

ABANDONMENT OR INCLUSION OF RACE IN HIGHER EDUCATION
ADMISSIONS: A CASE STUDY OF CONSEQUENCES

BY

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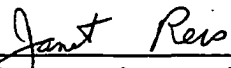
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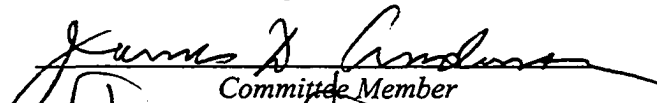


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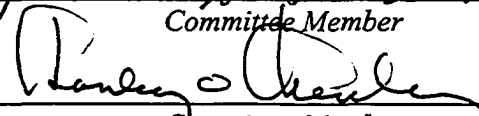
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ABSTRACT

A case study was conducted of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC), to explore the consequences of its historical inclusion and exclusion of race as a factor in the college admissions process. During the 1960's, the UIUC subscribed to a numbers only admissions policy and revisited its mission and made a commitment to enhance diversity on campus. To this end, the UIUC juxtaposed the concepts of merit and diversity and sought to infuse this belief with campus mores and practices. The focus of this research was directed at determining the UIUC impact of returning to a potential numbers only admissions policy on African American enrollment. Qualitative and quantitative methods were used to inform the discourse about race conscious admissions. A chronology was compiled detailing the steps involved in the UIUC decision to consider race as a factor in admissions and the decisions and policy which followed in the interest of maintaining diversity on the campus. Eleven interviews were conducted.

Admissions practices and academic records were examined for African American students admitted to the University in 1968, 1978, 1985 and 1995. Independent t-tests were conducted on the means for both African Americans and majority students (all freshmen excluding African Americans) across Campus Selection Index, ACT-C and High School Percentile Rank (HSPR) for the 1978, 1985 and 1995 cohorts. A difference in each of the means was found to be significant at the .05 level. Examination of the data revealed that the mean Campus Selection Index for African Americans for the years 1978, '85 and '95 was 3.5. Graduation rates for African Americans during 1978, 1985 and 1995 equaled or exceeded national norms, despite the fact that over 75% of these Campus Selection Index scores fell in the bottom quartile range for the entire freshmen cohort during each respective year. These findings

support the argument that a numbers only admissions policy would force the University to reject a large cadre of otherwise qualified students, restrict the opportunity for African American students to enroll in a highly selective four year institution, and limit the level of student diversity at the University.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In a recent segment of CBS's *60 Minutes*, reporter Leslie Stahl responded to her interviewee, "Are you telling me that institutions are practicing Affirmative Action for White males?" The reply was an unequivocal "yes" (Oct 16, 2002). It is currently the best kept secret in America; White females are out performing everyone across all academic spheres and administrators throughout the country are utilizing Affirmative Action in an effort to keep institutions from becoming saturated with White females. Administrators are considering the race of White male applicants to colleges and universities across the country and accepting them into their respective institutions even though White males have lower standardized test scores and high school ranks than many of the White females who are being denied admission.

This practice strikes at the core of one of the most controversial debates to emerge here at the dawning of the 21st century: whether or not race should be used as a factor in the college admissions process. In fact, as of this writing, this issue is being argued before the United States Supreme Court. At issue are two lawsuits brought against the University of Michigan alleging that both their undergraduate and law school admissions programs are unconstitutional because they include race as a factor in the admissions decision. The University of Michigan uses a point system to rate prospective applicants and race is one of the factors to which points are ascribed. The University has counter charged that in the interest of diversity and in keeping with the mission of the institution, race is a reasonable factor to consider during the admissions process. The two questions before the Supreme Court are as follows: (1) Whether the court should reaffirm its decision in *Regents of University of California v. Bakke*, (1978) and hold that the educational benefits that flow from a diverse student body to an institution of higher education,

its students, and the public it serves, are sufficiently compelling to permit the school to consider race and/or ethnicity as one of many factors in making admissions decisions through a “properly devised” admissions program, and (2) whether the Court of Appeals correctly held, when they issued the decision that the University of Michigan Law School’s admissions program is properly devised (Mahoney, 2003).

What kind of factors would lead a prestigious public institution such as the University of Michigan to consider such a controversial factor as race in its admissions process? The present research uses the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC), a land grant public university, as a case study to help ferret out some possible answers to this question. The UIUC uses an admissions process that is similar to the one employed by the University of Michigan, allowing for some 20 potential factors, including race, to weigh in the final admissions decision. Examining policy and practices of the past four decades at the UIUC, the present study seeks to highlight some of the consequences of the abandonment or inclusion of race in higher education admissions with an emphasis on four-year public institutions.

This chapter consists of an historical overview of the factors and contingencies that have led to the conceptualization and the promulgation of the Affirmative Action movement as well as those factors that have led to the advent of the current Anti-Affirmative Action movement. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the problem which portends the research conducted in this study: the issue of race as a factor in college admissions and how the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign will be used as a case study to examine this critical issue.

Historical Overview

While Affirmative Action may be perceived by some to be unethical, immoral, unconstitutional, and illegal, it would seem that it can and has served as an effective tool, a means to an end if you will, to an age old intractable problem: inequality. In fact, to date, Affirmative Action policies have emerged as the only effective mechanism to transcend inequality. The legislators failed to do so for several centuries and in fact, prescribed inequality, in *Plessy versus Ferguson* (1896), with their “separate but equal” ruling. The law failed to do so. *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954), served as the quintessential symbol of the 20th century for combating inequality; however, it was ignored and heatedly protested for more than a full decade after it was passed. It was in 1957 (three years after *Brown*) that President Eisenhower sent 10,000 national guardsmen to Little Rock, Arkansas, to escort nine Black grade school children to school, in the interest of integrating a previously segregated school.

More specifically, however, Affirmative Action has served as a viable, practical solution to a problem that has continued to rear its ugly head in a variety of forms throughout American history. Metaphorically speaking, inequality is lava that erodes the very core of the girders that support the ideals, which have come to be associated with American democracy. It has indeed been color, gender and age blind when seeking out its prey. African Americans, women, children, American Indians, immigrants, the Irish, Jewish, Japanese American, Latinos and the poor have been or continue to be victimized by the venom of inequality.

We must wrestle with the idea that the American philosophy of pragmatics, so eloquently espoused by Emerson, must continue to guide and inform American ethos. The manner in which we construct public policy demands that we choose the practical first and seek to adjudicate

issues of morality and legality once the problem is solved. Thoreau, Gandhi and King have argued that the higher moral calling takes precedence over prevailing legal edicts.

It has become quite evident that any policy pertaining to race that is established in America will be impacted by a confluence of factors and contingencies. Race based Affirmative Action in particular continues to elicit a visceral response from most people regardless of their position on the subject. Former President Bill Clinton stated, "...I cannot believe that 90 percent of the people in this country don't want the same kind of country in terms of racial matters" (Clinton, 1997). These varied opinions are largely owing to the connotative meanings that have come to be associated with Affirmative Action. These connotative meanings (many of which are inspired by myths and misunderstandings), in turn, serve to frame the manner in which one chooses to view Affirmative Action policy and practices. Kuklinski (1995) cautions us against focusing solely on racial prejudice as the counter force of Affirmative Action. He states, while prejudice continues to be pervasive in White America, "it alone cannot explain the widespread hostility toward Affirmative Action" (p. 1). Kay and Martin (2001) further support this position by stating that "race" has been used as a smokescreen of sorts in the Affirmative Action debate because it has been publicized as a policy of racial preferences by right wing politicians and organizations such as the Center for Individual Rights (CIR). In doing so, issues of class and economic inequality are camouflaged. Kay and Martin (1997) state, "This approach is consistent with the usual treatment of social issues in the United States, where race is presented as the primary division in society, and the more fundamental conflict between classes and the staggering levels of economic inequality that cut across race and ethnicity are obscured" (p. 2). The age-old practice of divide and conquer has served as a perfect tool for the opponents of Affirmative Action. Individuals are less likely to identify with and subsequently empathize with

those persons they deem to be less like themselves. The working class have been blindsided by the race issue and as such fail to realize how the elimination of Affirmative Action will impact them as well.

There are many denotative and connotative definitions of Affirmative Action; consequently, a working definition for the purposes of this research is in order. Affirmative Action is generally accepted as any race or sex conscious employment or academic admissions practice devised with the intention of redressing past racial or gender imbalances and injustices. To this end, the term Remedial Affirmative Action has surfaced to emphasize the fact that Affirmative Action is designed to be a corrective medium. Affirmative Action originated as a way for President Kennedy to demonstrate to the Civil Rights community, who had strongly supported his election that he was moving forward without forcing him to confront Congress in a battle for which he was unlikely to win support. Thus, from the onset, political contingencies guided the formation of the Affirmative Action policy before economic motives were allowed an opportunity to rear their ugly head. To be sure, the economic Bogeyman lay dormant beneath the surface of this emerging movement, but raw political motivation created the climate and the subsequent storm that Affirmation Action was to rain.

Remedial Affirmative Action assumed its present form during the mid 1960's as a public policy born of expediency, at a time when people were literally burning down the streets of America out of anger and frustration. Civil Rights Leader Frederick Douglas in one of his most telling moments stated, "power concedes to nothing but a demand" (Douglass, 1849/1991). That is, if no demand is made on any state of oppression, a steady state of events will continue. In the late 1960's a demand was made on a repressive system to equalize and promote parity and equity in all things American for Blacks, and subsequently, other minorities and women. In responding

to the demand, President Lyndon Johnson, like Lincoln, was faced with the choice of maintaining the status quo or saving the “Union” which was, in the 60’s, increasingly becoming a nation “up for grabs” (while catering to special interest groups that advocated broad social access for its constituency). It was a simple choice. Johnson, like Lincoln, opted to save the Union. However, to save the Union it was necessary to make superficial concessions in the interest of social pacification with a long view of positioning the nation to betray and or retract any and all concessions in a more calm moment of reflection as it relates to the implications for the majority interest. Affirmative Action emerged as the superficial concession.

History reveals that Lincoln made a similar ostensible concession when he freed the slaves in 1863. Rutherford B. Hayes demonstrated the vigor and ease with which this concession could be retracted once the former slaves began to organize and presented them as both an economic and social threat to the viability of the majority. The foundation upon which the slaves’ freedom had been erected had not been adequately sowed. Similarly, the primary reason why we now see Affirmative Action swaying back and forth like an unsteady structure about to fall is directly related to the gossamery foundation upon which it has been erected.

Lately, the Affirmative Action policy has come under increasing attack and at this writing is only a glimpse of what it once was in terms of implementation and enforcement in the 1960’s. The proponents of Affirmative Action have lost the moral ground. The nation is currently poised to betray and retract any concessions made during the stormy climate of the 1960’s, which are not designed to benefit the majority. The majority have roared back to not only challenge the foundation upon which Affirmative Action policy was erected; they have co-opted the language that was used to implement Affirmative Action and used this same language to fight Affirmative Action. What happened?

One school of thought suggests that Affirmative Action emerged as a tool of pragmatics in the interest of assuring that historically disenfranchised groups were provided with the opportunity to assert their inalienable rights. Once the moral and practical fiber of the liberal conscious began to wear down, the consequence of a reaction to this liberal movement, the invisible scaffold upon which Affirmative Action had been erected, along with its pragmatic girders, began to disintegrate. This might explain why many liberals are currently experiencing cognitive dissonance with regard to the issue of Affirmative Action according to University of Illinois professor, James Kuklinski. He noted that liberals gave responses similar to that of their conservative White counterparts when asked questions concerning Affirmative Action in an “unobtrusive” manner during a national survey. Specifically, Kuklinski (1995) states, “It is not that liberals are being dishonest in their responses. All the evidence indicates that many liberals just find it hard to admit that they could oppose Affirmative Action. They really are struggling” (p. 1). The liberals are struggling with feelings of cognitive dissonance because they can’t understand how it is that they can disagree with certain premises of Affirmative Action and still be classified as a liberal. Something happened in America in the mid 1960’s; for a short period of time Americans believed in the American dream.

Maybe it was a reaction to the pessimism espoused by the proponents of the anti-establishment movement during the early 1960’s. Clearly, it will take a place in history as the legacy of the period of postmodernism that so characterized the 1970’s. Americans “needed” to believe that democracy really worked. The poor, and the working class, however, became satiated too quickly upon receiving a bite of the American pie. They were able to send their children to college, work on a regular and consistent basis and live the ultimate American dream of buying a house. For the first time African Americans and women began to believe that the

concept of “inalienable rights” was something that could be associated with them. African Americans had stood for decades prior on the platform of democracy and found it to be constructed of a substance tantamount to quicksand. If nothing else, Affirmative Action promulgated the illusion that the platform was now sturdy. The poor and working class had been effectively seduced; however, they were rudely awakened from this somnambulistic state with the death of Keynesian economics.

It was the ability of the leaders of the Civil Rights Movement of the 20th century to penetrate the moral and practical conscious of liberals that afforded African Americans, women and other minorities the opportunity to embrace the concept of “rights,” if but only for a few years. During this time, the proponents of Affirmative Action had one thing on their side, “the Moral Ground.” Americans, via the new communications media, “television,” were provided a front row seat to view the inhumane activities that were occurring in the South out of efforts to block integration. As the growing support for the Civil Rights Movement made the redress of existing inequalities in American society compelling to more and more citizens, the concept of Affirmative Action in its early formulations seemed an appropriate means of achieving the goals of the movement in a timely manner.

The early approach of Affirmative Action proponents was too innocuous to provide cause for alarm, and there was nothing to suggest the forms that the policy would later take and the subsequent controversy that would eventually unfold. Affirmative Action was a phrase used to signal a strong commitment to the enforcement of nondiscrimination. While the phrase conveyed good intentions, it carried little intimation of how nondiscrimination across various patterns of American life might be accomplished. The ambivalence that surrounded the initial phases of this policy initiative permeated the overall policy creation and implementation. The policy, though

unpopular among the vast majority of Whites, made significant strides towards providing access for minorities and women to many dimensions of the American state, especially access to higher education. Suddenly, during the early and mid 1980's, doors that were once open were shut; jobs became scarce and non-existent; monies and programs that were made available for the working class and poor to attend college were sharply cut or eliminated. This period served as the first step towards reverting American education back to the pre-World War II era, "when college campuses were a preserve for the sons and daughters of the rich, and working class and minority youth had virtually no access to quality higher education" (Kay and Martin, 2001, p. 3). Kay and Martin (2001) state, the current attack on the "right" to a quality education is aimed at working class youth as a whole, not simply minority students. They assert that it is imperative that any sustained movement designed to oppose this attack and seek the right of all to a quality education must first address the basic class divisions in society and make a "critical evaluation of the race-based policies associated with Affirmative Action." The core of their argument is based on their belief that, during the past two decades, the barriers preventing access of the broad masses to the more elite educational facilities has steadily risen. This argument is supported by two basic premises: (1) Over the past 10 years, the cost of attending a public university has increased by a whopping 79 percent, and (2) the percentage of financial aid available in the form of grants to low income and working class students has steadily decreased. Conversely, the median family income has only increased by 38 percent over the same period (Kay and Martin, 2001). The elimination of Affirmative Action would serve as yet another barrier to access these elite institutions.

This perspective widens the reach of Affirmative Action and its relationship to political and economic contingencies specifically and the broader society, in general. This research is

designed to illustrate the significant role that race has played in the graying of class divisions and opening the doors of opportunity for hundreds of youth in America.

Statement of the Problem

The problem concerning race conscious admissions policies began almost thirty years ago when the Supreme Court, in the 1974 case of *DeFunis v. Odegaard*, addressed its first explicit issue of racial Affirmative Action. The case involved a preferential admissions program for minority applicants that had been implemented by the University of Washington School of Law. A White student who alleged that he had been rejected in favor of a less qualified minority applicant challenged the constitutionality of the program. The Supreme Court averted a ruling on the constitutionality of the program and instead held in a *per curiam* opinion that the case had become moot due to the plaintiff's impending graduation from law school. The Supreme Court's decision to vacate nullified the previous decision by the Supreme Court of Washington and resulted in the Affirmative Action program at the University of Washington remaining intact.

The problem concerning race conscious admissions became exacerbated when the Supreme Court began to issue what Spann (2000) has termed fractured decisions concerning Affirmative Action during the mid 1970's. Approximately 30 years after *DeFunis* (1974), the Supreme Court is faced with addressing the issue once again in the two cases of *Gratz versus Bollinger* (2001) and *Grutter versus Bollinger* (2002). Similar to the *DeFunis* case of 30 years ago, two White females have charged that both the undergraduate admissions program and the law school program at the University of Michigan are unconstitutional. Barbara Grutter possessed a 3.8 undergraduate Grade Point Average and law school admissions test scores in the 86th percentile. When she was denied admission to the University of Michigan Law School, she

challenged the law school's consideration of race in its admissions policies, charging that she was denied admission because she was White (Becker, 2003). Similarly, Jennifer Gratz was also a 3.8 student in high school with a composite ACT score of 25 when she was denied admission to the University of Michigan undergraduate program. Jennifer Gratz, along with another White applicant, filed a suit alleging the university's undergraduate admission practices were discriminatory (Becker, 2003). Both cases were heard at the state level; and consistent with the Supreme Court's pattern of fractured rulings, the state court issued two separate opinions. In December of 2001, Federal District Court Judge Patrick Duggan upheld the constitutionality of the Affirmative Action policy for undergraduate admissions at the University of Michigan. In March of 2002, Federal District Court Judge Bernard Friedman ruled that the Affirmative Action admissions policy employed by the University of Michigan's Law School was unconstitutional. According to Judge Friedman, the promotion of racial diversity in the student body is not a "compelling state interest," and admissions procedures that give preference to a particular racial or ethnic group in the interest of achieving diversity violates both the 14th Amendment to the Constitution and the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

If the Supreme Court rules against race conscious admissions this spring after hearing arguments in the two Michigan cases of *Gratz versus Bollinger* (2001) and *Grutter versus Bollinger* (2002), it will serve as a devastating blow to racial and ethnic minorities, and everything for which the supporters of the Civil Rights Movement of the 20th Century fought so fervently to eradicate. The dichotomies, which currently exist between the economic wealth of Black and White Americans, strongly suggest that race continues to be a problem in America. Ponder for a moment the following statement:

Herein lie buried many things when if read with patience may show the strange meaning of being black here in the dawning of the twentieth century. This meaning is not without

interest to you, gentle reader, for the problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color line . . . (DuBois, 1903, forethought).

If one had no familiarity with DuBois or his statement, one could very well confuse his prophetic pronouncement about the over arching problem that would plague American society in the 20th century with what many theorist think will be the albatross around America's neck in the 21st century. Indeed, this statement remains apropos today, exactly 100 years after it was first uttered by W.E.B. DuBois in the *Souls of Black Folks* in 1903.

As we engage in the restructuring of American education at all levels, we are compelled to pose the critical question as to whether race and the "color line" remains an intractable problem in the broader society in general and higher education in particular. This research seeks to illustrate how race has been used as a double-edged sword to reinforce both inequality and equality in America.

The question of race and who attends the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign has been a long-standing issue. It has been well documented that for decades the University made minimal effort to attract African American students even before it made the transformation from being moderately selective to highly selective during the early 1960's. It was not until 1968 that the University made the decision to juxtapose race with diversity. Research conducted on behalf of the University revealed that ACT test scores were not necessarily the best predictors of academic success for African American students (Spencer, 1968).

This research further revealed that there was minimal diversity within the student body; consequently, the administration made the decision to alter its' traditional admissions criteria in the interest of diversity. This study begins in 1968, the same year the University made a commitment to admit 500 Black students. Race served as the primary criteria of admittance for this subgroup, while class rank and ACT-C were secondary and tertiary. Thus, race conscious

admissions at the UIUC were born out of an effort to bring about diversity and equity through the admissions process and to minimize the emphasis previously placed upon traditional admissions criteria such as ACT-C test scores. There were essentially three factors which guided the purposes and values for Affirmative Action programs and race conscious college admissions policy throughout the country: (1) a desire to bring about equality of access, which in most cases had been previously denied; (2) a desire to eliminate the impact of standardized test scores serving as a barrier to admissions for minority students; and (3) a desire to bring about diversity. As a political issue, Affirmative Action had been incorporated in various forms within the movement debate, but it was not part of the legislative agenda that culminated in the Civil Rights Act of 1964; it was the hard work of the supporters of the Civil Rights Movement that brought Affirmative Action to fruition.

A major factor for determining if the practice of race conscious admissions was still a viable policy would warrant examination of the extent to which the factors that initially portended its implementation remain relevant to the institution, the student and the broader society. It would appear that there currently exists a schism between those factors that institutions deem as relevant criteria for admission and those that the broader society deems as relevant criteria for admissions. Colleges and Universities are currently fighting for their autonomy to establish criteria for their respective institutions that they deem are consistent with the mission of the institution.

Given that schools are shaped by and encoded with the imperatives of the wider social and economic system, it would serve to reason that factors such as college admissions practices are similarly shaped. One of the aims of this research is to highlight the three factors that brought Affirmative Action to the forefront of the social and political agenda in the 1960's, in an effort to

determine the extent to which these factors remain relevant today. The present debate concerning the use of race in the admissions process is fueled by arguments that both support and refute its relevancy. So, it would seem that the question to be asked concerns the potential purpose of race as an admissions factor, specifically, “What purpose does race serve as a factor in the admissions equation?”

The present research seeks to answer this question. The question of whether or not race should be considered in the college admissions process is one that is under girded by issues of legality, morality, and practicality. This study takes elements from both genres of research (qualitative and quantitative) and seeks to address the following question, “What is the percentage of African American students who would have been summarily rejected from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign had the University not considered race in its’ admissions practices and embraced a numbers only admissions policy using ACT-C and High School Percentile Rank as sole admissions criteria?”

The research has been designed to combine elements of both the qualitative and quantitative research in an effort to derive the truth. The very essence of qualitative research involves getting at the ‘other’ story from the ‘other’ point of view. The qualitative research in this study has been conducted against a postmodern pedagogy that recognizes the importance of multiple readings or interpretations of a text and values eclecticism rather than one method of gathering information (Tinning, 1991, p. 11; Yeaman, 1995). A cadre of interviewees across a myriad of different subsections of the campus and local community have been assembled to tell their version of the UIUC story as it relates to the topic of race conscious admissions. True to the qualitative approach, multiple interviews, historical text, and case study have been conducted to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings that each of these people have

garnered from their respective experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). The quantitative portion of the research focuses primarily on the Selection Index (SI) employed by the University as a means of predicting the first semester Grade Point Average (GPA). Specifically, statistical analysis was conducted to determine the extent to which a statistically significant difference exists between the selection indexes of Majority students versus African American students. In addition, the research has been designed to inform the discourse on two sub textual debates: (1) whether or not the purposes and values which drove virtually every highly selective college, university, and professional school to try so intelligently to enroll substantial numbers of Black students in the late 1960's and 1970's remain relevant today and (2) what factors if any should be incorporated in the "merit" equation in the admissions process at the post-secondary level?

One of the more vigorous sub textual Affirmative Action debates that permeate academic circles today concerns the proper role of grades and test scores in the college admission process. In the interest of giving expression to many who are systematically being written out of the American dream as a result of sweeping new policy concerning Affirmative Action, it is critical that research be conducted to inform the debate. The core of the debate is driven on one hand by the desire to achieve diversity and equity in student enrollment through the consideration of race and on the other hand to restrict consideration exclusively to competitive indices of an applicant's individual academic achievement by relying heavily on such quantifiable factors as ACT, High School Class Rank, and High School Grade Point Average.

There are a myriad of misunderstandings and myths that surround Affirmative Action. No informed discussion of Affirmative Action can take place without addressing these issues. To this end, this research has the potential to serve in the capacity of dymythologizer, as it seeks to

demystify the reader by addressing some of the more potentially harmful misunderstandings and myths.

The University of Illinois is poised to serve in the capacity of case study. What are the consequences of including or excluding race in the admissions factor? The UIUC is in the unique position to inform this issue from both perspectives. Prior to making the decision to include race as a factor in admissions in 1968, the University had recently subscribed to a numbers only policy with regard to admissions. In the spring of 1968, the University conducted research to determine how well it was predicting the academic success of its freshmen and serving its students in general. The results revealed the following: (1) the selection criteria employed by the University to predict academic success was not effective for African American students; (2) there existed an extreme problem on the campus with regard to diversity; (3) academic services were only geared towards those students needing minimal to no academic assistance; and (4) although African Americans comprised approximately 10% of the state population, less than one percent of the undergraduate students enrolled at the University were African American. The University had seen firsthand how subscribing to a numbers only policy could impact the makeup of the campus population. To this end, the UIUC made a concerted effort to diversify its campus in 1968 and consider race as a factor in admission. When the Black enrollment began to taper off during the early 1980's the University established a program designed to attract high achieving minority students to the campus. The case study that follows uses the UIUC to chronicle the consequences of the inclusion and exclusion of race in the college admissions process.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

When we look to the literature to provide us with clues about the inclusion or exclusion of race as a factor in the admissions process, we find the dialogue to be both polarized and adversarial. The sub textual debates which undergird this dialogue, namely, the discussions concerning “meritocracy,” inequality, standardized test scores, reverse discrimination and diversity unfold in a similar manner, however, with much less intensity. The literature review that follows seeks to inform the discussion concerning each of these subtexual debates with a particular emphasis upon the debate concerning the admission of so called “unqualified Blacks” to colleges and universities in the interest of Affirmative Action. The primary factor that fuels the “unqualified” argument is based upon the belief that these students lack the merit to be admitted to the university. This then leads one to pose the question “What is merit?” The proponents of Affirmative Action subscribe to Lee Bolinger’s belief that merit and diversity should be juxtaposed. To this end, they promote a more eclectic definition of merit, which might include the consideration of such factors as race in the admissions process. The opponents of Affirmative Action, on the other hand, subscribe to a more traditional definition of merit consisting solely of a numbers only policy, placing emphasis upon grade point averages, high school percentile ranks and standardized test scores. The literature tells us that whether or not one chooses to consider race as a factor in the admissions process is primarily based upon one’s definition of what constitutes merit.

Several authors suggest that the narrow framing of Affirmative Action and diversity can lead to a skewed understanding of these two topics. Guiner (2001) states, “By framing diversity as simply about preferences for people of color, the current controversy over Affirmative Action

fails to examine how the conventional “merit-based” criteria that we assume to be fair systematically excludes the poor, and working class people of every racial group including Whites” (p. 2). Similarly, Fair (1997), contends that the public discourse on Affirmative Action is framed as those policies that help “unqualified Blacks” or racial minorities gain access to schools and employment. He notes that very little is said about women and poor Whites who also benefit from Affirmative Action policies. The literature review that follows is designed to illustrate how certain societal factors, namely inequality, continue to contribute to an imbalance within the educational and economic sphere among Blacks and Whites. It was this imbalance, along with several other factors, which led to the initial consideration of race as a factor in admissions during the 1960's. This review of the literature will provide information that addresses the issue of imbalance. The relationship between economic status and the quality of one's education has been well documented. Thus, it would only serve to reason that if a group of people is consistently located at the bottom of the economic ladder, they are likely to receive inadequate education. This, in turn, will directly impact performance with regard to grade point averages, standardized test scores and high school percentile rank which will, in turn, impact one's conventional merit score.

This review will begin with an overview of the opposing arguments for and against Affirmative Action, and evolve into a discussion of inequality, merit and diversity. The literature will reveal that these three concepts are inextricably connected to the formulation of the conventional “numbers only” definition of merit. A discussion of the research which contributed to the decision by the UIUC to juxtapose diversity and merit and, in turn, discontinue the use of a numbers only policy for admissions. The review will culminate with a discussion of the consequences of abandoning race, as an admission factor, which have come to fruition. As we

seek to unravel this conundrum known as racial Affirmative Action, the research suggests that the way one feels about the competing arguments is largely dependent upon their metaphysical conception of equality (Spann, 2000).

Opposing Views

The current literature is replete with solid arguments favoring and opposing racial Affirmative Action. Neither of the following: the Constitution, federal statutes, or the Supreme Court has spoken in an unambiguous manner pertaining to this issue. Moreover, the arguments favoring and opposing Affirmative Action are grounded in the same beliefs: (1) that racial discrimination is morally wrong, (2) constitutionally impermissible under the 5th and 14th Amendments, and (3) prohibited by federal anti-discrimination statutes such as Title VII and the Voting Rights Act (Spann, 2000). The proponents of Affirmative Action assert that racial discrimination has not only been a constant fixture on the American landscape; it has been sanctioned and officially mandated by the law in the form of slavery, Jim Crow laws which served to perpetuate the economic and social disadvantage of former Black slaves, and further matured into a regime of official segregation that was reinforced by the Supreme Court ruling in *Plessy versus Ferguson* (1896). It took approximately 60 years for the court to reject *Plessy* in *Brown versus Board of Education* (1954), invalidating *de jure* segregated education; however, the court dragged its feet for a full decade before enforcing *Brown* (Spann, 2000).

The proponents of Affirmative Action assert that it is this historical treatment of racial minorities as inferior that has had a “pervasive effect on society, forcing race to remain either a conscious or unconscious factor in virtually all societal decision making” (Spann, 2000, p. 7). In essence, the proponents of Affirmative Action contend, society has been so imbued with these

beliefs that they continue to reflect racial attitudes that place racial minorities in a disadvantaged position with regard to societal resources. Consequently, minorities continue to be marginalized and systematically underrepresented relative to their proportion of the population with respect to educational, employment, and political opportunities. As a result, racial minorities have been forced to endure lower standards of living, poor health care, higher vulnerability to crime, and shorter life expectancies than members of the White majority.

Affirmative Action, its proponents contend, has emerged as the only viable means to compensate for the historical carnage that racial minorities have endured through the race conscious allocation of education, employment and political resources. Spann (2000) states, “mere prospective race neutrality does not provide adequate compensation for past inequities but simply freezes the existing advantages that the White majority has over racial minorities” (p. 7). The proponents of racial Affirmative Action thus view it as a modicum for opportunity to access venues that have historically and systematically been denied to Blacks and other minorities.

On the other hand the opponents of Affirmative Action acknowledge these American tragedies connect them to the nation’s failure to honor the fundamental principle of racial equality by tolerating the institution of slavery and official segregation. It is for precisely these reasons that the nation should make a concerted effort to make certain that such travesties never occur again. Specifically, the majority of the challenges to Affirmative Action plans have been in the form of challenges under the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment or the equal protection component of the 5th Amendment while others have cited violations of their rights under Title VII. Opponents of Affirmative Action support the position that compensation should only be afforded to individuals who have actually experienced specific incidents of racial discrimination. They further contend that remedies that extend beyond compensation for

identifying acts of racial discrimination affording preferential treatment based on one's affiliation with a specific racial group simply mirrors the type of activity that Affirmative Action purports to eliminate (Spann, 2000).

Rights

Who, if anyone, has *prima facie* rights to positions or admissions slots to law schools, medical schools, and graduate schools? Many would argue that it would serve to reason that only those students receiving the highest scores on the entrance examinations for these schools should have these rights. Those who advocate for "rights" tend to lean to the political right. They are generally conservatives, and they focus more on such things as the numbers only method (test scores and/or GPA's) to drive decisions regarding admission to a university.

Individual Rights Proponents

Relying upon the philosophy behind the 14th Amendment, as opposed to its initial purpose, the Individual Rights (IR) proponents subscribe to the position that it is morally wrong to burden or benefit an individual on the sole basis of race. They counter the argument of the Group Rights (GR) proponents by claiming that although the initial purpose of the 14th Amendment may have been structured to bridge the gap between Blacks and Whites, the drafters of the Amendment elected to use "universal terms, without reference to color, ethnic origin, or condition of prior servitude" (Cosner, 1997, p. 4). Consequently, the IR advocates are opposed to Affirmative Action policy, which uses race as a factor in its design.

Member of the Individual Rights group are strong advocates of "strict scrutiny" with regard to law or programs that use racial classifications to define their purpose. They feel very

strongly that only the most “compelling interest” should justify the use of racial classification in Affirmative Action policy (Cosner, 1997). Clearly, the Supreme Court during the past few years has embraced a more Individual Rights approach to Affirmative Action. There are many who subscribe to the position that the desire simply to increase the number of minority participants in a particular area does not qualify as a “compelling interest” and, as such, should not pass the strict scrutiny test.

Libertarian

The Libertarian, according to Goldman (1979, p. 35), sees the rights of property and free association for individuals and corporations as omnipotent. The only compromise feasible in the eyes of the Libertarian is one, which might occur to prevent wrongful harm. Social interests in maximizing goods and services should not trump the right to property and free association. It is the belief of the Libertarian that were efficiency allowed to override recognized rights, our rights and freedoms would be rendered impotent. To do so, however, would strike at the core of democracy. Thus, in the opinion of the Libertarian, freedom of choice takes precedence over such issues as welfare considerations. Affirmative Action policy, for the sake of diversity, should not override someone’s ability to attend an institution that would not bring diversity.

Goldman argues against this Libertarian argument, stating that it fails to adequately address and present the manner in which rights are ordered. Goldman’s argument is centered on the facts that, in essence, there are rights within rights. He illustrates the fact that we have already accepted the facts that there are many exceptive clauses in rights to property. These clauses reflect a priority of competing interest. One’s right to dispose of their property in the manner that they choose does not include the right to dispose of a knife in the chest of an enemy because the rights to life take precedence over the rights to disposition of personal property.

Similarly, Goldman believes that there are cases where rights are a definite factor, and then others where they are simply a non-issue because of the nature of the situation, and thus ruled as an exceptive clause.

The Harm Principle

The harm principle is generally recognized as the barometer for determining whether a right falls under the category of “exceptive clause.” As such, the Libertarian does not recognize the right to “equal opportunity.” The Libertarian does not feel an obligation to accept the moral equality of others. Furthermore, the Libertarian does not guarantee “just distributive results.” Consequently, the Libertarian view is seen as devoid of a moral base. This group would be more likely to subscribe to the adage, “Life isn’t fair.” Goldman points out that the rules which govern transactions between the “haves” and the “have nots” have no moral fiber, because the haves may have inherited their advantages without deserving them and the have nots may have found themselves at a disadvantage through no fault of their own. Goldman discusses the fact that Justice Blackmun in *Bakke* (1978) stated: “In order to get beyond racism, we must first take account of race. There is no other way. And in order to treat some persons equally, we must treat them differently” (as cited in Polakow-Suransky, 2003, p. 1). This statement alone could serve as the mantra for Group Rights and Affirmative Action supporters.

The Group Rights Theory (GRT)

The Group Rights Theory (GRT) focuses on the purposes behind the adoption of the 14th Amendment. In essence, the GRT supports the position that the interests of a group of people should be superior to the interests of an individual. They subscribe to the theory that a group of persons, whether defined by race, gender, or ethnicity, has an interest that surpasses the interest

of an individual member, and laws should be conscientious about protecting these “group interests.” In a word, according to GRT, group interests trump individual interests.

The primary purpose of the 14th Amendment was to eradicate the legal basis for the second-class citizenry of African Americans following the conclusion of the Civil War in 1865. The 14th Amendment was designed to eliminate racial struggles. Proponents of GRT are in favor of Affirmative Action because they obviously see the plight of African Americans as a racial struggle. Clearly, the GRT members adopt a more Gestaltist perspective in their approach to Affirmative Action, for in their minds; the whole is only equal to the sum of its parts. If part of the group is disenfranchised, this presents a concern for the entire group and to this end should represent at minimal a “compelling interest.”

The Moral Debate

One of the primary arguments that the University of Illinois has had to face over the past 35 years was whether or not it was morally correct to consider race as a factor in admissions. The University consistently fell back upon its mission to meet the needs of a multifaceted public with a myriad of needs. Embracing a more practical social justice approach to the issue of rights, the University took the stance that it was more correct to consider race with the consequence of increasing the enrollment of African Americans than it was to not consider race and risk minimal enrollment of African Americans. Race assumes a different connotative meaning when it is considered as a factor in admissions because it is considered to be a “morally relevant” factor. On the other hand when race is used in a negative manner to promulgate discrimination it is considered to be a “morally irrelevant” factor.

The position described by Nickel (1995) with regard to reverse discrimination appears to be consistent with that espoused by the University of Illinois. Nickel (1995), in his discussion of *Discrimination and Morally Relevant Characteristics*, challenges the reader to distinguish between the connotative and the denotative meaning of such factors as “race” at any given time. Depending on the context, race according to Nickel, may assume either a negative or a positive connotation, and as such, frequently does not mean the same thing across different situations. Specifically, he states that race is erroneously perceived as a morally relevant factor in race discrimination situations. Affirmative Action, in an effort to correct the effects of discrimination continues to perceive this morally irrelevant factor as relevant. Critics argue, that once the errors of our ways have been realized, we should no longer continue to view this morally irrelevant factor: race, as morally relevant. Nickel (1995) provides an example to illustrate his point. He states,

The objection, which I want to make to this argument, pertains to its assumption that the characteristic which was the basis for the original discrimination is the same as the one which is used as the basis for extending extra considerations now. I want to suggest that this is only apparently so. For if compensation in the form of extra opportunities is extended to a black man on the basis of past discrimination against blacks, the basis for this compensation is not that he is a black man, but that he was previously subject to unfair treatment because he was black. The former characteristic was and is morally irrelevant, but the latter characteristic is very relevant if it is assumed that it is desirable or obligatory to make compensation for past injustices. Hence, to extend special considerations to those who have suffered from discrimination need not involve continuing to treat a morally irrelevant characteristic as if it were relevant. In such a case, the characteristic which was the basis for the original discrimination (e.g., being a black person) will be different from the characteristic which is the basis for the distribution of special considerations (e.g., being a person who was discriminated against because he was black) (p. 4).

Goldman (1979), in his discussion of reverse discrimination and/or preferential treatment, uses the exploration of such fundamental moral concepts of rights, justice, the value of and right to equality and equal opportunity, and the concept of adequate compensation for injury or

injustice as the perfect segue into a detailed discussion of this topic. The core of Goldman's discussion centers around his attempt to unveil a coherent solution to the problem of the "justice" or "injustice" of reverse discrimination. In particular, he seeks to clarify situations for which individual preferential policies can be justified and for which situations they cannot. Goldman clarifies from the onset that he does not use the term "reverse discrimination" as a pejorative. He uses the term instead to (a) illuminate the *prima facie* injustice of the practice in relation to generally acceptable distributive principles, and (b) to imply that strong overriding considerations must exist to justify the practice.

It is Goldman's impression that concrete social issues (i.e., Affirmative Action policy) that cannot be settled via thorough moral reflection are designed to engage established moral convictions and accepted principles; as such, they can only be settled by political muscle or shallow and rash initial impressions. Thus, Goldman seeks to answer the question, "When can corrective preferential treatment of either form be justified and for whom?" Goldman advances the position that moral philosophers should play a crucial role in aiding the courts and social philosophers with determining the constitutionality and "justice," respectively, of preferential treatment.

Goldman (1979) further distinguishes between strong and weak reverse discrimination. He defines weak discrimination as: the preference of a minority member when that individual is perceived to be as qualified as any other candidate for a particular position (p. 8). He cites two types of strong preference. The first type of preference occurs when minority group members are provided with a "handicap" with regard to points or percentage points necessary to gain admission to an institution or access to a position. This advantage is usually given within the specified scale of competence requirements. An example of this type of "strong preference"

would exist if a certain number of prescribed acceptance points were added to the standard test scores of minority candidates when comparing them with those of White male applicants to graduate schools.

The second form of “strong preference” occurs when places are reserved outright for certain individuals. Typical examples of this type of strong preference occur when an order is issued to increase minority membership in a union or company to 20%, or when slots are reserved in a professional school for members of a minority group to reflect their percentage of the local population (John Rawls, 1971, pp. 20, 48-51).

Inequality

One of the primary factors that drove the UIUC to consider race as a factor in admissions centered around the disproportionate number of African Americans attending the University compared to the number of African Americans in the state in 1968. Research conducted by Spencer (1968) revealed that less than 1% of the undergraduates enrolled in the University were African American in 1968; however, 10 % of the state was African American. In addition, the civil rights movement was at its most prolific stage, and one of its major platforms was the inferior education of African Americans as compared to their peers and the continuous denial of access to quality employment, housing, and education as a result of racial discrimination. Realizing that they could not wait a decade for educational systems to change, nor could they correct the damage that had already been done within nationwide high schools and grade schools, the University sought more immediate means of addressing the problem of inequality. They made the decision to consider factors other than class rank and test scores in hopes of increasing the African American enrollment at the University.

