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AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA ADMISSIONS: AN ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE

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In July of 1995, the University of California Board of Regents adopted resolution SP-1. SP-1 mandated that, effective January 1, 1997, the University of California (UC) shall not use race, religion, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin as a criteria for admission to the University. With this action, race based affirmative action in UC admissions effectively ended. The Regents' action was later reinforced when voters adopted a ballot proposition which applied to student admissions as well as other state functions. The history of affirmative action programs and the politics that led to their demise could occupy several volumes. This paper will focus on a slightly more manageable topic – the economic ramifications. This paper will examine the economic arguments for and against the Board of Regents' decision. It will explore whether race based affirmative action policies improved or worsened the allocation of educational resources in California.

Proponents of race-based affirmative action believe that it improves the allocation of educational resources in three ways. One, it identifies students whose marginal benefit of a university education is high, but whose abilities may be underestimated because of discrimination. Two, it improves the education of other students by increasing the diversity of the student body. Three, it improves social welfare by reducing group disparities.

Not surprisingly, opponents of affirmative action believe that it worsens the allocation of resources. Critics of the policy argue that, because it relies on criteria other than academic credentials, affirmative action diverts resources from the students with the highest potential value added from a university education. Critics also warn that the policy will dilute the quality of education received by all students either because lax admissions standards lead to a watered down curriculum or because the efficiency gains associated with grouping students of similar abilities together are lost. In addition, critics argue, race-based affirmative action policies worsen racial tensions and reinforce racial stereotypes.

This essay will assess the empirical evidence on both sides of this question. It proceeds in three stages. The next two sections outline in greater detail the arguments for and against affirmative action in university admissions. Then I describe undergraduate admissions policies at University of California campuses and the effect of the Board of Regents resolution on the racial composition of entering classes. The remainder of the paper summarizes the empirical evidence on the consequences of the change in policy for individuals, for the educational environment and for the broader community.

The Case for Affirmative Action

African Americans, American Indians, and Hispanics¹ are underrepresented in institutions of higher education, particularly four year colleges and universities. They represented 37.8% of California's 1996 public high school graduates, but only 21.2% of four year college and university enrollment (1995) and less than 17% of the UC freshman class that entered in the Fall of 1997.

Although part of the explanation for this disparity in college going rates is economic², racial discrimination, both historical and contemporary, is a contributing factor. Residential segregation has generated disparity in the quality of primary and secondary education. Historical discrimination³ restricted the access of African American and Latino parents to higher education and this, in turn, has had an impact on the probability of success for their children.⁴ (Hearn, 1991) Furthermore, the university admissions process is affected both directly and indirectly by the subjective judgments of individuals and these individuals may harbor racial prejudice. The subjective judgments of individuals affect college admissions directly through the evaluations of secondary teachers and indirectly through the assignment of students to college preparatory courses.⁵

If race limits access to educational opportunities, the distribution of educational resources is likely to be inefficient. A black student with a high marginal benefit from a university training may not be able to attend college because of a poor secondary education or because his parents can't afford it. A white student with a smaller marginal benefit from education is able to attend. Loury (1977) has shown that if parental resources constrain investments in education, the resulting distribution of educational resources will be inefficient.

Advocates of affirmative action argue that it provides a method to enforce nondiscrimination in the admissions process and to identify those students whose potential might otherwise be overlooked. Proponents of affirmative action assert that racial and ethnic diversity in the student body improves the quality of education received by all students. "Students and faculty themselves benefit from a diverse student body. In the world of ideas, the greatest source of intellectual growth comes from the challenge to one's assumptions, perspectives, and ways of

¹ Hispanics include Mexican Americans or Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, South Americans, and persons from the Dominican Republic etc. The term "Latino" will refer to Hispanics not of Mexican descent.

² Experts cite the price of higher education as a major factor contributing to racial differences in participation. (Wilson, 1989; Jaynes, 1989; Justiz, 1994)

³ Although California did not have Jim Crow laws, there is a long history of de facto and legal discrimination against blacks, Chicanos, Japanese and Chinese Americans.

