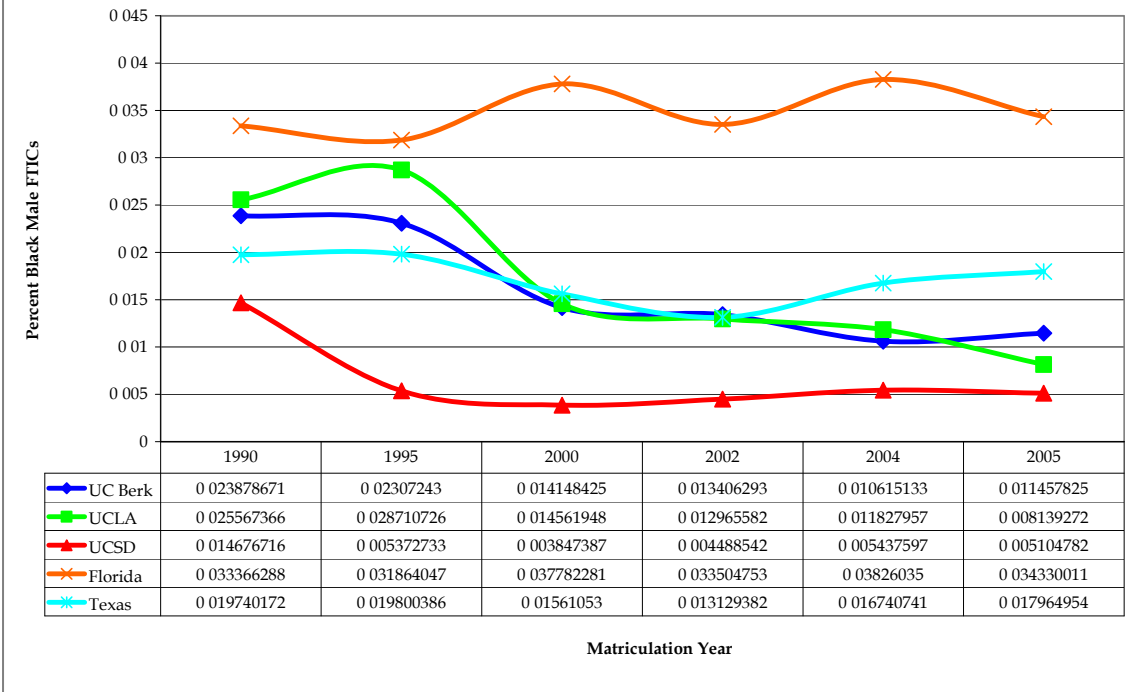


The elimination of affirmative action in California had a devastating effect on African-American freshmen enrollment. These results have been due, in part, to the phenomenon mentioned above (most of those who became eligible under the new 4 percent rule were also eligible under the old criteria). Another factor is the substantial migration of African-Americans within California and out of the State.³ The modifications adopted in Texas and Florida certainly had a more favorable effect on black enrollment. Still, only Texas showed improvement in the actual number of African-American students.

Moreover, when one examines the number of African-American males attending these highly competitive universities, the results are considerably worse. UCSD had only 19 black males or .51 percent in its entering freshmen class in 2005 and that was up from 12 or .38 percent in 2000 (see *Graph 4* and *Graph 5*). Only Florida and Texas managed to achieve some stability in their black male freshmen enrollment, with Florida enrolling 248 or 3.43 percent in 2005 compared to 261 or 3.78 percent in 2000, and Texas enrolling 122 or 1.80 percent in 2005 compared to 118 or 1.56 percent in 2000. The black male admission rates at all these highly competitive schools raised serious questions about how much progress had actually occurred since the civil rights developments of the 1960s, about the general academic health of the black community, and about how competitive the United States could be in a global economy with a significant proportion of black males being left behind.



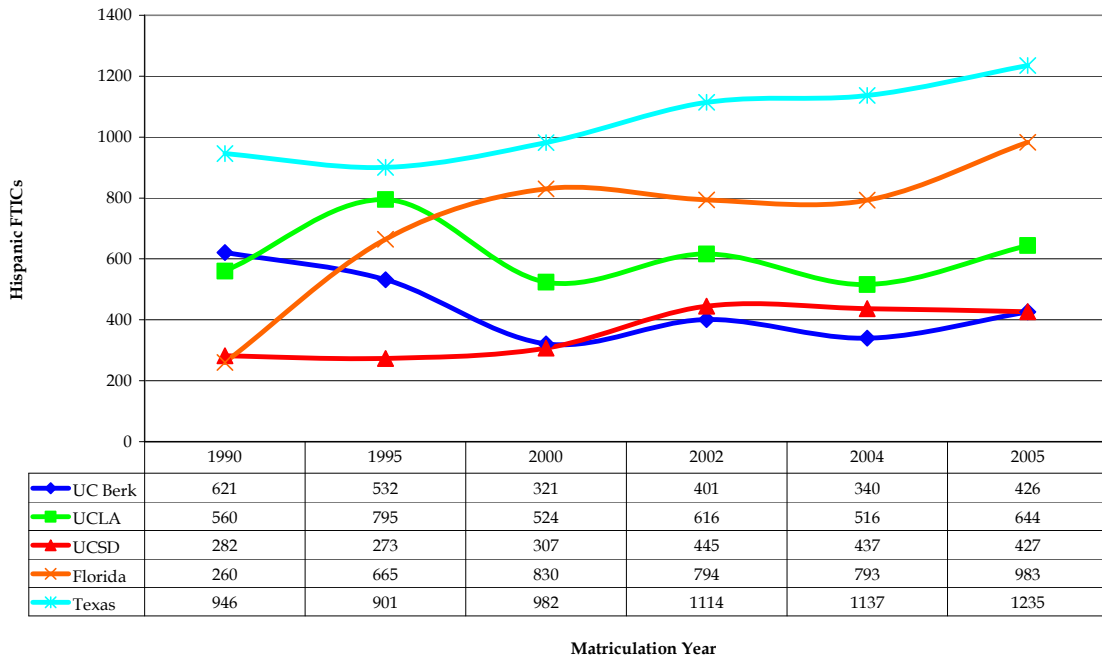
Graph 5
Black Male FTICs Enrolled in Selected AAU Schools