As we engage the discussion concerning the relevancy of race in the college admissions process, we are compelled to pose the following critical question: Does race remain an intractable problem, to the extent that it functions as a barrier for minority students, in the broader society in general, and higher education in particular? The indices to which we have historically looked to monitor race and “color line” issues such as education, income, poverty, and health care, point to a future where very little has changed to indicate otherwise. One need only pick up a copy of the most recent census report to find that it reveals significant race disparities between the incomes of Blacks and Whites who conduct the same jobs, the cause of which can only be attributable to the insidious racism which haunts America’s workplace.

Robert Smith (1995) takes Hamilton and Carmichael 's definition of institutional racism and defines it as a condition that occurs "when the normal, accepted, routine patterns and practices of society's institutions have the effect or consequence of subordinating an individual or group or maintaining in place the results of a past practice of now illegal overt racism" (Smith, 1995, p. 77). According to Smith, institutional racism assumes the form of a covert and unintended act because the individuals can still achieve specific results without making a conscientious effort to do so. They simply go about the normal routines of their work as required by the standard operating procedures of their respective institution. The literature suggests that it is this type of clandestine racism, which serves as the invisible scaffold for the perpetuation of “race” issues in America. Smith (1995) states that the impact of White supremacy and racism — historical, individual and institutional — has been cancerous for Black Americans, as it has “damaged and continues to damage the material conditions of Black Americans in education, employment, housing, health care and consumer services in addition to their physical well being” (p. 33).

In his work on cultural poverty in America, Daniel P.G. Moynihan (1969) defined poverty as “benign neglect.” Jonathan Kozol’s (1991) fear has become a reality. He expressed concern that our nation had turned its back upon the moral implications and the legal ramifications of Brown (1954). He wisely points out that the struggle being waged today is more similar to the one that was addressed over 100 years ago in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). Kozol (1991) observed that throughout the country the dual society (one Black and one White), at least in public education, seemed in general to be unquestioned and accepted as status quo by those persons operating within the system. A string of Supreme Court rulings supporting segregated schools from k-12 serve to illustrate this point and speak in an alarming way to a new wave of “benign neglect” and “intolerance.” He further stated that contrary to the popular opinion of many; social policy in the United States had been turned back several decades. In fact, as of 1991, according to Kozol, the social policy in public schooling had been turned back almost one hundred years. He stated that while conducting his study, he had difficulty not believing that he had entered a time warp because the situations and conditions he encountered at educational institutions in East St. Louis, Illinois, were tantamount to conditions he had read about at the turn of the 20th century.

Kozol describes a myriad of discrepancies between Black and White schools across the country, which appear to support this thesis. He speaks of the one city block which houses DuSable High School located in Chicago compared to the 27 acres, which comprise New Trier High School of Glencoe, Illinois. One wing of New Trier, a physical education center, includes three separate gyms, a fencing room, wrestling room, and studios for dance. In total, New Trier has seven gyms and an Olympic-size swimming pool. To the contrary, science labs in DuSable High School have no microscopes, sinks that do not work, class enrollment that is too high for

lab participation, and one physics section for 2,200 students. In contrast, in affluent Summit there exist six physics sections for 1,100 students. These types of discrepancies, with regard to resources, serve to illustrate the extent to which the states have benignly sanctioned inequality. Kozol states, “the state by requiring attendance but refusing to require equity, effectively requires inequality. Compulsory inequity is perpetuated by state law” (p. 56). These discrepancies further lie at the core of the subsequent discrepancies we see between Blacks and Whites with regard to standardized test scores, college enrollment, and graduation from college, employment and income. Jonathan Kozol’s (1991) work on disparity in school funding at the elementary and secondary level documents a new age of “benign neglect” that lays at the core of school funding policy in America and is very much informed by institutional racism.

There is substantial evidence in the literature, which illustrates that Affirmative Action has served as an effective tool in addressing parity and inequality. Bok and Bowen (1998) eloquently and convincingly address this issue in *The Shape of the River: Long Term Consequences of Considering Race in College and University Admissions*. Bok and Bowen (1998) discuss the fact that the aims and values of an educational institution are often revealed by the choices it makes for admission. Similarly, the aims and values of a country are reflected by the kinds of criteria it deems appropriate to factor into the selection equation of rectifying those past wrongs. Bok and Bowen (1998) report that for the most part, prior to 1960, there were just no sustained efforts to enroll Blacks at institutions other than the historically Black institutions found primarily in the South. In 1835, Oberlin College issued a statement submitted by the Board of Trustees declaring, “the education of the people of color is a matter of great interest and should be encouraged and sustained in this institution” (Bok & Bowen, 1998, p. 4). These were powerful words to have been uttered during the practice of slavery. Interestingly, when Bok and

Bowen (1998) examined their data from the fall of 1951, it was Oberlin College that had the highest number of Blacks (3) in their fall class of 1951 out of the 28 schools in the *College & Beyond* database. Bok and Bowen (1998) further report that Antioch College, in 1941, made a concentrated effort to recruit Black students and succeeded in enrolling some 123 Black undergraduate students before discontinuing the program in 1955. This was undoubtedly the first incident of a sustained race sensitive admissions program; however, one year after separate but equal was ruled unconstitutional, the program was discontinued (Bok & Bowen, 1998, p. 4).

It is safe to say that prior to WW II, Blacks had not been allowed to assimilate into mainstream America. Clearly, there were exceptions; however, as a whole, Blacks were not educated, employed, and allowed to live within the same neighborhoods as Whites. To put this situation into proper perspective, consider the fact that in 1940 approximately 93% of African Americans lived in poverty; only 12%, age 25-29, had completed a high school degree; and less than 2% had completed a college degree. Not until Blacks left the South and migrated North, in response to the demand for factory labor inspired by the advent of WWII, did they observe a change in their material circumstances.

The economic growth that followed the War helped to catapult almost 40% of Blacks out of poverty between 1940-1960. Bok and Bowen (1998) report that the Black poverty rates declined from 93% to 55% during this same period while the percentage of Blacks graduating from college rose from approximately 2% in 1940 to 5.4% in 1960 (p. 4). More importantly, however, Blacks continued to experience a “Blackout” with respect to the more elite occupations. The percentage of physicians who were Black (2.8) in 1940 failed to increase by 1960. The percentage of change for Black lawyers, 0.5% in 1940 to 1.2% in 1960, was minuscule. The picture was even bleaker on the political front; there were no more than four

African Americans in Congress in 1960 (less than 1%) and zero senators (Bok & Bowen, 1998, pp. 1-3). These statistics provide a snapshot of what things were like prior to the advent of Affirmative Action policy. The most startling revelation about these statistics is that they represent figures from 1960, six years after separate but equal was ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954).

While the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision put an end to *de jure* school segregation, it should be noted that it was the Civil Rights Movement, inspired by Martin Luther King, Jr., that put an end to “de facto” segregation. Segregation continued despite the *Brown* ruling and the federal government failed to take definitive action to protect and secure the rights of Blacks. President Eisenhower begrudgingly sent federal troops to Little Rock, Arkansas (the now famous Little Rock Nine), to enforce a Court order to integrate the schools, much to the chagrin of the Arkansas governor. Bok and Bowen (1998) further point out that Congress passed an impotent Civil Rights Act in 1957, and the statistics revealed above support this position. Toward the end of the 1950’s and the beginning of the 1960’s, several colleges began actively to recruit Blacks and implement programs designed to encourage their enrollment. The impact on the country of 60 years of legalized Jim Crow, following *Plessy* (1896) until *Brown* (1954), cannot be minimized. The effects of such oppressive behavior had permeated every aspect of American culture and the results were not good. We were 60 years into the 20th Century before a sustained effort was made to allow African Americans to attend predominantly White institutions.

Prior to the early 1960’s, nothing appeared to have the power to impale the hearts and minds of staunch conservative Whites who failed to view Blacks in a position juxtaposed to other Americans. Not only did the 1960’s bring demonstrations and demands, it brought into the

living rooms of thousands of Americans, via “Television,” little children being blatantly abused by grown men as they attempted to cross the “color line” in their quest for quality education. Suddenly, the covert had been made overt, and Americans were ashamed. The hearts and minds of the White centrists had finally been impacted. The soil for the “moral ground” had been sowed. Race sensitive admissions policies for Affirmative Action came about in the early and mid-1960’s because American views were changing with regard to such issues as nondiscrimination, equity, parity, and equality of opportunity.

Income and Poverty

Civil Rights advocates have always pushed dual agendas: one focusing on social reform and the other focusing upon jobs in the mainstream labor market (Hamilton & Hamilton, 1997). Thus, the quest for racial justice by Black Americans has been spurred by the desire for social reform as well as economic improvement as it relates to income, poverty, employment and education. According to Manning (1999), “the fundamental issue that will define United States politics in the first decade of the twenty first century is the spiraling growth of inequality in American life” [On-line]. He notes that it is not the practice of inequality that will catapult “inequality” to the forefront of the American political agenda; rather it is the degree to which it will permeate the culture via income stratification and class polarization. Income disparity as a function of race has become an American staple of sorts. What is new, however, is the extent to which income disparities have come to perpetuate class stratification. According to Manning (1999), Alan Wolfe, the director of the Center for Religion and American Public Life, observed in a recent article in the *New York Times* that “the 1990’s will be remembered as a time of “Reaganism without Reagan” [On-line].

The old adage: “the rich get richer, and the poor get poorer” has never been more prolific. In 1980, Manning states, “the average top corporate executive’s salary was 42 times higher than the median income of a factory worker in the United States. By contrast, in 1998 the top executives were making 419 times more than a factory worker” [On-line]. In addition, Manning reports that a recent report by United For a Fair Economy, *Shifting Fortunes*, found that the average White household in 1995 had \$18,000 in financial wealth (net worth minus equity in owner occupied housing). By contrast, the financial wealth of the average Black American household was \$200.00 and the financial wealth was zero dollars for the average Latino household.

The median family income in 1997 was \$28,602 for Blacks, \$46,754 for Whites, and \$51,850 for Asian and Pacific Islanders. To further illustrate the discrepancy between the income of Black Americans versus White Americans consider this: the 1997 median family income of Black Americans at \$28,602 is less than the median family income was for Whites, \$28,661 in 1959 (U.S. Census).

The preponderance of Black Americans living in poverty has been well documented. Blacks have consistently remained in the bottom quartile of the poverty scale. Consider the following statistics shown in Table 1, which represent the percentage of persons below poverty level for Blacks and Whites from 1959 to 1998. In 1959 the disparity between the percentages of persons in poverty for Blacks versus Whites was shocking at 55.1% for Blacks and 18.1% for Whites. The poverty rate for Blacks did not change significantly for 25 years; from 1968 to 1993, the poverty rate hovered in the low 30’s.

Why have Black Americans consistently remained at the bottom quartile of the poverty scale? Hamilton and Hamilton (1997) report that the systematic lockout of Blacks from tier I

jobs, which among other things provides social security benefits, has left them both politically and economically impotent. They state:

The wholesale exclusion of substantial numbers of African American workers from the viable economic protection afforded by tier I (as a result both of their uncovered occupations and the insidious evil of racial discrimination, at once officially, and tacitly sanctioned) denied them an early foothold in a system that has served most other Americans so well for so long (p. 265).

Table 1

Percentage of Persons Below Poverty Level for Blacks and Whites From 1959 to 1998

Dates	Black	White
1959	55.1	18.1
1966	41.8	11.3
1968	34.7	10.0
1970	33.5	9.9
1972	33.3	9.0
1974	30.3	8.6
1976	31.1	9.1
1978	30.6	8.7
1980	32.5	10.2
1982	35.6	12.0
1984	33.8	11.5
1986	31.1	11.0
1988	31.3	10.1
1990	31.9	10.7
1991	32.7	11.3
1992	33.4	11.9
1993	33.1	12.2
1994	32.5	11.8
1995	30.5	11.0
1996	27.5	10.3
1997	26.1	8.6
1998	26.1	8.2

Note. From U.S. Census Poverty (Table 2) U.S. Census Bureau, The official statistics, July 27, 1998 (Figure 4.1).

Hamilton and Hamilton (1997) further point out that the window of opportunity afforded to Blacks via the federal civil rights legislation of the 1960's came at a time when the economy was struggling behind the post World War II boom years. Unemployment rates were indeed a force to be reckoned with during the 1960's, particularly for Black Americans who have consistently hovered in the upper quartile of unemployment rates throughout the country.

Hamilton and Hamilton (1997) state:

The structural imperatives of a constricted labor market became even more detrimental to those on the fringes of the economic mainstream. Thus, relegated to the far reaches of economic dependence, many Blacks remained shut out from the normal work culture at large and the benefits readily granted to other Americans (p. 265).

So, Hamilton and Hamilton (1997) highlight the role of racial discrimination in assuring that a disproportionate number of Blacks would remain in poverty throughout their life span. Not only are Black Americans locked out of jobs with benefits during their employable years, they are not eligible for certain benefits once they reach the age where they are no longer able to work. The current poverty rate for Black Americans is 26.1%, the lowest it has been in over 50 years. This type of overarching poverty cannot be explained away by individual acts of discrimination, it is the result of institutional racism. The systems, which inform this type of pervasive poverty, are part of America's standard operating procedures.

According to Mason (2000), discrimination in the labor market costs African Americans 15% of earnings relative to Whites. This discrimination does not reflect differences in pay for the same work as much as it does differences in access to different work for persons of the same ability. Such differences, in turn, result in differences in access to employment, hiring, training, promotion, and layoffs (Mason, 2000). This 15% earning loss does not include discrimination suffered by Blacks in housing, education, and access to credit. Most Americans acknowledge

that this type of discrimination takes place; however, it appears to be tacitly accepted as an American way of life.

Fair (1997) asserts that inequality in America has been promulgated by the practices of racial caste. Specifically, he states, “Racial caste is a product of past deliberate racial choices. The conditions in the lives of Blacks today were derived from slavery and official and customary segregation. Where Blacks live, their aggregate income, their self-image and degree of self-confidence, the nature and stability of their families, their attitudes toward authority, and their levels of educational and cultural attainment have been significantly affected by their historical treatment in the United States. A racial caste continues to exist because of our failure to eradicate it” (p. 63).

Fair (1997) advances the position that the colorblind model serves as a smoke screen for the identification of the racial caste’s infrastructure. He cites Charles Lawrence (1987) who essentially states that Americans have been enculturated with the mores and values of racism. Lawrence states, “Racism in America is much more complex than either the conscious conspiracy of a power elite or the simple delusion of a few ignorant bigots. It is a part of our common historical experience and, therefore, a part of our culture. It arises from the assumptions we have learned to make about the world, ourselves, and others as well as from the patterns of our fundamental social activities” (p. 63). Fair (1987) contends that it is insidious for opponents of Affirmative Action to attack the policies that have been established during the past three decades for the purposes of bringing about equality of opportunity for minorities and women and close their eyes to “eighteen decades of constitutional history when a rigid color line was the rule and White men and their families were America’s Affirmative Action babies” (p. 155).

Thus, we see how race has been utilized to serve as the official gatekeeper for educational opportunity. It was not until the implementation of Affirmative Action policies that we witnessed race serving as an advantage with regard to educational opportunity. However, the well-documented Anti-Affirmative Action Policies passed in California via Proposition 209 (passed in 1996 and essentially states that all state agencies are barred from using race and gender as a factor in the operation of public employment, public education or public contracting) and the *Hopwood v. State of Texas* (1996) decision (which ruled that institutions may not use race as a factor in admissions decisions and awarding of financial aid) serve to illustrate the extent to which this door, once cracked open, is quickly closing.

This position is further elucidated in the article, “The 1990's: How Racial Conservatives Are Closing the Door on Black Opportunities in Higher Education” (1999, On-line) which chronicles several critical decisions in the political, legal, and educational arenas over a 10-year period that have had an impact on educational opportunity of Blacks in higher education. They are as follows:

1. In September of 1990 increases in tuition led to a drop in Black enrollment in California to 118,000 compared to 142,000 a decade earlier. Ironically, it was Michael L. Williams, Assistant Secretary of Education for Civil Rights during the Bush Administration, who first verbalized the administration’s attack on Black opportunities in higher education. He issued the administrative opinion that scholarships, set aside for Black students, violate Civil Rights laws.
2. Beginning in January 1991, a series of three Supreme Court decisions *Oklahoma v. Dowell* (1991), *Freeman v. Pitts* (1992), and *Missouri v. Jenkins* (1995) authorized the segregation of k-12 education.
3. In May of 1995, the U.S. Supreme Court declined to hear an appeal of a lower court decision outlawing race-based Benjamin Banneker scholarships at the University of Maryland. The ruling effectively bans all race-based scholarships. Scholarships earmarked for Blacks in other states were consequently placed in jeopardy.
4. In July of 1995, the regents of the University of California, led by Ward Connerly, voted to end race-sensitive admissions at all of the state’s university campuses.

5. At the same time, City University of New York, which regularly enrolls more African American students than any institution of higher education in the United States, raised tuition by 156 percent and Mayor Giuliani and Governor Pataki of New York cut financial aid for students at the University.
6. The racially conservative organization, the Center for Individual Rights, wins the landmark *Hopwood* case in March 1996.
7. The race-sensitive admissions program at the University of Texas Law School is ruled unconstitutional by the U.S. Appeals Court. The ruling effectively bans Affirmative Action in admissions at state universities in the states of Texas, Mississippi and Louisiana. In response to perceived legal vulnerability as a result of the *Hopwood* decision, several other institutions across the country began abandoning their race-sensitive admissions programs.
8. In November, 1996, following a 2.5 million dollar campaign effort by the GOP in the State of California, Proposition 209, which outlawed the consideration of race in admissions, is passed via ballot vote.
9. In January, 1997, African American Ward Connerly forms the American Civil Rights Institute, an organization dedicated to eliminating Affirmative Action nationwide. Following litigation-driven rulings banning race-conscious admissions policies for law school admissions in Texas and California, there exists a devastating effect on Black enrollment in public institutions.
10. In September of 1997, Eric Brooks is the only Black to enroll in the 270 member first-year class at the Boalt Hall Law School at the University of California at Berkeley, and only five Blacks enroll at the law school at the University of Texas which had previously averaged more than 30 Black students matriculating each year during the past decade.
11. In September of the following year, Black enrollments dropped more than 50%, from 224 in 1997 to 98 in 1998 at Berkeley.
12. In November of 1998, voters in Washington State approve a statewide referendum banning racial preferences by any agency of the state government including public universities.
13. In January 1999, racially conservative litigators in Washington purchase space in student newspapers at 15 prestigious universities urging their students to sue their colleges for racial discrimination. Litigators further embark upon a huge propaganda campaign to spread fear among college administrators that they may be liable for criminal punishments if they continue to practice race-sensitive admissions policies. During the same month and year, a federal judge in Georgia rules that the University of Georgia's Affirmative Action admission policies violate the United States Constitution.
14. In June 1999, demonstrating behavior tantamount to "McCarthyism" in the 1950's, the State of Oklahoma, fearing lawsuits, eliminates college scholarships earmarked for Black and other minority students.

15. In September 1999, City University of New York embarks upon a plan to end remedial education at each of its four-year institutions.

It is clear that inequality has become entrenched in every critical component of American life. Given these kinds of findings, it would seem that race continues to undergird issues of inequality in America. Mason (2000) discusses the fact that even the most staunch conservatives will acknowledge that discrimination did exist in the “past”; however, conservatives subscribe to the position that those who were victims of said discrimination should move on and get over it. The primary problem with this rationale lies with the fact that slavery and Jim Crow had such a devastating effect on African Americans that they created an economic divide that is virtually irreparable (Mason, 2000).

Meritocracy Versus Testocracy

In the mid 1960's the UIUC revisited its mission statement and said, “We are a land grant institution here to meet the needs of the public.” In the wake of research conducted by both Bowers (1966) and Spencer (1968) that indicated that the University had stopped being a people’s University and become a somewhat restricted and highly selected institution, the University elected to make some changes with regard to its admissions practices. Bowers’ (1966) research indicated that from 1955 to 1965 the number of freshmen graduating from the top half of their class and admitted to the University increased from 47 % in 1955 to 84 % by 1965. The University was perceived to have become more selective and as such “untouchable” for some youth within the state who would have previously met admissions criteria. In the same vein, Spencer (1968) reported that the majority of the University’s programs were geared towards the middle class student who needed minimal guidance and support to matriculate through college. He expressed concern that academic programs for the less talented students would be eliminated

and provisions would be made only for those students who presented with an occasional need. Spencer (1968) further reported that standardized test scores, one of the primary indices to which the country looked to determine merit, did not correlate highly with the academic success of African American students. Test scores simply did not reveal who should merit the opportunity to be admitted to the University because they could not consistently predict academic performance.

To this end the University made a concerted effort to change its image to one that was more consistent with its stated mission as a land grant public institution. Inspired to a large degree by the research conducted by Spencer (68), the University sought to provide services to a more eclectic group of students and as such widened their scope of what was considered merit. In the interest of meeting the needs of a wider group of students, the University increased the number of factors it considered at the point of admissions, which in turn increased the number of factors considered in the merit equation.

The meritocracy versus testocracy debate has been most persuasively argued by Sturm and Guiner (2001). They indirectly address the issue of what constitutes merit by asking and then answering the question, “Who’s Qualified?” Clearly, when we look to indices to help us determine the likelihood of success at the postsecondary level, we are compelled to define what is meant by “success.” The traditional indices to which we have looked to predict successful performance in college, namely standardized tests, have been limited to predicting narrowly defined success in the short run (Sturm and Guiner (2001). Specifically, the focus has been on demonstrating immediate success in school, in particular the first semester.

The current selection index employed by the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign uses a combination of the student’s ACT-C and High School Percentile Rank to predict the first

semester Grade Point Average that is then used as a gauge for academic success and subsequent admission or denial to the University. Spann (2000) suggests that even though the student might exhibit a propensity towards excelling in academic courses, they may fail to exhibit a similar type of excellence across other areas that may be even more important. As a case in point, Guiner and Sturm (2001) cite a study that was conducted on the University of Michigan Law School graduates that found a negative relationship between high LSAT scores and subsequent community leadership or community service. Those students who had high LSAT scores were less likely to conduct *pro bono* services as lawyers.

Thus, according to Guiner and Sturm (2001), the use of standardized tests may force institutions to compromise their capacity to search for those students who possess the type of characteristics, attitudes and beliefs that they value as an institution. Guiner and Sturm report that researchers have found a positive correlation between standardized tests and the first year performance in college or postgraduate education. This correlation does not measure successful overall academic achievement or performance in other areas deemed important by the institution. Sturm and Guiner (2001) advocate for institutions retaining the right to identify the factors that they believe portend successful individuals in both the short and long run.

Sturm and Guiner (2001) take issue with the fact that the proponents of meritocracy insist that those modes of selection that are based upon “merit” are both fair and functional because they treat all candidates equally and they are designed to pick the best candidates. They argue that the principle modicum for measuring a merit “paper and pencil test,” is fundamentally unfair. According to Sturm and Guiner (2001), the instrument measuring merit, the standardized test, lacks validity, and in failing to measure what it purports to measure, it fails in turn to adequately measure merit. In particular, they point out that these tests fail to reliably identify

those applicants who will be successful in college or later in life. To this end, according to Sturm and Guiner standardized tests fail to fulfill their stated function. Furthermore, they contend that this measure is fundamentally unfair because it is restrictive with regard to opportunities for many poor and working class Americans of all ethnicities and genders.

Guiner and Sturm (2001) not only argue that the conventional system of selection simply does not allow everyone to stand at the starting gate to compete, they unequivocally refute the notion that merit is equivalent to one's performance on a standardized test. According to Sturm and Guiner (2001), the most fundamental argument pertaining to merit revolves around the functional abilities of an individual. They argue that the core of the merit argument is based upon the belief that standardized tests accurately measure functional merit, and, in turn, affords the individual the opportunity to be classified as successful. The bigger problem, according to Sturm and Guiner (2001), appears to center around the fact that we appear to lack consensus on what is considered successful. They have called for a more broadly interpreted definition of "successful performance."

To further illustrate their point, that paper and pencil tests can only measure a narrowly tailored definition of success, Sturm and Guiner (2001) cite a study conducted on three classes of Harvard alumni over a period of three decades which found a high correlation between "success" as defined by income, community involvement, and professional satisfaction, and two factors that do not readily come to mind when one thinks of Harvard Freshmen: low SAT scores and blue collar backgrounds. They reference another study to support their view that America should subscribe to a broader definition of success. The study consisted of a survey whereby college admissions officers at elite institutions were asked about the meaning of success and reported the

following three responses as the top three answers when asked what predicts “life success”: (a) above minimum competency level, (b) initiative and, (c) drive.

Looking at merit through a different lens, Kingsley (2003) states that one of the primary differences between the kind of Affirmative Action that afforded President Bush the opportunity to get where he is today and the kind he wants the Supreme Court to outlaw is race. Kingsley (2003) stated, “The President might ask himself. ‘Wait a minute, how did I get into Yale?’”

Kingsley poses the hypothetical question in response to Bush’s comment regarding the admissions program at Michigan. President Bush stated, “At the undergraduate level, African American students and some Hispanic students and Native American students receive 20 points out of a maximum of 150, not because of any academic achievement or life experience, but solely because they are African American, Hispanic or Native American” (p. 70). Kingsley points out that it was clearly not Bush’s academic excellence that got him into Yale stating, “It wasn’t because of any academic achievement: his high school record was ordinary. It wasn’t because of his life experience – prosperous family, fancy prep school – which was all too familiar at Yale. It wasn’t his SAT scores: 566 verbal and 640 math. Affirmative Action for a boy. They may not have had an explicit point system at Yale in 1964, but Bush clearly got in because of Affirmative Action. Affirmative Action for the son and grandson of alumni. Affirmative action for a member of a politically influential family. Affirmative Action for a boy from a fancy prep school. These forms of Affirmative Action still go on” (p. 70). Kingsley further reports that 40% of the applicants accepted at Harvard are legacies, children of Alumni, while only 11% are general applicants. He goes on to state that President Bush may be one of the most astonishing Affirmative Action success stories of all times because of his unremarkable past and rapid ascension to the top leadership position in the country. Another difference

between the kind of Affirmative Action afforded President Bush and the kind he wants outlawed lies with the fact that racial Affirmative Action is more overt and tangible and the kind of preference afforded President Bush is according to Kingsley, “baked into the way we live” (p. 70).

Sturm and Guiner contend that the logic, which undergirds the typical stock story relayed by critics of Affirmative Action, is flawed. In the educational sphere, the typical Anti-Affirmative Action story goes as follows: Janice Doe scores several points higher on the ACT than an African American male, but loses the admissions slot to the male in the interest of diversity. Unfair, argues Doe on the basis that she (1) possesses more merit than beneficiaries of Affirmative Action; and (2) as a matter of fairness, she is entitled to the admissions slot. Sturm and Guiner (2001) assert that the stock Anti-Affirmative Action story is based upon the assumption that the playing field is level and the standards governing the process do not arbitrarily advantage the members of one group over another.

The typical story offers a somewhat stoic definition of what it means to be fair. It suggests that if everyone takes the same test and every applicant’s test is in turn evaluated in the same manner, the assessment tool is fair, and because Affirmative Action requires that applications are viewed differently, on the basis of such factors as race and gender it is not fair. Furthermore, the stock Anti-Affirmative Action story purports that because tests are perceived to afford individuals equal opportunities to demonstrate individual merit, they are not biased.

Kingsley (2003) places a different twist on the stock story. He states, “Of course a series of somebodies didn’t get into Andover, Yale and Harvard Business School because their blood wasn’t as blue as Bush’s, and other somebodies didn’t get a chance to own the Texas Rangers or to use the capital Bush borrowed to buy his share of the team because these somebodies were

nobodies. Life is unfair” (p. 70). He goes on to state, “A legitimate criticism of Affirmative Action is that it politicizes life chances and focuses blame on race. If Yale to make room for a George W. turns you down, you’re not even aware of it. But if you get turned down by the University of Michigan, you’re likely to blame Affirmative Action (if you’re White), even though the numbers way you probably would have been turned down anyway” (p. 70). Kingsley challenges the reader to place the subject of race conscious admissions into proper perspective by posing the following question, “Would you rather have a gift of 20 points out of 150 to use at the college of your choice? Or would you rather have the more amorphous advantages President Bush has enjoyed at every stage of his life?” (p. 7).

The Anti-Affirmative Action proponents argue that there exists an objective yardstick utilized by most institutions for measuring qualification. The use of this measure, in turn, increases the probability that all students are provided an equal opportunity with regard to admissions. Sturm and Guiner (2001) on the other hand, reject the notion that sameness equals fairness, and instead, embrace the belief that fairness is equal access and opportunity. They note that seemingly neutral screening devices can be exclusionary because they frequently do not allow for or measure creativity, motivation and alternative skill sets. For example, students auditioning for acceptance into a particular University School of Music might be required to play the same music selection. The same selection might not motivate applicants to demonstrate their full skill capacity. The probability of applicants expressing such a full range would be enhanced were they each allowed to select from a range of say three music selections - each measuring similar skills. More abstract concepts, such as motivation and creativity, have been factored into the equation with just a slight alteration in the requirement. Test scores, according to Sturm and

Guiner (2001), are used to differentiate candidates from one another as a function of some minute, insignificant factor, who in reality are functionally identical in skill, talent and ability.

In addition to arguments postulating that the traditional instruments that we use to provide us with a measure of merit: namely standardized tests, there are arguments which suggest that performance on achievement tests may be impacted by several other extraneous variables. Steele (2001) discusses the significance of “stereotype threat” as a potentially performance depressing mechanism for any group whose abilities are negatively stereotyped in the larger society. Stereotype threat has the effect of altering one’s behavior so that the individual unconsciously or inadvertently does something to confirm the stereotype. Steele (2001) reports that for minority students the effects of stereotype threat are striking. Concerned about performing well, these students experience frustration and fear that they will be perceived as lacking ability when viewed through the lens of the limited ability stereotype.

Steele (2001) cites a study that he conducted with Black and White students to test the effects of “stereotype threat” on Black students. He statistically equated two groups of students, one consisting of Black students and the other consisting of White students. He administered a 30-minute verbal test to each group telling them prior to administering the test that it was designed to measure their ability. Next, he assembled a second set of Black and White students, also statistically equated, and once again administered the 30-minute verbal test; however, this time he told each of the groups that he was measuring “problem solving tasks” that had nothing to do with their ability. The Black students in the first group performed extremely poorly; however, the Black students in the second group performed at a rate that was commensurate with their White counterparts. Steele interpreted the results as a clear indication that once the

stereotype fear pertaining to ability was removed from the task, it afforded the Black students an opportunity to relax and perform at a rate that was commensurate with their actual ability.

Steele (2001) also highlighted the fact that stereotype threat doesn't stop at the doorsteps of the institution; he states, "Stereotype threat follow its targets on to campus, affecting behaviors of theirs that are as varied as participating in class, seeking help from faculty, contact with students in other groups, and so on" (p. 63).

On the other hand, both Steinberg (2001) and Waters and Boys-Watson (2001) argue that standardized tests were implemented in the interest of promulgating objectivity by increasing "fairness and open opportunities in the face of selection processes that operated via subjective assessments and closed networks bound by class, race, ethnicity, and gender" (Waters and Boys-Watson, p. 57). They feel that Sturm and Guiner oversimplify the ultimate effects of tests when they called for the elimination of standardized tests as a means of selection. Standardized Tests, according to Waters and Boys-Watson, are a double-edged sword. They state, "the use of SAT's made it possible for Jews educated in public schools to compete with moneyed applicants from prep schools for entry into elite universities" (pp. 57-58). At the same time, however, they acknowledge that "standardized tests are ineffective tools for measuring or predicting the future performance of prospective students...as methods for ensuring fairness, standardized tests behave even worse, test scores are highly correlated with socio-economic status and reflect the cumulative advantage of class rather than the inherent abilities of the candidates" (p. 55).

Waters and Boyes-Watson (2001) are conscientious about viewing the positive and negative factors associated with the use of standardized tests and disagree with Sturm and Guiner (2001) that our society has become a true testocracy. Waters and Boys-Watson (2001) further illustrate the extent to which tests have been used as a positive vehicle on behalf of Affirmative

Action by noting that a survey conducted on private firms in Los Angeles, Detroit, Chicago and Boston during the late 1980's and 90's showed the African American employment rate increased when tests, as opposed to interviews, were used as a screening device. The authors conclude by suggesting that America subscribe to an admissions process for our best colleges, which identifies the top one percent of the high school graduates across the country and uses a weighted lottery to yield the freshmen class, out of an effort to ensure representation from major racial and ethnic groups, males and females. However, if we consider the fact that a recent segment of the CBS news show, *60 Minutes* (October 2002), revealed that valedictorians throughout the country consisted almost predominately of females and in particular White females, the implementation of such a plan might present yet another problem. Guiner subscribes to the position that merit and diversity go hand in hand.

Guiner (2001) chastises the 11th Circuit Court in Georgia (who ruled that the University of Georgia's decision to award applicants of color an extra half point in the admissions process was unconstitutional), along with many other courts for failing to understand Lee C. Bollinger's (former president of University of Michigan) fervent attempt to explain why: "merit in a public institution of higher education cannot exist independent of considerations of diversity" (p. 1). She argues that diversity is inherent in the University of Georgia's mission statement and as such should serve a vital role in governing the selection and education of its students. Guiner (2001) goes on to state that the prolonged battles over Affirmative Action have only served to deflect public attention from Bollinger's "astute juxtaposition of diversity and merit and distracted many colleges from a much needed exploration of what constitutes fairness for all people" (p. 1). Furthermore, Guiner (2001) posits, these long, drawn out battles have obscured the significance of diversity towards helping institutions, particularly public universities, fulfill their educational

and democratic missions. She expresses grave concern about the myopic view that society embraces as it relates to merit, diversity and Affirmative Action.

Furthermore, according to Guiner, these conventional “merit based” criteria fail to predict the most salient aspect of merit in a “multiracial democracy: the ability to predict who will contribute to the society as a whole after graduation.” She challenges us to reframe how we presently view merit. In so doing, she states, merit would assume a connotative meaning more consistent with the ethos of a democratic society (p. 2).

Diversity

The historical track record of White colleges in admitting Black students to their institutions is bleak. This history begins in 1826, when the first Black college graduate received his degree from Bowdoin College. By 1910, almost a century later, the records reveal that only 693 Black students had graduated from all White colleges or Predominately White Institutions (PWI's). Moreover, the majority of these 693 students graduated after 1890. Oberlin College stood out as an exception to the other institutions, graduating 50 Black students between 1826 and 1890, while the other institutions collectively graduated 30 students during this period. Oberlin claimed 149 of the 693 Black graduates; Kansas followed with 60, Harvard 41, Yale 37, Penn 29 and Dartmouth 14. The remainder of the 693 students were sprinkled about in ones and twos at various institutions throughout the country (Ballard, 1973).

During the next four decades Blacks continued to graduate from PWI's in small numbers; however, by 1954, only 4,080 (.85%) out of 480,000 college freshmen entering PWI's were Black (Ballard, 1973). Only one percent of college freshmen were Black. Consequently, by the mid-1960's, Black enrollment at PWI's remained very low. Few of these institutions had taken

positive action toward altering their admissions practices that left most Blacks out of the admissions equations and as such served to promulgate the ideals of institutionalized racism.

An analysis of the records will reveal that the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign implemented a comprehensive plan designed to combat the diversity problem on the campus. Ballard (1973) was able to grasp the significance of the University making a commitment to both the students and the various programs within the institution that had to be implemented on behalf of the students. He stated: "When hard data does emerge on the success of Educational Opportunity Programs it is likely that it will not reflect on the ability of Black students to graduate from White colleges, but on the degree to which a college decided to commit itself, its faculty, and its resources to the task of giving under prepared Black students a chance to develop their academic potential" (p. 94).

Spencer (1968) was one of the first to broach the idea that the University had not developed mechanisms to meet the needs of underprivileged students. He challenged the University to assume the leadership within the state as it related to this issue, stating:

As the situation now stands, the largest state university in Illinois is not adequately prepared to handle one of the most profound and disturbing educational problems of our time--how to raise the academic achievement level of highly motivated students from disadvantaged backgrounds. An institution of this stature and of this persuasion should give leadership to this national problem (p. 2).

Spencer (1968) further cited illustrations of several academic barriers for Black students such as low standardized test scores and inadequate academic preparation at the secondary level with regard to curriculum consisting of college preparatory classes. Spencer (1968) called attention to the fact that Black students' academic problems were magnified by the fact that their high school rank and ACT scores were weighted differently from those of their peers and as such yielded different first semester predictor GPA's for Black students when compared to predictor

GPA's for majority students even though they had the same scores as their Majority counterparts. Specifically, he noted:

The problem is highlighted even more by the fact that for the student coming from a school outside of the Negro community, a high school percentile rank of 90 and an ACT composite score of 15 will predict a grade of C at the University, while the Negro student coming from de facto segregated schools must produce a composite score of 23 with the same class percentile rank of 90 to predict a C grade. These facts illustrate an academically grave disadvantage that educators should be sensitive to and be working upon (p. 2)

Spencer based his conclusions on his findings after comparing the first semester GPA's of the Negro students from the freshman class of 1966 with those of all freshmen as a function of ACT Composite score and High school percentile rank. While the mean high school percentile rank for the Negro students was slightly higher at 83.6% than the mean high school percentile rank for the majority students at 82.6%, the mean ACT Composite for the Negro students was significantly lower at 21.9% than the mean ACT Composite for the majority group at 25.54%. The measure of success, as indicated by first semester GPA, was 2.95 for the Negro group and 3.43 for the majority group. More importantly, Spencer found that there was a marked difference in the ability of the two-predictor variables: ACT Composite and High School Percentile Rank to predict success for the two groups. The correlation between predictor variable 1: ACT Composite and first semester GPA was only .13 for the Negro group but much higher at .37 for the Majority group; and the correlation between predictor variable 2: HSPR and GPA was .30 for the Negro group, and .45 for the Majority group. (See Table 2 below.)

Spencer (1968), noting that Negro students with higher ACT-C scores and HSPR's could be heavily recruited, offered several suggestions for increasing and maintaining the Negro population at the University. He was, however, cautious about assuming that this alone would or should solve the problem of low enrollment on behalf of the Negro student. His more powerful

Table 2

Comparisons of Mean ACT-C, and High School Percentile Rank With First Semester GPA for Negro and Majority Students for the 1966 Freshmen at UIUC

Measures of Academic Performance	Negro Group	Majority Group
Mean ACT-C	21.20	25.50
Mean HSPR	83.60	82.60
Mean 1st semester GPA	2.95	3.43
Correlation ACT & GPA	0.13	0.38
Correlation HSPR & GPA	0.30	0.46
Multiple prediction of GPA From HSPR and ACT-C	0.32	0.55
<i>N</i>	94	5653

Note. From *Program for the Culturally Deprived A Proposal* by Richard E. Spencer, 1968, Chancellor's Ad Hoc Committee on Special Education, University of Illinois at Urbana, March 1968.

suggestion came in the form of questioning the validity of the two admissions standards: ACT-C and HSPR for Negro students. Specifically, he stated:

The other end of this problem is to attract *more* deserving Negro students. A serious problem might be that we do not know who is deserving. The HSPR and ACT admissions standards may not be valid for this group, not necessarily in terms of lowering admission standards, but in terms of its validity for this group of students (p. 10).

Spencer (1968) questioned the appropriateness of establishing middle class standards as a barometer for determining admission to the University. He discussed the fact that it was the understanding, acceptance and usage of the English language, which served as the primary indicator of the dichotomies that existed between the Negro student and majority students. In fact, he suggested that this difficulty with the English language frequently led to students encountering problems in higher-level courses. Spencer stated that cultural predisposition and the

manifestation of different learning styles might impact the manner in which English is interpreted and subsequently utilized in the context of the classroom. He called attention to the fact that while the facility with which one was able to understand and subsequently articulate the English language might be a strong indicator of post secondary success for middle class students, this was apparently not the case for Negro students. To this end, he stated “If we wish to determine the success of the Culturally Deprived students in their subject field-we need to test variables other than English” (p. 31).

He further highlighted the fact that more than 10% of the state’s population was Negro while less than 2% of the student enrollment at UIUC was Negro. It was Spencer’s research that served as the springboard for the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign to make a conscientious effort to diversify the University and establish programs that were more consistent with their mission of serving a broad base of students. Spencer (1968) it seems was clearly on the cutting edge of progressive research. He was one of the first to analyze the effects of a numbers only approach to college admissions. The primary impetus for this research is driven by the fact that not enough has been said about the potential deleterious effects on minorities, and African Americans in particular, if institutions across the country are forced to adhere to a numbers only admissions policy and not consider race as a factor in admissions.