⁴ Among fall 1994 applicants to the UC system, 83.1% of white students had fathers with a BA degree or higher, only 36.2% of African American students and 25% of Chicano/Latino applicants had fathers with similar educational attainment (Aldaco, 1995) The average parental income of white applicants was 85,592; of African American applicants, 45,715; of Chicano/Latino applicants, 42,411.

⁵ In California, only 27.9% of black and 22.3% of Latino 1996 public high school graduates had completed college preparatory curriculum. The comparable statistics for Asian and white high school graduates were 53.6% and 39.7%, respectively.

thinking. Exposure to peers with varying backgrounds is an important source of this kind of challenge.” (University of California, Office of President, 1995a, p. 2)

The Case against Affirmative Action

Critics of affirmative action offer a different interpretation of its effects. They argue that affirmative action converts a race neutral process into one that discriminates against whites and Asian Americans. Ideally, a race neutral admissions process selects the students who will reap the highest value added from attending a specific post secondary institution or who will generate value added for other students. Traditionally, the main criteria used to select students have been academic – grade point average, scores on standardized tests like the SAT or ACT. If these criteria identify students with the greatest potential, then any deviation from these standards will result in economic inefficiency. Under affirmative action, some African American and Hispanic students are admitted with lower GPAs and lower scores on standardized tests than those of white and Asian American students denied admission. Critics of affirmative action point to these lower test scores and the associated higher attrition rates as evidence that affirmative action diverts resources from students likely to succeed in college to those likely to fail.

In addition, critics of affirmative action fear that it will reduce the quality of education for all students by watering down the curriculum. Diversity can be a bad thing if it leads faculty to reduce academic standards to accommodate ill-prepared students. “When poor preparation and weak motivation are coupled with government policies to promote – indeed, almost force – educational participation, even if more students were formally enrolled, the quality of learning might deteriorate.” (OECD reports as cited by Pickens, 1989)

Critics of affirmative action also question whether diversity enhances the educational environment. Indeed, some critics assert that affirmative action has worsened racial tensions on college campuses. For example, Stephan and Abigail Thernstrom, authors of *America in Black and White*, attribute increased racial tensions at Stanford University to race sensitive admissions.

High anxiety – the deep-seated fear that black inferiority may not be, after all, a myth – is just one source of what Steele has called a campus ‘politics of difference,’ in which groups assert rights and vie for power based on their racial identity. ... the result is precisely that resegregation of campus life so clearly and appallingly on display at Stanford – but certainly not confined to that school.

Others argue that affirmative action has led whites to resent blacks because they perceive them as enjoying special privileges. (Lynch and Beer, 1990)

Finally, critics of affirmative action argue that the policy hurts the minority groups it is intended to help. The potential harmful effects include reduced incentives for academic achievement, a mismatch of students with institutions, and stigmatization of minority students. An *American Economic Review* article by Stephen Coates and Glenn Loury demonstrates that under some conditions, affirmative action reduces incentives for achievement. In the Coates and

Loury analysis, lowering entry standards for a group of students reduces their incentives to work hard.⁶ As a result, they perform less well on entrance examinations. Affirmative action can also harm its intended beneficiaries if it diverts students from institutions where they are likely to succeed to institutions where they are likely to fail. This is the problem of academic mismatch. Under some circumstances, a low grade point average and a low probability of completion can offset the advantage associated with attending a selective college. (Datcher-Loury and Garman, 1995)

Several prominent African Americans and Latinos have argued that affirmative action stigmatizes its beneficiaries. Carol M. Swain, an associate professor of politics and public affairs at the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University, writes,

Besides encouraging many to play the victim, affirmative action telegraphs an equally harmful subliminal message to its beneficiaries. It says in effect that you, as a woman or minority, are less capable than a white male and will need special preference in order to compete successfully in a world dominated by white males ... Affirmative action sends a message to whites that minorities and women need this help, contributing to white denigration of minorities and women. (Swain, 1995)

Hence, advocates of race based affirmative action programs and critics of the program disagree not only over philosophical questions of justice and fairness, but about the bread and butter issue of whether the benefits of the program outweigh its costs. Advocates of affirmative action believe it insures the flow of educational resources to the students with the greatest potential. Opponents of affirmative action believe it diverts resources away from the students with the greatest potential and in the process, reduces the potential of its intended beneficiaries.