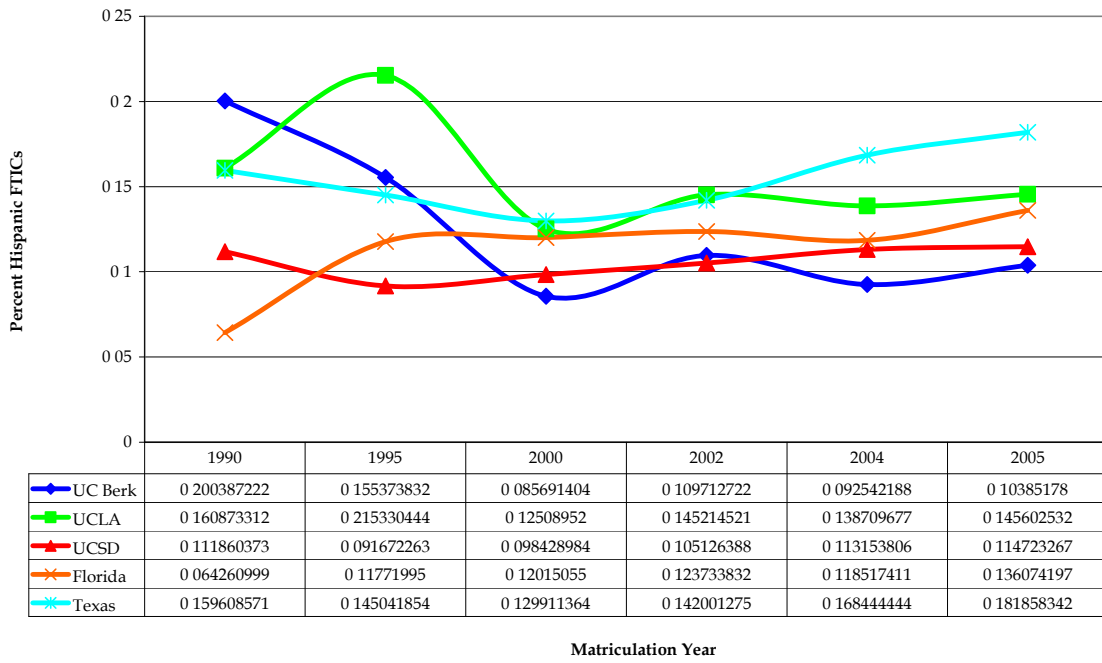
Hispanic Enrollment

Hispanic enrollment trends generally followed those for African-American enrollment at two of the five universities during the period 1990 to 2005 (see *Graph 6* and *Graph 7*). UCB saw its Hispanic FTIC enrollment peak at 621 or 20.04 percent in 1990 and then decline to 321 or 8.57 percent with the implementation of Proposition 209, while UCLA peaked at 795 or 16.09 percent in 1995 and declined to 524 or 12.51 percent in 2000 following Proposition 209. But significantly, the other three universities saw their Hispanic enrollments remain level or actually increase in the aftermath of these anti-affirmative action measures. Florida's Hispanic enrollment increased fairly steadily throughout this period, reflecting the dramatic increase in the Hispanic population in the state as it rose from under 2 million in 1990 to over 3.5 million in 2005. UCSD increased from 273 or 9.17 percent before Proposition 209 to 437 or 9.84 percent in its aftermath (in 2005, Hispanics constituted 11.47 percent of all FTICs), and Texas went from 901 or 14.50 percent before *Hopwood* to 1137 or 18.19 percent in 2005.