What Have Been the Demonstrated Effects of Banning Race As a Factor in Admissions?

Proposition 209 has afforded us a snapshot view of what things would be like in the U.S. were Affirmative Action banned. Boalt Hall’s Law School of Berkeley University in California has served as the litmus test for bans on Affirmative Action, particularly in higher education. In the first year following the ban on Affirmative Action in admissions at Berkeley’s Law School,

one Black student and 14 Hispanic students were admitted to the program. During the preceding 28 years, the school had averaged 28 Blacks and 30 Hispanics in its entering classes (Morris, 1997). In an examination of three California Law schools with and without Affirmative Action, Morris reported the following (see Table 1).

Berkeley's Boalt Hall Law School witnessed a 95% drop in Black enrollment; UCLA witnessed a 47% drop (almost 50 %); and Davis witnessed a 25% increase in enrollment. The 25% increase is misleading because Davis enrolled 4 Blacks out of a total enrollment of 152 in 1996 and 5 Blacks out of a total enrollment of 172 in 1997. These statistics are hardly earth-shattering improvements.

What does the future portend if race sensitive admissions are eliminated? These figures tell us that the picture is not encouraging. Given the huge disparity that exists between the test scores and GPA's of Blacks and Hispanic law school applicants as compared to most White and Asian students who apply to law schools, these institutions are statistically less likely to attract and enroll much more than a token number of minorities unless race and ethnicity are not considered (Morris, 1997). Proposition 209 is essentially a ban on "preferential treatment" and definitely the nemesis of Affirmative Action.

The primary issue lies with determining the true scope of Proposition 209 in both the legal and social/political context. Contrary to popular belief, Proposition 209 did not break new ground with regard to nondiscrimination practices at either the constitutional or statutory level in the state of California. Several plans have been suggested and implemented as a means of countering the effects of Proposition 209. At UCLA they inadvertently raised the threshold for the total number applicants accepted for the fall of 1997. Were the threshold for acceptance to be increased as a part of standard operating procedures, this would increase the probability of

accepting more minority applicants. Another more popular plan for combating Proposition 209 is to consider the socioeconomic status of the applicant as opposed to race. There are pitfalls to this plan as it relates to African Americans. With regard to absolute numbers, there are many more poor Whites than Blacks in America. In addition, there are many different ethnic groups who share similar socioeconomic problems as Blacks; none, however, share the same history of oppression in America as Blacks.

Professor Linda Wightman (1997) conducted an empirical analysis of the potential effects of adhering to a numbers only admission policy at law schools in the U.S. She discovered two things that would be devastating to the minority student: (a) the number of minority applicants for whom admission would be denied would increase sharply; and (b) no statistically significant relationship was found for graduation rates between those minority students who would have been accepted to law schools and those who would not have been accepted. Finally, her results revealed that certain factors such as socioeconomic status could not serve as a proxy for race and ethnicity with the expected outcome of a diversified student body.

Thus, Wightman simply verifies what proponents of Affirmative Action have been saying all along, that it still serves as the best vehicle for breaking down the barriers of access for minorities as it is backed by the law. Secondly, these results indicate that the factors used to ferret out those applicants who lack the “right stuff” to matriculate through law school are flawed because a large percentage of those rejected from one school and enrolling elsewhere are graduating and passing the bar examination. This brings forth the question of whether the current measures, LSAT (Law School Achievement Test), and UGPA (Undergraduate Grade Point Average), are accurate tools for projecting performance and success in law school. The test scores are associated with higher GPA’s at the law school level; however, they do not reveal that

the student who does not possess a similar score does not have the “right stuff” to matriculate through law school and subsequently pass the bar.

Wightman (1997) separates her research into two parts. In part I, she explores the extent to which an aggressive Affirmative Action policy is necessary in legal education. In part II, she examines the appropriateness of using numbers as a passport to educational opportunity. In addition, she examines the validity of the LSAT as it relates to measuring the likelihood of success in law school.

Wightman (1997) used a Logistical Regression Model (formula consisting of a combination of LSAT score and UGPA and UGPA alone) to determine the admittance or rejection of applicants who had applied to law school during the fall of 1991. She compared the number of students who had been accepted to various institutions across the country to the number who would have been accepted using the Regression Model. The results are revealed in Table 3.

Her results reveal that a numbers only formula using LSAT or GPA or any combination of the two was actually hypersensitive to Blacks. It predicted fewer Blacks than were actually admitted; in fact this was the case for all groups except Whites. Specifically, the data revealed that among the 3,435 Black applicants who were accepted to at least one law school using the Logistic Regression model, combining LSAT and GPA, only 687 would have been accepted. This figure is not even 25% of the actual number of Black applicants accepted. Clearly, the implementation of such a numbers only plan would serve as a serious impasse for Blacks and other minorities as it relates to gaining access to a legal education.

These are just a few of the studies, which speak to the potentially deleterious effects of eliminating Affirmative Action within higher education.

Table 3

Distribution of 1990-1991 Applicants by Ethnic Group, Actual Acceptance, and Acceptance Predicted by UGPA Alone, and LSAT/UGPA-Combined Logistic Regression Models

Ethnic group	Actual decision	Predicted decision	Number predicted by UGPA	Number predicted by combined	Actual number admitted
American Indian	Accepted	Yes	115	137	302
		No	187	165	
	Not accepted	Yes	35	16	
		No	152	171	
Asian American	Accepted	Yes	1,199	1,449	2,312
		No	1,113	863	
	Not accepted	Yes	277	44	
		No	1,122	1,355	
Black	Accepted	Yes	945	687	3,435
		No	2,490	2,748	
	Not accepted	Yes	391	24	
		No	3,257	3,624	
Hispanic	Accepted	Yes	652	667	1,351
		No	699	684	
	Not accepted	Yes	150	33	
		No	803	920	
Mexican American	Accepted	Yes	238	252	629
		No	391	377	
	Not accepted	Yes	63	8	
		No	417	472	
Puerto Rican	Accepted	Yes	127	100	324
		No	197	224	
	Not accepted	Yes	32	21	
		No	272	302	

(table continues)

Table 3 (continued)

Ethnic group	Actual decision	Predicted decision	Number predicted by UGPA	Number predicted by combined	Actual number admitted
White	Accepted	Yes	26,744	35,966	42,287
		No	15,543	6,321	
	Not accepted	Yes	7,283	4,392	
		No	23,172	26,063	

Note. From “The Threat to Diversity in Legal Education: An Empirical Analysis of the Consequences of Abandoning Race as a Factor in Law School Admission Decision,” by L. F. Wightman, 1997, *New York University Law Review*, 72, p. 16. Copyright by L. F. Wightman. Reprinted with permission.

UIUC Discovery

The University of Illinois discovered 35 years ago what the effects of a numbers only admissions policy could yield. Clearly, more research is needed to further illuminate the effects of numbers only admissions policy or nonrace-conscious admissions policy. The following chronology will reveal how the University of Illinois came to consider race in its admissions process and how it subsequently made the decision to maintain race along with several other factors as an admissions criterion. In addition, it will speak to the consequences of the inclusion and exclusion of race as a factor in college admissions.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Quantitative and qualitative methods were employed to test several of the assertions made about race conscious admissions practices at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. The interview served as the primary quantitative methodology and the procurement and analysis of documents from University archives and folders served as the secondary qualitative methodology employed by this study. In an effort to obtain an understanding of activities and decisions that have motivated the University to consider race as a factor in the admissions process for 35 years, eleven interviews were conducted with a variety of persons who were either directly or indirectly involved with one or more of the UIUC diversity efforts or with persons who were directly impacted by these efforts.

Qualitative Methodologies

Interviews

There were a total of eleven interviews conducted. The interviews assumed a nonstandardized format. There was no prespecified set of questions employed and the questions were not asked in a specific order. The interviews were semi-structured. Most questions assumed one of three formats: (1) experience or behavior questions, aimed at eliciting descriptions of experiences, behaviors or actions; (2) opinion/value questions, designed to ascertain the interviewee's thoughts about a particular subject; and (3) feelings or questions designed to obtain an understanding of the emotional response of people to their experiences and thoughts (Merriam, 1989). Each of the interviewees were selected because of their ability to contribute to the dialogue concerning the subject of race and admissions at the UIUC at a particular time in

history. Two of the interviewees, one an octogenarian and the other, 91 years of age, served as historians. The octogenarian opened her home to African American students who did not feel too welcome on the UIUC campus during the 1940's. One of the other interviewees was a student who resided in the octogenarian's home during the time that he was enrolled at the UIUC from 1947 until 1952. The historian provided information about the community, in particular the Black community and the relationship between the community and the University. Five of the interviewees were affiliated with the Project 500: one served as the one of the original stewards of the program; one was a recruiter; two were students in the program (one local and the other from Chicago); and one was the Director of the program. The final three interviewees currently serve or have served in administrative capacities at the University, ranging from a former President of the University to the current Chancellor of the University.

The overwhelming majority of the interviews were taped out of an effort to achieve accuracy and to allow for the interviewer to interact completely with the interviewee. The questions varied as a function of the time zone covered and the experiences of the interviewee as they related to the University. Clearly, the questions for the former president of the University were different from the questions asked of the UIUC 1952 graduate. Each interviewee was provided with the option to remain anonymous (Please see Sample Adult Consent Letter-Appendix A, p. 224.)

Data Analysis

The data obtained from the interviews was systematically placed into various categories through the use of both convergent and divergent methodologies. Convergence consists of determining what things fits together, what pieces of data converge upon a particular category or thing. Divergence refers to the task of fleshing out the categories once they have been established

(Merriam, 1989). Thus, the author established the categories of data inductively in an effort to present a Gestalt to the reader. These categories were then coded within the margins of the various transcripts. A separate category was established for those pieces of data, which fell into no particular category per se; however, they introduced a new or different frame from which to view a particular concept. Generally, these were data that engaged a higher order of thinking, forcing one to engage their extrapolative thinking skills in order to bring meaning to the data. Clearly, the overarching categories centered around: (1) equality of access, (2) diversity, (3) the upcoming Supreme Court ruling in the Michigan Case, (4) merit and (5) experiences at the UIUC. Several other categories were established; however, these five served as the core, along with a category for more abstract conceptualizations. Therefore, the feedback from the interviews will add insight into the workings of Affirmative Action at UIUC. Each person was interviewed to give expression to the climate of the campus and surrounding community during the specific time in which they were associated with the University.

Data Mined From Documents

In an effort to give voice to those who were unavailable for interviews, a plethora of archival data was retrieved and examined. This data consisted of research studies, memos, and letters to prospective students, UIUC policy changes and numerous lists. Sometimes meaning was extracted from something as subtle as observing how the use of the word Negro ceased to appear in letters and memos after a certain period in history. During others, the data was more direct and compelling, such as that reported in the research conducted by Richard E. Spencer (see chapter 2). The data mined from these documents was utilized to construct the chronology, which follows on the University of Illinois, detailing its decision to begin considering race as a factor in admissions. The data was secured from the University of Illinois archives, Office of

Minority Student Affairs, Office of Academic Policy Analysis and the Office of Equal Opportunity and Access.

Quantitative Methodology

The quantitative methodology employed in this study involved the examination of application and decision data for 1629 applicants admitted to the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign during the fall of 1968, 1978, 1985 and 1995. Hypothetical admissions models were developed using numbers only selection criteria. The range of the Campus Selection Index for all entering freshmen minus African Americans was established for 1978, 1985 and 1995. (This data was not available for 1968.) These models were then classified as Model 78, 85 and 95.

The Model

In the interest of testing several of the assertions concerning Affirmative Action practices and outcomes, a restricted model was designed based on an admissions formula that relies exclusively on ACT composite scores and/or high school class rank. Specifically, these models were developed by taking the same indices used by the University of Illinois to predict first semester grade point averages (ACT-C scores and High School Class Rank) and using them to help predict admission to the University based strictly on numbers. A separate model was constructed for the 78, 85 and 95 cohorts respectively. (Despite serious effort the majority of the ACT-C scores could not be located for the 68 cohort, only high school class rank. Consequently, individual SI scores could not be calculated for the 68 group). Previous research was conducted on a sample of the 68 Black cohort and this data was utilized as a basis of analysis for the 68 group. Each year, the University applies different weights (see explanation on technical background below) to both the HSPR and the ACT-C (or equivalent) scores to help predict the

first semester GPA. Each of the three experimental models used the bottom quartile of the majority range for each respective year as a barometer for rejection.

Statistical Analysis

Mean SI scores, standard deviation, variance and standard error of the difference were calculated for each of the African American cohort groups and compared to those for all freshmen for each of the respective years. "T-tests" were conducted to determine whether there was a statistically significant difference between the mean SI's for the African American cohorts and the entire freshman class minus African Americans for 1978, 1985 and 1995.

Testing for Comparable Prediction Accuracy as It Relates to SI for Black and Majority Applicants

Employing the model utilized at the UIUC, the Selection Index (SI) for each of the Black students in three of the four samples was calculated (68 SI unavailable). Next the mean SI and standard deviation, standard error of the difference, and variance for: (a) the Black sample, and (b) the overall freshmen class for each of the four years were calculated. Then, using the standard for the entire freshmen class for each year, a prediction was made as to the percentage of freshmen who would have been rejected had they been held to a numbers only admissions standard of criteria. The percentage of the students who would have been rejected that went on to obtain a degree was calculated as well. The estimated proportion of applicants projected to be rejected was then compared with the proportion of applicants in the total group that were actually admitted to the University. The bottom quartile of each model was used as a barometer for determining potential rejection from the University. The range of Campus Selection Index scores was determined for African American students for each of the aforementioned years and compared to that of the majority group. Statistical analysis was conducted on the means for the two groups across ACT-C scores, HSPR and Campus Selection Index. T-tests were conducted to

determine if there was a statistically significant difference between the means of the majority group and the African American group. Finally, graduation data was compiled for the African American students for the purposes of determining the rate of success as indicated by graduation for students admitted to the University with Campus Selection Index lower than 3.0, one standard deviation below the mean of the majority, and all students whose campus selection index fell in the bottom quartile of the range for the majority students.

Technical Background for Calculation of Selection Index

The University Office has established the following account of the freshman Selection Index (SI) for Academic Policy Analysis (Langston, 2002). This office has conducted the necessary research to validate the use of High School Class Rank and ACT-C scores as legitimate predictors of freshman performance at the post-secondary level.

Selection Index

The freshman Selection Index (SI) used by the University of Illinois is essentially a predicted first term grade point average (GPA) (UIUC, Office for Academic Policy Analysis, 2002). The SI uses high school percentile rank in class (HSPR) and American College Test Composite score (ACT-C) to predict first term college grades. In practice, the campus allows students to submit SAT scores in place of ACT scores. The SAT scores are converted to ACT equivalents for use in the SI.

Since numerous studies have documented that high school performance is generally the best predictor of first term college grades, either high school GPA or HSPR were likely predictors of first term college GPA. HSPR was chosen over high school GPA because high school grading scales vary from school to school-making comparisons difficult.

In predicting first term GPA, the use of HSPR was not able to correct for all of the differences among high schools. A top student at one school might or might not be equivalent to a student at another high school. The solution to the prediction problem caused by heterogeneous high schools was to include a standardized admissions test as a predictor. If all of the applicants take the same or equivalent standardized tests, the test scores can correct for differences among high schools. In practice, HSPR is usually still the best single predictor of college performance for UIUC colleges, but test scores add to the prediction.

Since high school measures (HSPR and ACT) tend to have higher values for students who earn higher first term grades in college, and conversely, lower values for students who earn low grades, that relationship can be used to predict who is likely to do well in the future. A statistical technique, multiple regression, can use the relationships between the high school variables and previous college GPA's to predict college GPA.

The UIUC SI's are based on multiple regressions and use HSPR and ACT-C to predict first term GPA. The five most recent freshman classes for which data are available are combined, and a multiple regression program determines the prediction equation for each college. Data for five classes are used to make the equations more stable over time with less year-to-year variation. Each college equation follows the general form of:

$$\text{Predicted first semester GPA} = (\text{Constant A}) + \text{HSPR} (\text{Constant B}) + \text{ACT-C} (\text{Constant})$$

Constants A, B and C are each determined by regression analysis so that the average differences between actual and predicted college GPA's are as small as possible. (It actually minimizes the square of the differences, since squaring eliminates negative differences that would cancel out positive differences, preventing the determination of the best prediction equation.)

For example, if multiple regression analysis yields the following prediction equation for the college of LAS: $SI = 0.482800^1 + 0.026058^2 (HSPR) + 0.042623^3 (ACT: C)$, then, for an applicant applying to the college of LAS with an HSPR of 90 and an ACT: C of 27, the LAS SI would be:

$$SI = 0.482800 + 0.026058 (90) + 0.042623 (27)$$
$$SI = 0.482800 + 2.34522 + 1.150821 = 3.013241 \sim 3.01^4$$

An admissions counselor using an SI table would multiply 3.01 by ten and round to two digits, to report the applicant's SI as 30. This would indicate that the prospective student would be predicted to earn an actual first semester GPA of 3.0 (on a 4.0 scale) at the UIUC.

The SI equations are generated after the fall semester grades are final. Since UIUC begins to admit new students for the next year before the fall semester grades are final each year (before the end of the fall term), the equations always skip a year. Data for the 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, and 2001 freshmen can be used to admit 2003 freshmen but is available too late for use with the 2002 freshmen.

Other variables might be used to predict college GPA. However, experience has shown that only HSPR and ACT-C add enough to the prediction to be valuable at a reasonable cost. To be useful, other indicators would have to predict a greater portion of first term GPA variability than is predicted in the current model (i.e., reduce the errors made in predicting GPA). In

¹ The first constant is called the intercept. Since the same value is applied to all applicants, it does not change the order of the applicants from highest predicted GPA to lowest. It adjusts the predicted GPA distribution to the correct scale.

² The second constant is the HSPR weight. The multiple regression determines the optimal weight to place on HSPR. This weight indicates how much to increase the predicted GPA for each point the HSPR increases.

³ The second constant is the ACT-C weight. The multiple regression determines the optimal weight to place on ACT-C. This weight indicates how much to increase the predicted GPA for each point the ACT-C increases.

⁴ All three weights are determined using the correlations between HSPR & GPA, ACT-C & GPA, and HSPR & ACT-C and the HSPR, ACT-C, and GPA means, and the HSPR, ACT-C, and GPA standard deviations.

addition, the new variables would have to be reliable, valid, resistant to faking, and readily available at a reasonable cost. Finally, any additional predictors would have to demonstrate a gain in predictive power over repeated samples. (Show similar results for multiple freshman classes.) So far, no such variables have been identified. The Selection Index is based on probabilities and is correct on the average, but is not necessarily correct for individual students. It cannot guarantee which individual students will succeed or fail. It can only predict that, on the average, students with higher SI's will do better than those with lower SI's.

Thus, the Selection Index relies on the assumption that while individual predictions will not be perfect, on the average, the errors will be random and the predictions will be correct. If the errors made in predicting college GPA's are random, then half of the errors will be above the predicted value and half below. Students with a predicted GPA of 2.0 will have a 50/50 chance of earning at least a 2.0. For higher SI values such as 3.0 or above, the probability of earning a GPA of 2.0 or above increases substantially since some of the errors below a predicted 3.0 will still be above a 2.0. For SI's less than 2.0, the probability of earning a GPA of at least 2.0 decreases since some of the positive errors will still be below 2.0; thus, the higher the predicted GPA (SI), the greater the probability of a student obtaining a passing GPA.

Therefore, the SI is most useful in an admissions system that has a relatively large number of applicants for a relatively small number of freshman spaces. With a large applicant pool, the SI cutoff which divides admitted from denied applicants may be set high enough so that all admitted students have a high probability of earning at least a 2.0 (C grade) even if they do not earn the predicted GPA. This is normally true for UIUC.

The difference between a college SI and a campus SI relates to the sample used to calculate the equation. The college SI is based on only those students enrolled in the college, while the campus SI is based on all freshmen.

The Samples

There were four samples of data. Application and admission data was examined for Black freshmen entering the University for the fall of 1968, '78, '85 and '95 respectively. The approximate number of entering Black freshmen for 1968, '78, '85 and '95 is 589, 290, 249 and 439, respectively, for whom data was available.

The Data

The ACT composite scores, High School Percentile Rank (HSPR), Selection Indexes at both the college and campus level (determined by the two predictor variables ACT-C and HSPR), and graduation data for each of the admitted African American students were ascertained from the University of Illinois Archives, the University of Illinois Office of Admissions and Records Systems Group, and the Office of Minority Student Affairs database and placed in a separate spreadsheet. The mean SI, standard deviation, variance, standard error of the difference and N, were calculated for each cohort. In addition, ACT-C range was calculated for three of the four cohorts and the HSPR range was calculated for all four of the cohorts.

The extent to which the predicted proportion differs from the actual proportion will provide information about the prevalence of Affirmative Action admissions practices at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Thus, the statistic of primary interest is the residual selection rate. The residual selection rate is calculated by subtracting the proportion predicted to be admitted from the proportion actually admitted. If the proportion actually admitted exceeds the proportion predicted to be admitted, the residual is positive. A statistically significant

positive residual for a studied group will suggest Affirmative Action admissions practices for applicants in that group. The studied group for this research is African American students at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

UIUC Chronology of Race Conscious Admissions

In keeping with the stated mission of the University, a serious movement began in the mid 1960's to diversify the campus across gender and racial lines. In 1967, the ratio of freshmen men and women was 60% men to 40% women. Thirty-six years later this ratio has flipped; for the year 2002, the ratio of men to women was 45 % to 55 % respectively. In 1967, there were 245,410 African Americans enrolled in colleges nationwide, compared to 4,393,768 White students and 125,656 students classified as other. In the state of Illinois there were 12,082 African Americans attending 75 different colleges and universities at a rate of 7.3 % while 208,711 Whites were enrolled in College. Only 223 of these 12,082 students were enrolled at the UIUC, representing less than 1% of the total campus enrollment. Examination of the data on record will reveal that this diversity movement was sparked and perpetuated by an exceptional attention to detail combined with strong administrative leadership in the form of Chancellors, Provosts and Presidents committed to a cause and equipped with the ability to imbue certain beliefs in those who fell under their leadership. The chronology, which follows, depicts how the UIUC combined the efforts of community members; faculty and staff, the administration and students to implement a long term plan to diversify the University. Specifically, this chronology will address how and why race came to be considered as a factor in the admissions process.

Research was conducted on the UIUC campus prior to 1968 in an effort to establish a baseline assessment of the academic performance of Black students, and after 1968 for the purposes of evaluating and improving the quality of service provided to all students. A copious review of the facts will reveal that the University of Illinois established a plethora of mechanisms

to prepare the campus for the arrival of what they classified in 1968 as the “disadvantaged student.” The University, having a proclivity towards research, consistently stopped to evaluate the effectiveness of their plan to diversify the University.

The UIUC’S foray into the world of equal access and opportunity dates as far back as 1946 when the University’s Board of Trustees directed its staff to continue “to favor and strengthen those attitudes and social philosophies which are necessary to create a community in which race prejudice cannot thrive” (UIUC). The fact that WW II had recently ended forced the country to grapple with critical social issues such as the true meaning of democracy and social justice. However, despite receiving this directive, racial prejudice continued to manifest itself on the UIUC campus. At the very moment that the Board of Trustees made this statement, Black students were allowed to enroll at the University; however, there were places on campus that did not welcome them. It was generally accepted that they would eat and socialize with the African American people in town. Initially, there were no residence halls, so students were required to take a room in a boarding house or live in the YMCA. There were approximately ten different families who opened their homes to allow Black students attending the University a place to live. The experiences of one of them, Ms. Lucy Gray, will be shared as an interviewee in Chapter 4.

The Racial Awareness Movement of this era had intensified immensely, during the late 1950’s and early 1960’s via: (1) the 1954 ruling on *Oliver Brown vs. Board of Education*, which found that segregation was unconstitutional; (2) the 1955 Montgomery Bus Boycott which resulted in the desegregation of the Montgomery Bus service; and (3) the desegregation of Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, implemented by 1,000 paratroopers and 10,000 national guardsmen who had been ordered to Little Rock by President Eisenhower. Despite the

Brown (1954) ruling, de facto segregation continued in large segments of the United States, supported by its proverbial invisible scaffold: Racism.

Committee on Human Relations and Equal Opportunity Established

In March of 1961, amidst the backdrop of the Civil Rights Movement, President John F. Kennedy issued executive order 10925 to federal contractors ordering them to:

“take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin. ...The contractor will, in all salutations or advertisements for employees placed by or on behalf of the contractor, state that all qualified applicants will receive consideration for employment without regard to race, creed, color or national origin” (Mills, 1994, p. 5).

Thus, we witnessed the birth of the “concept” of “Affirmative Action” in America. *Two years later, on December 24, 1963*, approximately one month after the death of President John F.

Kennedy, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, perhaps inspired by the legacy of

Kenney, took action to establish a University committee on Human Relations and Equal

Opportunity. The primary committee charge in part was illustrative in the following statement:

The general purpose of the committee will be to stimulate continuing basic study in the University of the problems of equal opportunity in American life, with the objective of encouraging the accumulation and dissemination of new knowledge as well as exploring means of applying such knowledge (Mills, 1994, p. 5).

Six subcommittees were borne out of this committee such as the Subcommittee on Secondary School Articulation, the Subcommittee on Faculty and Graduate Student Recruiting and the Subcommittee on Racial Statistical Data. Channels of communication were opened across a variety of venues, specifically, the Subcommittee on Secondary School Articulation that was extremely instrumental in opening up the pipeline to the Chicago inner city Black “ghetto” schools. Dr. Joseph Smith would emerge as the individual to accomplish this task. He was one of three Black professors to be hired by the University of Illinois in 1964. He was hired in a dual capacity, as a professor of English and as an Assistant to the Dean of Admissions and Records.

He taught and worked in various capacities at the University until he retired from his position as a professor of English and as Associate Chancellor in 1994. Upon his arrival at the campus, Joseph Smith's primary charge was to open up Chicago; he met this charge, resulting in an influx of inner city Chicago youth enrolling at the UIUC campus.

The support programs that currently exist at UIUC are essentially the outgrowth of the following four basic recommendations from the Committee on Human Relations and Equal

Opportunity:

- i. The President's Faculty Conference for the 1964-65 academic year be devoted to the implementation of equality of educational opportunity.
- ii. In appointing new faculty members and graduate assistants, each academic unit of the University should seek qualified Negro applicants, including those whose academic development has been on our own campuses.
- iii. Each administrative unit of the University should inaugurate procedures to make certain that declared University policies regarding the Negro — in employment, in housing, in all spheres — become operating principles.
- iv. The University sponsor a series of lectures and seminars to present to the University community the Negro's contribution to American history, art, and learning (UIUC-1, p. 3).

Following the lead of this committee, the University began its involvement in the admissions question. Institutional involvement did not stop with admissions; the Committee on Human Relations and Equal Opportunity essentially made certain that the concerns of the minority student applicants permeated every aspect of University Services from admissions to the campus experience. In the spring of 1964, President David Dodds Henry made the following remarks during his "State of the University Address":

I believe that we must take more positive steps to help overcome the disabilities that stem from decades of inequality in our society, some of it hidden and unconscious until now...." ...as we build ramps for our physically disabled students, without violating our standards, I believe that we must offset some of the disabilities arising from racial and

social inequality by building psychological and special assistance ‘ramps’ for young people who need them (UIUC-1, p. 1).

President Henry’s remarks were in large part inspired by what the country had been witnessing via the new communications media: the television, as it related to the Civil Rights Awareness Movement. In addition, the country was mourning the death of its 35th president, John F. Kennedy, who had strongly advocated for the concepts of equality and Affirmative Action. The fact that Dr. Henry specifically spoke to the issues of racial and social inequality is critical. While his remarks were clearly in keeping with the social and political agenda of 1964, they were considered somewhat radical for such a conservative institution as the University of Illinois. President Henry’s address broke the ground upon which the policies and practices of Affirmative Action were erected during the next five years.

The committee subsequently submitted a report on November 30, 1964, that put forth the following goal for the University in its introduction:

...(the Committee) increasingly realized that special measures must be taken to expand substantially the enrollment of Negro and other disadvantaged youth in institutions of higher learning and to take vigorous action to make sure that those already in college complete their work and when qualified are encouraged to undertake graduate work (UIUC-2, p. 1).

One of the more strident recommendations of the report called for the development and implementation of an Affirmative Action program. Specifically, the committee stated, “It is not sufficient simply to affirm the principle of non-discrimination in all aspects of the University’s undertakings. Instead it is urgent to develop an affirmative program to help overcome handicaps stemming from past inequality so that all should have equal opportunity to develop their talents to their fullest capacity.” Thus, the committee went further than extolling the virtues of “equal opportunity” (Urbana-Champaign, p. 2). Upon the recommendations of the committee, the President of the University, Henry Dodds David, implemented the following steps:

1. President's Faculty Conference for 1964-65 to be devoted to the implementation of equality of educational opportunity.
2. Appointment of an experienced professional staff person to the Admissions Office to work with counselors and staff of high schools with predominantly Negro and disadvantaged youth enrollment to identify and encourage those with ability to continue their education.
3. A special articulation conference.
4. Experimental recording of racial information about students after admissions.
5. Appointment of high-level administrative officer responsible and reporting directly to the President to provide coordination and leadership to realize the University's goal of truly equal opportunity (UIUC-2, p. 1).

Special Educational Opportunities Program (S.E.O.P.) Established

The seed for the S.E.O.P. (Special Educational Opportunities Program) had been successfully planted and had begun to germinate. Several other institutions across the country, like Harvard, had established summer programs for incoming freshmen as pilot programs for disadvantaged students. The College of Liberal Arts and Sciences implemented a quickly designed program for "disadvantaged youth" during the summer of 1965.

University Shifts From Moderately Selective to Highly Selective

Prior to 1963 the University was at best a moderately selective institution. Table 4 on page 77 reveals that there was a significant increase in the percentage of freshmen graduating from the top quarter of their class from 1955 to 1965. In 1955, only 47% of the admitted freshmen had graduated in the top quarter of their class; by 1965, this number had risen to 84%. The University's decision to become more selective in 1963 serves as a perfect illustration of what is likely to occur if universities across the country are forced to subscribe to a numbers only admissions policy.

A similar shift in achievement was reflected in the mean ACT scores of the freshmen admitted in the fall of 1963 versus the freshmen admitted in 1965. Table 5 illustrates that in

Table 4

Distributions of High School Rank by Quarters of Beginning Freshmen Admitted at Urbana for the Fall Semester of 1955, 1960, 1962 and 1965

High School Rank	Percentage of Beginning Freshmen Admitted			
	Fall 1955	Fall 1960	Fall 1962	Fall 1965
Top quarter	47	50	56	84
Second quarter	28	29	29	15
Third quarter	17	16	12	1
Lowest quarter	8	5	3	--

Note. From *Quality of Entering Freshmen at Urbana* by John Bowers, April 1966, Office of the University Dean of Admissions and Records, University of Illinois, Urbana-Illinois, p. 30.

1963, 41 % of the admitted freshmen had a composite ACT of 23 or below and 11% had an ACT of 20 or below. By 1965, only 25% had an ACT of 23 or below and only 5 % had a score of 20 or below (Bowers, 1966).

Study Reveals No Remarkable Difference in Academic Success of Moderately Versus Highly Selective Students

The critical question, of course, focused upon whether or not the difference in ability would yield a difference in performance. A study conducted in 1966 (Bowers, 1966) found that there was no statistically significant difference in the first semester performance of the group admitted in 1963 versus the group admitted in 1965, suggesting that a strict adherence to

Table 5

ACT Composite Score Distribution for Fall 1963 and Fall 1965 Urbana Freshmen

ACT Composite scores	Fall 1963 Urbana freshmen		Fall 1965 Urbana freshmen	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
28 or higher	838	19	1633	31
26 - 27	847	20	1304	25
24 - 25	870	20	1006	19
22 - 23	763	18	665	13
20 - 21	507	12	348	7
Below 20	458	11	235	5
Totals 100	4283	100	5191	100

Note. From *Quality of Entering Freshmen at Urbana* by John Bowers, April 1966, Office of the University Dean of Admissions and Records, University of Illinois, Urbana-Illinois (p. 32).

numbers only during the admissions process would not necessarily yield those most likely to graduate from college. In the spring of 1966, the University of Illinois, operating under its highly selective model, had rejected 1500 student applications that did not meet their numbers criterion. The study conducted by Bowers (1966) revealed that selectivity was not a prerequisite to graduation, the ultimate goal of the University. It also revealed that the selection criterion that the University had established did not yield a diverse group of students. To this end, the University set out on a mission to intensify its efforts to diversify its student body.

In 1967, there were 330 Black students (undergraduate and graduate students combined) attending the University, representing 1.1% of the total population of 30,407 students (Wermers,

1975). The program served as the springboard for the development of a pilot program during the Academic Year 1966-1967 under the direction of Miriam A. Sheldon, Dean of Women. On February 23, 1967, Provost Lanier, in response to concerns expressed by Jean Hill, Associate Dean, and Miriam Sheldon, made the decision to extend the program for a second year. His rationale for extending the program was motivated by his desire to allow the newly appointed Chancellor (Peltason) to determine the future direction of the program.

Subsequent to the 1966 report, Richard E. Spencer submitted a proposal on behalf of the Chancellor's Ad Hoc Committee on Special Education in March of 1968. The proposal called for a program for the culturally deprived, noting that in recent years the University had admitted an increasing number of students who possessed the academic caliber that would warrant justification for the elimination of remedial courses and the provision for only those "academic problems that were periodic and short term in nature."

Spencer (1968) noted that limited University facilities would fail to meet the needs of students from disadvantaged areas. He further suggested that the University should establish programs and facilities for the students from disadvantaged areas while simultaneously maintaining a quality of instruction that was beneficial to the advantaged students. The proposal strongly suggested that the University consider looking at other factors besides test scores when evaluating applications for African American students because his research on African American students admitted to the UIUC in the previous year had revealed that there was not a high correlation between ACT-C test scores and first semester GPA (see Chapter 2 for explanation). Spencer had the insight to forewarn the University officials that they would face a huge challenge trying to weave these programs into the culture of the University as it existed at the time without lowering the self-esteem of the students or the instructors.

Spencer (1968) concluded by suggesting that scholarships be earmarked for Negro students out of an effort to attract them to the University. In the interest of quantifying the program objectives and stating them in more concrete, behavioral and measurable terms, Spencer stated that the objectives would be realized when: (1) the proportion of White to Negro students at the U of I matches or exceeds the proportion within the state population, and (2) the Negro failure rate is lowered to equal or surpass that of the White student--with equal quality of education across both groups. The initial aim of the program was to enroll Black students in phases until such time that they represented 10% of the freshman class (the proportion of Blacks in the state at the time was 10%).

University Community Embraces Plan to Diversify Campus

Through the embracement and subsequent implementation of this proposal, the University of Illinois made the decision to consider race in a positive manner in the admissions process in an effort to achieve diversity within the institution. Furthermore, Spencer cited the need for major fundamental alterations that the adequate implementation of the proposal would necessitate, combined with a need for substantial financial resources outside of the University.

He cited five major areas for change; they were outlined as follows:

1. *Recruitment* to obtain greater numbers of deserving applications, through a program of wider scholarship opportunities and greater communication and articulation between the university and high schools (particularly inner city schools.) The program will obtain recruitment of greater numbers of academically talented Negroes. Special consideration will also be given to graduates of Upward Bound Projects, the utilization of criteria other than test scores, such as recommendations by counselors, teachers, etc., recruitment from junior colleges, and returning veterans, and older, experienced citizens who have graduated high school some time in the past (Spencer, 1968).
2. *University Policy Changes* several academic policy decisions can be made for these students, such as altering criteria for academic probation by permitting a full year instead of one semester for meeting probation criteria; permitting success to be defined as "not on probation" rather than having to make up probationary

deficiencies in one succeeding semester, and permitting a reduced load during their freshman year (9 or 12 hours).

The University altered its policy with regard to academic probation allowing the student more than one semester to make their probation, as well as an option to petition for readmission if they were placed on a drop status. This particular change in policy was not only to the benefit of Project 500 students, but all students who entered the University. This policy change, as with several others, served as a girder in the fine structure that would eventually be erected to provide services for “disadvantaged students.”

3. *Admissions Policies* In addition to developing alternatives in admissions criteria, other conditions would seem helpful, including:
 - a. The early identification of Negro applicants; counseling relative to entrance examinations and procedures given; test fees paid, etc,
 - b. The development of a procedure whereby an early commitment for financial aid can be made, deposit can be paid or waived (sic) and provisions for student/parent visits to the campus can be arranged.
 - c. Early reservation of space in University residence halls for those students who may not be accepted until after University housing is routinely filled.
 - d. Reserving specific numbers of “slots” for Negro and culturally deprived students, for which they assume first priority as follows:
 - 1969 - 200 blacks enrolled (increase of 100)
 - 1970 - 300 blacks enrolled (increase of 200)
 - 1971 - 400 blacks enrolled (increase of 300)
 - 1972 - 500 blacks enrolled (increase of 400)
 - 1973 - 600 blacks enrolled (increase of 500)

The University established as a goal that it would reserve a specified number of “slots” for disadvantaged students at a number to be no less than 15% at both the Chicago campus and the Urbana campus noting that at least 2/3 of this number should be Negro students. Due to the fact that this goal was pre *Bakke* (1978), it was acceptable. In addition, the University noted that they would employ “alternative standards of admission for disadvantaged students instead of

current standards to accept students on an experimental basis.” Spencer (1968, pp. 10-11) suggested the following: “(1) greater numbers of high HSPR/ACT Negro students be recruited to fill part of the reserved slots for the Negro, and (2) part of the vacancies be filled by an experimental group, who have been accepted on variables other than the normal HSPR/ACT formula. Research be undertaken, then, to locate, define, measure and collect information relative to these variables. One group which would be tapped here are those that have graduated from high school some time ago or who can be persuaded to take the GED high school certification examination.”

The University was actually on the cutting edge of establishing services for the “non-traditional” student. Many of the students who were accepted into the program were indeed students who had previously attended junior colleges or who had graduated from high school some time in the past. To this end the University was assuming its role as the state’s flagship institution, in recognizing that there were other factors, which might yield information about the success of Black students with a higher percentage of accuracy.

4. *Special Services*

- a. Increased counseling, guidance, testing and tutorial services; guidance in test taking; diagnostic services; re-testing, etc.
- b. Orientation and pre-enrollment advising: Early evaluation of academic strengths and weaknesses and the development of appropriate advising and counseling. Special orientation programs during the summer with round trip paid.

The University established as priority the hiring of a counselor for the program and the establishment of a tutoring component to the program. The decision to hold the special orientation program for the S.E.O.P. students one week prior to New Student Week served as a small but necessary bridge to help prepare the University for the change that was about to take place on campus. The extent to which the University enlisted the services of the Black Student

Association that was in full operation on the campus prior to the arrival of the Project 500 students is illustrated in a letter sent to prospective students concerning fall orientation (see Appendix B, p. 225). The letter is both informative and warm; prospective students were provided with the opportunity to interface with current students prior to arriving on campus in the fall. The Black Student Association (B.S.A.), in the capacity of welcoming committee, served to reinforce the stability of the project in the minds of the prospective students and further served notice to the public that there existed a united front on the campus between the current Black students and the administration. This was an important move on behalf of the administration because they were able to allow community members and students who were already enrolled at the University an opportunity to be overtly involved in helping to provide a solution to the problem of low African American enrollment.

5. *Academic Advising/Curriculum* This program would make available to each student an academic advisor who was interested in and aware of the needs of the Negro students. His work would begin during the summer with the development of an appropriate class schedule with each student. He would be aware of the progress of the student during the semester and would have flexibility in adapting the college regulations to the student needs. A program of tutoring assistance would be available (Spencer, 1968).

General counselors were also needed who knew the student well and had the knowledge of resources available for problems the student might face outside of academic life. It would be the responsibility of the counselor to individualize the student and his individual needs and assist him in fitting into the appropriate areas of the program.