University of California Undergraduate Admissions Policies

To be eligible for admission as an undergraduate to the University of California, high school graduates must meet minimum eligibility requirements. These requirements are described in Table 1. Rates of eligibility vary by race. Among the public high school graduates of 1996, black and Hispanic students have the lowest rates of eligibility. A California Postsecondary Education Commission (CPEC) study estimates that fewer than 3.8% of Hispanic graduates and 2.8% of black graduates were fully eligible for admission to the University of California in 1996. (CPEC, 1997) For Asians and whites, the percentages were 30.0% and 12.7% respectively. (CPEC, 1997) Hence, African American and Hispanic graduates represent a smaller percentage of the UC applicant pool than of the class of graduating seniors.

In principle, the UC system will accommodate all UC eligible students. However, some campuses have many more applicants than there are spaces in the first year classes. Figure 1

⁶ The Coates and Loury result is not robust. Slight changes in assumptions about the distribution of abilities reverses their results. (Foster and Vohra, 1992)

illustrates the ratio of admitted students to applicants at UC campuses. The UC system admits nearly 77% of applicants. However, roughly 50% of UC freshman applicants apply to UC Berkeley and/or to UCLA. Acceptance rates for these campuses average 33.4%. Admission to UC San Diego is also fairly competitive. The acceptance rate for this campus in 1997 was 53.3%. UC Berkeley, UCLA and UC San Diego must apply criteria beyond UC eligibility standards to select their entering classes. At the heart of the debate over affirmative action is a debate about what those criteria should be.

The selection process is not uniform across campuses, but there are some common elements. In general, the first 50-60% of space is allocated purely on academic merit – high school GPA, scores on the SAT, achievement test scores, and the number of advanced placement courses taken in high school. The remaining applicants compete on the basis of a broad range of criteria – including athletic and artistic talent, unusual leadership ability, and socioeconomic disadvantage. Before the Board of Regents decision, membership in an underrepresented minority group was one of these criteria. As a result, at the most competitive campuses, acceptance rates were higher for African American, Chicano, Latino and Native American applicants than for white and Asian applicants. However, the acceptance rates for the UC system were lower for these underrepresented minorities (URMs).

Table 2 describes acceptance rates before (1994) and after the implementation of SP-1 (1997). At UC Berkeley and at UCLA, African Americans, American Indian and Chicano students had higher acceptance rates than other groups before SP-1. For example, in 1994, 55% of Chicano applicants were accepted at UC Berkeley compared with 37% of Asian applicants. UCLA's acceptance rates followed a similar pattern. In contrast, at less competitive campuses, the acceptance rates for underrepresented minority groups (URMs) were comparable to those for all students. After the change in admissions policy, the acceptance rates for URMs fell at UC Berkeley and at UCLA. Acceptance rates for URMs increased at the other campuses.

Table 3 describes the racial and ethnic composition of the class of freshman entering in the 1994-1997 fall semesters. The proportion of URMs enrolled in the UC system fell by 2% between 1994 and 1997 while enrollment of non-URMs climbed by 12.1%. But the change is uneven across campuses. The number of URMs at the Riverside and Santa Barbara campuses increased after SP-1 and decreased (as percent of total class) at Berkeley and UCLA.

Although there are other possible explanations for the drop in URM enrollment, SP-1 is the most likely suspect. The number of applications from URMs grew over this period albeit at a slower pace than applications from white and Asians.⁷ Yield rates were unchanged. Eligibility rates declined for Black students between 1990 and 1996, but those of Hispanic students changed only slightly. (The eligibility rates for Asian students also declined between 1990-1996.) It is unlikely that any of these factors could explain the drop in enrollment. Furthermore, the drop in numbers of URMs parallels that predicted by simulations of the effects of SP-1 studied

⁷ The relatively slow growth in applications from URMs could be a consequence of the change in admissions policy. Between 1995 and 1996, the number of applications from African Americans and Hispanics dropped noticeably. Newspaper articles suggested that SP-1 and Proposition 209 were factors in the decision not to apply.

conducted separately by the University of California's Office of the President and by UC San Diego.

Who Gains from Attending a Selective University?