**Graph 6
Hispanic FTICs Enrolled in Selected AAU Schools**

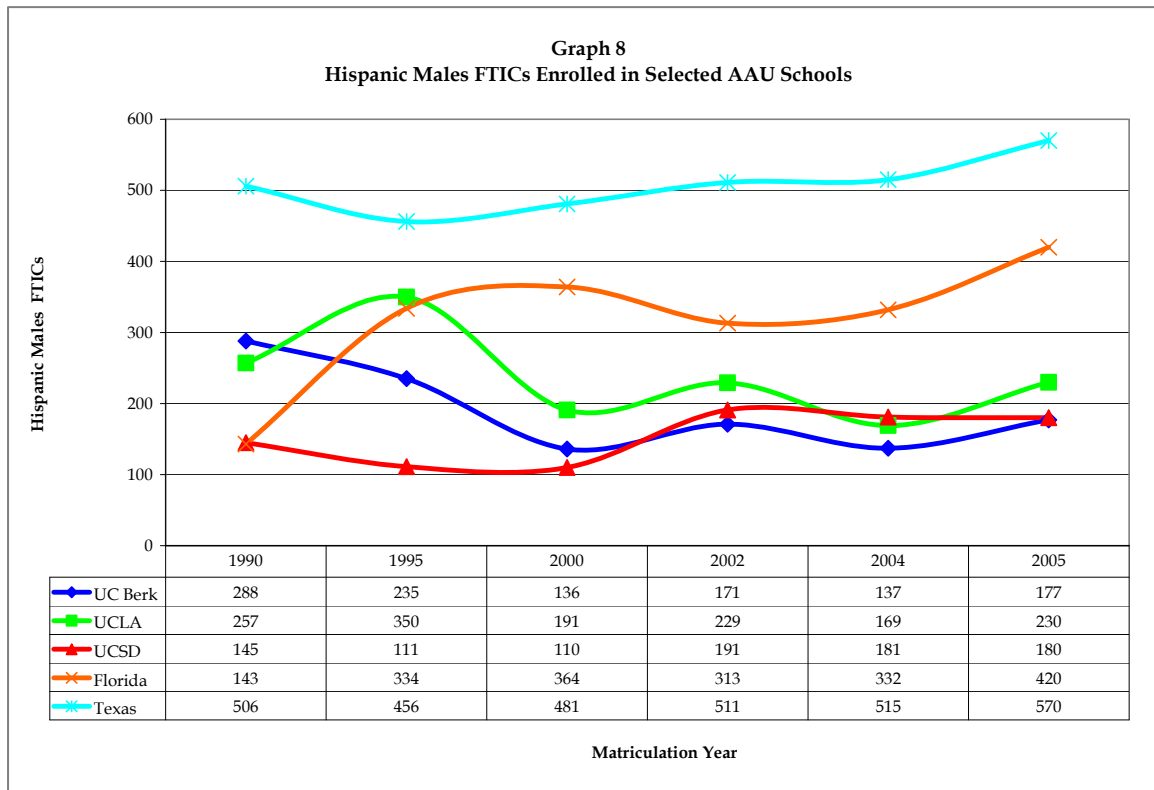


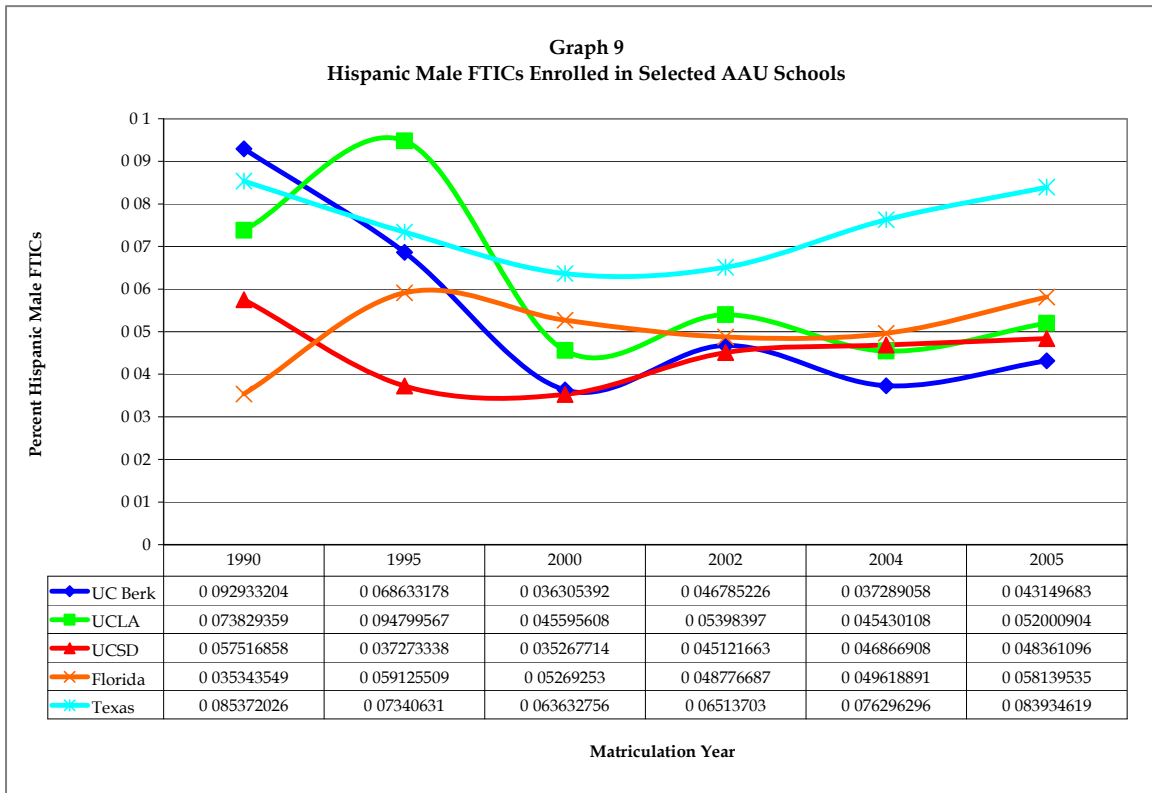
**Graph 7
Hispanic FTICs Enrolled in Selected AAU Schools**



What about the enrollment differences between Hispanic men and women? Did they parallel those for African-American men and women? The answer is yes, with some qualifications (see *Graph 8* and *Graph 9*). UCB saw its number of Hispanic men drop from 235 or 44.17 percent of the 532 Hispanics in 1995 to 177 or 41.5 percent of 426 Hispanic students in 2005. Likewise UCLA (from 44.02 percent in 1995 to 35.7 percent in 2005), Florida (from 43.86 percent in 2000 to 42.7 percent in 2005), and Texas (from 50.61 percent in 1995 to 46.15 percent in 2005) saw similar rates of decline. Only at UCSD (from 40.66 percent in 1995 to 42.15 percent in 2005) did the number and percentage of Hispanic males remain relatively the same over time. These enrollment numbers do not seem as disturbing as those for African-Americans, but when one factors in the tremendous growth of the Hispanic population in all three states, the results are equally troubling.

That four of most competitive public universities in three of the most dynamic states in the nation should see a decline in African-American and Hispanic male enrollment suggests that the states and the nation are failing both male populations. Are these young men attending other universities in these states? Are they not attending university at all? The limited data we have on other universities does not answer these questions. It is clear that educators and policymakers need to examine these trends more fully and determine how well these state universities are serving all populations and meeting the full needs of their respective citizens.





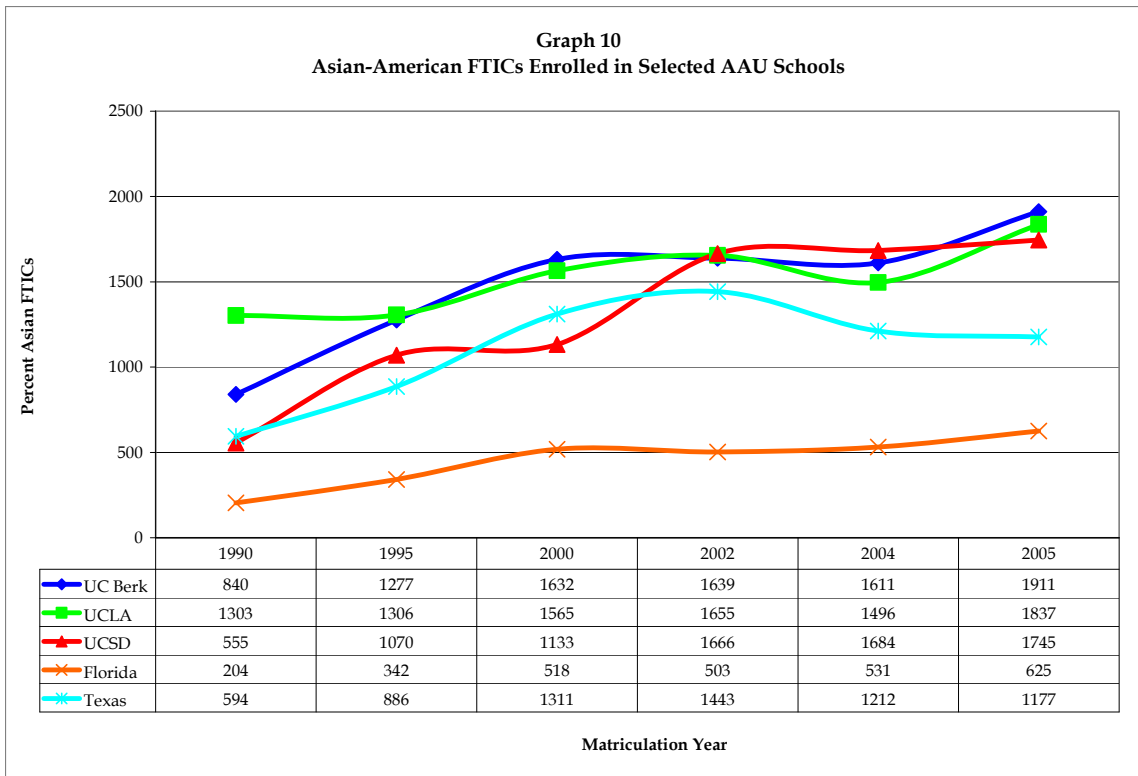
Asian-American Enrollment

How did Asian-American students fare in this changing admissions environment? Early studies in California suggested that the elimination of affirmative action would significantly advantage Asian-American students in their efforts to gain admission to UCB, UCLA, and UCSD. Was that, in fact, the case over time? *Graph 10* and *Graph 11* below suggests that Asian-American students in California were the major beneficiaries of Proposition 209 in California. At UCB, for example, Asian-American FTIC enrollment jumped from 1,277 or 37.30 percent in 1995 to 1,632 or 43.57 percent in 2000 following the implementation of Proposition 209, and, since that date, the number and percentage of Asian-Americans has increased steadily at both UCB and UCLA, reaching 46.59 percent at UCB and 41.53 at UCLA. For UCSD, the number of Asian-American students continues to increase as both a number and percent of the student body, from 1,070 or 35.93 percent in 1995 to 1,133 or 36.33 percent in 2000 and to 1,684 or 46.88 percent in 2005. At Texas, the number of Asian-American FTIC students went from 886 or 14.26 percent in 1995 to 1,311 or 17.74 percent in 2000 and has leveled off at 17.33 percent in 2005, while in Florida, which has a much smaller Asian-American population, the UF numbers grew from 342 or 7.50 percent in 1995 to 518 or 7.84 percent in 2000, and to 531 or 8.65 percent in 2005.