This area would not fully develop until later; clearly policy with respect to individual colleges would alter as it related to S.E.O.P. students. The Committee on Educational Policy submitted to the Faculty Senate on June 3, 1968, the following two proposals with respect to curriculum:

1. The Faculty of each department is urged to establish the following special course: for independent study, for experimentation or for seminar topics not treated by regularly scheduled courses. Requests for initiation of course and suggestions of areas of study may be made by students; course may also be initiated by faculty member. May be offered with approval of the faculty member involved and the department head. Credit shall apply towards graduation; credit toward satisfying particular College or Departmental Requirement is contingent upon approval by the appropriate College or Departmental Committee (UIUC-2, p. 9).
2. Colleges are urged to treat formal curriculum requirements with sufficient latitude to permit the development of individualized programs while maintaining those aspects of the curriculum which are indispensable to the area of specialization being pursued. No prior approval of the Senate shall be required for such modifications (UIUC-2, p. 10).

This historical information is extremely rich because it allows for a full understanding of the foundation upon which certain policy, practices and programs have been erected.

Chancellor Peltason, Clarence Shelley and Project 500 Arrive on Campus

The following events took place during the span of one year upon the arrival to the campus of Chancellor Peltason:

In October 1967, the Chancellor met with an informal group to acquaint him with current interests in the problems of disadvantaged students. His concern, so early in his tenure of office, has set the stage for multiple University efforts.

At the beginning of 1968, the Chancellor assigned to the Dean of Students, Mr. Stanton Millet, special programs for culturally disadvantaged students including the recruitment of a program director. Dean Millet assigned this function to the Dean of Student Personnel and Dean of Women, Miriam A. Sheldon. After an extensive search, a decision was made to recommend to the Chancellor the appointment of Mr. Clarence Shelley. His appointment was approved at the May meeting of the Board of Trustees upon the recommendations of the Chancellor and the President.

Throughout the year 1967-68, an ad hoc Committee on Special Education met under the chairmanship of Professor Joseph Smith. A comprehensive proposal was compiled by Dr. Richard E. Spencer and circulated to various offices. One of the aims of this proposal was to secure major funding from governmental or private agencies. It is the source document from which many subsequent proposals are being drawn. (Please see Appendix C, p. 226.)

On May 9, 1968, the Chancellor began a series of meetings with a task force to mount a program of recruitment, financial aid and supportive services for the anticipated 500

students. Immediate steps have been taken to set up the recruiting program with the assistance of the Black Student Association. Resources for financial aid to the students and program funding are being explored. An example is the proposal submitted to the Ford Foundation.

On May 29, 1968, a commitment made by the U.S. Office of Education which substantially increases the EOG funds available to the University. Consensus of the task force was secured to set up a preschool orientation workshop which subsequently was approved by the Chancellor in a news release appearing in the *Courier* of May 25, 1968. Preliminary exploration of the proposed program was conducted with some Negro students. Student involvement in developing the content and staffing of student positions have been delayed temporarily to permit students to complete final examinations.

The Martin Luther King, Jr. Fund drive was announced by the Chancellor on May 9, 1968, at the first meeting of the task force. Mr. David Eiseman has shown creative leadership in his appeals to faculty and students for funds to provide matching funds to support other financial aids.

The Senate Committee on Student Affairs appointed a Subcommittee on Racism to investigate the various aspects of Black Student life on campus. Their evaluation of campus climate is shown in their report and in a recommendation concerning fraternity and sorority membership selection, both of which have been forwarded to the Dean of Students.

University of Illinois student recruiters bring an unprecedented number of 600+ black students to the campus to enroll for classes during the 1968 fall semester. The students are all participants in the S.E.O.P. which has been classified as a program for the culturally disadvantaged and those indicating extreme financial need (UIUC-2, pp. 3-5).

The S.E.O.P. program was initiated at the climax of the Civil Rights Movement of the 60's. People, in particular, college students, were angry about a number of critical social and political issues, from the Vietnam War and poverty, to unemployment. There are some things that policy simply cannot address. The plans that the University had prepared in an effort to bring about change were not progressive. They were developed with a pre-*Brown* mind set, and consequently a cataclysmic reaction occurred when the progressive youth arrived on campus and met what they perceived to be an antiquated administration.

It was the view of many that the University had taken too long to implement an effective plan to cope with the injustices that President Henry spoke about during his address in 1964.

Clearly, it had taken the entire country too long to address the injustices forced to the forefront of the social and political agendas as a result of the *Brown* (1954) decision, fifteen years prior. In March of 1968, University officials had just approved a proposal to admit one hundred new Black students each year from 1968 to 1973, to peak at six hundred (600) by 1973. The death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., however, catapulted the University into action. Their plans were forced into a fast forward mode. Demands from the community led to the University changing their plan of accepting 100 Black students during the 1968 fall semester to 500 Black students.

During 1963, '64, and '65 the University's primary equal opportunity efforts were directed towards increasing the enrollment of Black students. Initially, the committee's primary function was to investigate grievances and instances of discrimination in employment (UIUC). On August 2, 1968, this committee was made special advisory to the Chancellor. It was in this capacity that the committee assumed functions "to further an Affirmative Action program through various means including dialogue, with University and Community groups" and to study in the University the problems of equal opportunity in American life, with the objective of encouraging the accumulation and dissemination of new knowledge as well as exploring means of applying such knowledge (UIUC).

Policy Change

The only policy change that came about on behalf of the University was a policy directive submitted on behalf of the Board of Trustees which stated that 10% of the freshman class could be students from special needs backgrounds. The policy states: "For experimental and special programs, space may be reserved at each campus for applicants of different qualifications, not to exceed ten percent of the previous fall term entering freshman class on that campus" (Board of Trustees, April 15, 1970). (See Appendix D, p. 227.) This policy remains in

place today. Several studies would be conducted to assess the efficaciousness of the new program and to (a) evaluate the role of the University in helping to ensure its success, and (b) determine how, if at all, the implementation of the program had impacted the University.

Reassessments, Re-Evaluations, and Recommendations

In 1970, two years following the implementation of Project 500, Vice Chancellor Frampton requested that a panel be established for the purposes of clarifying and documenting the core problems, which had arisen on campus as a result of the implementation of Project 500. The panel consisted of students, staff, faculty, and a representative from the community. They were instructed to conduct a series of hearings during both the day and evening hours in various locations on the campus and in the community for the purposes of soliciting feedback and recommendations on how to address some of the problems that the University was now facing. The panel reported the following findings:

1. Evidence of “Cultural Shock” on behalf of both Black and White students.
2. The Need for a Black Cultural Center on the Campus
3. The Need for a Course in American Culture
4. The Need for a Multi-Purpose Center In the Community
5. The Need for the Provision of a Variety of Leisure Time Activities
6. The Need to Sensitize Staff

Once again, the University’s efforts to connect with the community and conduct activities that were commensurate with its mission proved invaluable. While several of these suggestions materialized into University culture, such as the African American Cultural Program, several never came to fruition. The continuous effort on behalf of the administration to involve all potential stakeholders in the planning and evaluation phases of this diversity movement served to

foster positive alliances both on the campus and within the local community. It also served to help channel some of the feelings of anger, frustration and disenfranchisement that many of the Black community members had expressed.

In November of 1973, a report entitled “Progress In Affirmative Action and Equal Opportunity” was conducted. The report indicated that the Jane Adams School of Social Work and several other units within the Graduate College had adopted a model similar to the one utilized for Project 500. Jane Adams tripled their enrollment of minority students from 1970 to 1973. Both the College of Law and the Engineering Department established a separate Equal Opportunity Program (UIUC-2).

President’s Award Program (P.A.P.) Arrives on Campus

The second big University effort to recruit minority students came in the form of the P.A.P. program. Under the leadership of President Stanley Ikenberry, this program was implemented for the purposes of bringing more minority students to the campus. Black and Latino students with an ACT-C score of 24 would be provided with two years of financial need and those with ACT-C of 26 would be provided with four years of financial aid. Stanley Ikenberry, during his interview for this research, stated that he had concern that the UIUC was not tapping into some of the state’s highly qualified African American and Latino students. He single-mindedly made the decision to implement the President’s Award Program, and the University units that needed to do so, such as Housing, simply followed his lead.

Policy issues relating to recruitment, academic policy, admissions policy, academic advising, special services, and curriculum were readjusted in the wake of the implementation of the S.E.O.P. program and the University’s decision to consider race in its admissions process in an effort to enhance the diversity of the University. The President’s Award Program has been

described as an 80's version of Project 500. The University of Illinois has been on the cutting edge of knowledge for a long time. Dr. Spencer's (1968) analysis of his research led to some very critical recommendations. Specifically, he strongly suggested that there might be other factors impacting the academic performance of minority students. More importantly, his empirical data did not yield a high correlation between ACT-C and first semester GPA for minority students.

Current Admissions Policy Uses 20 Factors (Including Race)

The University of Illinois currently uses four basic criteria to help determine admissions decisions at the University of Illinois: High School Courses, ACT or SAT test scores, High School Rank at the end of six semesters, and critical information submitted in a personal statement. There are at least 20 other factors that might impact the admissions decision at the University of Illinois. They include: race, graduating from a high school with fewer than 100 students, coming from an area of the state which sends few students to the U of I, graduating from an area in the state which sends few students to college (rural or inner-city), graduating from a competitive high school, having parents and grandparents who are U of I alumni, being the first college bound student from a family, or overcoming hardships or circumstances that would explain a lower GPA or class rank and such things as numerous relocating or the death of a parent (Heckel, 2002).

Interviews

Each of the interviewees provided insight into the University's decision to diversify based upon their respective interactions with the University either directly or indirectly. The first two interviews were conducted with two local historians from the Champaign-Urbana

community. They were able to put many of the thoughts and emotions of the local Black community into perspective. Dr Joseph Smith, one of the first Black professors to arrive on the UIUC campus and one of the architects of the Project 500 programs, shared rich information from both an administrative and practical point of view. Four of the interviews were conducted with former students: one who attended the University during the 1940's; another who attended the University during the early 1960's and would later serve in the capacity of recruiter for Project 500; another who was a local resident of Champaign-Urbana when he received the opportunity to participate in Project 500; and a student from inner city Chicago who also received an opportunity to participate in Project 500 and would later become a Judge. Finally, four administrators were interviewed: two of them have been affiliated with the University since the 1960's and remain employed at the University. The final two interviews were conducted with a former President of the University and the current Chancellor of the University. The time covered in the interviews spans a period of 80 years. To this end, each interviewee was asked a set of questions unique to their time and experiences at the University of Illinois.

Interview Response Legend

1. (Hy: Black UIUC Students: Local Black Community): History of how the relationship between Black students on the UIUC campus was established with the local Black Community.
2. (Hy: Race Relations UIUC): Historical facts pertaining to African American Students and the UIUC
3. (Hy: Project 500): Historical facts pertaining to Project 500 and Experiences of students and Staff that were affiliated with the Project 500 Program.
4. (Inspiration): Thoughts shared by interviewees that pertained to people or incidents that provided them with inspiration.
5. (Reflection): Thoughts shared by interviewees that pertained to reflective thoughts, specifically with regards to questions asked about the past thirty or fifty years.

6. (Michigan: Race Conscious Admissions): Thoughts and emotions shared pertaining to the two Michigan cases that are currently before the Supreme Court
7. (UIUC-Policy): Information shared pertaining to policy at the UIUC
8. (Diversity UIUC): Information shared by the interviewees pertaining to the topic of diversity.
9. (Merit): Information shared by the interviewees pertaining to the topic of Merit in the field of education.
10. (Inequality): Information shared by the interviewees pertaining to the topic of Inequality in the field of education.
11. (Extrapolative Thinking): Information pertaining to thoughts that were shared by the interviewees that forced one to engage in a higher order of thinking.
12. (PAP): Information shared by the interviewees that pertained to the President's Award Program.

The First Three Interviews – UIUC – Prior to 1968

The first three interviews were conducted for the purposes of receiving some insight into race relations on the UIUC campus prior to 1968. Two of the interviewees were local historians (91 and 89 years of age) and one opened her home to African American students who attended the UIUC. The other interviewee was one of the students who actually lived in the home of this historian who opened her home during the late 1940's to the mid 1950's. Several critical pieces of history emerge:

1. African American students were welcome in the classroom but not in the campus town community. Sororities, fraternities and campus vendors, like the barbershop and eateries on campus did not welcome African American students.
2. The African American students did not allow the racism and segregation that was being practiced to distract them from accomplishing their main objective to receive a quality education.
3. The local African American community embraced African American students who attended the UIUC.
4. As early as 1932, local residents, both Black and White, gathered together on

- campus to discuss ways to ameliorate discrimination in the community and on campus.
5. There was very little indication of resentment on behalf of these three individuals. They manifested an outstanding ability to transcend the harsh, dehumanizing aspects of racial prejudice. They were each astutely aware of the prejudice that was replete in their environment; however, they continued to move forward. They each exuded an aura of tranquility during their respective interviews.
 6. The campus was not prepared to cope with the arrival of the Project 500 students. The original plans had called for the students to be gradually phased into the University at the rate of 100 per year.
 7. It was a smart move on behalf of the campus to allow for the UIUC students and local community leaders to serve in the capacity of recruiters so as to relieve pent up frustration and tension.
 8. The relationship between local Black community and Black UIUC students that had been established prior to 1968 proved both healthy and useful.
 9. The people and the connection with people are what propelled students through this conundrum. Each of the students, Lou Irons, the "Judge," and Nate Banks, referred to people by first and last name, people who had been instrumental in seeing them through the completion of their education. Dr. Joseph Smith talked about how Chancellor Peltason was committed to the goals and objectives of Project 500.
 10. High School counselors from Chicago and the Champaign-Urbana area did not appear to have an instrumental role in encouraging African American students to attend the UIUC.
 11. Each interviewee expressed shock that America is still grappling with some of the same racial, social and economic issues from 1968. Some even indicated that we are now worse off than before.
 12. The determination to succeed was driven as much by an impetus from the family and community as it was the individuals themselves.
 13. The Project 500 experience was a unique and stressful time for the students.
 14. The media spread negative propaganda about the Project 500 program and students, and symbolized for the students the uphill battle that they faced.

First interview - Mrs. Doris Hoskins (local historian).

We had meetings on campus as early as 1932. We called them International gatherings so we could stop discrimination and try to make things better but it was a struggle. (Mrs. Doris Hoskins)

- SK Did you open your home to the students as others in town? (*Hy: Campus, Community Connection*)
- DH No! I was a kid when all this was happening! But I knew people who did and most of them are deceased because it's been like 75 years ago, well not quite 75 but 70 years ago. There were many families who opened their homes. In one of the homes she kept students and her home was the headquarters for the Omega Fraternity. The students attended some of the Champaign churches and participated in positions such as musicians, and on church programs.
- SK Was it the responsibility of the students to find their own private housing? (*Hy: Campus, Community Connection*)
- DH Oh yes! Even early on that was the student's responsibility. Their parents would usually come ahead of time to be sure that they had a place of residency, unless it was a woman, and sometimes she would get a job and live in the home of a faculty member, and that happened a lot. Many of the fellas worked in the Fraternities as waiters and they would give them their meals.
- SK What is your impression of how the students felt not being able to live on campus? (*Hy: Race Relations*)
- DH At that time, there was no place to eat on campus; there was one little restaurant on Wright Street. They could not eat in certain areas or even use the local Barber Shop.
- SK Even though they were University of Illinois students? (*Hy: Campus, Community Connection*)
- DH It did not matter! But it didn't deter them from being good students. They did their studying and graduated after four years. There were times we had to live within the "system" until times got better. We had meetings on campus as early as 1932. We called them International gatherings so we could stop discrimination and try to make things better but it was a struggle.
- SK Finish this sentence: "50 - 60 years later, I'm still amazed that...?" (*Reflection*)
- DH That we don't accept as much responsibility in trying to build the community, as we should!

Second interview - Louis M. Irons (UIUC student during 1940's).

Truthfully I never thought about it. It didn't seem to be a major concern at the time. Just coming out of the service, I was mostly concerned with getting my education! (*Louis M. Irons*)

Louis M. Irons is a retired Educational Administrator. He was a track star while in attendance at the UIUC. He graduated from the University with a BA in 1950, MA in 1952 and a PhD in 1979. As an undergraduate student he resided in the home of a local Champaign resident.

SK Do you think you would have survived the University of Illinois had it not been for your ability to live with Mrs. Gray? (*Hy: Black UIUC Students: Local Black Community*)

LMI Yes, I would have. It might not have been quite as nice. Being a veteran. If I had wanted to, I could have gone to live in the veteran's dorm.

SK What inspired you to return to complete your advanced degrees?

LMI For my Masters — As an underclassman, I finished early. So I just kept going eventually earning my PhD, after working with the Federal Government staff. I was encouraged by several people to resume my education. In particular, one instructor at the University of Illinois, Dr. Rodgers really inspired me to get my PhD.

SK Why did you call Mrs. Gray “Momma Gray?” (*Hy: Black UIUC Students: Local Black Community*)

LMI Because she treated us like we were her kids.

SK Finish this sentence “Fifty years later I’m shocked I still believe....” (*Reflection*)

LMI I still believe that you can get a good education!

SK Did Parents encourage you to pursue college? (*Inspiration*)

LMI Not exactly, they indicated they wanted me to go to college, but they didn't really pursue it. I decided that I would attend college after I got out of the service.

SK “Fifty years later I’m shocked that I no longer believe...” (*Reflection*)

LMI The University of Illinois is just not my favorite school any more. They have not made the kind of increases in the number of Black students at the University.

SK What would be the three most deleterious effects of a Supreme Court ruling against race conscious admissions? (*Michigan Case: Race Conscious Admissions*)

LMI 1) It would turn minority students away. 2) It would take away the advancements we could make in a multicultural society. 3) We're going to see setbacks across a number of areas, particularly in academia.

SK What were your thoughts about not being able to integrate on the campus? (*Race Relations*)

LMI Truthfully I never thought about it. It didn't seem to be a major concern at the time. Just coming out of the service, I was concerned with getting my education!

SK When did you make the decision to attend College? (*Inspiration*)

LMI I didn't want to work for the Illinois Owens Glass Co. even though I had an offer to work during the summer. I wanted more for myself.

SK Do you recall overt instances of racism on campus? (*Race Relations*)

LMI Not many, there was this one science instructor who would not give any of us Black guys an A.

Third interview - Mrs. Lucy Gray (opened home to African American students).

Anyway, things have changed, people have changed, and we all have changed! I think people are getting smarter, but I don't know if it's doing them any good or not! There's not enough caring for one another, in my opinion. (Mrs. Lucy Gray)

Lucy Gray is an 89-year-old retired antique storeowner. She resides in Champaign, Illinois. During the late 1940's she was one of several African American families who opened their homes to Black UIUC students who were not welcome on the UIUC campus. She is currently a mentor and a volunteer!

SK When did you decide to open your home to African Americans Students? (*Hy: Black UIUC Students: Local Black Community*)

LG After the war, some of the veterans, young men, came to the University and there was no place for them to stay! White people didn't let you into their homes and of course the dorms, you couldn't afford them! And so they stayed off campus! And most of them in order to eat, they worked at Fraternities and Sororities; the house was wide, we had waiters and that's how they got to eat! And they ate well

because they were dishwashers and they went to school with the students. They couldn't eat with the other students; they couldn't live with the other students; they had to live off campus.

SK Did they ever talk to you about how that made them feel? I can go to school with you, but I can't eat with you? *(Hy: Race Relations)*

LG It didn't matter! The boys that were here that we kept, and we kept boys for many years, they never complained. You know at that time you were so used to being segregated that you didn't think anything about it, and the boys that came here, they came for an education! They were very serious and this was the first opportunity that they had and they couldn't afford to go to school if they hadn't been veterans. So, people opened up their doors to the boys!

SK How was it that it came about that boys would live with you and your family? *(Hy: Black UIUC Students: Local Black Community)*

LG Well, because we needed the money and the boy's fee was \$5 a month to live! Well that's all they could afford! And I don't think there were any problems, I never heard all the years that we kept boys, that there was any problems from the kind of men that came here to go to school at that time!

SK This was in 1946 right, and when did you stop keeping them? *(Hy: Black UIUC Students: Local Black Community)*

LG Yes, I stopped keeping them when my husband passed! But they were nice boys, gentlemen! I don't think anybody that kept the students ever reported problems. They opened their homes to the boys, a lot of times they'd eat with you and your family. You know they didn't have money to spend. Most of them got jobs.

SK Did they have a key to your home?

LG Oh yes! They were at home! The boys were right at home. Several of the Negroes had opened their homes to these boys, took them in as family! I mean nobody had any problems, you just didn't think about it! You were glad to have them!

SK You were glad to have them because they were going on to college?

LG Yes, everybody, that took them in. If anybody had an extra room then the students were welcome.

SK Do you remember whom it was that talked to you about whether or not you could do this? Was it through your church that you talked to someone? *(Hy: Black UIUC Students: Local Black Community)*

- LG Well, everybody knew everybody! I really don't know! I guess it was by word of mouth! I can't remember. The University had nothing to do with it! As far as I can remember, it was by word of mouth.
- SK How did it come about that you were willing to open your home to these young men? (*Hy: Black UIUC Students: Local Black Community*)
- LG The boys would just come and knock on your door! I can't remember exactly how it came about. They just came, the Negro neighborhood of course, where all the Negroes lived. Where I'd say 99% of them lived in the north end! I can't say how we got our first young man, but I say, we kept him as long as my husband was living! They lived with us; if we had anything to eat they sat right down and ate with us! If you wanted to go some place, they'd get in the car! I mean they were like family! I don't think anybody that welcomed these young men treated them any other way! But as family! I never heard of anybody having any problems at all! Yes, we gave them a key! Most houses had one bathroom, we had one child of our own and we all shared that one bathroom. There were never any problems!
- SK Did girls come and live in the homes with people?
- LG Yes, they did! And one time there was a sorority here. AKA (Alpha Kappa Alpha) was the first one that I remember. There was another sorority, I can't think of the name of them now, but it was about 5 or 6 girls but I think they stayed with somebody. I don't remember who kept the girls but there weren't that many girls! In fact there weren't that many men!
- SK So after the war, that's when they came?
- LG That's when the Negro men came, the majority of them! The rest of the time there were only maybe, maybe a handful of them! For one, they couldn't afford it! \$5 a month for a room was pretty expensive! And if you didn't have some way to buy your food, well, it was just a different way of living! Today, you wouldn't have two strange men come to your house, give them a key to walk up in here...well, I guess you can say that I really feel sorry for this generation! I told somebody the other day, I'm glad my time is short, because I don't know how much longer I can stand the way the kids act today.
- SK Do you still keep in touch with any of the young men who stayed here? (*Hy: Black UIUC Students: Local Black Community*)
- LG No! No, I used to hear from all of them at Christmas time but you know what, the last four years, I haven't heard from any of them! It's strange after all these years, they would still come and visit even after my husband passed, sometimes the boys would come back and bring their friends and bring their parents! But I don't know what happened, whether they're not here or live a different kind of life now.

When you get older you will find that you have a lot of new friends but not a lot of old friends especially living close.

SK You were saying that several of them are doctors?

LG Oh Yes! And lawyers, very fine in fact, I saw one about two years ago; he had some sort of a celebration. I went and met one of my first boys! He was one of my first boys! I suppose now, one of my favorite young men, but he's dead now. He and his mother and father used to come and spend their vacation with us even after he graduated. As I said people were family! We were really family! You kept them! You just made room for them! The boys slept on the floor so their parents could stay when they visited! Yeah, it was family!

You weren't treated like someone who rented a room, and if it was anything to eat, we all sat down at the table and ate. Everything was just wonderful as far as I know. I never heard any complaints from any other people, of course we were younger then, but I never heard anybody complain about anything!

SK The young man you mentioned named Lou Irons, where is he?

LG In Chicago!

SK He's in Chicago now?

LG Yeah! He is the last young man that I come in contact with!

SK Any more thoughts before we end?

LG Anyway, things have changed, people have changed, we all have changed! I think people are getting smarter, but I don't know if it's doing them any good or not! There's not enough caring for one another, in my opinion. At that time most of the boys went to church and it just was different!

SK Did you feel like you were contributing to their education?

LG Yes. I was happy to do this at that time but at that time we were doing it because they asked us. Churches asked people to open up their homes because the University was accepting veterans. That's how we got signed up. They had no place for the Negro students to come on campus!

Project 500-1968 (UIUC's Foray Into Race Conscious Admissions)

The next five interviews were conducted to provide firsthand knowledge of the intricacies that were involved in the development and implementation of Project 500 in 1968 when the

UIUC made a commitment to bring 500 Black students to the UIUC campus. Dr. Joseph Smith discusses the hurdles he encountered and conquered as the University prepared for the arrival of the Project 500 students. Project 500 students, Nate Banks and the “Judge,” discuss the different paths they took to arrive at the UIUC. Project 500 recruiter and UIUC student, William Savage, shares wonderful insights pertaining to the sit-in at the Campus Union and subsequent arrest of some 300 plus students. Clarence Shelley the diplomatic guru who arrived on campus in just enough time to implement 500 during the fall of 1968, shares thoughts from the perspective of an administrator. Each of the interviewees were very open and candid with their remarks so the interviews flow in a very fluid manner. The following themes emerged from these interviews:

1. Project 500 was a program that came to fruition as a result of a demand.
2. The campus was not prepared to cope with the arrival of the Project 500 students. The original plans had called for the students to be gradually phased into the University at the rate of 100 per year.
3. It was a smart move on behalf of the campus to allow for the UIUC students and local community leaders to serve in the capacity of recruiters so as to relieve pent up frustration and tension.
4. The relationship between local Black community and Black UIUC students that had been established prior to 1968 proved both healthy and useful.
5. The people and the connection with people are what propelled students through this conundrum. Each of the students, Lou Irons, the “Judge,” and Nate Banks, referred to people by first and last name, people who had been instrumental in seeing them through the completion of their education. Dr. Joseph Smith talked about how Chancellor Peltason was committed to the goals and objectives of Project 500.
6. High School counselors from Chicago and the Champaign-Urbana area did not appear to have an instrumental role in encouraging African American students to attend the UIUC.
7. Each interviewee expressed shock that America is still grappling with some of the same racial, social and economic issues from 1968. Some even indicated that we are now worse off than before.
8. The determination to succeed was driven as much by an impetus from the family and

community as it was the individuals themselves.

9. The Project 500 experience was a unique and stressful time for the students.
10. The media spread negative propaganda about the Project 500 program and students, and symbolized for the students the uphill battle that they faced.

Fourth interview - Joseph Smith (one of the architects of Project 500).

The University was like a Procrustean bed. (Joseph Smith)

Joseph Smith was one of three Black professors to be hired by the University of Illinois in 1964. He was hired in a dual capacity, as a professor of English and Assistant to the Dean of Admissions and Records. He taught and worked at the University in various capacities until he retired from his position as a professor of English and Associate Chancellor in 1994.

SK Share with me some of your thoughts when you first arrived at the University.
(Hy: *Black students on UIUC campus*)

JS It was very important to keep as much anonymity as possible for the Project 500 students so that they would not be singled out. I came to the University in August of 1964 in the capacity of Assistant to the Dean of Admissions and Records. When I arrived a grad student in Labor and Industrial Relations had just completed his dissertation on 'Negro' students at the University of Illinois and he reported that they constituted about 1% of the student population. The University had taken very seriously the NAACP's objection to the University requiring that a picture/photo be submitted with all applications. Therefore, once they ceased this practice they really did not know how many Blacks/Negroes were enrolled at the University.

SK What was your responsibility as Assistant to the Dean of Admissions and Records? (Hy: *Black students on UIUC campus*)

JS Prior to my arrival at the University they did not go into the City of Chicago to recruit. My job was to open up Chicago because it was believed that I could relate to both worlds. I specifically requested that I not be boxed into city schools. I wanted to branch out into other areas of the state in search of the "disadvantaged" student that we were looking to bring to the University. I pushed for those White students who were culturally disadvantaged so as not to isolate and embarrass Blacks. At the time that I came to the University it was moving towards becoming a more highly selective institution. During this period, due to the bulge in the population, there was a flood of students in the market for college, the private schools such as Harvard and Yale refused to expand to accommodate this increase of students. Consequently, the influx of students forced the state schools to

expand and further upgrade their standards so as to become more appealing to well-to-do students who could not gain admittance to private schools. I talked to a sociology professor on campus and asked him if there were any White students in the state with the profile of top 10% of their graduating class and ACT scores of 15. He responded 'yes, in the southern part of the state, but you can forget it because they aren't coming here. They know they don't belong here.' I went back to Admissions and Records and told them that I knew where I could find White students who met this profile. They ignored me. (Joseph mused over the denotative definition of 'disadvantaged' being defined as either Black or White and the connotative meaning for 'disadvantaged' meaning 'Negroes' for White people.)

I quickly discovered that the University of Illinois had a bad image. I tried to teach them (the University) about why and how. Attrition was awful. I did not feel good about having Black students come here and being spun out. If you did not make a certain grade point average, you were put on academic probation for the following semester. If you did not make the grade point average, you were dropped.

SK How did the University respond to your findings? (*Hy*)

JS The first major effort to help the students survive the University was the LAS summer Work Study Programs. Approximately 30 students already admitted for the fall term were invited to come during the summer for special help in math and English. In addition, they accepted jobs to compensate for finances they might lose during the summer.

There was a big meeting with Provost Lanier and the deans, who were a bit "stand-offish." They were concerned about maintaining standards. The Provost challenged them to change the policy and to allow students to continue as long as they made progress in overcoming probation. All of this was setting a stage for a larger number of programs. We then began thinking of supportive services such as tutorial programs.

In 1967, the University began to prepare a proposal of financial aid and academic assistance for about 300 students. Once students came here, we anticipated that they would be enrolled in various colleges. Assistant and associate deans would interface to make certain that the college had some responsibility and wanted to be a part of the planning. There were various degrees of reception, such as 'nice thought, but...' they weren't hostile, but we witnessed passive resistance. I insisted that the University should provide support to the students, if it expected me to continue bringing them here. The tendency to push, pull or rush these students into programs and patterns recently adopted for admitting the best in the state was the tragic flow in the early admission of so-called disadvantaged students.

SK How did the concept for Project 500 come about? (*Hy: Project 500*)

JS Upon Dr. King's death in April of 1968, the students demanded 1,000 Black students be enrolled. It awoke the sleeping giant. I tried to tell the students about the program for 300 students. I tried to tell them about attrition. They did not want to hear it. Unless they had 1,000 students, they did not want to listen. "If they only stay here for one semester, bring them here," the students said. Such revolutionary thoughts and action led to the acceleration of the program that had been outlined for 300 students.

The administrative view and the students' view were at opposite ends of the pole.

We had learned small things from the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences' Summer Program that allowed us to lay the groundwork for Project 500. We also had a lot of support from a cadre of people who considered themselves to be supportive of the ideals of the program. But, for the most part it was like a 'Procrustean Bed.' Overwhelmingly, the University tried to force the fit (between the Project 500 students and the University). It was a system of policy, of doctrine, into which a group was arbitrarily, ruthlessly, or violently forced to fit a preconceived pattern. It took a long time for the University to secure financial aid, personnel, policy and practices that would enable this group of students to survive.

Project 500 established a \$500 financial aid package that wasn't enough. Deans Sheldon, Hill and I agonized over where money would come from. No one knew the trouble that came with trying to initiate a project such as this one. In my opinion, the University hadn't made a real commitment. The Assistant to the President, Bill Williams, listened to my frustrations over lunch one day and a short time later I got a call from the President's administrative assistant, George Barge, after listening to me agonize over the plight of these students. President Henry provided an additional \$500 to the Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grant (SEOG) for the students. When Chancellor Peltason came in 1967, he hit the ground running.

SK Why do you say he hit the ground running? (*Hy: Project 500*)

JS Well, he was committed to the goals of the program and he always found a way to persuade the President. Based on the information that Dean Sheldon, Don Boney and I provided the Chancellor, he could see that the University had already started down this road...particularly, after my appointment in 1964 upon the recommendation from Mr. Jones, a Black Trustee, who had insisted that the University get someone to establish the "Chicago Connection." The Chancellor said, 'if we are going to bring them (the 500 "disadvantaged" students) here, we have to support them.' This executive decision opened up the system, and it was under Chancellor Peltason's leadership that through ups and downs the so-called Project 500 flourished.

Fifth interview - William Savage (Project 500 recruiter).

We ask for nothing, but we demand everything. (William Savage)

Chancellor and Director of Affirmative Action. He is currently employed at the University of Pittsburgh as Assistant to the Chancellor and Director of Affirmative Action.

SK How was it that you became a recruiter for the project 500? (*Hy: Project 500*)

WS I was Educational Chairperson for the Black Student Association (BSA) in 1967-1968. And as such, I provided leadership for BSA's advocacy for increasing significantly the number of Black students at the University. It was our position that, in addition to being the right thing to do, a critical mass of Black students at the University would lead to an improved campus climate and, in turn, improved retention. Following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King in the spring of 1968, BSA's advocacy turned into demands. One of the demands was a call for the immediate recruitment of 500 new Black students to the Urbana-Champaign campus, nearly ten times the number of Black freshmen students who entered the University when I did four years earlier in 1964. Given my experiences with both BSA and the Office of Admissions and Records and as a senior, I was asked by the Office of Admissions and Records to serve as the coordinator of the Chicago area recruitment effort during the summer of 1968.

SK When was the BSA (Black Student Association) formulated? (*Hy: Black Student Organizations*)

WS During the 1964 academic year, Black students at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign established a campus chapter of the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People). In 1967, the members of the NAACP chapter dissolved the organization to establish themselves as a chapter of the more militant Black power organization known as C.O.R.E. (Congress on Racial Equality). The following year, 1967, C.O.R.E. evolved into the BSA.

SK So, when did you have time to recruit? (*Hy: Project 500 Recruitment*)

WS The student driven recruitment effort took place during the summer of 1968. The Office of Admissions and Records, under the stewardship of Joseph Smith, set up an office for us on the University's then Chicago Circle Campus (University of Illinois at Chicago) and we, about a dozen of us, commenced to recruit. We were paid as student employees. We were on a mission, and our mission was to bring 500 Black students to the Urbana-Champaign Campus.

SK Who trained you to recruit? (*Hy: Project 500 Recruitment*)

WS The Office of Admissions and Records provided us with some basic background information about the University and what to look for in recruiting students to the Urbana-Champaign Campus. There were about a dozen of us, initially going back to the high schools from where we had graduated. Some ground had already been broken by early efforts of Joseph Smith. So, there were already key people in place at schools like Farragut, Marshall, DuSable and Wendall Phillips to help us with recruiting. The applications would come to our office in Chicago or we would personally bring them in and then forward them to the Urbana-Champaign Campus Office of Admission and Records for processing. This sometimes meant literally going to the high schools and getting the necessary transcript and ACT information. By the end of the summer we, along with help from Black University student representatives spending the summer in other parts of the country, had successfully recruited over 600 students, predominantly Black, but also Hispanics and others, mostly from the Chicago area, but also from places such as East St. Louis, Philadelphia, New York, and Champaign-Urbana.

SK So, what happened during New Student Week when you guys got arrested? (*Hy: Project 500*)

WS The arrests actually occurred the week before New Student Week. The University had made arrangements for all of the Project 500 students to arrive on campus the week before so that they could address any questions or concerns prior to the arrival on campus of all new students. All of the Project 500 students had been housed in the relatively new, and air-conditioned, Illinois Street Residence Hall (ISR) during this special orientation. But at the end of the week, when the orientation was over, the students were to be moved to different dormitories across the campus and some were to be in temporary rooms. While some were to remain in ISR, the vast majority had to pack up their belongings and depart to a new location. Many students were very unhappy about the prospect of moving because they had made friends and bonded with their roommates and the other students there at ISR. The students were reasonably comfortable and content with their current living arrangements, and so many of them didn't want to leave. Actually, as I think about it now, I suspect there were a lot of psychological and emotional challenges, such as fears and doubts, facing many of the students. We were too young to fully realize it then, but that surely contributed to the anxiety about leaving ISR as well as other student concerns, such as financial aid.

The students, including some of the student recruiters and members of the BSA, decided to go over to the area of the Student Union designated as the 'Free Speech Area' to voice their concerns. Several student spokespersons addressed the group. Then, guess what? It started to rain. So we went inside the Union to avoid the rain. The student leadership contacted campus administrative representatives and told them that we wanted the Chancellor to come to the Student Union to hear and respond to our concerns. We stated that we would not leave until the Chancellor showed up. We were, consistent with the times, militant in our demands and our approaches. As a matter of fact, our BSA's motto was

“We ask for nothing, but we demand everything.” Well, we waited and waited, but the Chancellor never came.

The Union closed at midnight. And, shortly after midnight the police arrived at the Union. The police asked the female students to leave the Union, so that they could be escorted to their residence. We, the student leadership, were agreeable to this for their safety. However, when the women got outside, they were arrested and put into police wagons and trucks. Then the police, attired in riot gear and with long wooden clubs in their hands and police dogs, entered the Union to arrest the remaining students. Some students escaped; however, the majority of us, more than 360, were arrested. The new students were charged with mob action, while the continuing students, like myself, were charged with two counts: (1) mob action, and (2) inciting to riot. Basically, it was a scary situation. We were put into about four different jails across Champaign-Urbana, and some were held in a temporary site at the football stadium. I’ll never forget what the jail guards gave us for breakfast: fried egg sandwiches and black coffee. Most of us refused to eat and instead gave our food to the inmates who were there when we arrived. Everybody was released the next day, and the charges were eventually dropped.

SK What happened after that? (*Hy: Project 500*)

WS Everybody was still quite upset after we were released from jail. And the media reports seemed only to exacerbate the situation. I’ll never forget this cartoon on the front page of one of the newspapers in Chicago. It depicted a dog wearing a sweater or collar with Project 500 on it and biting at a White hand with the caption below stating something to the effect of “biting the hand that feeds them.” We were enraged. The caption in and of itself was bad enough, but the fact that we, the students, had been depicted as dogs was even worse. Eventually, things began to relax and communications began to open up; the other students began to arrive and classes began the following week. The incident definitely served as one of the most interesting, if not the most exciting or arresting, icebreakers between students and the administration.

SK Finish this statement, “36 years later I’m shocked that I no longer believe... “

WS That the achievement of full equality would occur during my lifetime.

SK Finish this statement, “36 years later I’m shocked that I still believe...

WS That the Nation still has a long way to go in achieving full equality.

SK What in your opinion would be the three most deleterious effects of a Supreme Court ruling that race conscious admissions processes are unconstitutional?

WS (1) A decline in the representation of underrepresented minority students, in particular at those colleges and universities with highly competitive, selective

admissions criteria that rely heavily on standardized test scores. (2) Institutions would be less racially and ethnically diverse over time. (3) These same institutions now produce some of this country's most promising leaders. Therefore, such a ruling would decrease significantly the number of minorities benefiting from the leadership and network opportunities provided by these institutions.

Sixth interview - Nathaniel Banks (Project 500 student).

There was a contradiction: on the one hand, everybody wanted to be classified, first, as Black and on the other hand, they wanted to be just accepted as a human being. (Nathaniel Banks)

Nathaniel Banks entered the University of Illinois in 1968 as an S.E.O.P. student. He received both a bachelor's and a master's degree from the University of Illinois. He is currently employed at the University of Illinois as the Director of the African American Cultural Program.

SK Prior to enrolling at the University of Illinois as a student in 1968, describe your thoughts and feelings about the University.

NB Primarily I didn't think that the university was willing to let a student such as myself in. The University was deemed, as elite and I didn't think I had much of a chance of getting in.

SK What kinds of things were your counselors communicating to you about the University of Illinois? (*Inspiration*)

NB I didn't get any feedback from counselors about the University of Illinois. I can't remember having any contact with counselors about school. There was a Black counselor who encouraged Black students to go to Black schools. My parents encouraged me to attend Danville Community College. I wasn't all that interested in pursuing an education. Several years after I graduated from high school I was encouraged to attend the University of Illinois and to contact Dee Palmer. I got this information from hanging out at the Union. Everybody on the north end knew something was about to happen at the University. I primarily attribute this to the student recruiters and community activists. Well that's where I got the idea that I would not be able to attend. There were a number of students who I knew who had attended who had ended up flunking out. The perception in the community was you needed to know somebody to get in and even if you did you weren't going to make it through.