Eliminating affirmative action has reduced the number of URMs in the UC system and it has redistributed students across UC campuses. However, it is unlikely to have reduced college enrollment of the affected ethnic groups. Even those who have left the UC system are probably enrolled in other four-year colleges and universities. Given the credentials of these students⁸, a UC eligible student rejected from UC Berkeley or UCLA is likely to be accepted at a California State University campus, at a less selective private institution, or even at a more selective private institution.⁹ Hence, at the core of the debate over affirmative action in UC admissions is the empirical question: who generates the greatest marginal benefit from enrollment at a highly selective UC campus.

Individuals with degrees from more selective colleges and universities generally enjoy higher earnings than those from less selective colleges and universities. The higher pay will reflect, in part, that individuals who are accepted into selective colleges are already high achievers. However, even in studies that control for differences in SAT scores and demographic characteristics, those students that graduate from a selective four-year college or university earn higher pay.

Minority students are likely to receive a higher premium from attending a selective college than are white students for two reasons. First, employers generally have imperfect information about the productivity of individual job applicants. Because it is costly or sometimes impossible to measure productivity pre-employment, employers are likely to judge workers based on attributes. The selectivity of the college that the worker attended can be a signal of worker quality. If employers have less information about minority workers than about other workers, attending a selective college could have a bigger impact on the probability of employment or on the salary of a minority worker. Secondly, college is an important source of contacts and information about jobs. Students from communities where job networks are weak get a bigger boost from access to this information than do students already plugged into a job network.

Using data from the high school class of 1973, Datcher-Loury and Garman (1995) report higher returns to college selectivity for blacks vs. whites, holding constant performance. For an African American male college graduate with a composite SAT score greater than 850, attending a college with a median SAT score of 1000 points rather than 900 points increases his yearly earnings by \$769 and his present discounted lifetime earnings by \$18,652. For a white male with a composite SAT score greater than 850 but less than 1000, attending a more selective college

⁸ The eligibility requirements are outlined in Table 1.

⁹ This conclusion is buttressed by Kane's finding that race has little effect on the probability of admission at the least selective 60 of colleges. In addition, the effect of SP1 on URM enrollment in the UC system was small.

increases yearly earnings by \$298. If his score is greater than 1000, he increases his yearly earnings by \$253.

The Datcher-Loury and Garman study suggests that African Americans, who graduate, earn a higher premium from attending a selective college than do whites. However, critics of race based affirmative action argue that it reduces the probability of graduation for minority students because there is a mismatch between their skills and those of their classmates. Datcher-Loury and Garman also examine this issue. They find that attending a more selective institution reduces the probability of graduation and the grade point average for an African American male, but increases the probability of graduation for a white male. For an African American male with a composite SAT score of greater than 850, attending a more selective college could reduce the probability of graduation by 25% and reduce GPA by .212 points. However, the increase in earnings associated with attending a more selective college outweighs the earnings reduction associated with lower probability of graduation and lower GPA. For an African American male with a composite SAT less than 850, but greater than 700, the graduation rate falls by 17% and GPA by .320 points. For an individual with a composite SAT in this range, the risks of not graduating and the lower GPA do offset the advantages of selectivity.¹⁰

Kane replicates the Datcher-Loury and Garman analysis for the Class of 1982 and obtains very different results. Kane finds no racial difference in the returns to selectivity. Attending a more selective college increases earnings, but it does not have a differential impact on the earnings of minority students. Also, he finds no difference in graduation rates between minority students and white students at selective colleges. According to Kane's analysis, both black and white students are more likely to graduate from a selective college. Kane (19997) argues that the Garman/Datcher-Loury results are driven primarily by their inclusion of historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) in their analysis. HBCUs have higher graduation rates than other colleges that admit students with similar SAT scores. Kane concludes "for both BA completion and earnings, the racial differences in the "payoff" to college selectivity is both small and insignificant." Nonetheless, two other studies have found higher premiums for black students.¹¹

Neither the Kane nor the Datcher-Loury and Garman analyses consider the consequences of selectivity for postgraduate education. UCLA and UC Berkeley are among the top 10 feeder schools for applicants to medical and law schools. A student who attends a less selective UC campus will have a lower probability of admission, other things equal and this will have consequences for future earnings. Bok and Bowen, in their study of the graduates of twenty-eight selective colleges and universities find a large effect of college selectivity on the percentage of blacks receiving postgraduate degrees. Compared with all holders of BA degrees, the blacks who graduated from the selective colleges and universities were more than five times likely to receive a postgraduate degree. White graduates of the selective colleges and universities were only three

¹⁰ Datcher-Loury and Garman reach different conclusions for African American males with lower scores, but given the UC eligibility criteria, these results are not relevant to this analysis.