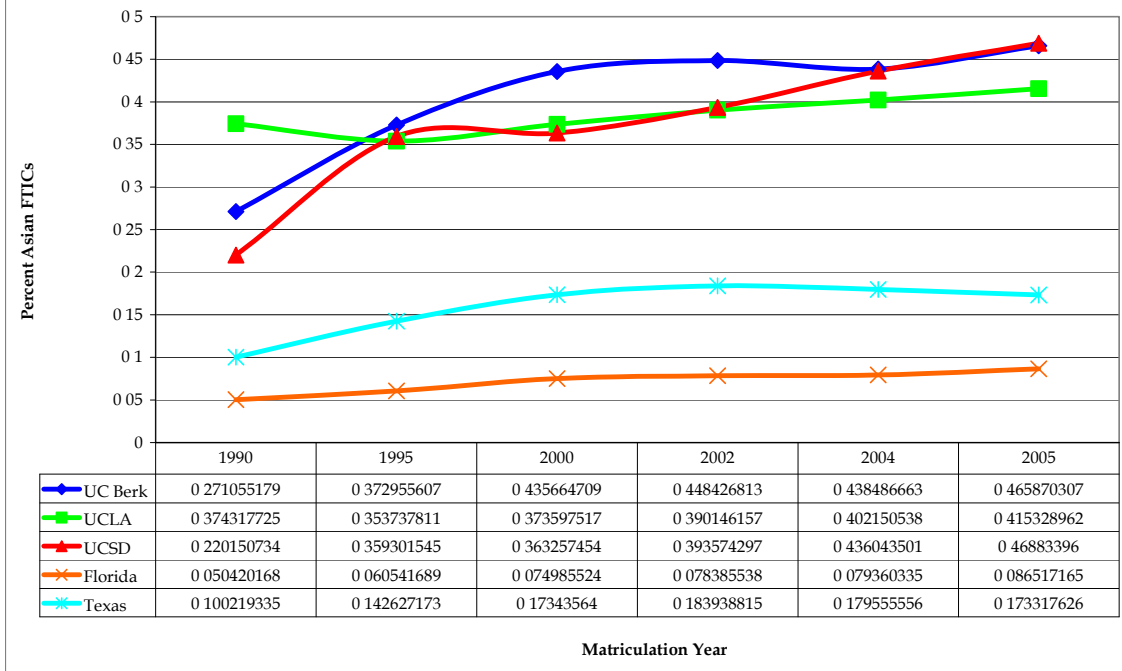
Clearly in an open admissions process where affirmative action does not enter into enrollment decisions and where legacy and donor issues are discouraged, Asian-American students compete very well.⁴ What the data also reveal is that Asian-American students filled the gap as black and Hispanic enrollment fell following the elimination of

affirmative action in California. Since 1996, eligibility rates for African-American and Latino graduates in California have improved, but they remain well below those for Whites and Asian-Americans (The UC eligibility rate for African-American graduates rose from 2.8% in 1996 to 6.2% in 2003. The rate for Hispanics increased from 3.8% to 6.5%. In comparison, 31% of Asian-American graduates and 16% of white graduates were eligible for UC in 2003). Adrian Griffin, the Commission policy analyst who directed the study in California, stated, “Six percent is better than three percent, but these figures show a real need to get students from all backgrounds qualified for our public universities.” He went on to observe, “We are in danger of becoming more and more of a two-tier society divided by race and income unless we do what is needed to give all high school students a chance to get on the university track”(California Postsecondary Education Commission, May 19, 2004).⁵

Graph 10
Asian-American FTICs Enrolled in Selected AAU Schools



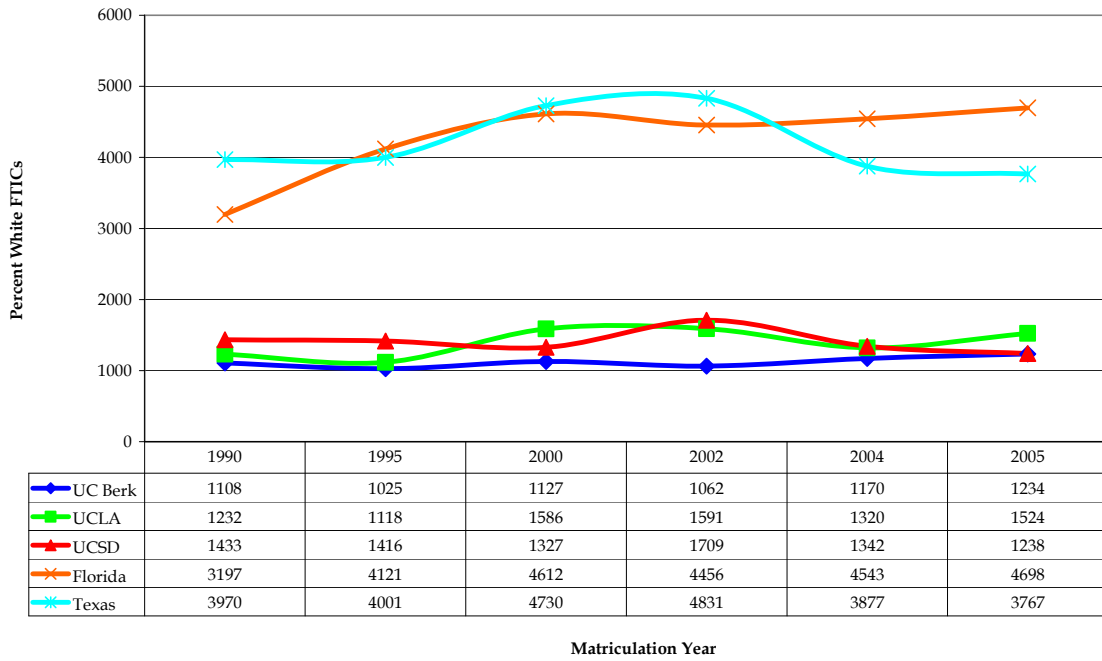
Graph 11
Asian-American FTICs Enrolled in Selected AAU Schools