SK Upon arrival on the campus what was the thing that struck you the most? (*Hy:Project 500: Student Perspective*)

- NB I was just glad to see all those Black folks there. I guess the sense of community and camaraderie. I was always at the University so I was a part of that subculture emanating from the University of Illinois. Therefore, when I became a student there was from my perspective no discernable difference because I had already been on campus so much.
- SK Finish this sentence “Thirty years later, I am shocked that I no longer think...”
(*Reflection*)
- NB Thirty years later, I am shocked that I no longer think that the University is an enemy of African American people. When we came on campus, other than Shelley and several other people, we understood that we had no allies. I, along with the other Black students, thought that the University was systemically out to get Black students or hostile to Black students.
- SK Finish this sentence “Thirty years later, I am shocked that I still think...”
(*Reflection*)
- NB I am shocked that I still think that, thirty years later, despite what I just said, racism is still very prevalent on this campus. And, I still cannot wholeheartedly recommend this campus to an African American student as it is still a hostile environment, and, unless a person has a strong constitution or is highly motivated, this campus is not necessarily the best place for them.
- SK How did you feel being classified as an S.E.O.P. (Special Educational Opportunity Program) student? (*Hy: Project 500*)
- NB I don’t think I felt anything being classified as an S.E.O.P. student. It was a non-issue for me because everybody I hung out with was in S.E.O.P.
- SK Why do you think so many of your peers had such an issue with being classified as S.E.O.P. students? (*Hy: Project 500*)
- NB All I wanted was to get in and get out as opposed to being accepted. I viewed the University as a means to an end. Many of the students from Chicago fervently sought to be accepted by the University and therefore looked for University approval, and being classified as S.E.O.P. was a hindrance to that. A lot of students just wanted to be regular students. There was a contradiction: on the one hand everybody wanted to be classified, first, as Black, and on the other hand they wanted to be just accepted as a human being. This contradiction led to people having a problem being labeled as S.E.O.P. For me, I literally saw S.E.O.P. as the thing that got me into school. I could care less about the University accepting me.
- SK What, in your opinion, encouraged you and your peers to persist and matriculate through the University despite the fact that you were in an environment replete with tension? (*Hy: Project 500*)

NB For me it was my family. I would say for most of my peers it was their family as well. We represented the vanguard; we saw ourselves as the front line of the struggle. For most of us, we were the movement. We were desperately trying to make a future. Maybe that's a difference between us then and students now. Even though many of the students had not participated in the marches in the south (which I had been fortunate enough to participate in), we knew that our being in school and being successful was directly related to the movement. So, even though many of us resented the pressure placed upon us by our parents to obtain certain standards (i.e., educational accomplishments), we were still motivated by those standards.

SK Can you describe your thoughts in 1968 about the S.E.O.P. program?

NB As a student my thoughts about S.E.O.P. were very shallow and uninformed. I did not think a lot about S.E.O.P. as a program. But, I do remember the S.E.O.P. staff members, as an 18-year-old you don't care about a program; you don't make the connection that people like Shelley, Walter Strong, Delores Palmer and Kip Cox are part of the program. I looked at them as people to help me get what I needed. I didn't really find out about the programmatic or institutional intent of S.E.O.P. until much later.

SK Describe your thoughts about the program as you reflect now on your experience as an S.E.O.P. student in 1968. (*Reflection*)

NB What I see now is that there were people who were dedicated to my educational achievement and that they saw their job more as a calling in the struggle for civil rights and did their job in that fashion.

SK What is it that hindered you from seeing the program then as you do now? (*Reflection*)

NB Maturity. It's a developmental process. I don't think that there is much difference between the way students thought then and the way they think now. They connect with individuals not systems and that's the way I think it should be...when they talk to students they know less about the Office of Minority Student Affairs and more about Greta Hogan, Stephanie Jefferson or myself because we are the ones providing the help that they need.

SK If there was a sanctuary for you on campus in 1968 where was it?

NB Probably, the Illini Union in what would be now called the commons area; that's where a lot of the Black students hung out. It would later become several places, one of them being the Black House, I.S.R. and one of the residence halls on Gregory. Those places ending up being the place where a lot of Black students came to relax.

- SK What is the greatest legacy that Project 500 left on the University?
- NB A commitment to helping other people. The people who started Project 500 at the administrative level were committed to helping others succeed. The students who were a part of Project 500, were also committed to helping others. When I look at them now or hear of what they are doing, I find that many of them are in public service.
- SK What would be the three most deleterious effects of a Supreme Court ruling against race conscious college admissions? (*Michigan: Race Conscious Admissions*)
- NB Number one, it would have a direct negative impact on the second generation of college students. Many of them are in schools in the suburbs, and their test scores and rank are not going to be competitive enough to allow for admission to such institutions as the UIUC. Number two; it would decrease the Black middle class. If students are unable to secure quality education, their earnings will be significantly less. Third, it will also have a deleterious effect on low-income children; their lack of preparation will hinder their ability to compete with mainstream students, many of whom come to the University with almost a semester's worth of Advanced Placement work.
- SK Any closing thoughts?
- NB That was a unique time. We were all products of that time but developmentally we were not that much different from the students I see today.

Seventh interview - The Judge (Project 500 student).

I was gonna somehow stay at the Illinois University once I got there! I was going to stay there one way or another! I was going to go beg the dean, I was gonna tell him I used up all my money, I was willing to do anything as far as a job was concerned, to stay at the University. I knew my parents couldn't afford it. *They were going to have to force me out of college once I got to any university!* I had in my mind that I was going to stay there no matter what! I was going to find a way to get an education! (The Judge)

The Judge entered the University of Illinois in 1968 as an S. E. O. P. student. He received a Bachelors Degree (1972) a Masters Degree (1974), and a Jurist Doctorate (1977) from the University of Illinois. He is currently employed as an Associate Judge.

- SK Prior to enrolling at the University of Illinois as a student in 1968, describe your thoughts and feelings about the University. (*Project 500*)
- TJ Prior to 1968, I didn't have a lot of thoughts or preconceived notions about the University of Illinois. I had heard more about the local University of Illinois affiliate, "Illinois Circle Campus" they used to call it, and as far as I knew that was the University of Illinois. My arrival on campus was my first real exposure to the University of Illinois.
- SK What kinds of things were your counselors communicating to you about the University of Illinois? (*Project 500*)
- TJ Well, my counselors really didn't tell me anything about the University of Illinois. I didn't get a lot of high school counseling as far as colleges were concerned. As I think back in 1968, they weren't really giving out a lot of information about universities or about college opportunities at my high school. I don't think I had more than one counseling session and I believe that session was in my junior year. So, all the information I got about colleges, I pretty much found out on my own just by making personal inquiries and sending out a lot of applications to various universities.
- SK Upon arrival on the campus what was the thing that struck you the most? (*Project 500*)
- TJ Upon arrival on the campus of the University of Illinois, the thing I believe struck me the most was a very noticeable shortage of African American people on campus. It was strange because my high school, Harrison High School in Chicago, was a predominantly Black school with Hispanics comprising the next largest group. My grammar school and junior high school classmates were one hundred percent Black, and so it was strange to see so many White individuals walking around campus environment, and I was attending classes with them.
- SK Finish this sentence "Thirty five years later, I am shocked that I no longer think..."
- TJ I am shocked that I no longer think that the course of Black History is on track. Thirty-five years ago, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated, and it was his death that gave the major impetus for the Project 500 program. I thought that at this point in history, we as a people would be further along than what we are today. But I didn't think about the impact or I didn't really realize what impact the drug subculture would have on the Black community as a whole. Now I realize that we are much further behind in the year 2003 than we were in 1968, as far as Black progress is concerned. The Black Civil Rights Movement has arguably not come to a halt, but definitely to a very noticeable slow-down. During the 1950's and 1960's, Black leadership abounded, but the lack of effective leadership is quite evident today. I believed, and I just thought that we would have been much further along as a race of people both from an educational, employment, and

social standpoint. I just don't see the steadfastness and the urgency of progress being fostered and nurtured as I did in 1968. I had more hope for a positive change in 1968 than I have in 2003.

SK Finish this sentence "Thirty five years later, I am shocked that I still think..."

TJ Thirty-five years later, I am shocked that I still think that society is officially holding African Americans back with the same or greater fervor as African Americans holding themselves back. I thought that by this time in history, we would have progressed far enough as a society that conditions would be different. Basically, we still live in a society that is segregated, a society that is discriminatory, and I don't see any hope of a future where all of that will be eradicated. I thought that in my lifetime I would possibly see a color blind society, but now I know I definitely will not see discrimination and bigotry eradicated and I am shocked by this, some thirty-five years later.

SK How did you feel being classified as an S. E. O.P. (Special Educational Opportunity Program) student? (*Project 500*)

TJ Initially, I had no problem with it, because I think when we originally got down to campus the University's opinion was that they might have done better with recruitment, but the University came to accept our presence on campus, even if it did not accept us. As far as whether or not they wanted us down here, I initially felt since the University started the program, they must have wanted us here, and wanted us to be successful in this educational and cultural experiment. But, I came to find out later that the term S.E.O.P. became synonymous with a badge of pity and later with resentment. Sometime after they got us here, there was a desire, a covert desire for us to fail. I honestly believe that conditions were put in place but for that purpose. I don't think there was a big solid foundation put under the things that were put in place to assist us in achieving. Although S. E. O.P. students came from all over the country from different backgrounds and different scholastic situations in their various cities, by and large we all had something in common and that was *that our educational preparation to come to this major university, institution of higher learning, was deficient without resources put in place to assist us*. Our preparedness for college was partially a function of institutional and educational racism in our various separate high schools. The general consensus on campus came to be that we would rather have the program called the E.O.P. program, without the designation of "special," because of the negative connotation that special came to denote.

SK Why do you think so many of your peers had such an issue with being classified as S.E.O.P. students? (*Project 500*)

TJ Initially, I don't think S.E.O.P. had that big of a negative connotation *Bakke*, but as time went on, certain U.S. Supreme Court landmark decisions such as the decision changed perceptions and opinions. In the *Bakke* decision, the United States Supreme Court entertained oral arguments that Blacks were given

preferential treatment in college admissions to the detriment of White students. Many White students came to resent the fact that their friends or relatives weren't allowed in the University, although they may have had higher SAT or ACT college entrance scores than some admitted Black students. Ergo, S.E.O.P. became synonymous with Blacks being given an advantage over White students; and I guess they perceived this as reverse discrimination; and thus the program was seen in a negative light. White people did not like the idea that Black students were being treated special. Black students did not want to be seen as being treated special, special meaning "inferior," or being given unmerited favor at the University.

SK What in your opinion, encouraged you and your peers to persist and matriculate through the University despite the fact that you were in an environment replete with tension? (*Inspiration*)

TJ After high school, my main focus was to attend college, graduate, and find a decent job to support my family and myself. Nothing could make me lose focus of my goals. Whatever you go through to achieve your goals is worth the sacrifice despite the adversities that are sure to come. All Black students with whom I conversed shared this philosophy.

I was going to attend college regardless of whether or not I had gotten into the S.E.O.P. program. Before I had heard about the S.E.O.P. program, I was already accepted at Southern Illinois University. My tuition and housing expenses had already been paid. I was guaranteed one semester there, because I had worked and saved my own little money and prepared to enroll at Southern Illinois University until when I heard about the University of Illinois program. I switched to the University of Illinois program because of the financial advantages. I didn't know about Project 500 or what it really meant until I actually arrived on campus. The drive to achieve, regardless of the adversities, was a common goal among my peers.

SK Can you describe your thoughts in 1968 about the S.E.O.P. program? (*Project 500*)

TJ When I arrived on campus I was ecstatic! I was grateful for the S.E.O.P. program, because I was desperately trying to get into college! As aforementioned, I had saved my money, and had planned to attend Southern Illinois University. I figured once I got there to Southern Illinois, I was going to stay there one way or another! If necessary, I was going to go beg the Dean and other administration officials to somehow facilitate my stay, once I used up all my money. I was willing to do anything as far as a job was concerned to stay at the University. I knew my parents couldn't afford it. I was going to somehow stay at Southern Illinois University once I got there! I was determined to find a way to get an education, once I got my foot in the door! So this opportunity to go the University of Illinois was nothing short of a blessing! The S.E.O.P. was something that God just sent to

me! I was thankful for being there! I was the first person in my family to attend college.

I was just thankful to be at the University of Illinois, so once I got there I really wanted to apply myself to make sure I was successful because I knew I had other younger brothers and sisters back home in high school, and I knew I was going to be a path finder and trailblazer for them. There were many positive and some negative experiences that I had with the S.E.O.P., but the positive greatly outnumbered the negative, I am just grateful to those individuals who went before me to make S.E.O.P. possible. I had two siblings, one brother and one sister, to attend the University of Illinois in a class behind me. Additional siblings attended other colleges later due to my influence and prodding. The S.E.O.P. had an influence on my entire family, and we performed well coming from a family of 10 from the West side of Chicago, who heretofore never had anyone to go to college.

SK How did your parents relay that drive in you as it related to education?
(Inspiration)

TJ Well, my parents knew the value of an education. Both were from the south. Both were former sharecroppers. My father had a fourth grade education and my mother graduated from the eighth grade. Although they didn't go very far in school because of conditions in rural Mississippi, they knew the value of education in our society. They wanted to make sure that their children also knew the value of an education. They mandated regular school attendance, good study habits, and good grades. Oft times, they were not able to help us with our homework, but they made sure that we knew assistance was available from teachers or at libraries. They had an undying devotion to providing a religious environment for their children. A religious background can instill certain values in you that no other source can provide.

SK If there was a sanctuary for you on campus were was it? *(Inspiration)*

TJ There were two places that provided sanctuary for me on campus. They were the Illini Union and the intramural sports building. The Illini Union has a good bowling alley, and the intramural sports building satisfied my desire as a sports enthusiast. These pastimes, took my mind off of the war in Vietnam, my studies, and the campus politics surrounding S.E.O.P.'s very existence.

You had to adjust and deal to the real and psychological fact of being the only Black student or minority in your various classes. Believe it or not, this builds up a lot of stress on a young person's mind. You are under a great deal of pressure to socialize, in addition to achieving in school. Being part of the majority group may not provide an insight into the psychological effects that a minority student may experience on campus. Sanctuaries or retreats are definitely necessary on campus.

SK Do you feel you would have been accepted at the University of Illinois were it not for the S.E.O.P. program and them looking to accept students as a function of their race being Black?

TJ If it wasn't for the S.E.O.P. program I believe that I would have had a much harder time on campus, because despite not really wanting the program to work or even to have it on campus, I think that the people in authority, decision making people, didn't want to be seen as not encouraging the program. So I think they would oftentimes make decisions that were politically correct, if not genuine. I think that some of the assistance that I received would have been presence without S.E.O.P., but S.E.O.P. alleviated many problems. The S.E.O.P. made my life on campus much more palatable.

SK What would be the top three most deleterious effects of a Court ruling stipulating that Universities could not consider race in the administration of college admissions? (*Michigan : Race Conscious Admissions*)

TJ The top three deleterious effects, as I see them, would be: (1) lower Black and other minority enrollment; (2) minority Black participation in the scholarship process would go down; and (3) fewer Black and other minority applicants to the colleges and universities.

The numbers would just go down across the board if a decision of that sort did come about. It would be deleterious to society in general because it benefits overall society to have a cross section of society attending America's various colleges and universities.

SK What were the two most positive effects of you attending the University of Illinois? (*Project 500*)

TJ The two most positive effects of my attending the University of Illinois were: (1) I became the college trailblazer for my immediate family; and (2) my experience was a beacon of light for neighbors, friends, church members, and others. My experience demonstrated to them that anyone could attend college regardless of financial status. We all came from the same family, the same neighborhood, and the same environment, and if one can go to college and be successful, then the rest can also go to college and succeed. My experience not only had an effect on my immediate family but my extended family, friends, and friends of friends, neighbors, as well as people at my church. People started inquiring about college and attending college who heretofore had never given a serious thought to college. Everyone was talking about the different ones who now were applying to and attending college. My idea of a college education just took off! A lot of people have since that time, gone to college. There were at least 100. Eight of my nine sisters and brothers, about 10 cousins, about 20 people from the church, and people from the neighborhood were included in that 100. That was 30 years ago. Since then, their kids, neighbors, and other relatives have been influenced to go to

college. We are now into at least the second generation or third generation of people who have gone to college that I know of, who went as a result of my attendance in college at the University of Illinois in 1968 under the S.E.O.P. program. So my experience in S.E.O.P. has influenced, multiplied over the years, and has touched the lives of many people.

SK What is the greatest legacy that Project 500 left on the University?

TJ The greatest legacy that Project 500 left on the University of Illinois is that people only need a fair chance to succeed. Give people a fair chance to succeed, and they will succeed, and the more you help them the greater chances of their success. If you admit people into the University of Illinois that are qualified and driven, they will be successful. Now the student's rate of success depends on the other systems that you put in place to assist one in being successful. There will be a certain amount that will become successful if you just leave them alone. But the rate will go up if you put in place certain systems and assurances of success.

SK Any closing thoughts?

TJ I have had a lot of chances to reflect on Project 500 and I would just like to thank Dean Clarence Shelly and the various people who I do not know who had the foresight to start and nurture a program such as Project 500. I know there were a lot of Black students demonstrating on campus to get more Blacks on campus. I know there were a lot of people within the University itself that had a lot to do with the program coming about, and so I would like to thank those known and unknown individuals for just that seed that was planted. They had the notion that there should be more Blacks on campus and given the fair opportunity and assistance from the University, success would be eminent. I am just grateful to those who went before me to make my success possible.

I believe that it has proven to be true over the years, that Project 500 engendered many successful people. I am just thankful that the University of Illinois was in the forefront of implementing such a program and I am happy to be a graduate from there. When people talk about the University of Illinois, I am proud to say that I am an alumnus because of my overall experiences at the University of Illinois. The rewards from the S.E.O.P. program have been boundless.

Eighth Interview - Clarence Shelley (Director Project 500).

Never ask someone "What should I do? Watch what they do and do that. (Clarence Shelley)

Clarence Shelley was hired as the Director of the S.E.O.P. in 1968. He has worked in various capacities of Administration since his arrival in 1968. He currently works as the Associate Vice-Chancellor for Student Affairs at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign.

SK What was it that struck you about the position with the University of Illinois as Director of the S.E.O.P. program in 1968 that made you accept it? (*Project 500*)

CS Well it was a much bigger school than Wayne State and I thought it had much more potential for impacting policy nationally.

SK How was the program described to you at the point of your interview? (*Project 500*)

CS Well there was no program to describe to me. What they described was what they promised, intended, and hoped to do. The only thing that was in place was a recruiting program. The University had agreed to recruit, identify and enroll 500 disadvantaged students in the fall of 1968.

SK After hearing that there only was a recruiting program, what was it that struck you?

CS How little had been done prior to this date (May, 1968) to prepare the campus for the arrival of the students.

SK In your mind what kinds of things would need to be in place to prepare the campus and the community for the arrival of the students? (*Project 500*)

CS Academic advisement for the students, financial aid packaging and awarding for the students, identification of staff, connections made with the various colleges, housing and the community in general, health services, (for the purposes of arranging for physicals), law enforcement (given the climate of this time — Chicago, Detroit and Gary riots) it was important for law enforcement to have some desensitization to urban Black students who were socially, culturally and politically from different from local students.

SK What were your thoughts when you first met with the students? (*Project 500*)

CS I interviewed in May and I came back because the students demanded that they interview me. I initially declined. I asked them if the B.S.A. (Black Student Association) had interviewed the physics faculty. They said no. I knew I would come back but I wanted to make a point. They told the students. What did they say? He telephoned me back and said the students really want to meet you. I said okay. I'll come back. They were fairly well organized. They appeared over extended. They were trying to be students and recruit...and they knew that if they

didn't stay on task that the whole thing would fall apart. They were very sharp. They did not know the components of a successful EOP (Educational Opportunity Program) or how to create them or identify them.

- SK Looking back what would you say was their (the students enrolled prior to Project 500) greatest strength? (*Project 500*)
- CS Their cohesiveness, and singleness in purpose their energy.
- SK What would you classify as their greatest weakness? (*Project 500*)
- CS A lack of confidence and trust in the administration.
- SK Describe the administration that was responsible for policy-making decisions in 1968? (*UIUC-Policy*)
- CS In terms of this project you mean? Yes. The Chancellor (Jack W. Peltason) was very committed to the program. He was very public and consistent with his support as was the Dean of Student Personnel, Miriam Sheldon, in whose office the program was housed. So, because those two put the full weight of their influence, staff and resources behind the program it made support from the campus and faculty much easier to obtain.
- SK What was the single most important thing that you asked for as an administrator and received? (*UIUC-Policy*)
- CS The authority to make policy and programmatic decisions for the program with the authority of the Chancellor.
- SK What happened the night the students were arrested after the sit-in at the Union? (*Project 500*)
- CS The students had been living at ISR for one whole week for orientation prior to New Student Week. The students had a meeting at ISR, kind of a farewell meeting, a lot of bonding, etc. The Black Student Association called for a rally on the south porch of the Union to confront the administration about (1) aid that hadn't arrived, and (2) housing concerns etc. And then it started to rain so they moved to the south lounge.
- SK Where were you at this time?
- CS In and out. They didn't want to talk to me. I could not answer their questions. They wanted to speak to the Chancellor. The Chancellor never came. The Chancellor's Cabinet held an emergency meeting. I was part of the meeting. They asked me 'What was the mood of the group?' I said it changed. It alternated from frolic to fear to fatigue. The Chancellor asked me 'What should I do?' I advised him to go. Most of the other cabinet members said 'Don't go.' In those days,

administrators did not deal with demonstrators; they sent several communications to the students via the Dean of Students, Stan Millett. The questions were about financial aid and housing and these were all relevant to him. Stan told the students that he would communicate to the Chancellor what the students had to say. The students said 'no.' they wanted to speak to the Chancellor. The security people wanted to call the police at 10 o'clock. I told the Chancellor to just wait.

The lawyer said that because the students were technically not trespassing, so we couldn't do anything. For some of the cabinet members, this was their first demonstration...so, we were listening via a speakerphone in the Student Services Building to what was occurring in the Union.

SK Overwhelmingly, what was the flavor of the group? (*Project 500*)

CS It appeared that the more tired they became, the more impatient they grew. No one left the Student Services Building with the exception of me and the Dean of Students, Stan Millett. After a while, I became tired of going back and forth, so I just stayed over there. I explained to the Chancellor that I did not want to be seen by the students as a message bearer. The Union closed at twelve o'clock, unless you were doing business in one of the student offices on the second floor.

SK Were the students aware of this? (*Project 500*)

CS The BSA officers knew. That's where they were.

At twelve o'clock the University filed arrest charges and the police came. The students were given an order to leave and disburse. They did not. They police said, "You are under arrest." Over three hundred S.E.O.P. students were arrested and charged with mob action.

SK How did you feel? (*Project 500*)

CS I expected it. I felt the student leadership was making a political statement at the expense of the students. Many students were afraid. Many of them had been asking me "What they should do?" Never ask someone "What should you do?" Watch what "they" do and do that. Some of the students knew. I told them to go home. It was a terrifying experience for them. They were screaming and crying. I spent the majority of the night going back and forth between four different jails...the West Side of the stadium was a holding site...Champaign, Urbana and the county jail. Students were yelling all kinds of things like... "Why didn't you tell us?" "...Don't tell my mother." Vernon Barkstall and I made some connections about securing money to post bail for the students. The law faculty was very supportive. They explained to us that there could be a single fine imposed for mob action. Several of the local Black ministers put up their churches for collateral. The rest is history.

- SK What was the thing that served as the largess for the students? (*Project 500*)
- CS No administration wants confrontation. They seek conflict-avoidance as opposed to conflict-resolution. That's why they acted the way that they did because they wanted the administration's attention. They believe in rational discourse. The students were aware that the administration sought to avoid conflict where possible. Some students believe that conflict is necessary. There were many slogans to confirm this fact.
- SK Finish this statement "30 years later I am shocked that I still think..." (*Reflection*)
- CS I still think the program succeeded because of the errors made in the preparation for it.
- SK Elaborate.
- CS We made so many mistakes we had to learn from them. For example, we had to learn about financial aid, housing, etc. If we already had this information in place we would have had no reason to learn it. We had to become almost a self contained little college.
- SK Finish this statement "30 years later I am shocked that I no longer think..." (*Reflection*)
- CS That the collegiate experiences for minority students are solely educational, rather they are as much or more social, cultural or political.
- SK What is the greatest legacy that Project 500 left to the University? (*Project 500*)
- CS The project assured that the University would never be the same and that the students would change as much as the University would.
- SK What would you say was the single most motivating factor to continue your work with this program when things became overwhelming? (*Reflection*)
- CS The reluctant acceptance of the fact that education is not a product, rather a process that applies to institutions as well as individuals, knowing that my work was not done because the process never ends.
- SK What would be the three most deleterious effects of a Supreme Court ruling against race conscious admissions? (*Michigan — Race Conscious Admissions*)
- CS It would undo a lot of the ongoing and successful efforts to diversify the student body. Two, it would further polarize the public, creating unnecessary tension, ill will, and confusion among the general public, specifically students and educators. Three, it would have a demoralizing effect on students presently enrolled in those programs and further stigmatize them.

The Administration Speaks

The final three interviews were conducted with persons who are either current or former UIUC administrators. Each has something in common: a commitment to the ethos and values associated with diversity. Dr. Ira Langston is a sage of sorts, and exhibits the ability to blend the confluence of economic, social and political conditions into practical solutions to very real problems with regard to recruitment and admission of minority students. Several of his responses were placed into the “extrapolative thoughts” category. Former UIUC President, Stanley Ikenberry was very candid and open in his recantation of the birth of the Presidents Awards Program (P.A.P.). He does not hesitate to share how he agonized for several years over the lack of diversity on the UIUC campus. Chancellor Cantor worked with Lee Bollinger at the University of Michigan. She has been an advocate of diversity since her arrival on the UIUC campus. The following issues emerged from these three interviews:

1. Things have changed tremendously over the past 40 years with respect to the identification and selection of prospective students.
2. Project 500 and President’s Award Program (P.A.P.) served several capacities in that they opened the eyes of many on how to create positive learning environments for minority students and how to effectively cope with the diversity issue on college campuses.
3. The UIUC made a conscious decision to become a more open campus in both 1968 and again almost 20 years later in 1986, when it found that it was reverting back to old ways that were not conducive to yielding a diversified campus.
4. There exist gross differences in the way that students are being taught in primary and secondary schools, and we are not directing enough money towards doing anything to change this situation. This in turn is severely impacting academic preparation at the post-secondary level.
5. The strides that have been made with regard to diversity in curriculums have not been expansive enough to adequately address the issue of diversity.
6. There is no proxy for race.

7. Universities should retain the right to control who obtains admission to their respective institutions.
8. The concepts of merit and diversity should be juxtaposed.
9. If the Supreme Court rules against race conscious admissions in the Michigan case, it will be virtually impossible to create diversity on college campuses.
10. The lack of diversity on college campuses would serve as a loss for all students.

Ninth interview - Dr. Ira Langston (Office of Policy Analysis over 30 years).

You can say we've come a long way. And if you go back and look at things from the sixties, we've come a tremendously long way! But we are still a long way short of where I thought we would be and it's probably going to take a lot longer to get there, especially if groups like the Center for Individual Rights keep opposing efforts! (Dr. Ira Langston)

Dr. Ira Langston is currently an Assistant Professor of Educational Psychology and Director of the Office of Academic Policy Analysis at the University of Illinois. He arrived on campus in 1966 and was hired in the Office of Academic Policy Analysis in 1967.

SK What kind of factors portended admissions decisions when you arrived in 1963? (*Admissions Policy*)

IL Starting in about 1963, there was tremendous enrollment pressure as a result of the baby boom. The institution was trying to become more selective. They started studying the use of high school rank and test scores as admissions criteria. They might have considered them before but they weren't using them in a prediction equation at that point. The admissions test score wasn't required before 1963. If they were using the high school rank, it wasn't the same way it was used after that. After that the University used a formula -- a selection index. So, to a large degree the decision to admit was based on what the formula said.

SK What in the world did they use if they didn't use the test? (*Admissions Policy*)

IL High School grades, somebody's intuition, etc. You know, things used to be a lot different then than they are now. Remember, that it's only been recently from a historical perspective that large portions of the population went to college. Before World War II, there was a smaller pool from which to select students. So, the factors looked at for admission included did they go to a good high school? Did they take the right courses? Things like that! When I first came to the University,

the freshmen orientation speech said, "...look at the person on your left, look at the person on your right, one of the three of you will make it."

Now they say, "...look at the person on your left, look at the person on your right, and look at the person in front of you. One of you is not going to make it!" So it's different now! The University has changed. It has become more selective. But, the things we've created -- we talked about this yesterday -- we don't know how they were created. A bad budget situation can destroy things we don't know how to rebuild! We have a student culture that has changed from one where if you didn't make it, you didn't make it, to one now where if you come here it's an embarrassment if you don't make it! The students all expect to graduate now and even the ones who drop out often stay in town trying to figure out how they're going to fix the situation and get back on track working toward their degree again.

Somewhere during the sixties and seventies there was a change in the culture and we don't even know how it was done. There was a period from 1963 to 1968 when the University became more and more selective, so that by 1968 it was pretty close to where it is now. Project 500 was started in the first year that the University was about as selective as it is now. In 1968, the freshman ACT mean was about 26 and the mean high school rank in class was about 87 or 88, which is pretty close to where we are now. Before we started trying to recruit minorities, the focus was on how to skim the cream off the top of the applicant pool. There was enrollment pressure and we were trying to get the very best. There was very little thought to how to recruit anybody. So all the policies and procedures had to be rethought! How could we make the University friendlier? How could we make the University more accepting? How could we recruit students? How could we make them want to come?

SK So recruiting was a factor in the early days? (*UIUC-Policy*)

IL Not really! The baby boomers were going to college and you didn't have to recruit! It's sort of like the salmon run! When the salmon are running, you don't need bait! So, it has changed a lot! Project 500 really was a turning point. The University rethought what it wanted to be and then looked at its policies and said these won't get us where we want to be and it changed them. Some of the early changes are still with us, such as the Board policy that allows up to 10% of the freshmen class to be admitted on different criteria. That policy meant you didn't have to have the highest ACT score before you could consider other factors. So that was a major policy change by the Board of Trustees.

SK When did we start using the high school and rank criteria?

IL 1963!

SK Why is it that the Board implemented that policy in your opinion? (*UIUC-Policy*)

- IL The policy allowing different criteria for admission was a recognition that we weren't going to get African American students if criteria were the just the highest High School Percentile Rank and admissions test score.
- SK Oh, so that policy was implemented with that thought in mind?
- IL Right! And project 500 really went a long way toward opening people's eyes about who we were enrolling and what impact it would have on the institution.
- SK Project 500 was the impetus for the policy? (*UIUC-Policy*)
- IL Well, I'm not sure. There may have been something else that drove all of that. You know that the national political landscape included all kinds of forces, but Project 500 certainly resulted in the changing of a lot of policies. Many people on both sides thought a lot of mistakes were made the first year. The University was pretty naïve about what was required to integrate the institution. It wasn't just a matter of grabbing 500 people off the street and telling them to go to it. And so, it was a learning process on the part of the institution. Therefore, project 500 might not have been the driving force but it was certainly a change factor.
- SK What are the two most salient factors that have evolved on the UIUC campus as a result of the decision to implement project 500? (*UIUC-Policy*)
- IL One of them clearly is a shift to diversity. And the other is a change in how the University approached opening the campus to African Americans. They perceived that Project 500 had made a lot of mistakes, so they rethought the whole process. And that rethinking continues today, because the external forces keep changing. How to get to the desired result continues to be an evolutionary process.
- SK When you say the external forces keeps changing on us, what does that mean? (*Extrapolative Thoughts*)
- IL Initially, we, after *Bakke*, there was a honeymoon period, and I guess looking back on it, nobody paid attention to what rules you were actually following. Everybody was moving ahead with an agenda. Since then, conservative groups have started trying to change that, so there have been, as you've documented well in your material, a series of court cases and other attempts to pressure us not to use race in admission. We've adapted different models such as, for example, the President's Award Program (P.A.P.) to try to recruit African American students with the high test scores and high class ranks who had to a large degree been going out of state. The Legislature, the Board of Higher Education, and our Board change from year to year and so do their views of how important it is for the University to bring minorities into the University family.
- SK Were there any other policies other than those specific issues relating to minorities or African Americans that you feel were significantly impacted as a

result of project 500? A policy for example as it relates to woman or equity in general? (*UIUC-Policy*)

- IL Yes, Project 500 was the opening round or the initial volley that led to the whole new way of thinking about diversity and including women and other groups. One of the little ironies about the Chief controversy is that the American Indians were the last group to be included due to the small numbers. They may be one of the ones getting a lot of attention at the moment but they really were the last ones to be included.
- SK Prior to the implementation of P.A.P describe the campus climate as it related to the consideration of such factors as race and gender in the admissions? (*UIUC-Diversity*)
- IL Prior to Project 500, race wasn't considered. They didn't collect race; in fact, I believe there was even a law that prevented us from collecting race. One of the little anomalies in the 1960's was that the government started requiring us to report race but we weren't allowed to collect it. So we had a year when the government made us report race but we couldn't collect it and there were some fairly humorous attempts where, at registration for example, they tried to have people look at students as they went by, so they could estimate how many students were of what race. And that didn't work at all, so the federal government said it was okay to collect race! So, prior to Project 500, race was absolutely not considered at all! Gender was collected, but I don't think anybody thought about using it. Some of the areas of the University, such as science and engineering, were probably hostile to women. Perhaps not intentionally so, but in the sense of: "What are you doing here? Every body knows women are supposed to be interested in cooking and housekeeping, not engineering!"
- SK I noticed that in Engineering, they had a program designed to attract women and things of that nature. Was that all part of this outgrowth as well? (*UIUC-Diversity*)
- IL Right! And again that's where the subtle things came into play; if you had to have a lab partner, a woman would be the last person to get picked! Nobody was openly hostile, but it sent a message and those are the things that are hard to fix!
- SK What kinds of factors influenced policy making today that did not influence policy over thirty years ago when you first arrived on the campus? (*UIUC-Policy*)
- IL There are two general categories, and one of them is probably causing the other. We have a lot of politically active groups representing people. There are Black caucuses in the Legislature, political groups in Chicago, other groups all over, and they all present their views on what the University ought to be doing, and so the University must be able to respond to their questions. For example, in the budget process already this spring the University is getting questions about what progress we've we made in admitting and retaining African American students. Questions

like, “What is the graduation rate? Have we been making progress on that? Are there African Americans in graduate school?” And by asking those questions they change everything. When you’re making policy and you know you’re going to get asked those questions, you have to take that into consideration. You can’t make the policy in a vacuum without considering its affect on race and gender. And probably as a result of those pressures, there is a lot more state and federal legislation and reporting. As an example, there is an Underrepresented Report that goes to the Board of Higher Education every year. So, constantly having to provide information and answer questions impacts how policy gets done.

One of the controversies at the moment was when the governor appointed the three new members to the University’s Board. He did not appoint a woman or a minority, even though the outgoing Board members included an African American and a woman. So we lost a woman and lost an African American, and he appointed three men and no African Americans. Now he’s being questioned about whether he should have done that and the legislature hasn’t confirmed those appointments and may make him appoint new people. So there is an awareness of the issues and it does impact policy.

SK How are policies established at the University? (*UIUC-Policy*)

There are different levels of policies but the major policies all go through the Board. And to a large extent, the policies all originate lower in the structure. The Provosts, the Chancellors, the Vice President, the President, are the people who have to have a vision. Some of the policies, you might technically call them procedures, are created at a lower level. But the important policies like how we admit our freshmen go through the Board. For example, all major appointments go through the Board. So hiring faculty and giving tenure all requires Board approval.

SK What would be the top three most deleterious effects of a Supreme Court ruling that would stipulate Universities cannot consider race in their admissions process? (*Michigan: Race Conscious Admissions*)

IL Actually Sandra, this is a tough one, because it’s hard to know which is the most serious, and it’s just plain disaster. We would have a lot of difficulty in being able to recruit and admit the same African American students we get now. So in a sense we would lose that ability, and we wouldn’t be able to recruit and admit the same group. Immediately, we would be made to look less inclusive and less diverse. If you stop doing the things that you’re doing, even if someone made you stop, it looks like you didn’t want to do it. And then, and I am speculating somewhat, but I’m pretty sure given what happened in California and Texas, if the University had to work around new rules resulting from a negative Supreme Court decision, we could wind up having to do things that would change the whole nature of the institution.

For example, California and Texas have gone to models where they admit a certain percent of the top of the high school class. We're not doing that now, and when you look at the data, we would get different people. All of our students could be different. The loss of the ability to recruit and admit the students we get now would change the way we are perceived. We would be perceived as less interested and not committed. There would be a secondary impact of having to work around the changed perception. When we start changing the way we admit students, so that we can admit African American students here without being able to consider race, then we will have to admit different people. The P.A.P students, for example, might not be the minority students that we would be able to recruit and admit. We might be getting the top students from the worst schools. Currently, the P.A.P. students aren't always the top students at their schools, but they are excellent students from good schools. They might be in the top quarter or top twenty percent of their class rather than the top five percent. But these are the students that will do best here.

- SK In your opinion how would they look? (*Diversity UIUC*)
- IL The admitted students look a lot whiter than they are now! We'd also pick up a lot of Asian students. Asians are a small group in Illinois, but they are rapidly growing, and in terms of percentage impact, they probably would have a larger percent gain of any group.
- SK And the P.A.P. again are students who have a 24 or 26 on the ACT? (*UIUC-P.A.P.*)
- IL P.A.P. students have ACT scores of 24 or above, and are in the top half of their class! They tend to come from good schools like Whitney Young.
- SK 24 gets them a scholarship for two years, 26 a four-year scholarship? (*UIUC-P.A.P.*)
- IL Yes, an ACT of 24 qualifies them for a scholarship for two years and a 26 qualifies them for a scholarship for four years! If they have financial need, they get four years of need-based aid if they meet P.A.P. criteria. So if P.A.P. students have financial need, they receive aid for all four years no matter what their score is.
- SK What in your opinion has been the impetus for the University to continue to include race as a factor in admissions process? (*Diversity-UIUC*)
- IL The University has a strong commitment to diversity and for the last thirty some years we have continued to try and find a way to recruit and admit the students we need to get, without solely using race and we haven't really been able to do that. In order to admit the kind of students that are most likely to be successful here and to get the numbers, we must consider race. We've never gotten the numbers

we've wanted, but the numbers are closer to the numbers we want when we consider race as a factor.

SK Do you know why that is? (*Inequality*)

IL For one thing, the total number of Whites in Illinois is so much larger than any other group. That means that if, for example, you looked at low income, there are more low income Whites than African Americans. If you look at test scores performance, more Whites have gone to better schools and have better educational backgrounds. And, my personal opinion is there are sometimes differences in learning at a very young age. Growing up in poverty there may not be things in the home when you're real little that make a big difference later. This would include things like children's books, children's toys, and somebody who's there to teach you language, which may not be there. If everybody's out trying to earn a survival living, then interaction with the children isn't happening at the same level. African Americans, to a larger degree live in areas where there is poverty and attend poorly supported schools. This does make a difference in preparation.

Illinois has never done a good job of equalizing funding across schools. Compare Chicago schools with those in the northwest suburbs. The suburban schools have everything "gold plated." If you go into the inner city and look at the schools, it's a wonder that the building hasn't fallen down! And then they say that those schools ought to have the same level of performance! I will agree that money shouldn't be the overriding factor determining differences between schools but there's some level that you have to have and many of the schools don't have that. Lately I've been seeing things that say about two thirds of our school districts are in financial trouble. Illinois is not supporting primary and secondary education the way it should.

The State Superintendent earlier this year in a speech said that they need two billion dollars to bring all the schools up to mandated levels of funding, and instead we are cutting the budget, instead of adding the two billion we're taking money away. So the schools are in trouble and when you start reducing funding, a school that has lots of money loses some of the frills. While the schools that didn't have the money to survive are forced to lay off the teachers they have left, and it's no wonder you have schools where people aren't certified. If there isn't any money you can't do anything!

Okay, yes, the problem is that we have differential family income levels, and we have differential educational preparation, and those two factors give Whites an advantage and disadvantage African Americans in terms of competing for high school rank and test scores for admission and the only way to overcome that is to use race as one of the factors.