¹¹ See, for example, Daniel, Black and Smith (1997) and Behrman et al, 1996. Bok and Bowen (1998) conclude that the premium is probably higher for black students than for white.

times as likely to receive a postgraduate degree as other white graduates. (Bok and Bowen, 1998) Hence, a decrease in the number of African American and Hispanic students at UC Berkeley and UCLA could reduce the number admitted to postgraduate educational programs.¹² As described below, a scarcity of black, Hispanic and Native American professionals has implications for society far beyond the earnings accruing to any single individual.

The inconclusive findings on earnings suggest that a change in admissions policies would primarily redistribute the benefits of attending a selective college from one group to another. A white or Asian student rejected from his most preferred UC campuses loses the earnings advantage associated with selectivity. A black or Hispanic student gains an equivalent advantage. If society weighs the two students equally, with no spillover effects and equal marginal cost of schooling, race based affirmative action makes the allocation of educational resources is no more or less efficient.

The Educational Value of Diversity

However, race based affirmative action affects not only the student admitted or not admitted because of the policy, it also affects the academic environment. Eliminating race-based affirmative action reduces racial and ethnic diversity in classrooms, at least at UC Berkeley and UCLA. Many educators strongly believe that this diversity improves the quality of education received by all students. (Schoenfield, 1996) Educators in law and medicine are particularly adamant about the value of diversity. Medical educators stress the importance of understanding differences in culture and social practice for the effective delivery of health care services and credit minority students with improving the “cultural competence” of their non-minority classmates. (Nickens, 1996) In testimony to the UC Board of Regents, Dr. Michael Drake, then Associate Dean of Medicine at UC San Francisco School of Medicine, affirmed the importance of diversity to medical education.

Medicine is practiced on a diverse population in our society. Students learn from books, from professors, from patients and from each other. We learn invaluable lessons about working on people different from ourselves by working with people different from ourselves. ... a diverse medical school class serves to make all of its members better doctors.

Legal educators also cite the role of minority students in improving the cultural competence of their classmates. (Oko, 1996) and argue that the diversity of intellectual tradition and background help students identify areas where the law is “inconsistent, inappropriate, or unresponsive to the needs of society” (Kay, 1995). In his decision in *Bakke*, 438 U.S. 314, Justice William Powell provides a summary of the views of many legal educators.

¹² This impact on professional school enrollments would be in addition to the direct effects of SP-1 on admissions policies at UC law and medical schools.

The law school, the proving ground for legal learning and practice, cannot be effective in isolation from the individuals and institutions with which the law interacts. Few students and no one who has practiced law would choose to study in an academic vacuum, removed from the interplay of ideas and the exchange of views with which the law is concerned.

Surveys of college students also reveal a belief in the educational value of diversity. (University of California, Berkeley, Institute for the Study of Social Change, 1991) In their landmark study, *The Shape of the River*, William G. Bowen and Derek Bok report that 34% of white graduates in the class of 1989 thought that “college had contributed a great deal to their ability to work effectively and get along well with people of other races”. (Bowen and Bok, 1998)

So far, the educational value of diversity is mainly an article of faith. There are only two empirical studies that have attempted to document its impact on student outcomes (Deppe, 1989 and Astin, 1993a) and their findings are mixed. Deppe (1989) finds that racial diversity did not contribute either positively or negatively to the development of social concern among students. Astin (1993a) finds that interracial social interactions have positive effects on cultural awareness and appear to promote an interest in social change.