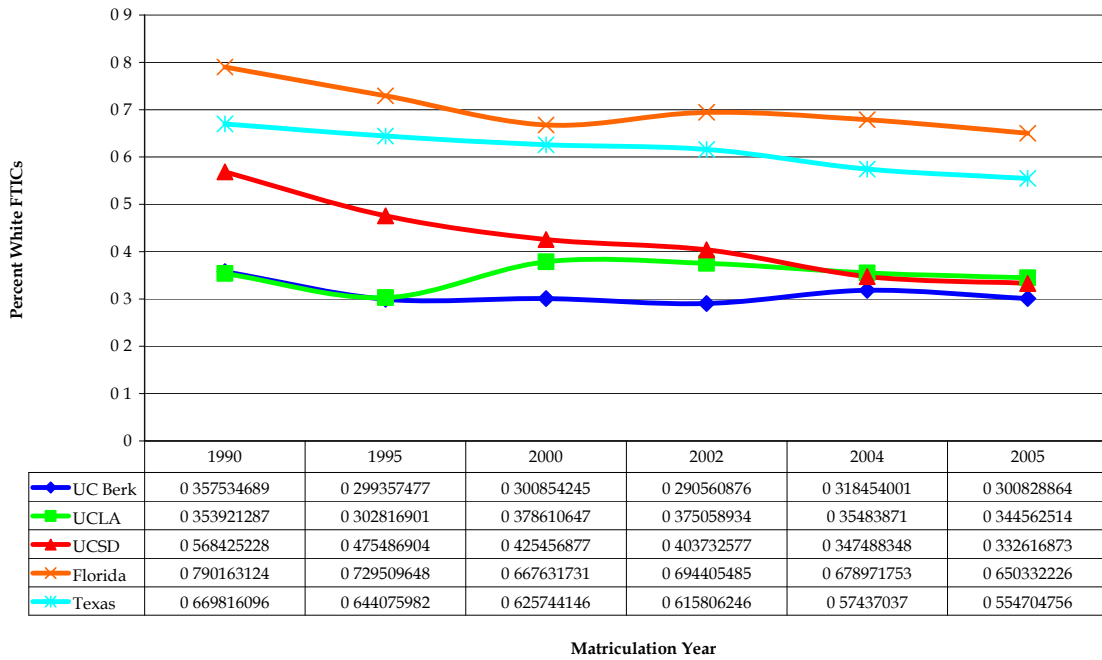
White Enrollment

Following the elimination of affirmative action at these five universities, white enrollment, as a percent of the student body, also began to decline and has continued to do so since then (see *Graph 12* and *Graph 13* below). While the percent of whites as a proportion of the population had been declining in all three states, thus lending justification for the decline in the number of white students, it is an important trend worth noting. For those who campaigned for the elimination of affirmative action in the belief that it would advantage the admission of white students, the trend over the past eight years can hardly be satisfying. At UCSD, UF, and UT Austin, white enrollment declined substantially between 1995 and 2005. At UCSD, white FTICs fell from 1,433 or 56.84 percent in 1990 to 1,238 or 33.26 percent in 2005; at Florida the number of white FTICs increased from 3,197 to 4,698 during the same period, but the enrollment at UF grew dramatically so that the percentage of white FTICs actually declined from 79.02 percent in 1995 to 65.03 percent in 2005, and at Texas the number of white FTICs declined from 3970 or 66.98 percent in 1995 to 3767 or 55.47 percent in 2005. At UCB white FTICs also declined but not as dramatically as at these three schools. UCB had 1,108 white FTIC students or 35.75 percent in 1995, compared to 1,234 or 30.08 percent in 2005. Only UCLA's white FTIC student population remained relatively stable during this period, with 1,232 or 35.39 percent in 1995 and 1,524 or 34.46 percent in 2005.

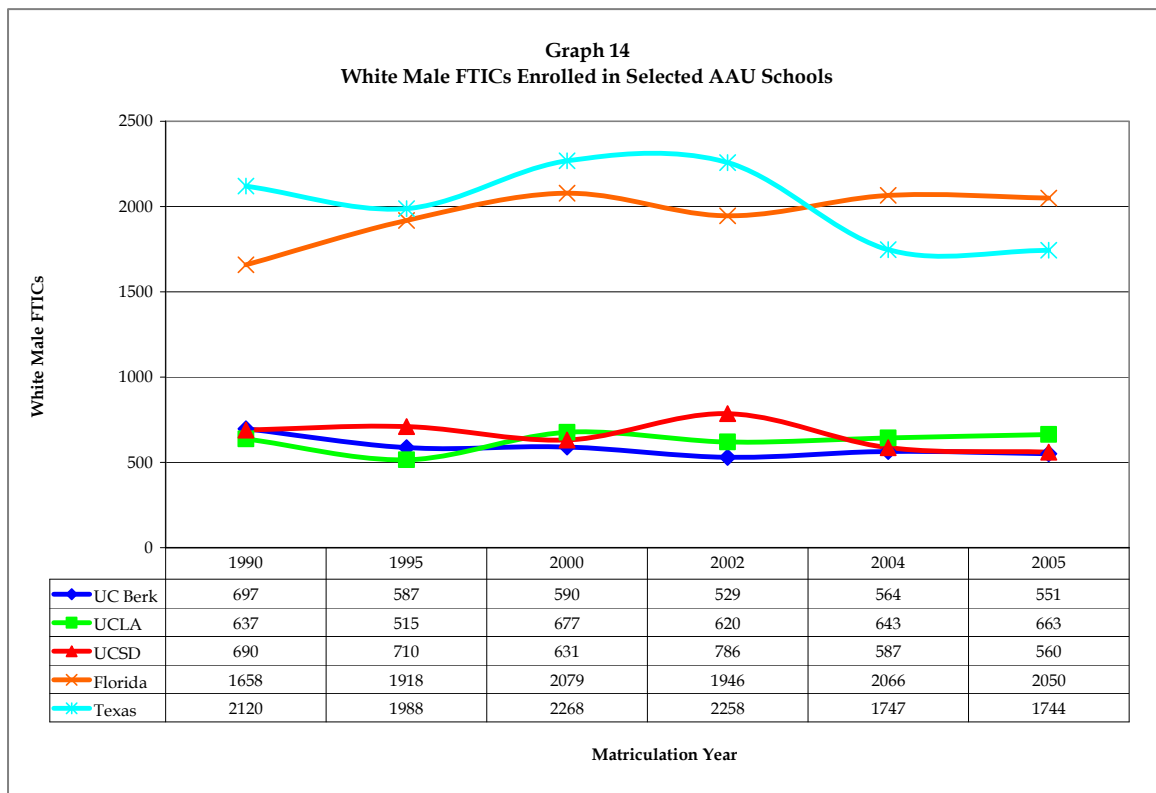
Graph 12
White FTICs Enrolled in Selected AAU Schools