- SK Is there any policy that you feel the University should consider or embrace as it relates to increasing the enrollment of Affirmative Action students that it has failed to consider to date? (*Diversity*)
- IL I guess the simple answer is nothing legal that we can afford! If we had more money there might be things. If things were legal there might be things. But we're caught between those two forces, and I think we're trying everything that we can within the structure that's provided.
- SK There is this statement "Thirty five years later I am shocked that I still think..." (*Reflection*)
- IL I don't understand it. I still think after thirty five years we have a long way to go. Actually I have several answers, I think we have a long way to go; I'm shocked that as a society we are still arguing about what the right thing to do is. We still have the legal battle going on, and in terms of the institution I'm not sure shocked is the right word, maybe disappointed. While we've gotten closer to diversity I don't think we've addressed integration as well as we could. We have everybody here but we're not really integrated.
- SK What kinds of things lend themselves to support that statement? (*Extrapolative Thoughts*)
- IL I am relying on personal observation. If you go out on the Quad and watch, what you see are groups of people often of the same race and gender, and so, if they are given the opportunity to associate with anyone, the students are associating with their own race and gender. And there are still incidents both here and at other institutions. There have been fraternities in the national news with students in black face at parties. There are enough of these incidents to show that groups are not sensitive to others. They either don't understand when they are doing things that are offensive or they don't care. I hope that they would care if they understood. I hope it's that they don't understand.

Looking at the curriculum it's better than it was, but we still haven't integrated the curriculum with other people's ideas. I have an example that comes to mind. When I was in graduate school one of those educational foundations courses with Stew Jones led the class through a discussion of who had the best science education program in the world in the last 50 years. The class started to agree that it looked like Germany did. Look at all the rocket scientists. Many of the people that made the atomic bomb were Germans! Everywhere you looked, the Russian Missile Program, the American Missile Program, all of those people were German. After we arrived at that conclusion, the teacher said "so it's okay if they killed 6 million Jews?" Did we agree that the education system didn't fail? They created good scientists and it doesn't matter if they killed 6 million Jews? No! He was saying you have to sit back and look at the big picture, and we aren't doing that!

Do you see any classes where somebody's saying the economy in the early part of the U.S. history was thriving on cotton? Does anybody see anything wrong with that? You know we haven't really said let's look at some of the things that our system has gotten and asked if we can change that. We also don't see the African American writers and the scientists, etc. in the curriculum that much. They are there a little bit, but there has to be more. What you see can't be it! These are subtle things but institutions haven't really integrated; we just have brought people to the same place. We have to really integrate before we are there.

SK "Thirty five years later and I am shocked that I no longer think...?" (*Reflection*)

IL That's it's unusual to see an African American on campus! When you were talking about the Bread Company not having many African Americans in it, when I think about it, yes, that's true! But it didn't occur to me not to see a lot of African Americans there; where as 35 years ago, it would have caught my attention if there were any there at all! Now we have sufficient presence of African Americans, and it's no longer surprising to see them there, and I hope that it's not surprising to most people to see them doing well. At the start of the Project 500 program, many people were expecting failure. There were a lot of people who were saying, "Sure we'll bring them to campus but they're going to fail!" The culture at the time was that African Americans wouldn't be able to do the work. So today, I hope, there's a change in that belief! Now certainly my expectation in class is very different then it would have been 35 years ago! I wasn't teaching much 35 years ago, but now that I am teaching, my expectations are that the African Americans will be successful in my class and I look for people that are not doing well. I don't look to make sure the African Americans are doing well. It doesn't occur to me that I need to look for them, where as at one time the culture would have said they're probably not going to do well, so you need to do something special for them! Things are gradually getting better, it's just not getting better fast!

SK Did you anticipate a faster pace? (*Extrapolative Thoughts*)

IL I think everybody did! You can say we've come a long way. And if you go back and look at things from the sixties, we've come a tremendously long way! But we are still a long way short of where I thought we would be, and it's probably going to take a lot longer to get there, especially if groups like the Center for Individual Rights keep opposing efforts!

SK Did you have any other thoughts that you wanted to share as it relates to policy and the role of policy as it relates to the whole admissions process? (*UIUC-Policy*)

IL Yes, we're sort of caught; we're trapped in the space between competing pressures. There are pressures not to spend money on anything. There are public pressures for the campus to be selective, to have a high graduation rate, to get

everybody through in four years, and they propose not to use race and not do anything affirmative, not to have culture houses, special programs or anything. In the long run, some of these issues will go away on their own recognizance. In the meantime, we have expectations and pressure to have diversity and to move toward integration. We have to find ways to tailor policies so that they are not so rigid that they block creative, innovative approaches that help. But the policies should not be so loose that things don't happen. Now policies are the drives. Leaders with vision create policy that pushes people in the right direction. There has to be a willingness for people to go, but to get to where we need to go, somebody has to be willing to take the next step and you need somebody who says, "Here's where we're going!" Unfortunately, conflicting pressures may be leading us in the wrong direction.

Tenth interview - Dr. Stanley Ikenberry (former President, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign).

The actual decision to launch P.A.P. occurred rather extemporaneously...If you have a problem and you try three times to get it solved and you are unsuccessful, I told the high school students, I want you to give me a call...immediately, every student wrote my number down! (Dr. Stanley Ikenberry)

SK What are the two most salient factors that have evolved on the UIUC campus as a result of the decision to implement project 500? (*Project 500*)

SI I think probably the most important consequence of Project 500 was the energy and focus it brought to the campus. Project 500 brought focus to diversity and mobilized the campus to accomplish that goal.

SK Prior to the implementation of P.A.P., describe the campus climate as it related to the consideration of such factors as race and gender? (*Race Relations UIUC*)

SI I think the campus was making a genuine effort. They were certainly trying to build minority enrollment. They were being blocked or frustrated by certain barriers that really weren't related to minority recruitment. One was the fact that the admissions officers had worked really hard to explain to all of the counselors in the state that the standards had changed to be admitted to the University at Urbana. An unintended byproduct of that is that most of the school principals and guidance counselors across the state began to adopt the view that only an occasional exceptional student would be admitted to the Urbana campus.

The message began to go out to all students, particularly the minority students, that there was no use to apply to UIUC because they were not going to be admitted. As a result of that, the number of applications we were receiving, in comparison to the number we should have been receiving, was far below what it should have been. When I began to attend the annual luncheon in Chicago to honor high achieving minority students all across the state, I was struck by the

fact that I would walk through the crowd to talk to the students, parents and guidance counselors, (and a terrific group of young people these were), but I was stuck by the fact that they were attending colleges and universities by and large outside of the state of Illinois. I had difficulty understanding why somebody would go to the university of Iowa or Purdue University. I can understand, Harvard, Yale, Stanford, Morehouse, and Spellman but I could not understand why they would want to go to Iowa or Purdue, rather than attend the UIUC. They would say they couldn't get in. If these students were going to other Big 10 institutions rather than the U of I, then something was wrong with our recruitment strategies.

SK Were they not correct when they said they couldn't get in?

SI Actually, no! They were not correct. After I talked to these students, I came back and asked our people how many high achieving minority students were enrolled at Urbana-Champaign. So I began to look for ways to increase the minority enrollment.

SK What was the impetus for P.A.P.? (*UIUC-P.A.P. & Diversity*)

SI Partly, my frustration at the slow pace at which we were increasing minority enrollment. I was told that about 5 to 7 percent enrolled annually. The actual decision to launch P.A.P. occurred rather extemporaneously. Mayor Washington was the guest speaker at the luncheon that day; my guess is that he was part of my inspiration. Then in the course of my remarks I said, (1) you shouldn't think you are not admissible. If we couldn't admit you, we would not have invited you to this luncheon today. (2) We will provide 100 percent of your documented financial need. (3) We'll not only admit you; we're going to care about you personally and help you succeed. This is my promise to you: If you have a problem and you try three times to get it solved and you are unsuccessful, I want you to give me a call, at my home. Here is my number. Everyone took out pens and paper and wrote the number down! The rest is history. I had to go to the Admissions people and tell them what was going on. They were a little surprised.

As we made progress year after year, we ultimately began to enroll at the U of I about 70 to 80% of the high achieving Black and Hispanic students in the state of Illinois. That transformed our campuses, changed the learning environment for our students and set us on a fresh course.

SK Was the P.A.P. made into Policy? (*UIUC-P.A.P.*)

SI Yes, it became policy. We did some refinement on it from year to year.

SK What kind of factors do you feel influenced policy making today that did not when you arrived on the campus almost twenty-five years ago? (*UIUC-Policy*)

SI The biggest factor, were one to be confronted by this kind of situation today, would be the legal or constitutional aspect. Today the biggest concern would be for the President's Award program, with the Michigan case and all. You could not do today what I did back then and not risk being confronted with a legal challenge.

SK What in your opinion has been the impetus for the University to continue to include race as a factor in the admissions process? (*UIUC-Policy*)

SI I think our view is consistent with that view of almost every other major public research university. In the U.S., consideration of race, along with other factors, is critically important for two reasons. One, without race it is impossible for the University to build a diverse community of learners. We need to offer a top quality, higher education program. Secondly, unless we're allowed to consider race along with factors such as geography, universities will lack diversity, not just racial diversity. Let me share with you an example. We made the decision in our medical school that the medical students would be filled half and half, equal portions from Chicago and downstate in the state of Illinois. If we had simply gone blind, by the numbers, we would have been admitting almost 100% from North Chicago suburbs. It is crucial to the mission of the University that we be able to pick out those factors that are germane to our mission when we select students. We are very concerned about what we can give to them and what they can give back to society.

SK What would be the three most deleterious effects of a Supreme Court ruling that race should not be a factor in the admissions at the post-secondary level? (*Michigan Race Conscious Admissions*)

SI The first and perhaps the most important, the University would have to control its own admissions decisions. You would have government telling admissions officers and trustees what they could and could not consider in the admission of students. Businesses take race into account in employment and promotion decisions; the military takes race into account. Elementary and secondary schools and advertising agencies take race into account. Universities should retain that flexibility. I think at the end of the day, there is no proxy, no substitute for race.

Second, the worry would be for the future of the society. Our prime argument for building a diverse student body has been that the education of all students — majority and minority — is strengthened. Still, there is an obvious second and compelling argument. We must have persons of color as physicians, corporate executives, lawyers and judges, and in other roles of leadership in the society. The consequences of failure on this score would be unacceptable.

Third, my concern would be the possible impact of an adverse court decision on minority families. While much remains to be done, remarkable things happened during the 20th Century to expand social, economic and educational opportunity

for persons of color. And as a result, our society is the stronger, and opportunities are greater for all Americans. It would be a tragedy if that progress were interrupted.

SK Finish this statement, Twenty-five years later, I am shocked that I still believe...(as it relates to education and race) that... (*Reflection*)

SI I feel as strongly and passionately about the issue of race and society as I do.

Eleventh interview - Nancy Cantor (Chancellor UIUC).

The real issue here is “How do we create access and use universities to erode stereotypes? (Dr. Nancy Cantor)

Nancy Cantor is currently the Chancellor at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

SK What do you believe to be the two principle factors that led to race being considered in admissions processes? (*Race Conscious Admissions*)

NC The real issue here is: How do we create access and use universities to erode stereotypes? One of the ways that we can do this is to make affirmative moves towards really integrating society.

SK Are these factors still relevant today? (*Inequality*)

NC Yes, they are still relevant. If you compare the race disparity data from the Kerner Commission with data today, you will find that there are still racial disparities across the board. Housing, employment and education. If you look at housing, we certainly are not living in integrated neighborhoods.

SK Why do you think issues of race based Affirmative Action have met with such opposition at this junction in society? (*Reflection*)

NC Good question. There are a number of factors. The return on education is very substantial right now. There’s a lot of competition for resources. People are reluctant to open these opportunities up. People would prefer to believe that America doesn’t need Affirmative Action. People have clung to the view that one could ignore the topic and that we have made sufficient progress.

SK How can administrators such as you impact this controversy?

NC Just by speaking out in a forthright manner and reminding everyone how important it is to live in an integrated society.

- SK This question is specific to institutions. What will institutions lose if the Supreme Court rules against race? (*Race Conscious Admissions*)
- NC We will lose. It will be harder to create rich educational environments and opportunities. It will be harder to work on what it means to be in an integrated society. We will be spending a lot of time trying to create alternative societies opposed to spending time developing curricula.
- SK Bollinger has juxtaposed the concepts of merit and diversity, can you speak to this? (*Merit & Diversity*)
- NC I certainly believe that the creativity of one engages the other.
- SK What would be the three most deleterious effects of a Supreme Court ruling that race conscious admissions are unconstitutional? (*Michigan Race Conscious Admissions*)
- NC 1) We would waste an enormous amount of energy trying to create diversity, 2) We would witness a drop in diversity on college campuses, and 3) The entire campus community would lose out on the educational richness that comes with diversity.
- SK Finish this statement: “Thirty years later I am shocked that I still believe . . .” as it relates to the topic of education and race. (*Reflection*)
- NC That we have an enormous task ahead and that we still have so much to do.

Findings

The academic records of 1,639 African American students who enrolled at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign between 1968 and 1995 were examined. Data pertaining to HSPR, ACT-C, Campus Selection Index and graduation rates were compiled and compared to that of majority students (all other students who were not classified as African American) who entered the University in 1968, 1978, 1985 and 1995. Clearly, the mean HSPR, ACT-C and Selection Index have remained relatively consistent for the majority group during the past three decades. The mean HSPR and ACT-C score for African American students in 1968 was significantly lower than their respective means for 1978, 1985 and 1995. The 1968 scores reflect

the impact of the decision by the University to admit a control group of freshmen who performed poorly on standardized tests but had high HSPR's so that the University could gain a better understanding of the relationship between standardized test scores and the academic performance and persistence of African American students (Spencer, 1968). Thus, in 1968, a cadre of students entered the University with ACT-C scores of 8, 9, 10 and 11. In addition, in the interest of increasing the number of African American student enrollment, a larger percentage of students who did not fall into the top half of their class were admitted. This, in turn, significantly reduced the mean scores for African American students in 1968. Table 6, p. 136, illustrates the findings. The table also reflects the weights used for each respective year to calculate the Selection Index.

The data reveals that the HSPR, ACT-C and Selection Index means were higher for African American students in 1966 and 1967 than they were for 1968. In fact, in 1966, the mean HSPR was higher for African Americans at 83.6 than it was for the majority at 82.6. The mean ACT-C for African Americans in 1966 and 1967 was 20.8 and 22.2 respectively. (See Table 7, p. 137.) However, in 1967 there were only 223 African American undergraduates attending the University.

It was not until 1968 when the University committed itself to admitting 500 Black students that the enrollment for Black students attending the University increased. (See Table 7, page 137.) In 1966 and 1967, undergraduate enrollment of African American students was approximately 225. This number increased threefold (300%) in 1968 to 690 with the implementation of Project 500. As late as 1985 undergraduate enrollment for African American students was only 1089 (3.5%) of the total enrollment. The University did not witness another significant increase in the number of African Americans attending the University until 1987, one year following the implementation of the President's Award (P.A.P.) Program at the behest of

Table 6

High School Percentile Ranks, ACT-C and Campus Selection Index Means and Standard Deviations for African American and Majority Freshmen for 1968, 1978, 1985 and 1995 Along With Selection Index Weights for Each Respective Year

Measures of academic performance and regression results	1968			1978			1985			1995		
	Majority	Black	Selection index weights	Majority	Black	Selection index weights	Majority	Black	Selection index weights	Majority	Black	Selection index weights
HSPR X	85.46	68.90		87.00	78.95		88.30	80.11		87.45	77.72	
HSPR SD	13.08	°		11.43	18.80		10.88	15.82		10.86	15.73	
ACT X	25.88	15.00 ^a		25.57	18.11		26.65	20.39		27.17	21.78	
ACT SD	3.82	°		3.67	4.48		3.25	3.46		3.08	3.58	
GPA/SI X	3.65	°		3.85	3.37		3.89	3.82		3.82	34.00	
GPA/SI SD	0.73	°		0.29	0.42		0.29	0.37		0.29	0.38	
Intercept			Not Located			1.048927			1.186272			1.213515
HSPR regression			0.022085			0.020200			0.018504			0.022082
ACT-C regression			0.064092			0.039807			0.037114			0.030657
N	5301	589 ^b		4912	289		6064	322		5674	439	

Note. From University of Illinois Office of Admissions and Records and Romans Tables, 1966, February 21, 1967; University of Illinois Office of Admissions and Records; University of Illinois Office of Minority Student Affairs; University of Illinois Office of Academic Policy Analysis.

^aACT-C based upon 316 students for whom ACT-C scores were available. ^bNumber for whom information was available. ^cNo data available

Table 7

Undergraduate Enrollment, African American Enrollment, Freshmen Enrollment, Mean HSPR and ACT-C for Both Majority and African American Students, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1974, 1978, 1985, 1990 and 1995

Enrollment figures and related measures of academic performance		1966	1967	1968	1974	1978	1985	1990	1995
Total undergrad		20,786	22,017	22,949	25,848	25,413	27,232	25,950	26,673
Total Black enrollment		^a	233	690	856	979	1089	1,738	1866
Freshmen enrollment	B	85	55	625	233	289	322	521	439
	M	^a	5475	5,176	6021	5401	6044	5,882	5521
ACT-C	B	20.80	22.20	15.00	17.03	18.11	20.39	21.07	21.78
	M	25.50	25.50	25.60	25.88	25.57	26.32	26.37	26.60
HSPR	B	83.60	87.00	68.00	77.15	78.95	80.11	78.17	77.72
	M	82.60	87.00	85.50	85.25	87.00	88.33	89.20	86.54

Note. From Office of Academic Policy Analysis, University Archives.

^aData Unavailable

Dr. Stanley Ikenberry. By 1990 the African American undergraduate enrollment had increased to 1,873 (7.1 7% of the total enrollment). Thus, the data reveals that increases in African American enrollment occurred only when a concerted effort was made on behalf of the University to

increase their enrollment. In 1968, this effort assumed the form of Project 500, and in 1986 it assumed the form of the P.A.P.

The University has used the Selection Index method outlined in Chapter 3 to aid in the admissions process for over 35 years. Presently, information garnered from some 20 potential factors, including race, are combined with the Selection Index to make a final decision about admission to the University. Out of an effort to illustrate one of the primary consequences of eliminating race as a factor in the admissions process, this study used a hypothetical model based upon information garnered from the Selection Index as the primary criteria for determining admission to the University. This model used the range of the Selection Index for all students admitted to the University, excluding Blacks, to determine the parameters for accepting students. Model 78 consisted of a range of 2.0 to 4.4, a median of 3.9, a mean of 3.85 and a bottom quartile range of 2.0 to 3.7. Model 85 consisted of a range of 2.0 to 4.4, median of 4.0, mean of

Table 8

African American and Majority Selection Index: Range, Median and Mean for 1978, 1985, and 1995

Year	African American selection index			Majority selection index		
	Range	<i>Mdn</i>	<i>M</i>	Range	<i>Mdn</i>	<i>M</i>
1978	1.8 - 4.1	3.4	3.3	2.0 - 4.4	3.9	3.85
1985	2.2 - 4.2	3.5	3.8	2.0 - 4.4	4.0	3.89
1995	1.8 - 4.2	3.4	3.3	2.2 - 4.4	3.9	3.82

Note. Data secured from Office of Minority Student Affairs Database, Office of Academic Policy Analysis, Office of Admissions and Records Archives, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

3.89 and a bottom quartile range of 20 to 37. Model 95 consisted of a range of 2.2 to 4.4, median of 3.9, mean of 3.82, and a bottom quartile range of 22 to 37.

Using these models, 74.4 % of the African American students would have fallen into the bottom quartile in 1978, 84% in 1985 and 94% in 1995. To place this finding into proper context, consider the fact that only 10% of the majority population received scores in the bottom quartile during both the 1985 and the 1995-year. The data reveal that higher percentages of students fell into the bottom quartile as time progressed. Were the University to employ a numbers only policy and not consider race as a factor in admissions, a significant number of African Americans would be summarily rejected from the University as a result of having Selection Index scores, which were not competitive enough to place them in the first or second quartile of scores. The rationale for the rejections, however, would not be sound. Copious examination of the mean selection index for African Americans will reveal that they are not “low” scores. Furthermore, a fairly large number of those students receiving “low” (below 3.0) Selection Index scores yielded competitive graduation rates for four year public institutions for two of the three years under examination. In 1978, 13.6% of the African American Freshmen admitted to the University had an SI below 3.0 and 37% of these students graduated. In 1985 only 8% had SI’s below 3.0 with a graduation yield of 67%, and in 1995 only 10% had an SI below 3.0 with a graduation yield of 51% (see Table 9, p. 140). Furthermore, the graduation rate for the African American students who fell in the bottom quartile of the majority range was 41% for 1978, 49% for 1985 and 53 % for 1995. The national graduation norms for four-year public institutions have hovered around 50% for several decades; thus, the graduation rates for this subgroup, for two of the years examined, met or exceeded the national college graduation rates. These findings force

one to question the extent to which the Selection Index accurately portends academic success for African American students.

To further illustrate the difference between the mean Selection Index for African Americans and the mean Selection Index for majority students at the University of Illinois, one-tailed t-tests were conducted on the means for African American and Majority freshmen across HSPR, ACT-C and Campus SI for 1978, 1985 and 1995.

Table 9

Number of African Americans Who Graduated With SI Located Below 3.0, One SD Below Majority Mean and Bottom Quartile of Majority Range for 1978, 1985 and 1995

Year	N	Below 3.0 (5 point Scale)		One SD below Majority M		Bottom Quartile of Majority Range	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1978	286	39	13.6	146	51.0	213	74.4
		14	35.0	60	41.0	88	41.3
1985	192	16	8.0	98	51.0	163	84.8
		11	68.0	52	53.0	80	49.0
1995	439	47	10.0	229	50.0	425	94.0
		24	51.0	136	59.0	227	53.0

Note. Data secured from Office of Minority Student Affairs Database, Office of Academic Policy Analysis, Office of Admissions and Records Archives, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

The data revealed statistically significant differences at the p (.05) level, for each of the nine means tested (see Table 10, p. 141). These data demonstrate that there was a statistically

Table 10

T-test Results for HSPR, ACT-C and Campus SI Means for Rejected African American Freshmen and Majority Freshmen for: 1978, 1985 and 1995

Measures of Academic Performance	1978	1985	1995
HSPR	$H_0: \bar{X}_{\text{majority}} = \bar{X}_{\text{African American}}$ $t(288) = 7.2, p > .05$	$H_0: \bar{X}_{\text{majority}} = \bar{X}_{\text{African American}}$ $t(321) = 6.6, p > .05$	$H_0: \bar{X}_{\text{majority}} = \bar{X}_{\text{African American}}$ $t(438) = 13.28, p > .05$
ACT-C	$H_0: \bar{X}_{\text{majority}} = \bar{X}_{\text{African American}}$ $t(288) = 2.0, p > .05$	$H_0: \bar{X}_{\text{majority}} = \bar{X}_{\text{African American}}$ $t(321) = 6.88, p > .05$	$H_0: \bar{X}_{\text{majority}} = \bar{X}_{\text{African American}}$ $t(438) = 30.88, p > .05$
CAMPUS-SI	$H_0: \bar{X}_{\text{majority}} = \bar{X}_{\text{African American}}$ $t(288) = 1.64, p > .05$	$H_0: \bar{X}_{\text{majority}} = \bar{X}_{\text{African American}}$ $t(321) = 1.64, p > .05$	$H_0: \bar{X}_{\text{majority}} = \bar{X}_{\text{African American}}$ $t(438) = 2.13, p > .05$

Note. Data secured from Office of Minority Student Affairs Database, Office of Academic Policy Analysis, Office of Admissions and Records Archives, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

significant difference between the mean for the majority and the mean for African Americans in each instance. Thus, each of the nine null hypotheses were rejected (Table 10, p. 141).

While the HSPR 's of African Americans have remained relatively commensurate with that of their peers, the ACT-C scores have consistently languished behind that of their peers. Herein lies the proverbial albatross that has secured a spot around the neck of the African American student for decades: standardized test scores. This data reveal that it is the standardized test scores of the African American students, which drive their Selection Index scores down. The University of Illinois, however, discovered this problem 35 years ago per the research conducted by Spencer (1968). Realizing that the diversity issue would never be properly addressed if they continued to focus primarily on numbers only, the University expanded its admissions criteria to be inclusive of students who were academically astute, however, through a myriad of factors, some of which were out of their control, fell on the bottom end of the Selection Index Range.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Clearly, a great deal more emerged from this study than information pertaining to the enrollment of African American students at the UIUC. The rich information garnered from the interviews and resilience in the silent voice that resonated throughout the documents served as the primary backdrop for the unveiling of the thoughts and emotions of people who were either directly involved or impacted by the University's decision to consider race in the admissions process. To understand the consequences of including or excluding race in the college admissions process is like taking an exercise in dialectical concepts. To include race is to promote diversity; to exclude race is to minimize diversity; to include race is to allow administrators the autonomy to establish admissions criteria that are idiosyncratic to their institutional mission; to exclude race is to remove this freedom from administrators; to include race is to enhance the probability that the persons benefiting from this opportunity will dilute the job market; to exclude race is to minimize the number of people who have access to certain types of employment.

When race is considered at the college admissions level, it is not so much the ethnicity of the individual that is considered as much as it is the experiences they have been subjected to as a function of their race (Nickel, 1995). Because racial prejudice is so prevalent in America, it is generally accepted within circles that promote a higher order of thinking that most African Americans have been subjected to some form of individual or institutional racism. Whether it's being overlooked for consideration to take honors classes or underserved with regard to information pertaining to the college selection process, these subtle and sometimes overt forms

of racism can have major consequences on the ability of a student to be accepted into a college or university.

The review of the literature reveals that the three primary issues that led to race being considered as a factor in admissions during the middle and late 1960's, namely: (a) inequality, (b) a lack of diversity on college campuses, and (c) poor performance on standardized tests for African Americans and Latinos, continue to persist today. The fact that these issues remain prevalent, 35 years later, make the consideration of race during the college admissions process even more crucial.

The discussion, which follows, has been divided into three sections. Summary of Findings will be presented (a), which includes an analysis of both the qualitative and the quantitative data. Each of the sub-categories that were established as a result of the interviews: 1. (*Hy: Black UIUC Students: Local Black Community*), 2. (*Hy: Race Relations*), 3. (*Hy: Project 500*), 4. (*Inspiration*), 5. (*Reflection*), 6. (*Michigan: Race Conscious Admissions*), 7. (*UIUC-Policy*), 8. (*Diversity UIUC*), 9. (*Merit*), 10. (*Inequality*), 11. (*P.A.P.*), and 12. (*Extrapolative Thoughts*) are addressed, along with the implications of the research. The chapter will conclude with a discussion on the (b) Limitations of the Research, and (c) Recommendations for Future Research.

Summary of Findings

1. During the late 1950's and early 1960's the UIUC was not a highly selective institution; only 47% of the freshman class had graduated from the top half of their class in 1955.
2. In spring of 1964, UIUC President David Dodds Henry delivers a State of the University address and calls for "positive steps to be taken to help overcome the disabilities that stem from decades of inequality, some of it hidden and unconscious until now...we must offset some of the disabilities arising from racial and social

inequality by building psychological and special assistance ‘ramps’ for young people...” (UIUC-4, p. 1).

3. By the mid 60’s the UIUC had transformed itself into a more highly selective institution; 87% of its freshmen class had graduated from the top half of their class.
4. In 1967, Chancellor Peltason arrived on the UIUC campus and put into motion the plans to implement one of the most prolific Affirmative Action programs of the decade.
5. In the spring of 1968, Richard E. Spencer published a study, which compared the academic performance of African Americans from the 1966 cohort with their White peers. He found that the ACT-C scores did not correlate highly with the first semester Grade Point Average (GPA) of African Americans, suggesting that it was not a good predictor of performance. The report highlighted the fact that the University was serving less than 1% of African Americans, even though they represented 10% of the people in the state.
6. Spencer also suggested that the University revisit its mission and responsibility as a land grant public institution, noting that the programs and services being provided were geared towards only those students in need of minimum academic support. Finally, Spencer suggested that a cadre of students who did not fit the minimum academic profile, (top half of class, specific high school curriculum, and a Selection Index of at least a 3.0) be accepted into the University as an experimental group in hopes of identifying more factors that portended the academic performance of African American students once they arrived on campus.
7. In the late spring of 1968, the UIUC administration made the first decision to consider race as a significant factor in admissions and established a goal to admit 500 African Americans during the fall of 1968 to the University.
8. The UIUC was galvanized by members from the Black Student Association at UIUC and leaders from the local Black community to recruit 500 African American students to the campus.
9. This recruitment effort yielded a total of 609 African Americans to the campus and allowed recruiters the opportunity to engage in a form of catharsis, as they had previously expressed both anger and frustration over the University’s failure to exhibit a demonstrative response to their previous concerns about the scarcity of African American enrollment.
10. The number of African American undergraduates triples from 223 in 1967 to 690 in 1968.
11. In the fall of 1968, the entire campus embraces the diversity effort; changes are made with regard to curriculum, admissions policy, academic support services, academic probation and financial aid.

12. In 1970, the University of Illinois Board of Trustees passes a policy stipulating that no more than 10% of the previous year's freshman class can be admitted to the University under a special program.
13. In 1970, the University conducts panel hearings on race relations on campus and receives recommendations from committees on various ways to improve the integration of Blacks onto the campus and the race relations on campus. An African American Cultural Program and African American Studies Program emerge as major suggestions.
14. African American enrollment plateaus at approximately 1,000 between the years of 1971 to 1986, or approximately 20 years.
15. T-tests conducted in the present research on the 1978 cohort's Campus Selection Index, ACT-C, and HSPR means of African American freshmen versus Majority freshmen reveal that there is a statistically significant difference between the two means.
16. President Stanley Ikenberry arrives on campus in 1979 and muses over ways to transcend the problem of low African American enrollment.
17. T-tests conducted in the present research on the 1985 cohort's Campus Selection Index, ACT-C, and HSPR means of African American freshmen versus Majority freshmen reveal that there is a statistically significant difference between the two means. There was a high graduation rate, as compared to national norms, for those African American students admitted to the University with a Selection Index below 3.0; 68% of those students admitted with an SI below 30 graduated.
18. Stanley Ikenberry, in an extemporaneous moment at the annual breakfast for high achieving minority students in Chicago, guarantees a group of high school seniors and their parents that they will be accepted at the University of Illinois. The President's Award Program (P.A.P.) is born at the UIUC.
19. In fall of 1986, the first group of P.A.P. students arrive on campus. This is the second major effort to recruit minority students to the campus and consider race as a factor in admissions.
20. In 1990, the African American enrollment on the campus has risen as a result of the P.A.P. effort.
21. In 1990, P.A.P. students possess an ACT-C mean of 25 and an HSPR mean of 82%, contrary to the myth that African Americans are academically inferior to their peers.
22. T-tests conducted in the present research on the 1995 cohort's Campus Selection Index, ACT-C, and HSPR means of African American freshmen versus Majority freshmen reveal that there is a statistically significant difference between the two

- means. High graduation rates for those African American students admitted to the University with a campus Selection Index below 3.0, 51%, 24/47 graduated.
23. The high graduation rates of African Americans with a Campus Selection Index in the bottom quartile of the entire '78, '85 and '95 freshmen cohort reveal that Selection Index is not a good indicator of academic success for African American students.
 24. Race conscious admissions appear to be the only crucial and indispensable tool for which to implement racial and ethnic diversity.
 25. A Supreme Court ruling that any consideration of race is unconstitutional would have an extremely deleterious effect on the ability of African Americans to be admitted to highly selective institutions.
 26. Standardized tests continue to serve as a barrier for African Americans with regard to admission into highly selective post secondary institutions.
 27. Consistent with the position put forth by Lee Bollinger, former President of the University of Michigan, merit and diversity should be juxtaposed.
 28. The contemporary view of merit in higher education generally includes standardized test scores and HSPR or GPA (a numbers only admissions formula). A broader definition of merit includes diversity.
 29. We will witness a decline in diversity on the nation's premier institutions, both public and private and would choke access to leadership if the Supreme Court rules against race conscious admissions and a decrease in African American applications and admissions to four-year public institutions.

Discussion

UIUC Decision To Consider Race Conscious Admissions / Diversity

It was apparent that the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC) identified the low enrollment of African Americans as a problem worthy of attention during the early 1960's. Interviewee Dr. Joseph Smith was hired to help fill the void of African American students on campus. He came aboard and established a connection between the UIUC campus and some of the inner city Chicago schools. Dr. Joseph Smith discussed this experience extensively during his

interview. He also noted upon several occasions that his suggestions fell upon deaf ears for several years. Dr. Joseph Smith tried to indicate to the administration that the students would be in need of financial assistance and academic support programs once they arrived. One could sense, forty years after the fact, the enormous frustration he felt in his efforts to convince the University to heed his ideas pertaining to the recruitment of African Americans to the University. The pilot program for Project 500 was implemented during the summer of 1965. Three years later, the program was scheduled to be implemented in phases and come to fruition in 1973.

This decision came about a full decade after Dr. Joseph Smith's arrival to confront the problem of low enrollment. Too much time lapsed between the identification of the problem of low African American enrollment and the decision to actually do something concrete about it. Meetings were held, committees were formed, and suggestions were made; however, the UIUC appeared reticent to make a major change. While the problem of low African American enrollment was being addressed on paper there was minimal attention being directed towards what was transpiring in the nation on both the political and the social storefront. Dr. Richard E. Spencer and Dr. Joseph Smith, on more than one occasion, made an attempt to forewarn the University about potential pitfalls as it pertained to bringing large numbers of African Americans to the campus before the campus had adequately prepared for their arrival.

The naiveté or arrogance of the administration forced them to try to place people in a neat box. The plan to increase African American enrollment was scheduled to be implemented systematically, at the rate of 100 students a year. As Dr. Smith so astutely stated during his interview, the University was like a Procrustean bed. Initially, they erroneously thought that everyone and everything should fit into their neat box; in other words, the administration had difficulty thinking outside of the box. They tried to force the fit between the African American

students and the campus, thinking minimal change within the University structure was necessary to bring the students to the UIUC campus. They expected the students to assimilate as opposed to integrate. This is a frequent mistake made with regard to minorities. Minorities are immediately expected to abdicate their mores and values once they join the majority group in the interest of assimilation to the group.

Black UIUC Students: Local Black Community and Race Relations

Typically, when the discussion comes about concerning Affirmative Action and African American students at the UIUC, it begins with Project 500. There were a cadre of African Americans on the UIUC campus prior to the arrival of the Project 500 group in 1968. The data garnered from the interviews indicated that the local Black community embraced African American students who attended the UIUC. One of the myths, perpetuated concerning African American students indicated that they could not live in the residence halls during the earlier part of the century. Data mined from the archives and interviews revealed no formal policy that African Americans could not live in the residence halls. There were, however, incidents where parents did not want their children to live with African Americans or other students did not want to room with an African American. Prior to the 1960's, the campus was not considered safe for African Americans after dark.

The students would eat and receive basic services, like haircuts, in the local Black community. They could not receive these services on the UIUC campus. Interviewee Lucy Gray indicated that her family needed the \$5.00 monthly fee that they received from the boarders; one could sense how scarce money was for these host families. It should be noted that the UIUC functions under the Germanic model of education, which places a heavy emphasis upon pedagogy and research. Issues concerning student life and social adjustment were more

consistent with the English model of education. Thus, prior to the 1960's, students were frequently left to fend for themselves. Given that there were no male residence halls until 1941, the males had to find a place to live; the University did not provide room and board. Students were expected to be resourceful and place less attention on how they would live and more attention on the fact that they were learning. Students were expected to be poor. One positive result of subscribing to the Germanic model is that it forces students to humble themselves.

Conversations with retired UIUC Housing Historian Mark Archer revealed that the first residence hall for women, Busey, became available for occupancy in 1918 and the first residence hall for men, Clark Hall, was built in 1941. He did note that many of the independently owned rooming and boarding houses on campus did not rent to African Americans. Consequently, it was generally understood that most African Americans would reside with families in the local Black community. Archer discussed the fact that Black students and their parents would generally make these arrangements with the Black Dean, Robert Lee. (Robert Lee served as the conduit between the African American community and the UIUC for over 50 years.) Several of the interviewees were unaware that the students had a point of reference at the University, as they were not certain how students found their homes. According to the information garnered, it appears that prospective African American students received boarding information from the local Black churches and Robert Lee.

The collective effort that was directed towards providing a support network for the students was fascinating. Interviewee Lucy Gray discussed the extreme level of trust, which seemed to come naturally. The young men who resided in her home ate with her family at the dinner table, used the same bath facilities and had a key to the home. These young men were strangers to the people who opened their homes; however, the fact that they were UIUC College

students served as a security blanket for these African American families. There were approximately eleven families in total who opened their homes to these young men. The area where the local Black community resided also served as a social outlet for the African American students attending the University.

As we reflect upon the comments of the more seasoned interviewees (Ms. Gray, Ms. Hoskins and Mr. Irons), each exhibit a degree of intestinal fortitude that must not be confused with complacency. It is clear that they adapted to an environment that was replete with inequities. Their recantation of experiences resulting from practices of racial segregation is without any hint of resentment. If any of them could have emerged from their experiences at the University with some degree of anger, it would have been Lou Irons. He had recently returned from defending the U.S. in World War II when he enrolled at the UIUC in 1946. He was aware that he was being provided certain privileges because he was (1) a veteran and (2) an athlete. Lou Irons noted that he could have resided on campus in the residence hall for veterans; however, he felt more welcome in the local Black community. A follow-up discussion with retired UIUC Housing Historian Mark Archer revealed that the residence halls for veterans were built in the style of barracks because this is how the administration thought they were accustomed to living. He recalled several incidents when he would travel with the team and the group would be denied the opportunity to eat at a restaurant because they didn't serve Blacks.

The manner in which both Ms. Gray and Ms. Hoskins spoke to the issue of Black students residing in the homes of local Black residents was relayed with pride. They appeared to be less focused on the process and more focused on the outcome under girded by the ethos of practicality and old-fashioned values.

Project 500

It was noted earlier that the great Fredrick Douglass stated, “Power concedes to nothing but a demand.” In April of 1968, the Black student association along with leaders of the African American community placed a demand upon the University to bring African American students to the campus with all haste.

A little known fact is that the initial demand called for 500 African American students from the local Champaign-Urbana community and 500 African American students from throughout the country. The University responded with haste. The decision on behalf of the administration to utilize peer recruiters was both cutting edge and brilliant. A review of the documents details how the college students such as William Savage (interviewee) kept records of whom they had recruited and who had submitted applications and financial aid forms. The community leaders set out on a similar mission within the Champaign-Urbana community. This activity on behalf of the peer recruiters and community recruiters served several purposes. First, it allowed for prospective students to connect with someone with whom they were familiar. William Savage reported in his interview that they all went back to their local high schools and neighborhood communities to recruit. Someone opened up the Philadelphia connection, and there was a cadre of students who came to the University from the East Coast that year.

Second, the recruitment activity allowed for the recruiters to experience a form of catharsis. There was a great deal of pent up anger among African Americans throughout the country following the death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. For some of the college recruiters who were now seniors or graduate students, the University had been promising to address the problem of low African American enrollment since their freshman year at the University. They felt as if they had been deceived. Had their anger and frustration not been channeled

appropriately, we may have witnessed a much more vitriolic reaction on behalf of the African American students on campus and local community following the death of Martin Luther King, Jr. Both interviewees, Doris Hoskins and Lucy Gray, spoke of their experiences with the UIUC students with great pride. It was almost as if they enjoyed the college experience vicariously through these students. It is important to note that it was not only the African American community that embraced the students. Doris Hoskins recalls that there were meetings as early as 1934 to discuss race relations between the campus and the community.

All meaningful movements have a symbol; Chancellor Peltason was that symbol in 1967 when the movement to increase African American enrollment caught fire, and Clarence Shelley represented that symbol once Project 500 came to fruition in 1968. Upon mining the data, it becomes evident that each of these men was committed to the ideals of diversity and they possessed the ability to imbue others with a similar belief. The decision to diversify was not a one-man crusade; Peltason made certain that the belief that diversity was a paramount concern permeated every critical aspect of the University. There were changes in the financial aid department, curriculum offerings, policy pertaining to probation, and policy pertaining to admission. Peltason made a concerted effort to make certain that every critical office within the University structure embraced the importance of the need to diversify.

Clarence Shelley, similarly, possessed the ability to galvanize people into action. When the Project 500 students were arrested following their sit-in at the Union (all charges were later dropped), Clarence Shelley called a meeting with the local ministers, and they secured the bail money for the students. This action on behalf of the local ministers and community leaders was symbolic of the manner in which the local community viewed the college students. This event

served as the most tumultuous event for the students and the University in 1968; however, in retrospect, things could have actually been a lot worse.