There is also little empirical evidence that race based affirmative action has had a negative effect on the quality of undergraduate education or that it has heightened racial tensions. Although affirmative action does appear to influence white attitudes (Garcia et al, 1981; Heilman, et al, 1992), most blacks do not feel stigmatized. (Hochschild, 1995)

Impacts on Communities Beyond the University

Several studies have shown that there are benefits to minority communities associated with the percentage of the group that is college educated. (Crane, 1991; Datcher, 1982; Hogan and Kitagawa, 1985) These benefits may be direct, because of the active engagement of college graduates in volunteer work and community affairs, or indirect, because the college graduates serve as role models for teenagers and children. College graduates, in general, are more likely to be engaged in community service than those without bachelor's degrees are. Bok and Bowen find that black graduates of selective colleges and universities are even more likely than their white counterparts to be engaged in community service and in work with youth. (Bok and Bowen, 1998) They were also more likely to assume leadership roles in these activities.

Increasing the pool of minority professionals can improve the delivery of both health and medical care to underserved minority communities. All physicians tend to care for patients of their own ethnicity, but this is especially true for black and Hispanic physicians. (Komaromy et al, 1996) Black physicians care for nearly six times as many black patients and Hispanic physicians care for nearly three times as many Hispanic patients as other physicians. (Komaromy et al, 1996) Black, Asian and Hispanic physicians are more likely to serve patients who are Medicaid recipients. According to the American Association of Medical Colleges, nearly 40% of

underrepresented minority physicians practice in medically underserved areas. Less than 10% of physicians who are not URMs do. The AAMC also reported that URMs are more likely to participate in public health screening clinics, deliver medical services to underserved populations outside clinical rotations, and volunteer to educate high school and college students about science and medicine. (Association of American Medical Colleges, 1996)

Legal educators argue that there are similar benefits associated with increasing the pool of black and Hispanic lawyers. Kay (1995) argues that diversity of the legal profession is essential to the preservation of trust in the American legal system. Oko (1996) suggests that black lawyers have a better understanding of the legal problems faced by fellow blacks and that black clients feel more comfortable with lawyers from the same racial background.¹³

A decrease in the number of African American and Hispanic students at the most selective colleges could have a negative effect on the overall economic status of these populations. While an increase in white and Asian college graduates is likely to benefit their communities, the marginal effect will be smaller because they are less scarce.

Class Based Affirmative Action?

If there are benefits to racial diversity at selective colleges and universities, are there ways to achieve this diversity in the absence of race sensitive admissions policies? Critics of race based affirmative action have sometimes argued in favor of class based affirmative action as an alternative. Although African American and Hispanic students come, on average, from families with lower average socioeconomic status than the families of white students, increasing the weight given to socioeconomic status in the admissions process will not replicate the effects of pre SP-1 admissions policies. Simulation studies of the effects of increasing the weight given to family background the admissions process still produced large drops in enrollment, particularly of African American students. (University of California, Office of the President, 1995a; University of California, San Diego, 1996) Kane (1997) and Cancian (1998) draw similar conclusions from analyses of national data.

Summary of Findings

The end of race based affirmative action in UC admissions has had its largest impact at the most selective UC campuses. The numbers of blacks, Hispanics and Native Americans in the entering classes at UC Berkeley and at UCLA have declined sharply. Hence, the economic implications of the change in policy depend on the value to both individuals and to society of an education at a selective university relative to an education someplace else. Although there are persuasive reasons to believe the private returns to selectivity are greater for underrepresented minorities, the empirical evidence is inconclusive. The strongest economic case for racial diversity relies on its perceived educational value and on the documented benefits for society at large.

¹³ Additional references can be found in Oko (1996).