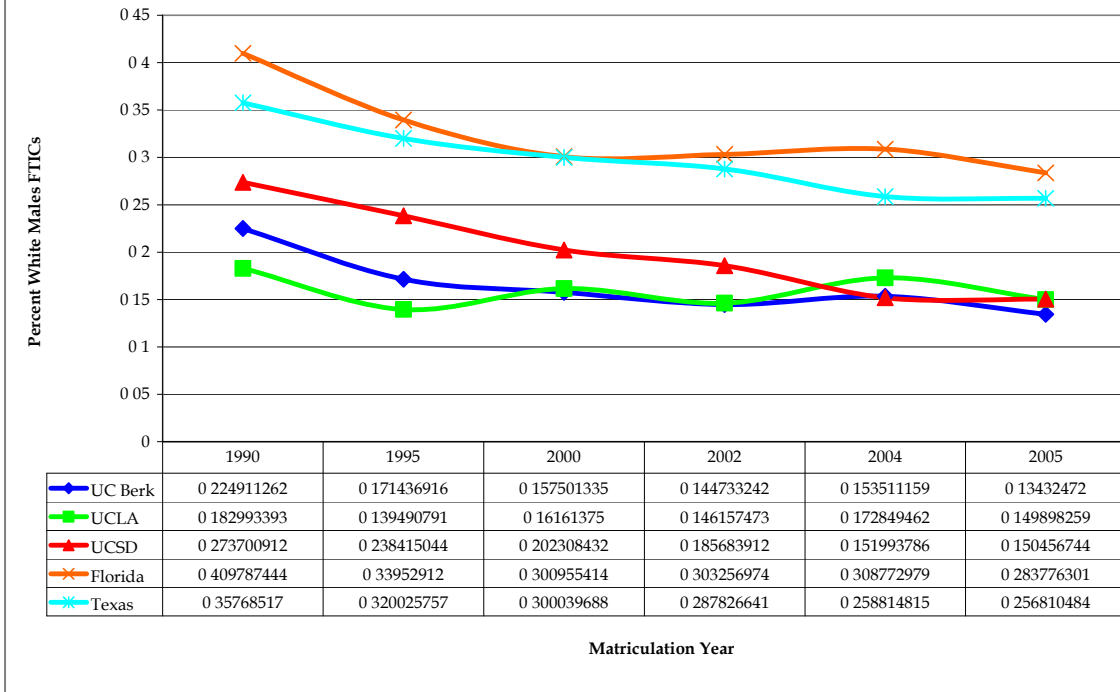
Graph 13
White FTICs Enrolled in Selected AAU Schools



Moreover, the decline in white male FTICs (see *Graph 14* and *Graph 15*) has been dramatic for all five universities, reflecting a national trend at the most competitive universities. Only UCLA has managed to maintain a reasonably steady proportion of white males from 1990 to 2005. In 1990, UCLA white male FTICs totaled 637 or 18.3 percent of the FTICs and in 2005 the numbers totaled 643 or 14.9 percent. But the other universities witnessed a decline of 10 to 12 percentage points from 1990 to 2005, even when the numbers increased overtime. By contrast, white women competed successfully for enrollment at the most competitive universities and in the most competitive areas, such as medicine, law, science and engineering, as barriers against them in these disciplines declined in the post-1970 era.