Interviewee Bill Savage recounted the incident when the African American students had been brought to campus a week before majority students were to arrive. They were housed temporarily in the Illinois Street Residence Hall, an air-conditioned residence hall. When the orientation ended, the students were assigned to residence halls throughout the campus, many of which did not have air conditioning. This was perceived by the students to be a race-based decision and they became angry. What the students didn't realize was that University personnel were not aware that some of the students were coming to the University. During his interview, the "Judge" recalled how a student was on the train on his way to Southern Illinois University and heard about the program at the UIUC and got off of the train in Champaign and eventually became part of the Project 500 group. Such was the determination and spirit of the '68 cohort, and the University made a concerted effort to respond to their needs.

Further support that University personnel were not always aware students were coming to campus was noted when Interviewee Bill Savage alluded to the fact that as the fall of 1968 grew near, the recruiters would just tell students to come to the University and let the administration figure it all out once they arrived on campus. This opportunity after all was viewed as a chance of a lifetime; it also occurred during a radical period in history. Young people, particularly college students, enjoyed forcing the hand of established institutions, playing a form of mental tennis if you will, and watching them struggle to make the right decision.

The University of Illinois is to be commended for its ability to remain true to its mission to provide quality education designed to prepare youth for public service. Although its decision to consider race in the admissions process and implement Project 500 at an accelerated pace

came about as the result of a demand, the University and the students benefited from the decision. Both the qualitative and the quantitative data reveal that the major consequence of including race in the admissions process is an increased number of African Americans enrolling at the institution, resulting in an enhancement of diversity. The Selection Index formula established by the University does an excellent job at ferreting out potentially successful students. Interviewee Stanley Ikenberry said it most succinctly, “There is no proxy for race.” The data reveal that if the goal is to increase the enrollment of African Americans, then they must be actively recruited and race must be considered as a factor in admissions.

Merit

The traditional proponents of merit subscribe to the view that those individuals with the highest test scores within academic settings warrant the highest merit. However, the qualitative data and the quantitative data in this study suggest that merit appears to be more than just the function of standardized test scores. The manner in which administrators have been able to give shape to such ubiquitous concepts as merit is noteworthy. The University of Illinois subscribes to an eclectic definition of merit, and as such, has chosen some 20 potential admissions factors, which may inform merit. Lani Guinier, citing Bollinger, states, “Bollinger juxtaposes merit with diversity” (2001). Several authors assert that the University should reserve the right to define merit. Clearly, former UIUC Chancellor Peltason, former UIUC President Stanley Ikenberry, and now Chancellor Nancy Cantor have each demonstrated how they have been, or are now, poised to lead the institution towards the acceptance of a more eclectic definition of merit. It would appear that it is critical that the University have an individual who provides this type of leadership. In each instance, the individual emerged as almost bigger than life. Each represented the ability to impact people and exude an aura of enthusiasm. The documents reveal an

impressive chain of events following Chancellor Peltason's arrival on campus. Interviewee Joseph Smith corroborates this view.

Stanley Ikenberry, single handedly during an extemporaneous moment, made the decision that high achieving African American students were worthy of merit. He connected with the students. He at that moment personified what he wanted the community to believe and embrace about the UIUC — that it was an institution open to a wide variety of people. Stanley Ikenberry at that moment redefined “merit.” He noted during his interview that the high school counselors had defined merit one way, and he had defined it in another way. It is this type of autonomy that administrators such as Lee Bollinger are fighting to keep. At present, merit is idiosyncratic to the individual institution of higher learning. It is Stanford's definition of merit that shapes the type of student admitted to that university. The same is true of Yale, the University of Michigan and the University of Illinois. Thus, the right to define merit has become the bread and butter of each of these institutions.

Most universities agree that success is measured in both the short term and the long term. Some institutions focus more on long-term success, and others focus on short-term success. Generally, private and public, large and small, highly selective and moderately selective institutions are looking for students who not only have the ability to perform well academically but possess the ability to give something back to the greater society upon graduating from the institution. As noted in the literature reviews, students from blue-collar families are more likely to volunteer their services pro bono upon graduation.

There currently exists a movement to standardize what is perceived as merit. This view is contrary to that of Lee Bollinger and other Affirmative Action proponents. A monolithic view of merit would appear to be counterintuitive to the ideals of democracy. We reinforce the ideals

associated with racial and social caste when we define merit as a function of numbers only. Merit was defined in one way during the first half of the 20th century: numbers on tests, grade point averages and HSPR's. During the second half of the century, we witnessed the cultural revolution, Civil Rights Movement, and the Women's Movement; each group was about celebrating diversity and redefining what constituted merit. Prior to this time, we lived in a White male dominated society; everything associated with merit was White male, definitely not female or minority. The more narrow the scope of the definition of merit, the less prevalent we find diversity.

Dr Ira Langston recalled during his interview that the UIUC discovered yet another backlash to the numbers only policy when the College of Veterinary Medicine made the decision to admit students to their program based solely on numbers several years ago. They discovered that none of their doctors knew how to treat field animals such as cows and horses. These extremely bright students were graduating from this program and opening offices in the suburbs specializing in the treatment of domestic animals like cats and dogs. The College of Veterinary Medicine has since expanded their admissions policy to one that is more inclusive. One of the primary missions of the University is to prepare students for public service. The more diverse the educational training of the student, the higher the probability that they will be prepared to serve a broad spectrum of the community.

Inspiration

The people and the connection with people are what propelled students through this trying and difficult period. The ambiguity tolerance level of the African American students attending the University during the 1920's, 30's, 40's and 50's was remarkable. On the one hand,

they could sit in the classroom with their peers and discuss assignments and political issues, but they could not leave that classroom and go to a restaurant with these same peers on campus.

An interesting progression with regard to inspiration appeared to take place from the 1940's and 50's to the 60's. Clearly, none of the three students interviewed received much encouragement from their high school counselors to attend college (the Judge graduated in the top five percent of his high school graduating class). Irons, who attended the University during the late 1940's and early 1950's for undergraduate studies, appeared to derive his inspiration from within initially. Not until he returned to graduate school to work on his PhD did he reference how several of his instructors in the College of Education at the UIUC provided him with the impetus to continue to pursue his degree. Nate Banks and the Judge, on the other hand, appeared to derive just as much of their energy from within as they did from their home and the community. This phenomenon appeared to be representative of the social and civil rights movements that were proliferating during the 1960's. They knew that the world was watching them so that evidence could be garnered to refute or promulgate certain theories. Foremost in their thoughts was the desire to achieve and demonstrate to the world that African Americans, when given the opportunity, had the skills, "sticktoitiveness," and intelligence to be successful. Nate Banks corroborated this premise when he stated that it was the thought of facing his family and community as a failure that provided him with the impetus to not give up.

Reflections and Extrapolative Thoughts

There were two themes that consistently arose when interviewees were asked to reflect upon the two questions pertaining to the evolution of their thoughts and beliefs as it relates to education. Almost without fail, everyone who answered the question alluded to the fact that (1) they could not believe that we as a country were still grappling with some of the same issues

concerning education and race that were relevant in the 1960's, and (2) how shocked they were that the country had made such little progress towards resolving race related issues. Both of the Project 500 students, the Judge and Nathaniel Banks, continued to exhibit a bit of latent frustration as they relayed information about their experiences. This clearly demonstrates the intensity of the experience for these young men. The Judge actually verbalized during his interview that the experience could be psychologically taxing for a young man, referencing issues such as stereotype threat, and feeling as if everything he did, from showering in the mornings to speaking out in class, was held under extreme scrutiny. They both appear to be more sensitive to the dichotomies, which continue to exist in the country with regard to both Black and White students. They are not jaded; however, they see and appreciate the positive things that resulted from the implementation of Project 500.

The Judge's chance meeting of a fellow classmate in the grocery store resulted in the opportunity of a lifetime for him. Affirmative Action is not about one student being accepted over another; it is about providing opportunity. The Judge was able to place the significance of the program into perspective when he stated that his experience had resulted in approximately 100 other students over the past 30 years making the decision to attend college. These are the kind of statistics we don't read about. These are the kind of statistics, which tell the true impact, and far reach of Affirmative Action policy.

One of the more profound comments of the interviews came from one of the octogenarians who quipped, "People know more, but it doesn't seem to be doing them any good." Things should be getting better, not worse. We are surrounded with countless resources, and yet we continue to struggle with the banality of racial injustice and racial inequalities on a

daily basis. Virtually everyone interviewed expressed concern over our lack of progress; however, no one gave any indications of throwing in the towel.

Presidents Award Program and UIUC Policy

The implementation of the President's Award Program (P.A.P.) at the UIUC probably emerged as the most significant policy of the past two decades as it pertains to diversity and merit. The impact of P.A.P. was multifaceted: It improved the image of the University within the state; it significantly increased the enrollment of African American and Latino students at the UIUC, thereby enhancing diversity; it served to dispel the myth that Affirmative Action reduced standards (all P.A.P. students had a minimum of 24 on the ACT); it served as an excellent opportunity for children from working class families whose income may have placed them outside of the guidelines for financial aid but not in the range where tuition at the UIUC would be affordable; and it helped to realign the UIUC with its mission to prepare a variety of youth for public service.

Stanley Ikenberry and Ira Langston both addressed the fact that the making of University policy is impacted by many more factors today as opposed to the 1960's and 70's. Politics and the fact that people have become much more litigious have significantly changed how policy is both developed and implemented. We are in many ways unable to experience the true impact of the leader as a result of this change. When Stanley Ikenberry made the decision about P.A.P., he had to come back to campus and tell the staff to, in essence, "make it happen." The creativity of the leader has in many ways been usurped. The ability of a leader to galvanize people into action and lead, as a function of pure instinct is gone. Policy, in many ways, has become more constricted and the potential side effects are considered long before the benefits of the desired outcome. The fear of reprisal has stunted the birth of many educational policies during the past 10-15 years.

Implications of the Data

The most startling finding of this research concerns the data extracted from the records of the 1995 African American cohort that indicated that 94% of their Campus Selection Index were located in the bottom quartile of range for the entire 1995 freshmen class. The ACT-C score for African Americans has consistently languished behind those of their peers nationally, and there is no indication that they will improve any time soon. In 2002, the mean ACT-C for African Americans in the state of Illinois was 16.5, 17.5 for Latinos, 21.5 for Whites, and 22.1 for Asians (ACT High School Profile Report, 2002). This mean ACT-C score has remained relatively consistent for African Americans for several decades now. African Americans are located at the bottom quartile for virtually all standardized tests administered for admission to post-secondary institutions, graduate programs, medical school and law school. Wightman's (1997) research indicated that the law test scores were not good indicators of who would and should be excluded from attending law school. Similar to the findings in the present study, Wightman discovered that a large percentage of the students who would have been rejected, were it not for Affirmative Action, went on to graduate from law school. Wightman's discovery supports the finding that standardized test scores are not good indicators of who will actually graduate from an institution.

The data implies that many African American students will be systematically written out of the admissions equation for highly selective institutions of higher learning if the Supreme Court rules against the use of race as a factor in admissions. The concern lies with the fact that many institutions will be forced to revert back to a numbers only policy that has a proclivity towards minimizing diversity. In addition, the issue of gender has surfaced more recently, and institutions may be forced to stop admitting White males over White females who have higher academic performance qualifications than their male counterparts. The ability to control the

diversity of the student body will no longer rest with the administrators of the institution. This would serve as a serious blow to the autonomy of administrators across the country.

Inequality and the Return of De Facto Segregation

Dr. Ira Langston discussed the fact that there is not enough money directed towards primary and secondary education in the state of Illinois. Moreover, he noted the gross disparities between the resources available for certain students residing in specific neighborhoods versus others, which directly impact preparation for college. This is compounded by the fact that one of the more disturbing themes to emerge from the recent literature has been the discussion of the return to the tradition of apartheid within American schools at the primary and secondary level. Orfield and Yun (1999) conducted an in-depth analysis of this subject and discovered that this “Nuevo” segregation was being informed by class as much by race. In particular, they found that a high concentration of African American or Latino schools were positively correlated with poverty. To the contrary, Majority White schools tend to enroll high percentages of students from the middle class. This is a critical difference given that concentrated levels of poverty are linked to low educational achievement. There are numerous variables, which impact the probability of a school successfully educating students. The level of poverty within the school is one such variable, and poverty is further associated with such variables as parent education levels, availability of advanced courses, untreated health problems and a myriad of other problems.

All in all when we look at primary and secondary schools, White students are more likely to be found sitting next to middle class students, and Black and Latino students are more likely to be found sitting next to impoverished students. While desegregation in and of itself does not guarantee that minority students will receive better opportunities, it does generally place them in

schools, which have better opportunities and better-prepared peer groups. Orfield and Yun (1999) state: “In a period in which mandatory state tests for graduation are being imposed, college admissions standards are rising, remedial courses in college are being cut back, and Affirmative Action has already been abolished in our two largest states, the harmful consequences for students attending less competitive schools are steadily increasing” (p. 2).

In particular, the problem of unpreparedness has been cited as a contributing factor to both the attrition and retention problems of Black college students. The resurgence of segregation within the primary and secondary schools during the 1990's has essentially been ignored (Orfield & Yun, 1999). We currently find ourselves in a time when many of our policy makers and courts are operating under the delusion that desegregation is no longer necessary. Orfield and Yun (1999) report that according to several polls conducted in 1999, White Americans believe that African Americans have achieved educational parity in America with regard to opportunity. The fact that the problem of re-segregation is being ignored by critical factions of the country makes the issue that much more critical because this means that it is not being recognized as a problem. Increased segregation only serves to create more unequal schools. Thus, students who attend inferior segregated schools are being systematically written out of the post secondary equation. While some may achieve admittance, they lack the academic skills and preparation to compete on a long-term plane. The fact that educational policy decisions are being made without consideration of the segregation factor illuminates an eerie paradox: students are being allowed to attend inferior schools while the sanctions for those who do not achieve at a sufficiently high level are being increased. More importantly, the fact exists that the educational achievement of parents, along with pre-college schooling of students, are two examples of attributes, which have been found to be good predictors of college persistence. This

fact becomes even more critical when we examine the long-term impact of segregated schools (Galligani, D., Masten, C., Robinson, N., 2003).

It has been well documented that the more segregated the schools, and the higher the percentage of minority enrollment, the more inferior the quality of education. This in turn will lead to poorer academic preparation for postsecondary education and reduce the probability that the students attending these schools will enroll in highly selective institutions such as the UIUC.

Dispelling the Myth That Affirmative Action Lowers Standards

The data procured from this study negates this argument. The general requirement for admittance to the University is a Campus Selection Index of 3.0; sometimes, however, exceptions are made for students entering special programs. In 1985 and 1995, less than 5 % of the White students admitted to the University had a Campus Selection Index below 3.0. The overwhelming majority of the African American students admitted to the University met the minimum requirements for admission. There were only 13.6%, 8%, and 10% African American students admitted to the UIUC in 1978, 1985 and 1995, respectively, whose Campus Selection Index fell below a minimum 3.0. Moreover, a large percentage of these students went on to graduate, 35% in 1978, 68% in 1985 and 51% in 1995. (Please see chapter 4, Table 9, p. 140.) In fact, the graduation percentage for this group (below 3.0 CSI) was higher than the graduation percentage for those students on the border with a selection index of 3.0, suggesting that other mitigating factors, such as motivation to prove that they could compete, may have had a role in the academic success of these students.

The mean Campus Selection Index for African American students was above the 3.0 minimum at 3.4, 3.8, and 3.4, for 1978, 1985 and 1995, respectively. The data reveals that 92%, 93.8% and 96.8 % of these students were ranked in the top half of their class for 1978, 1985 and

93.8% and 96.8 % of these students were ranked in the top half of their class for 1978, 1985 and 1995, respectively. Furthermore, 69%, 72.4 % and 62.7% of these students were ranked in the top 25% of their class for 1978, 1985 and 1995 respectively. (See Table 11, p. 165.) Clearly, the majority of these students were academically talented.

The number one standard of excellence for any institution should be its ability to graduate students. The UIUC has not lowered its standards to admit African American students, as these students are indeed qualified to attend the University. Thus, the critical issue is not that African American students fail to meet University standards; it is more that the more advantaged students raise the bar to such a high level that the majority of the African Americans fall within

Table 11

Percentage of African American Freshmen From 1968, 1978, 1985 and 1995 Who Graduated From the Top Half, Top Quarter and Top 10% of Their Graduating Class

Rank	Percent			
	1968	1978	1985	1995
Top Half	78.0	92.0	93.8	96.8
Top Quarter	42.0	69.0	72.4	62.7
Top 10%	17.0	37.0	39.6	31.4

Note. Data secured from Office of Minority Student Affairs Database, Office of Academic Policy Analysis, Office of Admissions and Records Archives, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

In keeping with its mission to prepare students for public service and in the interest of diversity, the University has implemented a mechanism for attempting to meet the needs of as many students as possible while simultaneously maintaining a high standard of excellence.

Consequently, race has been considered as a factor, along with some 19 other factors, when considering applicants for admissions. The outcome is graduation.

The number one standard of excellence for any institution should be its ability to graduate students. The UIUC has not lowered its standards to admit African American students, as these students are indeed qualified to attend the University. The University did not lower its admissions standards in 1968. There was a cadre of students who were admitted with different characteristics than the traditional college students in the 1968 cohort. A group of the students were transfer students who had already started college; some did not have ACT-C scores but they had a High School Percentile Rank and high school transcripts. Over 75% (78%) of the students admitted under the Project 500 Program were ranked in the top half of their graduating class. The mean HSPR for the 1968 cohort was 68%; however, this number is misleading. The mean percentile rank number for this group was deflated by some of the extremely low percentile ranks of some of the students accepted into the program on an experimental basis.

The University admitted a group of students who did not meet regular admissions requirements as an experimental group in 1968 in hopes of securing information about factors that served to portend academic success for African American students. In the spring of 1968, Spencer (1968) submitted the results of his research on the 1966 UIUC cohort to the University, revealing that the Selection Index formula employed by the University to predict first semester GPA did not correlate highly with the first semester GPA of African Americans. Consequently, the University seized the opportunity to study other factors that might yield information about the potential for Academic Success of African American students by allowing them to enter the University despite deficiencies in several standard admissions areas such as ACT-C and HSPR . The University was then able to document the academic success of these students.

The UIUC was well ahead of its peers in 1968 when the research conducted by Spencer (1968) revealed that its admissions policy at the time was simply not flexible enough to allow for the admission of Blacks in large numbers. The UIUC continues to adhere to high academic standards. The University is aware that a large cadre of African Americans would not be admitted were it to subscribe to a numbers only admissions policy.

Numbers Only Policy

The data clearly reveals that were the University to subscribe to a numbers only policy, a large percentage of African American students would fall into the bottom quartile of the range for Campus Selection Index. Specifically, in 1978, 1985 and 1995, the number of African American students whose Selection Index fell into the bottom quartile was 74.4%, 84.8%, and 94%, respectively. Comparatively, for each of these years there were only approximately 10% of the majority population of applicants who fell into the bottom quartile. One does not have to mine the data to conclude that the University does not take the bulk of its students from the bottom quartile.

If the Supreme Court rules against race conscious admissions in the current Michigan case, the number of African Americans who are accepted into select institutions such as the UIUC is going to be severely restricted. The diversity on this campus is going to be limited, unless of course, the University changes its formula for Campus Selection Index. Statistical analysis of the data revealed a statistically significant difference between the ACT-C, HSPR and Campus Selection Index of African American students and all other freshmen for the years 1978, 1985 and 1995. Although there was significant difference on paper, these students nevertheless matriculated through the University at rates commensurate with the national norms. Thus, it is apparent that the students possessed the skills to graduate from the University, even though their

Selection Index scores placed them in the bottom quartile of the Selection Index range. Had the University subscribed to a numbers only policy, more than three quarters of these students would have likely been denied admission to the University. The embracement of a numbers only policy would only serve to close a window of opportunity, which has proven to be both wise and fruitful.

Interviewees Stanley Ikenberry and Ira Langston provided examples of why the numbers only policies are not necessarily the best policies. It should be clear that the numbers only policy is the public alternative to race based admissions. The mission of the UIUC is mired in training students for research and preparing youth for public service. At a public land grant institution, it is generally expected that students will give back to their respective state. As Stanley Ikenberry pointed out, if you are selecting students from one portion of the state they have a tendency to return to that sector of the state, not to mention that you are assembling a monolithic group when you select students from one geographic region. This finding supports the position of Strum and Guinier (2001) that standardized tests alone cannot adequately measure one's potential for success. Standardized tests have served to deflate the Selection Index of African Americans for over 30 years. The UIUC, however, does not embrace a myopic view of merit and as such looked at additional factors when making decisions about admissions.

ACT-C Test Scores: A Barrier for African Americans Students

The research data in this study reveal that were ACT-C test scores to be used as major criteria along with High School Percentile Rank (HSPR) they would serve to hinder the enrollment of African American students into selective institutions like the UIUC. While the mean ACT-C score for African Americans has increased overall, the numbers continue to languish behind those of their White, Latino and Asian peers. The reasons for these difference

vary from poor test taking skills to inadequate academic preparation, to stereotype fear. In 1995, 50% of the admitted African Americans possessed an ACT-C score one standard deviation below the mean of the majority admitted to the UIUC; in 1985, this number was 51%, and in 1978 it was 51%. In 1968, the mean ACT-C for African Americans, at 15, was two standard deviations below the mean for the majority (25.88) admitted that year. While the HSPR has consistently been commensurate with that of their peers, the standard ACT-C has consistently served as more of a barrier than a bridge for the African American student applying to college.

The Potential Deleterious Effects of a Supreme Court Ruling Against Race Conscious Admissions

Several of the interviewees were asked to state the three most deleterious effects of a Supreme Court ruling against race conscious admissions. Almost without fail, each respondent answered the question in the same manner. The most popular responses were that the minority enrollment at selective institutions would go down drastically; the university students would suffer as a result of the lack of diversity; and the universities would lose the autonomy they currently enjoy to decide who merits admission to their institutions.

Carr (1997) states that because the Republicans have been so successful in electing presidents during the last 25 years, they have seized the opportunity to appoint enough conservatives to transform the Supreme Court from a majority liberal court to a majority conservative court. As such, a plethora of Supreme Court decisions against Affirmative Action policy began to emerge. Bell (1999) points out that with the exception of a small period of enlightenment during the 1950's and 60's, the majority of the Supreme Court's decisions during the past 20 years appear to be based on the "old formalist thinking." Bell patterns himself behind the thinking of the realists whose philosophy is diametrically opposed to that of the formalist.

The legal historian, Professor G. Edward White (1986), described both the realist and the formalist in the following manner:

Legal scholars who came to call themselves realists began with the perception that many early twentieth-century judicial decisions were “wrong.” They (the decisions) were wrong as matters of policy in that they promoted antiquated concepts and values and ignored changed social conditions. They were wrong as exercises in logic in that they began with unexamined premises and reasoned syllogistically and artificially to conclusions. They were wrong as efforts in governance in that they refused to include relevant information, such as data about the effects of legal rules on those subject to them, and insisted upon a conception of law as an autonomous entity isolated from nonlegal phenomena. Finally, they were wrong in that they perpetuated a status quo that had fostered rank inequalities of wealth, status, and condition, and was out of touch with the modern world (pp. 100-101).

This explanation provides a concrete rationale for the failure of the Supreme Court to serve as a conduit for equality-based policy and law. Clearly, the views of the Supreme Court justices on the topic of Affirmative Action have been very inconsistent over the past 25 years. In particular, their patterns appear to be more reflective of this “old formalist thinking.” The very language that was once used to promote Affirmative Action policy is now being used to usurp Affirmative Action; this makes the premises upon which the Anti-Affirmative Action movement is based become suspect. The Affirmative Action decisions of the past 10 years have definitely fostered rank inequalities of wealth and status, and they are out of touch with the present realities, which continue to portend a need for Affirmative Action policy. Individual justices have exhibited a tendency to vote in ways that are reflective of their overall political views. To this end, conservative justices have generally voted against Affirmative Action, and the liberal justices have typically voted in favor of Affirmative Action. A five-justice conservative voting bloc has developed on the present Supreme Court, consisting of justices who have virtually always voted against Affirmative Action plans in a constitutional case. These justices are Chief Justice Rehnquist, Justice O’Connor, Scalia, Kennedy and Thomas. Table 12, on pp. 172-173

illustrates the extent to which these justices have tended to vote in a bloc. The current liberal bloc consists of Justices Stevens, Souter, Ginsburg, and Breyer. Justice Stevens is the only one who has wavered from time to time in constitutional cases that have come before him concerning Affirmative Action. Prior to 1990, he voted against Affirmative Action on three separate occasions. Since 1990, however, he has not voted against Affirmative Action (Spann, 2000).

We have moved beyond the discussion phase of race conscious admissions. The case that will likely establish the standard for race conscious admissions is currently being heard before the U.S. Supreme Court. During the last decade the Supreme Court has voted overwhelmingly against Affirmative Action with a 5-4 vote. (See Table 12, pp. 172-173.) Sandra Day O'Connor is the one conservative justice considered to have the potential to swing her vote. She is being observed very closely in the proceedings concerning the Michigan case, which began in April 2003. On April 1, 2003, U.S. Soliciter General, Theodore B. Olson, appeared before the Supreme Court and denounced the University of Michigan's admissions programs describing them as "racial quota systems" (Jarrett, 2003). Justice O'Connor asked, "Why race could not be counted, when the University applied many other considerations to achieve diversity in enrollments?" Olson responded by stating "They're using stereotypes in an effort they say, to break down stereotypes." Justice Thomas asked the lawyers for the respondents, "Do you think your admissions program at least provided some headwind towards that diversity?" (Jarrett, 2003, p. 5). People all over the country were excited that the generally quiet Thomas had demonstrated an interest in this very important topic before the court.

Table 12

Affirmative Action Voting Chart

Cases	Justices																	
	Outcome	Douglas	Brennan	Stewart	White	Marshall	Burger	Blackmun	Powell	Rehnquist*	Stevens*	O'Connor*	Scalia*	Kennedy*	Souter*	Thomas*	Ginsburg*	Breyer*
	14 th Amendment Merits																	
<i>United Jewish Orgs. (1977)</i>	+	+	+	+	o	-	+	+	+	+								
<i>Bakke (1978)</i>	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-								
<i>Fullilove (1980)</i>	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-								
<i>Wygant (1986)</i>	-	+		-	+	-	+	-	-	+								
<i>Sheet Metal Workers (1986)</i>	+	+		-	+	-	+	+	-	+								
<i>Paradise (1987)</i>	+	+		-	+		+	+	-	+								
<i>Croson (1989)</i>	-	+		-	+		+		-	-								
<i>Metro Broadcasting (1990)</i>	+	+		+	+		+		-	+								
<i>Shaw v. Reno (1993)</i>	-			+			+		-	+					+	-		
<i>Adarand (1995)</i>	-								-	+					+	-	+	+
<i>Miller (1995)</i>	-								-	+					+	-	+	+
<i>Shaw v. Hunt (1996)</i>	-								-	+					+	-	+	+
<i>Bush (1976)</i>	-								-	+					+	-	+	+
<i>Abrams (1997)</i>	-								-	+					+	-	+	+
<i>Shaw v. Hunt (1996)</i>	-								-	+					+	-	+	+
<i>Bush (1976)</i>	-								-	+					+	-	+	+

(table continues)

Table 12 (continued)

Cases	Justices																	
	Outcome	Douglas	Brennan	Stewart	White	Marshall	Burger	Blackmun	Powell	Rehnquist*	Stevens*	O'Connor*	Scalia*	Kennedy*	Souter*	Thomas*	Ginsburg*	Breyer*
	14 th Amendment Justiciability																	
<i>DeFunis</i> (1974)	+	-	?	+	?	?	+	+	+	+								
<i>Northeastern Florida</i> (1993)	-				-			+		-	-	+	-	-	-	-		
<i>Hays</i> (1995)	+									+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Note. From Spann (2000). *The law of Affirmative Action, twenty five years of Supreme Court decisions on race and remedies*. New York and London: New York University Press, pp. 162-163.

(+) Favored minority claim; (—) Disfavored minority claim; (?) Indeterminate; (0) Did not participate symbol indicates that justice was not on Court when case was decided. Justices with asterisk are presently on Court.

Limitations of the Research

1. Failure to secure ACT-C scores for the 1968 cohort: The fact that the ACT-C scores were unavailable for the 1968 cohort resulting in the inability to calculate Selection Index for this cohort.
2. Inconsistencies between records from the Office of Admissions and Records, the Office of Academic Policy Analysis, and the Office of Minority Student Affairs records: There were frequently inconsistencies between the “N” for a particular group obtained from the various resources. In the researchers’ pool of data for each year, there was a different “N” for each factor tested because the records were missing data for students across each area. Thus, one student may have been missing an ACT-C score and another may have been missing a campus Selection Index.
3. Comparatively speaking, the subgroup (African Americans) was generally very small when compared to the larger group, the entire freshmen class. This could have an impact on means and subsequent analysis if the difference between the two groups is very large. Generally, the difference between the two groups was 5,000.
4. Bias of the researcher: The fact that the researcher is a graduate/alumna of the University could have impacted the manner in which questions were asked, answers were given and data was subsequently analyzed. The desire to not make the University look bad may have interfered with the ability to receive and analyze the data in an objective manner.
5. The mean age of the interviewees was 68. Their thoughts and perspectives may have been skewed because their scope was more myopic.
6. The inability to find “formal policy” prohibiting African American students from living in University residence halls may not have been conclusive due to the facts that: 1) The researcher was not allowed to view some documents at the UIUC archives; 2) Additional interviews may have revealed different information pertaining to the policy; 3) Human error could have resulted in an oversight of such data.
7. In the event that race conscious admissions are ruled unconstitutional, the UIUC should consider changing the selection index formula to reflect a significant reduction in the amount of weight that is applied to the ACT-C score in the Selection Index formula.
8. Given that standardized test will continue to serve as the proverbial litmus test for college admissions, along with graduate, law and medical school admissions a concerted effort should be made to ensure that African-American students are exposed at both the primary and secondary level, to those resources that are designed to facilitate and enhance their standardized test taking skills.

Recommendations for Future Research

1. Future research should be conducted to compare the graduation rates of the various groups of students that are admitted to the University with campus selection index below 3.0 (i.e. athletes, students from specific geographic regions, various ethnic groups, etc.).
2. If President George W. Bush has his way, it is very well possible that the President's Award Program (program designed to provide scholarships to minority students at the University of Illinois) will cease to exist if the Supreme Court rules against race in the two Michigan cases that are currently being argued before the U.S. Supreme Court. Shortly after the Supreme Court announced that it would hear the two Michigan cases, President Bush made public his views against race conscious admissions. In fact, the Chronicle of Higher Education recently reported (May 21, 2003) that the White House had urged Congress to modify sections of a Senate energy bill that authorize special grant programs for minority students and for historically Black colleges and universities, tribal colleges, and Hispanic-serving institutions. The Statement of Policy, issued on behalf of the White House, called for modification of the bill to be consistent with equal protection under the laws, as required by the Due Process Clause of the 5th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.

When White House spokesman Ari Fleischer was questioned about the apparent conflict between President Bush's policy statements and his support of aggressive efforts to reach out to members of minority groups and provide equal opportunity, he responded, "He does not support quota, preferences, or set-asides" (Borrego, 2003). The article goes on to state that President Bush has verbalized support for diversity. There was no graying of the facts with regard to his remarks involving the two University of Michigan cases before the Supreme Court concerning the use of race in admissions.

Borrego (2003) states that the current administration stopped just shy of saying that all race-conscious admissions policies are illegal. Seldom has a President exercised the risk of alienating several large groups of people along racial lines. What are the implications of George W. Bush's behavior? This is the question to be answered in future research. The chronology, which follows, has been presented to serve as a backdrop against which the behavior of President Bush with regard to Affirmative Action may be viewed. None of the presidents in recent history

have taken such an overt risk of disenfranchising potentially large voting blocs of people. George W. Bush appears unfazed by this prospect. Future research should be conducted to determine the social, political and economic impact of President Bush's decision to take such an aggressive stance against Affirmative Action. George Bush's predecessors made a more concerted effort to strike a balance, once in office. Nixon, Reagan, and George Bush, Sr. were each very vocal about their opposition to affirmative Action when they were running for office; however, as the chronology below illustrates, much of this changed, after they were elected into office. They were each very careful to make the politically savvy move that was not likely to disenfranchise any major faction of the population.

Clinton was the most recent President to exhibit this walking of the Affirmative Action tightrope. In February of 1995, he observed that many White males were becoming distressed as a result of declining incomes. In June of 1995, the Supreme Court announced the Adarand Decision, declaring governmental "set-asides" to be unconstitutional. In July 1995, Clinton put forth his "mend it, don't end it" Affirmative Action campaign. He stated, "Affirmative Action had been good for America" (Carr, 1997, p. 135). In October of 1995, Clinton ordered the Defense Department to suspend all governmental set asides for three years, thereby suspending the largest Affirmative Action program in the government.

The role of the Executive Branch with regard to both the Affirmative Action and the Anti-Affirmative Action movement cannot be underestimated. Clearly, the pendulum has swung from the more liberal days of the 60's to the conservative days of the present. A review of the record will reveal that past presidents as a political wedge or buttress to gain political largesse on more than one occasion have used Affirmative Action. Former President Nixon, in his memoirs, stated that he wanted to "drive a wedge" between African Americans (NAACP) and unions

(AFL-CIO), both of whom were supportive of the Democratic Party. In this way, he could use Affirmative Action as a way to split working class Whites away from the Democratic Party by inducing the threat of job competition between African American and White union workers.

What role did the Executive Branch play in the evolution of the Anti-Affirmative Action movement, which is presently sweeping the country? The following chronology seeks to answer this question and further illustrate the potential reach of the current administration with regard to the future of Affirmative Action policy in America.

Presidential Mandates

Each branch of our government has played a major role in the development, implementation, and maintenance of Affirmative Action on the American landscape. While Congress has clearly had far-reaching impact on Affirmative Action policy, it appears that the executive branch of government has held the most pivotal role with regard to the evolution of Affirmative Action policy. Starting with Franklin Roosevelt (1948), each of the next 11 presidents has had something of an official nature to say about Affirmative Action, albeit different responses from each. Any discussion concerning the dismantling of Affirmative Action should acknowledge the tremendous effort that has gone into the establishment of policy and practice designed to circumvent racist practices and promote opportunity for all Americans.

Many people erroneously subscribe to the view that the Civil Rights Movement began in the late 50's and early 60's. The media had a hand in this misconception. Americans did not acknowledge the movement as viable until the early 1960's when they were able to witness various aspects of the movement coming to life in the confines of their living rooms via television. In reality, the movement began in 1941, just prior to the advent of World War II when

the Executive Branch of the United States government, specifically, President Franklin D.

Roosevelt's Administration, was forced to take a serious look at the discriminatory practices that had become accepted as part of the American fabric. Private establishments under contract from the government held a monopoly on American manufacturing effort for the Allied War.

Competition for these jobs in federal contractor establishments was intense, as they were typically comprised of the best-paying jobs. Taylor (1989) reports that these establishments also contained:

Some of the most jealously guarded systems of preferences were for White males. Minorities were found almost exclusively in low paying labor-intensive jobs. Women were concentrated in clerical occupations in the business industry sector and in low paying semi-skilled occupations dominated by women such as garment manufacturing and food processing. Many of the unions were characterized by discriminatory practices, particularly in the skilled trades. Federal contractors were buttressed by union codified contracts containing discriminatory features regarding females and minorities (p. 22).

As the war drew near, the Black community seized the opportunity to express its resentment of unfair practices. The catalyst for this movement was centered on the fact that there were a quarter of a million Black officers and soldiers in the United States Army by the summer of 1941. Consequently, it appeared unreasonable to expect that Black men and women would be killed in war for a country that failed to respect them as citizens (subjecting them to sub par housing and education with no voting rights in certain parts of the country, and relegating them to a restrictive category of service-oriented jobs in the academic arena). Black Civil Rights leaders, in particular Phillip Randolph, the founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, organized and pressed the White House into action. In May of 1941, Randolph and several other civic leaders threatened the Roosevelt Administration with the possibility/threat of 100,000 Blacks marching in Washington, D.C., on the first day of July, unless Roosevelt issued an order banning discrimination in the federal sector. Randolph and his group ignored the suggestions of

some of the liberal delegation from the White House to cancel the march and remained vigilant in their efforts to bring about change.

On June 18, 1941, Randolph, along with Walter White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and T. Arnold Hill, Acting Executive of the National Urban League, accepted the White House invitation to meet with the president. This meeting led to the birth of the first executive order designed to end discrimination in employment. The president's challenge of the right of the group to put pressure on the White House fell upon deaf ears. The president yielded and issued *Executive Order 8802* banning discrimination in war industries and armed services, and Randolph, in turn, called off the march on Washington. While the order did not address segregation in the Armed Forces, it served to establish the precedent of federal intervention in employment discrimination and the foundation for building an effective remedy for those incurring the harmful effects of racist discriminatory practices (Blanchard & Crosby, 1989, p. 23).

Another less desirable precedent was established to minimize the life span of anti-discrimination practices designed to crumble under pressure when the interest of the majority was threatened. This fact was most evident when the World War II veterans returned home from the war to reclaim their jobs and encountered resistance and hostility, giving rise to the resurgence of the pre-war practice of race and sex discrimination. The federal contractor-monitoring agency referred to the resurgence as if it were something tantamount to a change in the economy, stating that the wartime gains of Blacks, Mexicans, American, and Jewish workers were receding due to an "unchecked rival of discriminatory practices." The response by this monitoring agency served to sanction race and sex discrimination in the interest of pacifying the majority.

Truman

The Truman Administration picked up where the Roosevelt Administration left off with regard to efforts for ending discrimination in employment. In 1948, Truman made an attempt to establish a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission via Congress. However, Congress, exhibiting no signs of alacrity with regard to this or many other matters, delayed in responding, forcing Truman to bypass the legislative branch and issue *Executive Order 9980* in 1948. This order established a Fair Employment Board within the Civil Service Commission. Truman would later initiate a series of executive orders designed to put an end to all discrimination in federal employment and segregation in the Armed Forces.

Once again, these initiatives had a short life span; they died with a change in administration in January 1953. Eisenhower was more disposed towards “advisory” bodies. Thus, the responsibility for monitoring complaints and assuring compliance shifted to the contracting agencies. Needless to say, the next few years, which followed, were dominant with respect to federal initiatives. The President’s Committee on Government Contract Compliance (CGCC), the successor to the Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC), found the nondiscriminatory provision for government contractors almost forgotten, dead, and buried under thousands of words of standard legal and technical language in government procurement contracts (President’s Committees on Government Contract Compliance, 1953, p. 3).

Kennedy-Johnson

It was not until the Kennedy-Johnson years that we witnessed a resurgence of interest in equal employment opportunities, which subsequently resulted in compliance responsibility being brought back to the federal government. John F. Kennedy was more forthright on issues of civil rights than any other president before him. Even though a decade had passed since the Civil

Rights leaders, spurred by Phillip Randolph, had threatened to march if the executive branch did not take action, it was clear that the Civil Rights Movement had not died (i.e., Rosa Parks in 1956, *Brown vs. Board of Education-Topeka Kansas* in 1954, numerous sit-ins, and the like).

The formal link between Affirmative Action and Civil Rights was first made by John Fitzgerald Kennedy in March of 1961, just months after assuming the office of President. He established the President's Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity by signing *Executive Order 10925* on March 6, 1961. The order contained very specific language directed at contractors doing business with the government: "The contractor will take Affirmative Action to ensure that applicants are employed and employees are treated during their employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin" (Mills, 1994, p. 5).

Kennedy's bold declaration was a clear departure from the somewhat *tepid* Executive Order 10925 of 1941, banning discrimination in war industries and the Armed Forces, or from Dwight Eisenhower's short-lived Executive Orders on federal contract compliance (Mills, 1994, p. 57), bold on the one hand and lacking aggression on the other. He was making a fervent attempt to impress upon politicians from those southern states where segregation was an accepted norm, that the White House was promulgating a new attitude on Civil Rights (Mills, 1994).

Two years later, Kennedy, still targeting politicians from the South, proposed the legislation that would eventually become the Civil Rights Act of 1964. He reiterated the meaning of Affirmative Action in Title VII of the Act. Kennedy was forced to take special care not to turn off southern politicians; thus, the Act contained specific language, which indicated that nothing in the Act was designed "to grant preferential treatment to any group because of race, color, religion, sex or nation origin." Mills (1974, p. 6) reports that Senators Hubert Humphrey, Joseph

Clark, and Clifford Case were each instrumental in convincing Congress that the title of Affirmative Action contained no clandestine messages and actually prohibited preferential treatment for any particular group.