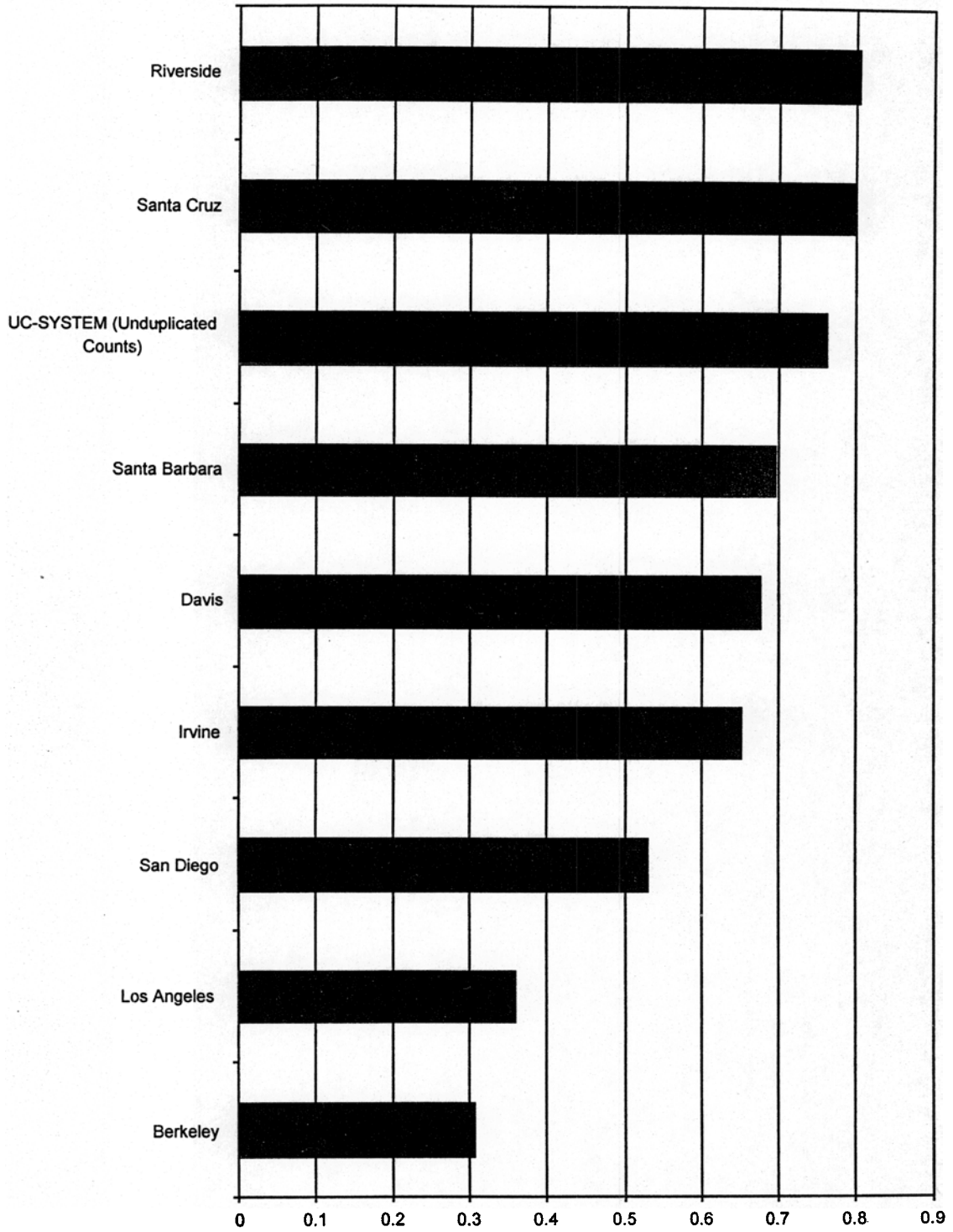
Table 1: Freshman Admissions Requirements for California Residents at the University of California, Fall 1996

Requirement	Specifics
High School Diploma	
Subject Area Requirements (Year course with Grade of C or better)	15 courses
A. History	2 courses
B. English	4 courses
C. Mathematics	3 courses
D. Laboratory Science	2 courses
E. Foreign Language	2 courses
F. Advanced Course/Electives	2**courses
Scholarship Requirement (Minimum Grade Point Average)	2.82 in A-F courses
Examination Requirement	SAT I/ACT and 3 SAT II Subject Tests
Scholarship/Exam Requirement	GPA between 2.82 and 3.29 with qualifying text scores on University's Eligibility Index
Entrance by Examination	SAT I total of 1400 or ACT Comp of 31 and 3 SAT II Subject Tests totaling 1760 with 530 minimum on each

** Some Visual and Performing Arts courses are approved electives.

Source: CPEC, 1997

Figure 1: Acceptance Rates, 1997



Source: Unpublished Tables, University of California Office of the President

Table Two: Acceptance Rates for the UC System and By Campus (1994)