Graph 15
White Male FTICs Enrolled in Selected AAU Schools



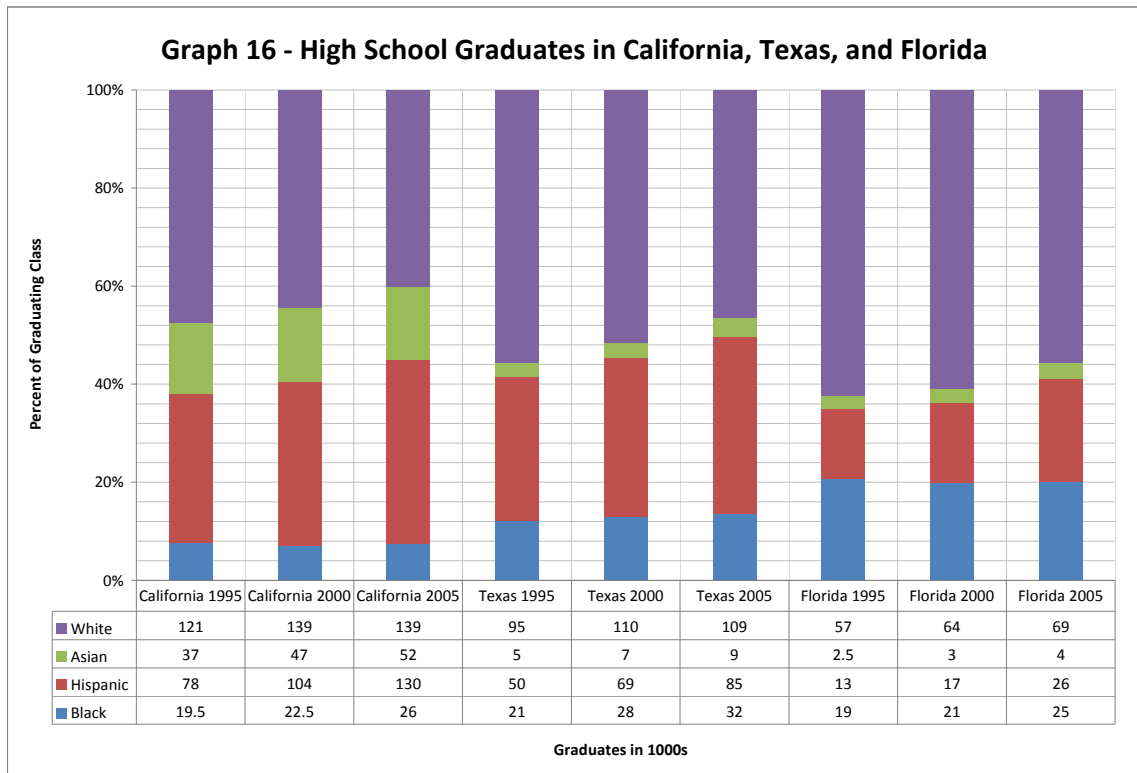
High School Graduation Rates

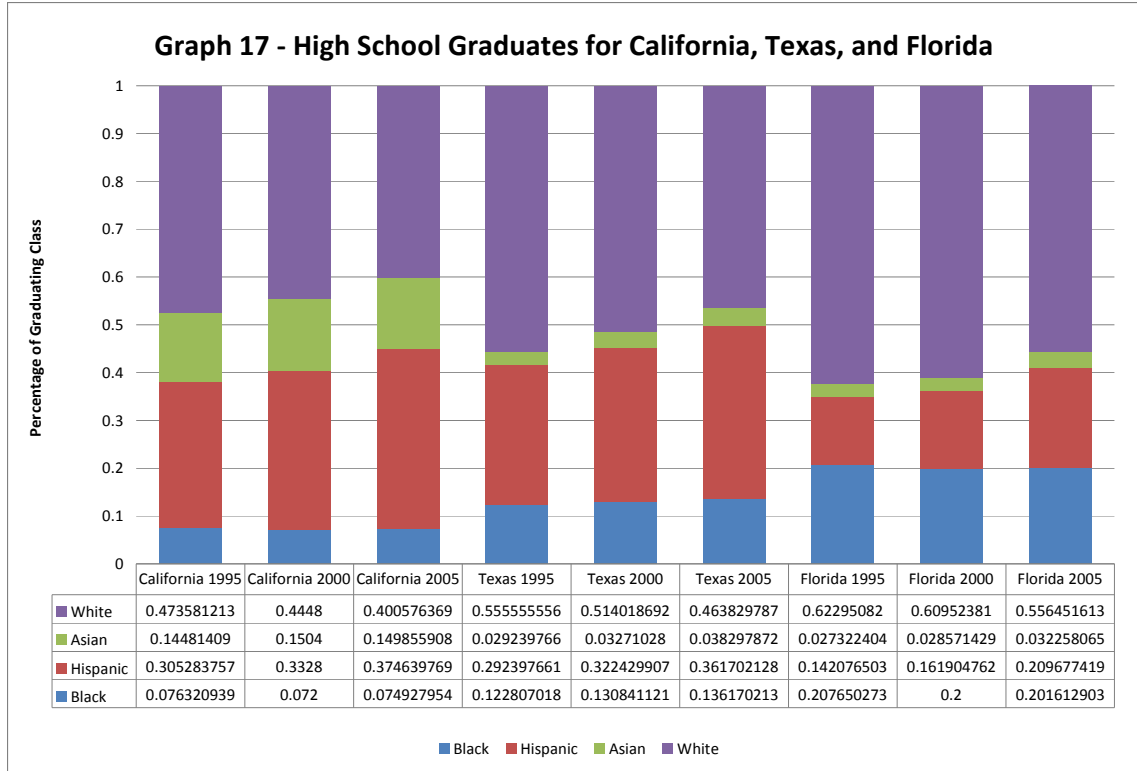
Before concluding this essay, we decided to take a look at high school graduation rates in the three states during the same period and see if that data would help us better understand the enrollment trends at the five universities. The data is displayed in *Graph 16* and *Graph 17*.

While recognizing that all these high school students did not qualify for admission into these five highly competitive universities, the data point out that the proportion of high school graduates remained relatively constant over this period. So it appears that the substantial increases in relative numbers of FTIC's at UF and UT Austin in the mid-1990s reflected a conscious policy of accepting more FTIC students. This may be the result of increased affirmative action activity prior to the onset of *Hopwood* and *One Florida*, or a decision to increase FTIC numbers to address funding issues. At UF, the authors set the admissions policies, and both factors entered into the decision to increase the number of entering freshmen.

The percentage of African-American high school graduates in each state remained fairly constant throughout this period. However, the proportion in Texas was twice that found in California, and that in Florida was three times the California percentage. The much larger percentages of African-American graduates in Florida and Texas may help explain the more attenuated effect of African-American enrollments in those states than in California. The proportion of Hispanic graduates in the three states was also fairly stable over this period. However, the total number of Hispanic high school graduates increased substantially—from 25 percent to 34 percent—representing a 34 percent

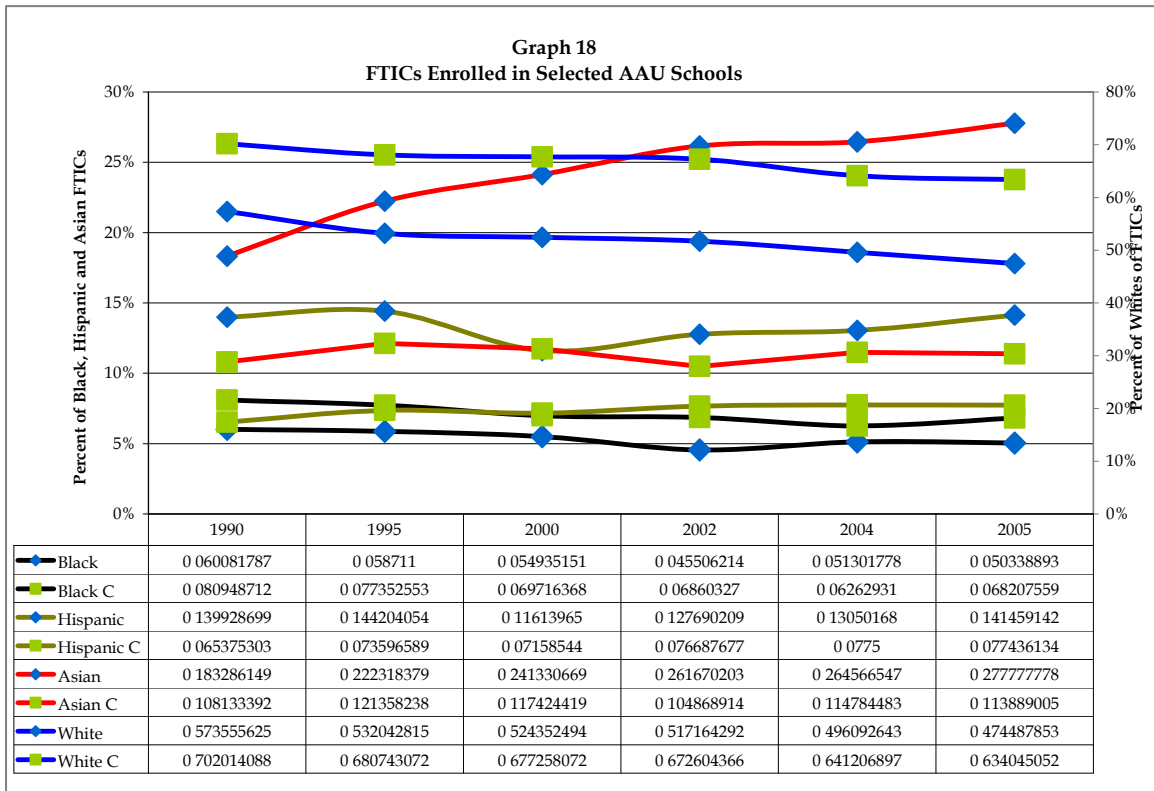
growth. The fact that this growth was not reflected in a similar growth rate in Hispanic FTIC's highlights a special problem that needs further attention. California has 80 percent of the Asian/Pacific islander high school graduates and that figure remained fairly constant over this period. The fact that the elimination of affirmative action has most benefited Asian-Americans has probably made the retention of underrepresented minority enrollment in that state even more difficult than would otherwise have been the case. The growth in the proportion of Hispanic graduates in all three states is reflected nearly perfectly with the decrease of White high school graduates.