Acceptance Rates	UC- SYSTEM (unduplicated counts)	Pre-SP-1, 1994							
		Less than 50%		Between 50 and 70%			70% and over		
		Berkeley	Davis	Irvine	Los Angeles	Riverside	San Diego	Santa Barbara	Santa Cruz
African American	0.60	0.45	0.53	0.42	0.55	0.38	0.52	0.53	0.57
American Indian	0.77	0.69	0.76	0.65	0.78	0.48	0.79	0.77	0.77
Asian	0.80	0.37	0.65	0.71	0.49	0.73	0.66	0.78	0.75
Chicano	0.71	0.55	0.70	0.57	0.60	0.55	0.68	0.62	0.68
Filipino	0.73	0.18	0.52	0.71	0.33	0.75	0.51	0.80	0.82
Latino	0.73	0.51	0.74	0.65	0.51	0.62	0.43	0.72	0.70
Unknown	0.83	0.44	0.72	0.76	0.53	0.74	0.71	0.85	0.85
White/Other	0.80	0.39	0.69	0.75	0.47	0.77	0.62	0.84	0.83
Total	0.78	0.40	0.67	0.70	0.49	0.70	0.63	0.79	0.78

Acceptance Rates	UC SYSTEM unduplicated counts)	Post-SP-1, 1997							
		Less than 50%		Between 50 and 70%			70% and over		
Under-represented minorities (URMs)		Berkeley	Los Angeles	San Diego	Davis	Irvine	Riverside	Santa Cruz	Santa Barbara
African American	0.58	0.40	0.36	0.53	0.61	0.53	0.60	0.60	0.60
American Indian	0.80	0.44	0.51	0.71	0.79	0.71	0.71	0.78	0.74
Chicano	0.77	0.50	0.43	0.64	0.80	0.65	0.75	0.71	0.73
Latino	0.77	0.15	0.24	0.39	0.53	0.63	0.86	0.81	0.73
All URMs	0.72	0.42	0.39	0.71	0.75	0.63	0.57	0.70	0.71
Others	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Total	0.80	0.29	0.35	0.83	0.67	0.83	0.83	0.76	0.70
Total	0.76	0.31	0.36	0.53	0.68	0.65	0.81	0.80	0.70

Source: University of California, Office of the President, Unpublished Tables.

Table 3: URM Enrolled As Freshman By Campus and UC System, 1994-1997

	1994	1995	1996	1997
BERKELEY	698	735	673	664
DAVIS	441	466	427	412
IRVINE	409	372	336	321
UCLA	999	1078	933	788
RIVERSIDE	315	335	304	423
SAN DIEGO	387	337	360	424
SANTA BARBARA	325	445	538	591
SANTA CRUZ	240	264	234	250
UC SYSTEM (Unduplicated Counts)	3962	4170	3805	3879

Percentage of URM, By Campus

	1994	1995	1996	1997
BERKELEY	20.1%	22.3%	19.3%	19.4%
DAVIS	14.9%	15.3%	12.0%	12.3%
IRVINE	14.5%	13.1%	10.7%	11.8%
UCLA	25.1%	30.0%	25.1%	21.2%
RIVERSIDE	24.9%	23.7%	22.5%	21.1%
SAN DIEGO	14.0%	11.1%	13.3%	13.0%
SANTA BARBARA	12.3%	14.1%	16.4%	16.4%
SANTA CRUZ	15.1%	16.4%	12.7%	12.3%
UC SYSTEM (Unduplicated Counts)	18.5%	18.8%	16.5%	16.1%

All Enrolled As Freshman By Campus and UC System, 1994-1997

	1994	1995	1996	1997
BERKELEY	3466	3292	3494	3419
DAVIS	2957	3044	3560	3360
IRVINE	2812	2834	3139	2731
UCLA	3984	3599	3715	3709
RIVERSIDE	1264	1413	1352	2004
SAN DIEGO	2756	3047	2709	3259
SANTA BARBARA	2639	3158	3275	3612
SANTA CRUZ	1587	1610	1840	2037
UC SYSTEM (Unduplicated Counts)	21378	22226	23084	24140

Source: University of California, Office of the President, Unpublished Tables

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