An Examination of Other AAU Universities

In addition to reviewing high school graduation rates, we examined five other AAU state universities that did not eliminate affirmative action to see how their admission results were affected. We chose the University of Buffalo and Cornell University from the third largest state, the University of Illinois and the University of Maryland, long-time members of the AAU, and the University of Arizona, where state demographic changes paralleled those for California, Florida, and Texas.⁶ The results for each of the universities in this control group reveal that their racial and ethnic diversity numbers remained relatively constant throughout the period 1990 to 2005 as compared to those for the California, Florida, and Texas universities (see *Graph 16* in which *White C*, *Asian C*, etc. refer to the control group and those without the *C* refer to the California, Florida, and Texas universities). We believe it is reasonable to conclude that affirmative action enabled these universities to recruit and admit larger numbers of students from diverse backgrounds. And that, despite the flexibility given to Florida by the 10 percent plan and Texas by the 20 percent plan, neither could match the diversity in its student body that Buffalo, Illinois and Maryland achieved with the benefit of affirmative action.



Conclusion

What can we deduce further from this evidence? First, the big "losers" in this entire process are not just blacks and Hispanics, but whites as well. Because the elimination of affirmative action appears to be purely a merit-based change, the level of complaint has been noticeably muted among the "majority" group. If this trend continues at the most competitive, will it remain subdued? The likelihood is it will not, even as American society becomes increasingly diverse. Whites are still too influential in politics and in the private sector to sit quietly while this trend continues.

Second, FTIC enrollment for California, Florida, and Texas indicates that these three states face an ongoing challenge in recruiting black, Hispanic, and white males to their most competitive universities and by inference, enabling them to receive the best education their states have to offer. If this trend continues into the future, the implications for society and for these racial and ethnic groups are worrisome.

Third, Florida and Texas mitigated to some extent the potential draconian effects of One Florida and the *Hopwood* decision on racial and ethnic enrollment by implementing such measures as the 10 Percent Plan and the Talented Twenty Program and by increasing enrollment significantly at the freshmen level. These initiatives gave both UF and the UT Austin sufficient flexibility to maintain a strong minority enrollment among their FTIC students. This was not so for the three California universities where Proposition 209 provided much less flexibility in admissions, where freshmen admission rates were determined at the system-level so that there was even less flexibility, and where attempts at amelioration were less successful. But it is important to note again that

none of these five universities was able to maintain the racial and ethnic diversity of those universities that retained affirmative action.

Fourth, all five universities mitigated the decline in the number of African-American students by increasing their five and six-year graduation rates, so that a significantly higher percentage of African-American and Hispanic students who entered in 2000 finished their education than those who entered in 1990. UCLA, for example, graduated 34 more African-American students who entered in 2000 than it would have if graduation rates for the 1990 cohort had remained the same. And UF and UT Austin graduated 139 and 201 additional Hispanic students respectively because of improved graduation rates from the 1990 cohort to the 2000 cohort. The graduation success of these students helped offset the decline in African-American and Hispanic admissions and provided one significant note of encouragement in an otherwise disquieting story.

Fifth, the data further reveal that Asian-Americans have filled the gap created by the decline in African-American and Hispanic FTIC students in California, and that Hispanics have largely filled the gap in Texas and Florida, although not to the degree that Asian-American students have in California.

Clearly the freshmen enrollment trends for black, white, and Hispanic male students at these universities constitute a daunting trend that concerns university officials and policymakers. But without some concerted effort on the part of the states, the universities, the public schools, and parents to promote the educational advancement and maturity of young men, these trends likely will continue and perhaps worsen. Such trends pose a substantive threat to the competitiveness and the overall health of American society.⁷

While this study focuses primarily on affirmative action and the consequences its elimination had for various racial and ethnic groups, its elimination also affected the education and experience of majority students. This action not only reduced the diversity of their educational experience, but it also affected its quality by limiting the expression of different viewpoints in and out of the classroom. As one of the authors of this essay remarked on many occasions, “Affirmative action is not just for ‘them,’ it is for all of us.”⁸

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank the following colleagues for their comments and suggestions regarding this essay: Professor Joel Aberbach, University of California, Los Angeles; Professor Sheila Dickson, University of Florida; Dr. Winston C. Doby, University of California, Los Angeles; Professor Charles E. Frazier, University of Florida; Professor Joseph Glover, University of Florida; and Professor Paul Ong, University of California, Los Angeles.

Notes

¹ For one of the most thoughtful discussions of affirmative action see William G. Bowen and Derek Bok, *The Shape of the River*, with forward by Glenn C. Loury (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000). A more recent study that provides a very good historical overview is Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action Was White: An*

Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America (New York: W.W. Norton, 2006). For a frank assessment of the class issues in university admissions and the failure of universities to live up to their commitment to diversity see: Peter Schmidt's *Color and Money: How Rich White Kids Are Winning the War over College Affirmative Action* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

² U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS): Fall Enrollment, 1990 through 2005 [Computer file].

³ These comments are based on the following quote from an email to Charles Young by Dr. Winston Doby, former Vice President at the University of California at Los Angeles:

“To gain a better understanding of what is happening to African-Americans in California requires a more careful look at the changing residential patterns and related effects. The typical African-American student in a large urban school district is likely to be enrolled in a heavily Latino school. In the suburbs, the African-American student will be a relatively small minority in a majority White school. In both cases, the academically oriented black student will be isolated from his peer group.”

⁴ Asian-American success does not seem confined to one particular Asian group. Figures for California, Florida, and Texas reveal that Japanese-Americans, Chinese-Americans, and Vietnamese-Americans all do better proportionately than whites and other students of color. Much of this seems related to family commitment to education, rather than to income levels or length of time in the United States. Civil rights legislation and judicial decisions in the 1960s and 1970s, however, reduced discrimination and improved accessibility for more recent generations of Asian-Americans. For a different view on this argument see: William C. Kidder, “Negative Action Versus Affirmative Action: Asian Pacific Americans Are Still Caught in the Crossfire,” *Michigan Journal of Race and Law*, Volume 11, (May 15, 2006), 605-624. Kidder argues that Asian Pacific Americans may have gained in numbers and percentages, but they would have done much better if the admissions process was truly an open one. Universities hesitated to open the process fully because of concerns about admitting too many Asian students, especially in California. But the information we have gathered from the various universities suggests rather indicates quite clearly that Asian numbers have increased dramatically in California as a result of Proposition 209.

⁵In the ten years prior to Proposition 209, the Asian-American and South Pacific populations in California grew at three times the rate of state's other populations. This population growth along with special consideration of Asian and South Pacific student applications at the state university level explains the sudden growth in admissions of these students at UCLA, UCB, and UCSD in the period from 1992 to 1994. That growth leveled off prior to Proposition 209, then accelerated steadily as a percentage of the student population in all three schools from 1996 to 2005.

⁶We recognize that Cornell is a private university but it was originally the state's land grant university and continues to receive significant funding from the State of New York.

⁷ While not part of this particular study, it is worth pointing out that the results cited above have also exacerbated the racial, ethnic, and male diversity in graduate and

professional schools. These developments are a direct result of the reduced numbers of potential student admits by virtue of the decline in the FTIC numbers.

⁸ Quotation from Charles E. Young, Jr. during his years at UCLA and at UF.

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