It has been said that the individual most committed to the ethos of Affirmative Action was probably President Lyndon Baines Johnson. In 1961, while in the capacity of Vice President, Johnson convened a meeting with the presidents of 50 of the largest government contractors and signed a majority of them in a program designed to promote equal opportunity entitled "Plans for Progress." Efforts to increase membership on a voluntary basis proved futile. "It was then that Johnson realized equal opportunity in the employment arena lacked the impact of mandated programs of Affirmative Action" (Taylor, 1994, p. 24).

Johnson eventually embraced the idea that vigorous measures would have to be taken to counter the country's legacy of discrimination. In the spring of 1965, Johnson delivered what would become his signature speech at the commencement ceremonies for Howard University, entitled *To Fulfill These Rights*. Johnson used illustrations of racial barriers that were being knocked down as a perfect segue into his "attack" on the blatant acts of discrimination in America, resulting in inequality across a variety of venues. He discussed naive efforts on behalf of the country to bring about equity, equality, and justice, stating:

But freedom is not enough . . . You do not take a person who, for years has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him to the starting line of a race and then say "you're free to compete with all others" and still justly believe you have been completely fair (Mills, 1994, p. 7).

Johnson's analogy between sports competition and America's slave past was brilliant in more ways than one: (a) The sports world had broken the color line, and (b) the analogy provided a visual and startling example of how equalizing the rules of competition was insufficient to bring about equity and equality. He went on to state, "Equality as a result, not just equity," would

have to be provided for those who had previously been excluded from competing on fair terms. What developed was a new version of Affirmative Action spearheaded by the Johnson Labor Department.

Johnson used Executive Orders 11246 in 1965 and 11375 in 1967 to implement Affirmative Action policy. Executive Order 11246 introduced the phrase “Affirmative Action” into American Law (Taylor, 1994, p. 25). Specifically, it obligated federal contractors to “take Affirmative Action” and “Apply every good faith effort toward ‘a set of specific and result oriented procedures’” aimed at assuring true equality in employment. Under Executive Order 22346, it was the Department of Labor, which bore principal responsibility for enforcing Affirmative Action from 1966 to 1968 via the office of Federal Contracts and Compliance (FCC). The FCC required written documentation of Affirmative Action policies and procedures that were put into practice.

Nixon-Ford

As the Johnson Administration came to a close in 1969 and the Nixon Administration took office, support for Affirmative Action still lay on a shaky foundation. The Civil Rights Movement once again played a major role in helping to shape the development of Affirmative Action policy. Nixon had made it quite clear throughout his campaign for president that he was in direct opposition to the liberalism espoused by Johnson’s Great Society programs. Nixon surprised everyone, however, and chose to provide new momentum to the Affirmative Action Movement in the form of George Shultz, former dean of the University of Chicago Business School. Mills (1994) reports that Shultz gained the respect of his liberal critics when he resuscitated the Philadelphia Plan, “an Affirmative Action” program designed to force Philadelphia’s highly segregated construction companies to hire more minority workers. The

plan had surfaced following the Detroit riots of 1967 when there was tension throughout the country, particularly in many of the big cities. However, the plan was met with much opposition and claims that it was illegal. Shultz's Philadelphia plan made stringent demands on the Philadelphia construction industry in the form of percentages for minority hiring.

Critics of Affirmative Action screamed "quotas," while the Nixon administration responded "quantifiable results." In February 1970, the Labor Department issued Order Number 4, a new set of Affirmative Action plans, which included all government contractors with 50 or more employees and doing at least \$50,000 in government business. Order Number 4 changed the vernacular for Affirmative Action to one that was replete with results and quantifiable data. This Order helped to lengthen the life span of Affirmative Action. The Order required contractors to consider "the percentage of the minority work force as compared with the total work force in the immediate labor areas" and as a function of that ratio to design "specific goals and timetables to correct any hiring problems (Mills, 1994, p. 11). The contractor was then provided 120 days to present the Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC) with an Affirmative Action plan or cease doing business with the government.

If Executive Order 11246 opened the door for Affirmative Action, Executive Order Number 4 served as the vehicle to catapult Affirmative Action into the mainstream with such force that its critics could not sustain a valid argument. The Supreme Court in many ways served as the invisible scaffold for Affirmative Action. The Court, being more liberal at the time, established precedent that served to strengthen the soil upon which Affirmative Action was planted. In March, 1971, the Supreme Court, in an 8 to 0 decision, ruled in favor of the Black petitioners in the case of *Griggs vs. Duke Power Co.* The petitioners argued that their rights under Title VII had been violated because in order to get hired or promoted by Duke Power

Company, they had to have obtained a high school diploma or a passing score on a standardized intelligence test. The Court, in a ruling that would shape the thinking about Affirmative Action for the next two decades, stated, “The [1964 Civil Rights] Act proscribes not only overt discrimination but also processes that are fair in form, but discriminatory in operation” (Mills, 1994, p. 12).

Critics of Affirmative Action, such as Nathan Glazer, author of *Affirmative Discrimination*, charged that the Civil Rights Movement had changed its focus from equality of opportunity to racial statistical parity. Nevertheless, Affirmative Action not only prevailed during the Nixon Administration, it expanded. The Nixon Administration was not afraid to use legal largess when attempting to raise the bar regarding Affirmative Action standards. Academic institutions were held to standards similar to the nation’s private and public employers. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) won a consent decree against American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T) in 1973 which resulted in \$15 million in back pay being awarded to 13,000 women and 2,000 minority men, and further established new Affirmative Action goals in hiring and promotion. In addition, the Office of Civil Rights, under the direction of a Nixon appointee, J. Stanley, forced Columbia University to submit three different Affirmative Action plans before restoring \$13 million in funding that it had previously suspended on the basis of its disapproval of Columbia’s hiring policies with regard to women and minorities (Mills, 1994, p. 13). Thus, we observe that Affirmative Action had its seeds planted by the Democrats and nurtured by the Republicans. Affirmative Action thrived under both Democratic and Republican administrations.

Carter

When Jimmy Carter brought the Democrats into power in 1977, he simply picked up where the Republicans left off with regard to Affirmative Action. Carter introduced the Uniform Guidelines on Employee Selection Procedures, developed to address aspects of Order Number 4 that were perceived as vague. The use of such words as “reasonably to be expected,” pertaining to results, failed to provide the type of direction necessary to quell the spirits of critics.

To address the problem, Carter included in the Uniform Guidelines two new cornerstones for Affirmative Action at the federal level: Adverse Impact and the Four-Fifths Rule. According to the guidelines, any employer’s practice that had an adverse impact on any race, sex, or ethnic group was deemed illegal unless justified by business necessity. Furthermore, the guidelines held that any selection rate which resulted in any race, sex, or ethnic group falling below four-fifths that of the group with the highest selection rate would fall into the category of adverse impact. Thus, by the close of the 1970’s, Affirmative Action had clearly reached the height of its evolution within the federal government. The evolution of Affirmative Action in the Supreme Court paralleled that of Affirmative Action in the federal government. During the Carter Administration between 1978-1980, the Court issued three principal decisions that changed both the judicial and political climate surrounding Affirmative Action (Mills, 1994, p.14).

In 1978, the Court issued a divided decision in *Regents of the University of California vs. Bakke* (Alan Bakke was a White medical school applicant who brought a charge of discrimination against the University of California at Davis’s admission program). The university set aside 16 places out of 100 for disadvantaged students. Bakke (White male), whose standard test scores were significantly higher than those of the minority students who were admitted under the admissions program, charged that his rights had been violated based on the

Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Davis counter-claimed that their special admission program was lawful. Four of the justices agreed with Bakke and four agreed with Davis. The fifth and deciding vote was cast by Justice Lewis Powell, who merged thoughts from both camps and held that Bakke should be admitted to Davis on the basis that its admission's policy represented an unallowable quota. However, the more salient aspect of Powell's decision rested with the fact that, he went on to say, he saw no valid reason why race or ethnic background should not serve as a factor with regard to admissions and be considered a plus when making decisions regarding admittance to an institution. Powell rationalized that Davis was fulfilling a "compelling state interest" to diversify its student body via the implementation of the program (Mills, 1994).

One year later in 1979, the Court, in the case of *United Steelworkers of America, vs. Weber*, issued a 5-2 decision to approve an agreement between the steelworkers union and Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corporation to implement a training program that was designed to assure that 50% of the trainees would be Black until such time that the percentage of Black skilled workers at 15 Kaiser plants approximated the percentage of Blacks in the local labor force. Specifically, the Court held that because the Kaiser plan had been "voluntarily adopted" by private parties to eliminate traditional patterns of racial segregation, it was not forbidden by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. The Court, furthermore, held that the plan would not unduly harm Whites because it only served as "a temporary measure" designed with the expressed purpose to eliminate "manifest racial imbalance."

The third case, though significant and far-reaching, did very little to prove that the Court had established the Affirmative Action debate on solid ground. In the 1980 case of *Fullilove vs. Klutznick*, the Court sanctioned an Affirmative Action program which appeared to be identical to

the one that they had ruled illegal in *Bakke* several years earlier. The Court ruled in favor of preferences, allowing the defendants to set aside 10% of four billion dollars in funding for businesses owned by minority groups. The Court ruled, however, in a 6-3 decision in favor of the program, stating that there was enough flexibility in the conditions surrounding the 10% set aside for it to avoid being classified as a quota. To the naked eye, it would appear that these cases served as major breakthroughs for Affirmative Action. In reality, they represented the seeds for what would become the Achilles heel of Affirmative Action: an unstable foundation. Finally, during his final days in office, the Carter Administration was responsible for entering a consent decree that rendered the Professional and Administrative Entrance Examination (PACE) to be discriminatory. The plaintiffs in the case had used two major arguments: (a) while 42% of Whites passed the test only 13% of Blacks and 5% of Hispanics passed; consequently, they alleged that the test yielded racially disparate results; and (b) the plaintiffs argued that the test had not been validated.

Upon assuming office, the Reagan Administration tried, to no avail, to withdraw the government's consent to the decree and ordered the Civil Service Commission to develop a nondiscriminatory test or an alternative selection process. In the end, the written examination was eliminated and replaced by both a process, which examined the applicant's grade point average and a measuring instrument designed to measure such skills as "ambition" and "ability to cooperate." It was generally accepted that the Carter Administration was keenly aware that had they not entered the decree and the case gone to Court, the plaintiffs, who were Black, would have lost the case given the new reasoning of the Court regarding such matters.

Reagan

In 1980, Ronald Reagan, while running as a presidential candidate, made it quite clear that he was on a mission to bring a halt to Affirmative Action stating, “We must not allow the noble concept of equal opportunity to be distorted into federal guidelines or quotas which require race, ethnicity, or sex- rather than ability and qualification--to be the principal fact in hiring or education” (Mills, 1994, p. 17). Once he was elected, President Reagan appointed persons to critical Civil Rights positions who shared his views on Affirmative Action. His appointee to head the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department, William Bradford Reynolds, quoted from comments he made in a law review article regarding Ronald Reagan and Civil Rights: “I regard government tolerance of favoring or disfavoring individuals because of their skin color, sex, religious affiliation, or ethnicity to be fundamentally at odds with the country’s Civil Rights policies” (Mills, 1994, p. 18). Similarly, Clarence Pendleton, Jr., was Reagan’s choice for chairman of the Civil Rights Commission who vocalized his opposition to “quotas, proportional representation, or the setting aside of government contracts for minority businesses” (Mills, 1994, p. 18). The final nail in the coffin for Affirmation Action was his appointment of future Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas, a staunch conservative who described himself in the following manner, “unalterably opposed to programs that force or even cajole people to hire a certain percentage of minorities” (Mills, 1994, p. 18).

Reagan’s mission to curtail the progress of Affirmative Action came as no surprise to those who were familiar with his history. Just as several presidents before him had used their influence to provide shape and meaning to Affirmative Action, Reagan used his influence to render Affirmative Action an oblique, ineffective concept that structurally was in violation of Constitutional law. This 40th president of the United States had, during the 1960’s, opposed the

Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Open Housing Act of 1968. He was prepared to take similar stands during the 1980's. One year after assuming office, he reversed an 11-year-old federal policy that denied tax-exempt status to schools and nonprofit institutions that practice racial discrimination. The next year he fired three Democratic members of the Civil Rights Commission, charging them with favoring racial quotas. He further demonstrated his desire to quell Affirmative Action by vetoing the Civil Rights Restoration Act, which had been designed to overturn an earlier Supreme Court decision that said federal subsidies to colleges that practice discrimination could only be cut for the program in question not the entire college. Congress, however, overrode the President's veto to pass the Civil Rights Restoration Act. This incident represented one of the few times that the Reagan Administration was not effective in its Anti-Affirmative Action platform. The Reagan Administration established the foundation upon which the Anti-Affirmative Action Movement was established. The members of the Affirmative Action Movement were now able to view themselves as centrists, as opposed to reactionaries. One University of California business school professor, Jonathan Leonard, was prompted to quip, "The federal policy of affirmation action effectively passed away with the inauguration of the Reagan Administration" (Mills, 1994, p. 19).

Concomitantly, Reagan began planting the seeds for the swing to the right that the previously liberal Court was about to assume. The Supreme Court, headed by Reagan appointee William Rehnquist, took a more deliberate and methodical swing to the right. As late as 1986, the Court was ruling in favor of "race-conscious affirmative relief" in cases, which demonstrated "long standing or egregious discrimination." In its rulings on several cases, the Court, on the surface to the less critical eye, appeared to be in total support of Affirmative Action; however, during this same period, the Court was giving indications of its desire to curtail Affirmative

Action. In the 1984 case of *Firefighters Local Union Number 1784 vs. Stotts*, the Court refused to apply Affirmative Action requirements to a layoff plan and ruled instead that the seniority system that determined the order of the layoffs was valid (Mills, 1994).

The Court made a similar ruling in the 1986 case of *Wygant vs. Jackson Board of Education* (Mills, 1994, p. 20); however, the true indicator came in the 1988 case of *Watson vs. Fort Worth Bank and Trust* (as cited in Mills, 1994, p. 20). The Court, extending its reach, ruled that it was indeed appropriate to extend its authority to disparate impact cases involving subjective job criteria. The Court, at the same time, minimized the power it had given workers in previous Affirmative Action rulings. In *Watson*, the Court ruled “the ultimate burden of proving that discrimination against a protected group has been caused by a specific employment practice rests with the plaintiff at all times.” This ruling represented a 360 degree turn from a previous 1971 ruling in *Griggs vs. Duke Power Company* (as cited in Mills, 1994) which placed the burden of proof on employers to demonstrate the “business necessity” of any employment practice that had discriminatory impact.

The long-term implications of this drastic shift in Affirmative Action law did not become apparent until a year later, in 1989, in the landmark case of *Ward Cove Packing Company vs. Antonio* (as cited in Mills, 1994). Minority workers charged that the company was in violation of the disparate impact law, stating that they hired predominantly White workers for its skilled positions and Non-Whites for unskilled positions. The Court ruled in favor of the company, stating that a plaintiff could not make a case of disparate impact by merely showing that there is a racial imbalance in the work force. Instead, the Court held it was the responsibility of the plaintiff to demonstrate that it was the manifestation of a particular employment practice that had

created the disparate impact under attack. With this ruling, one of the principal girders that served to hold Affirmative Action in place died and so, too, did a piece of Affirmative Action.

George Bush Sr.

Thus, it took approximately one decade for the Reagan Administration to destroy the foundation upon which Affirmation Action had been erected. Upon assuming office in 1988, President George Bush essentially picked up where Reagan had left off. The Bush Administration responded in a defensive, hostile manner to the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1990. The Act was the result of mounting effort by advocates of Affirmative Action to lessen the impact of the decisions made by the Court in 1989. The Civil Rights Bill sought to: (a) reverse the new interpretation of disparate impact; and (b) to revisit the meaning of the Civil Rights Act of 1866, and allow and provide for minorities and women who were victims of employment discrimination on the job to receive reparations via a collection of damages as well as back pay. The Administration initially expressed their opposition to the bill via a letter written by then Attorney General Richard Thornburgh to the chief sponsor of the bill, Senator Edward Kennedy. His letter indicated that the administration (a) did not subscribe to the notion that the *Wards Cove* (1989) case represented “a radical change in law”; and (b) it advocated keeping “the burden of persuasion” on the shoulders of the plaintiff in disparate-impact cases, and further wanted employers charged with such practices to be required to only show that the practices served legitimate employment goals as opposed to being essential to business. The President presented a public facade of softening with regard to the proposed Civil Rights Bill by stating that he “would like to sign a Civil Rights bill.” However, on October 22, 1990, President Bush vetoed the Civil Rights Act despite the fact that the Act had been passed by both the Senate and House. These

types of decisions have played a major role in the extent to which our country has changed its heart with respect to the issue of Affirmative Action (Mills, 1994).

Bush supported his position by insisting that the passage of such a bill would result in an introduction of a destructive force of quotas into the nation's employment system. The country was ripe for the picking. The president capitalized on the fears of the public regarding potential litigation by warning employers that they would be handcuffed by the legislation if they failed to adopt specific quotas out of an effort to avoid liability. When Jessie Helms joined the bandwagon and won the sentiment of the country with his "White-hands" campaign ad during his bid for the Senate, it was evident that the pendulum had swung to the right with regard to public approval of Affirmative Action.

While a mounting effort grew within the Affirmative Action camp to present a new Civil Rights Act, so too did the criticism for what was perceived as "preferential treatment." The White electorate began to embrace the belief that Civil Rights leaders were more interested in special preferences than in equal opportunity, which was the original battle cry of Affirmative Action proponents (Mills, 1994). Demonstrating the voluminous amount of factors that have impacted the rise and fall of Affirmative Action policy, two incidents took place, which led to the president signing the Civil Rights Act of 1991. Just as the president was planning to replace Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall with ultra conservative Clarence Thomas, who openly opposed Affirmative Action, Professor Anita Hill filed charges of sexual harassment against Clarence Thomas. Though he would ultimately be confirmed in mid-October of 1991 by a close Senate vote of 52 to 48, the public disapproval, which followed, was not good for Bush's image as it related to Civil Rights.

Secondly, when the former Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, David Duke (R-La), beat out the official Republican in the Louisiana gubernatorial primary to finish second, the president and his party were once again placed on the defensive as it pertained to Civil Rights. Fearing a serious backlash, President Bush begrudgingly signed what he called the “quota bill.” On the day preceding the signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1991, the White House actually circulated a proposed Executive Order that would have put an end to the use of Affirmative Action and hiring guidelines for federal jobs; however, the proposal was quickly withdrawn when cooler heads prevailed. As the political climate began to wane in support of Affirmative Action, so did that of the Court’s. Numerous cases were heard at the Supreme Court level during the Bush (Sr.) Administration, which rendered potential irreversible harm to Affirmative Action from the start of his two-year term as president of the United States. He made a concerted effort to communicate to the public that he was an authentic supporter of diversity. Bush Sr.’s initial cabinet consisted of three women, four African Americans, and two Hispanics.

Clinton

It has been said that William Jefferson Clinton wanted to be remembered as the chief executive who confronted head on, one of the nation’s most thorny social issues: Affirmative Action. On October 16, 1995, the same day of the Million Man March in Washington, Clinton addressed the nation and stated that Americans must no longer “tolerate the existence of two Americas.” He further endorsed racial preferences vowing to “mend” not “end” Affirmative Action (On-line, *Viewpoint*). However, in October of the same year, he suspended the largest governmental Affirmative Action program for a period of three years, in keeping with the ruling of *Adarand* (1995) and in an attempt to appease White voters.

On June 14, 1997, President Clinton launched an initiative to “address race relations in America and all such issues which serve to divide our nation and keeps the American dream from being real for everyone who works for it” (On-line). In an astute move, the President established “One America in the 21st Century: The President’s Initiative on Race (PIR)” (On-line). Recognizing the severity of the disparities in health care that exists between racial groups, the PIR, in conjunction with the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, jointly sponsored a forum in Boston, Massachusetts, to identify and discuss issues related to ways of eliminating the disparities in health care that affect racial and ethnic minorities.

On February 21, 1998, President Clinton committed the nation to an unprecedented goal *by the year 2010: to eliminate the disparities in six areas of health experienced by racial and ethnic populations* [On-line]. An overview of this initiative reveals that there exists substantive evidence to support the thesis that “compelling evidence that race and ethnicity correlate with persistent, and often increasing, health disparities among U.S. populations demands national attention. Indeed, despite notable progress in the overall health of the nation, there are continuing disparities in the burden of illness and death experienced by Black, Hispanic, American Indian, and Alaska natives, and Pacific Islanders, compared to the U.S. population as a whole” [On-line].

President George W. Bush

In February 2003, President George W. Bush told the nation that he wanted the Supreme Court to rule against race conscious admissions this spring when they hear arguments in the two Michigan cases concerning the constitutionality of race conscious admissions. During the time that he was running for office and since assuming office, President Bush has indicated that he is unequivocally against quotas but in favor of Affirmative Access, which is designed to increase

minority participation without relying on racial or other questionable criteria. It serves as the prototype of the color-blind alternative to Affirmative Action.

As a further indication of his position on Affirmative Action, President George W. Bush nominated, and the Senate confirmed, the appointment of Gerald Reynolds to the position of Assistant Secretary of Education for Civil Rights during the summer of 2001. Mr. Reynolds has publicly criticized Affirmative Action and, in particular, Affirmative Action in college admissions (Jaschik, 2001). He currently sits on the board of a center that openly opposes Affirmative Action. In his position as Secretary of Education for Civil Rights, he has a critical role in numerous higher education issues, the formation of administration policy on Affirmative Action programs, investigating complaints of racial and gender bias, supervising desegregation efforts, and monitoring colleges' compliance with gender equity requirements for intercollegiate athletics. Jaschik (2001) discusses the fact that in an article published by the *Congressional Quarterly Researcher* in 1998, Mr. Reynolds wrote "Race-based Affirmative Action policies harm many of their intended beneficiaries as well as better qualified White and Asian competitors."

In conclusion, the current political wedge seems to push the concept of Affirmative Action as a negative policy, which hurts other applicants. A slot gained under the category of Affirmative Action is automatically presumed to infer that another more qualified applicant was denied access to the slot. This researcher vowed from the onset to serve as dymythologizer in the interest of eradicating certain myths that have come to be associated with race conscious admissions practices. The most current myth says: The world is full of Black Americans prospering unfairly at the expense of White Americans, and there exist countless anecdotes to support this theory. The stories about the unqualified Black student or worker typically leave out

two things, the “unqualified” White student or worker and the talented Black student or worker who is excelling as a result of being provided this opportunity (Quindlen in Mills, 1994, p. 211-213). This research provides evidence that contradicts that myth.

Unfortunately, diversity has also come to be associated with “unqualified.” In fact, the myth concerning the “unqualified” African Americans and race conscious admissions has been so successfully promulgated that even Blacks believe that the majority of African Americans admitted to colleges and Universities via race conscious admissions are “unqualified.” The present research looked at both the percentage of White students who were admitted to the University under what some would deem “unqualified” terms (Campus Selection Index below 3.0) and the success rate, as measured by graduation, of those African American students admitted under these same terms. An informal survey conducted with several staff at the UIUC, both Black and White, revealed that the majority of them, without fail, believed that more than half of the African American students upon admission to the UIUC had a campus selection index below 3.0. While these staff members were shocked to learn that relatively small numbers of African Americans (16 out of 192, in 1985; and 47 out of 439, in 1995) were admitted under this classification, they were not shocked that (a) the majority of these students had gone on to graduate from the University, and (b) a percentage of the students who had been admitted under this classification (below 3.0) were White.

Furthermore, the argument that some “unqualified” Black person has been allowed an unfair advantage over some better-qualified White person, in the name of Affirmative Action, is based upon the faulty premise that the student who was admitted in the slot ahead of them was a minority student. How can they be sure that it was not one of the White students admitted with a

Campus Index below 3.0 who took their presumed slot? What would the charge be, reverse: reverse discrimination?

The next question that comes to mind is: Why is it Affirmative Action when Black students are admitted to the UIUC and other institutions below the standard criteria, but “acceptable practices” when White students are admitted under the same conditions? The reality of the matter is that in either instance the decision to admit was based upon an admissions policy that values diversity. The desired diversity comes in a myriad of shapes and classifications. In the case of the African American student, it is the race of the student that is desired to bring about the diversity; in the case of the White student, it may be that the student is from a particular geographic region of the state, (i.e., farming community), or the student is the only female harpist in the state. More importantly, it is the diversity that the student brings to the campus that is sought by the University. Should the African American student be penalized because their diversity factor happens to be race? The data garnered from this research supports a resounding “No.”

The practice that undergirds Affirmative Action: preferential treatment has been and will continue to go on for some time to come. It’s all a matter of context. The legacy practice at the elite private and Ivy League schools is simply another form of Affirmative Action. Larew in Mills (1994) reported that the administrators of these institutions insisted that the children of their alumni were simply more qualified than other applicants when questioned about the seemingly preferential treatment of legacies. An inquiry conducted by the Office of Civil Rights revealed that this was simply not so. Careless hand notes by admissions counselors scribbled on the files of students who had been admitted to Harvard revealed the following comments: “Double lineage who chose the right parents.” Dad’s [deleted] connections signify lineage of

more than usual weight. That counted into the equation makes this a case which assuming positive TR's [teacher recommendations] and alum IV [alumnus interview] is well worth doing"; "Not quite strong enough to get the clean tip"; "Classical case that would be hard to explain to dad" (Larew in Mills, 1994, p. 252-253).

These statements indicate that preferential treatment is clearly not limited to race. Diversity is not defined as race based only. We will continue to encounter an impasse in the race based admissions discussion, as long as we cling to this monolithic view of diversity. Diversity, at the UIUC, the University of Michigan, and other institutions across the country refers to a plethora of factors, one of them being race. This would explain the behavior of the administrators [as cited in the introduction] who are currently admitting White males over White females who have higher test scores. In the interest of gender diversity, these administrators are using Affirmative Action practices.

The essence of America is that an individual may possess a characteristic that makes him a somebody in one venue and a nobody in another venue (Kingsley, 2003). George W. Bush knows that there is a good chance that he would have likely been rejected from the University of Michigan law school had he applied. What he fails to acknowledge, however, is that Barbara Grutter may have been rejected from Harvard as well, in the interest of allowing a "somebody" like Bush admittance despite the fact that her test scores may have been higher than those of that "somebody."

It is clear that diversity has gained a foothold as a construct and as a function in higher education. The UIUC's experience illustrates the time, effort, challenges, frustration and success in this process. The two Michigan cases that are currently before the Supreme Court challenge the progress that has been made with regard to access to opportunity, as well as the merit of the

process by which diversity has been achieved. The outcome of the Michigan cases has far broader impact for more people than is currently recognized in the popular press. While no one can predict the future, one can note recent historical trends within higher education regarding diversity. There exists a momentum for diversity; programs are successful in creating richer, more meaningful learning environments for which higher education has publicly and forcefully declared its support. There is much at stake for individual student growth and development, and preparedness of future generations to face a world of diversity. If contemporary America is any indication and the changing demographics are any example, the new America must be more diverse in ethnicity, employment, public service and education. It is counterintuitive to think that one would seek diversity in race without considering race, or diversity in gender, without considering gender. The University of Illinois is trying to bring in the modern University. It is imperative that the new University reflects the re-engineering and the new definition of what is American.

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APPENDIX A

SAMPLE ADULT CONSENT LETTER

October 15, 2002

You are invited to participate in a research project on the consequences of abandoning or including race in the admissions process. This project will be conducted by Sandra Kato-Wright from the Department of Organization and Leadership in the College of Education at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

This project will entail you submitting to an interview designed to last from 30 minutes to one hour. In these interviews, which will be audio taped with your permission, you will be asked to share your experiences at the University of Illinois as it relates to student recruitment, admissions practices, special programs, campus climate and data collection practices. Your name and title will be revealed in the text of this research document unless you request otherwise. You clearly have the right to request that your name not be included with your comments or in this research. (Please see the area below.) Your participation in this project is completely voluntary, and you are free to withdraw at any time and for any reason without penalty. You are also free to refuse to answer any questions you do not wish to answer. You will receive a copy of the research results after this project is completed.

Should you have any questions about this research project, please contact Sandra Kato-Wright by telephone at (217) 333-1889, (217) 398-9598 or via e-mail at skatowri@uiuc.edu.

I would like to exercise my option to keep my name anonymous.

Signature Date (Option A)

I agree to waive the option to keep my name anonymous and as such understand that it will be revealed within this research.

Signature Date (Option B)

I have read and understand the above information and voluntarily agree to participate in the research project described above. I have been offered a copy of this consent form.

Signature Date

APPENDIX B

BLACK STUDENT GOVERNMENT LETTER

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

April 19, 1968

Dear Graduating Senior:

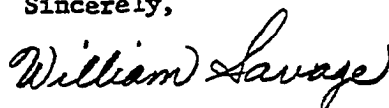
The Black Student Association at the University of Illinois is inviting you along with eighty other black high school seniors from Chicago and East St. Louis to attend a cost-free weekend at the University of Illinois in Urbana, Illinois from Friday, April 26 to Sunday, April 28. You and the other eighty guests of the University of Illinois' Black Student Association have all been accepted for admission to the University of Illinois in September of this year.

The purpose of our weekend program is to assist you in social and academic adjustment prior to attendance. During the weekend you will have the opportunity to become acquainted with the members of the BSA, and University faculty and administrative personnel. Naturally, you will also become acquainted with the other high school seniors coming down with you.

We have also enclosed a tentative program of events for the weekend. The program will consist of speakers, discussions, recreation, dances, tours of the campus, informal gatherings, etc. You will be living on campus and your meals will be taken care of free of charge by the University. We have chartered a bus for you and the other seniors from Chicago. The bus will depart from the Greyhound Bus Terminal on Randolph (between Clark and Dearborn Streets) at 10:30 a.m. on Friday, April 26, 1968 and leave from the Illini Union, Urbana, at 3:00 p.m. on Sunday, April 28, 1968.

Please return the enclosed self-stamped card by April 23, 1968.

Sincerely,



William Savage
Recruitment and Retention
Committee of the BSA

Enclosures

TENTATIVE PROGRAM
BLACK STUDENTS ASSOCIATION OPEN HOUSE
PROGRAM OUTLINE

Friday, April 26

2:00 Host and Hostesses meet at bus (Illini Union)
2:45 - 3:30 Whitney Young, Executive Director of the National
Urban League
3:45 - 5:00 Tour I of the campus
5:30 Dinner
7:00 Student Opinion-Question and Answer Session
9:00 Dance given by the Black Students Association*

Saturday, April 27

7:30 - 9:00 Breakfast
9:30 - 11:30 Tour II of the campus
11:30 - 1:15 Lunch
1:30 - 3:30 Orientation and discussion: Jake Jennings, Chicago
Circle, Chancellor's Office and other University
staff. (Hopefully, Professor Charles Hamilton,
Roosevelt University, co-author of Black Power:
The Politics of Liberation in America by Carmichael
and Hamilton)
3:30 - 5:30 Recreation - basketball, swimming, cards, etc. (English
Building)
5:30 Dinner**
8:30 Dance given by the Black Students Association (with
bands)*

Sunday, April 28

7:30 - 9:00 Breakfast
10:00 Film - "The Way It Is". Discussion follows with
Robert Carter, Chicago Circle Campus Black Student
Organization (Instructor in Classics)
12:30 Lunch
3:00 Bus leaves for return home.

* All female visitors are required to return to their housing units
by 1 a.m.

** All time not accounted for is assumed to be free time for guests.

APPENDIX C

SPENCER 1968 PROPOSAL

University of Illinois

Program for the Culturally Deprived

A Proposal

Prepared by Richard E. Spencer for the
Chancellor's Ad Hoc Committee on Special Education

March 1968

The University is generally concerned about the success of all students who are admitted, but conditions have brought to the University in recent years an increasing number of students of such quality that justification can be found for abolishing remedial courses and providing only for those academic problems that are periodic and short-term in nature. These facilities, which might be appropriate for the majority of students from academically good high schools, are dreadfully inadequate for students from disadvantaged school-communities. It becomes necessary then for the University to establish adequate programs and facilities for the aspiring students from disadvantaged areas and at the same time maintain the quality of instruction beneficial to the advantaged majority. Such diversification, however alarming it might appear, is possible, and under the present circumstances is absolutely necessary. Such programs, for special students, soon acquire the label of "remedial".

Remediation as it usually operates is repugnant to students and instructors alike. Usually self-esteem is sacrificed for desperately-sought academic improvement, yet we are convinced that self-esteem is vital to any academic improvement. We therefore face--in addition to establishing special programs coexistent with scholarly pursuits--a problem of molding such programs with the attitudes and spirit of the total university, without lowering the self-esteem of the students--or the instructors.

As the situation now stands, the largest state university in Illinois is not adequately prepared to handle one of the most profound and disturbing educational problems of our time--how to raise the academic achievement level of highly motivated students from disadvantaged backgrounds. An institution of this stature and of this persuasion should give leadership to this national problem.

One can illustrate the impediments of education among culturally deprived students who have enrolled at the University in a variety of ways. A comparison of their attrition rate with that of other students, a conjecture about their characteristically high class rank and low test scores, all shed light on condition. The problem is highlighted even more by the fact that for the student coming from a school outside of the Negro community, a high school percentile rank of 90 and an ACT composite score of 15 will predict a grade of C at the University, while the Negro student coming from de facto segregated, schools must produce a composite score of 23 with the same class percentile rank of 90 to predict a C grade. These facts illustrate an academically grave disadvantage that educators should be sensitive to and be working upon.

The University of Illinois has recognized the fact that its Urbana campus is largely a white student campus. In comparison to the proportion of Negroes in the population of Illinois, the proportion of Negro students is severely restricted. Similarly, the University assumes that it has a direct and aggressive responsibility to give more opportunities to Negroes to obtain a college education; and that it has the further responsibility of insuring that more Negro students achieve a successful accomplishment with that opportunity.

To this end, this proposal has been prepared. The objectives of this proposal are two:

- 1) to enable greater numbers of culturally deprived (especially Negro) students to attend the University of Illinois, and

- 2) to enable greater proportions of these students to graduate from the University, with educational quality equal to that of other students.

The University, at present is not fully capable of meeting these objectives. These objectives cannot be met under the present circumstances, nor with slight and even rather generous modifications of present systems; nor should a program be mounted which cannot become a permanent part of the educational system at this university. To permit half-hearted, naive, ill-conceived or temporary programs to describe the University's activities in this area would not be consistent with the expressed policies of the administration, the state, or the many faculty committees studying this problem.

Considerable time and effort was expended reviewing compensatory programs for the culturally deprived¹, including site visits in existence at other universities. Several programs, of the temporary sort, have been mounted by the University (for example, the College of Liberal Arts Summer Program) which have been found inadequate. While more than 10% of the state's population is Negro, less than 2% of current enrollment at the U of I is Negro. In order, therefore, to state the objectives of this program, in more concrete and behavioral terms, success will be realized when:

- 1) the proportion of white to Negro students at the U of I matches or exceeds the proportion within the state population, and
- 2) the Negro failure rate is lowered to equal or surpass that of the white student--with equal quality of education across both groups.

The specific aim is thus to enroll (in phases from 1969 through 1973) increasing numbers of Negro freshmen to peak at 1970 at about 500-600, or 10% of the entering freshmen class, and to graduate four years later, at least 30% of these students (i.e. equal to the graduation rate of all students),

¹Gordon, Edmund W.; and Wilkerson, Dorey A. Compensatory Education for the Disadvantaged. 1966, New York, College Entrance Examination Board.

In order to accomplish this task, major fundamental alterations in the present University system are required. Some of these are already underway, but the full extent of these changes cannot be realized without substantial outside financial resources. These changes can be grossly indicated as follows:

1. Recruitment - to obtain greater numbers of deserving applications, through a program of wider scholarship opportunities and greater communication and articulation between the university and the high schools (particularly inner city schools). The program will obtain recruitment of greater numbers academically talented Negroes. Special consideration will also be given to graduates of Upward Bound Projects, the utilization of criteria other than test scores, such as recommendations by counselors, teachers, etc., recruitment from junior colleges, and returning veterans, and older, experienced citizens who have graduated from high school some time in the past.
2. University policy changes - Several academic policy decisions can be made for these students, such as altering criteria for academic probation by permitting a full year instead of one semester for meeting probation criteria; permitting success to be defined as "not on probation" rather than having to make up probationary deficiencies in one succeeding semester, and permitting a reduced load during their freshman year. (9 or 12 hours).
3. Admissions policies: In addition to developing alternatives in admissions criteria other conditions would seem helpful; including:
 - a. the early identification of Negro applicants; counseling relative to entrance examinations and procedures given; test fees paid, etc.
 - b. the development of a procedure whereby an early commitment for financial aid can be made, deposit can be payed or waived, and provisions for student/parent visits to the campus can be arranged.
 - c. Early reservation of space in University residence halls for

these students who may not be accepted until after University housing is routinely filled.

d. Reserving specific numbers of "slots" for Negro and culturally deprived students, for which they assume first priority as follows:

1969 - 200 (increase of 100)

1970 - 300 (increase of 200)

1971 - 400 (increase of 300)

1972 - 500 (increase of 400)

1973 - 600 (increase of 500)
(permanent peak; i.e. 10%)

4. Special services

a. increased counseling, guidance, testing and tutorial services; guidance in test taking; diagnostic services; re-testing, etc.

b. Orientation and pre-enrollment advising: Early evaluation of academic strengths and weaknesses and the development of appropriate advising and counseling. Special orientation programs during the summer with round trip paid.

5. Academic advising:

This program would make available to each student an academic advisor who was interested in and aware of the needs of the negro student. His work would begin in the summer with the development of an appropriate class schedule with each student. He would be aware of the progress of the student during the semester and would have flexibility in adapting the college regulations to the student needs. A program of tutoring assistance would be available.

General counselors are also needed who know the student well and have the knowledge of resources available for problems he might face outside the academic life. It would be the responsibility of the counselor to individualize the student and his individual needs and assist him in fitting into the appropriate areas of the program.

Table I

A Comparison of the Culturally Deprived (Especially Negro)
Group vs. the Total Freshman Class, Fall, 1966

	<u>CD</u> (94)	<u>All</u> <u>Freshmen</u> (5653)
1. First Semester GPA	2.95	3.43
2. High School Percentile Rank	83.6	82.6
3. Correlation between GPA and HSPR	.304	.46
4. ACT Composite	21.2	25.5
5. Correlation between ACT Composite and GPA	.130	.38
6. ACT English	20.3	23.2
7. ACT Math	21.1	26.4
8. ACT Social Studies	21.9	25.9
9. ACT Natural Science	21.2	26.2
10. SCAT Verbal	25.4	31.4
11. SCAT Quantitative	23.2	32.6
12. SCAT Total	48.7	63.0
13. Reading Vocabulary	33.0	38.7
14. Reading Speed	36.3	40.9
15. Reading Comprehension	25.5	31.9
16. Math I Placement	9.2	14.5
17. Math II Placement	6.1	13.6
18. Sex	1.47	1.37
19. Multiple prediction of GPA from HSPR and ACT Composite	.320	.55

6. Social services - a program to develop a capability to participate in recreational and community programs and events.
7. Academic programs - to build specifically tailored instructional programs designed, not to make them "catch-up", but to appropriately give them specialized instruction in areas diagnosed during counseling and testing periods.
8. Placement services - to more adequately insure that the students will be placed in an appropriate employment location, suitable to their skills, upon graduation.
9. Parent/high school articulation - provide counseling and guidance programs for parental education and articulation between home and college, and high school and college.

This proposal indicates the methods by which these objectives are to be met. Programs that have been inspected seem to indicate a somewhat uncoordinated attempt, i.e. recruitment is not tied in with academic placement, or academic achievement is not coordinated with placement. Similarly many programs have assumed that the culturally deprived, or the Negro, represent a homogenous population, which can be given a homogeneous program. This does not appear to be appropriate. Thirdly, it has been assumed that all that is needed is a program which enables the CD's and Negroes to "catch up". These assumptions are challenged by our research evidence, and the proposals below compensate for these assumptions as indicated.

I. Recruitment. Historically the attitudes of the Negro student toward the U of I indicate several problems:

- 1) the U of I is intellectually oriented beyond the capability of most Negro students
- 2) the Urbana campus does not "welcome" Negroes; academically or socially
- 3) programs for the CD or Negro do not exist
- 4) The failure rate of the Negro far surpasses the rate of the white student,

The attempt by the U of I is to alter these beliefs and conditions, not by propaganda or lecture, but by deed. The Negroes who do come to Urbana tend to have high school percentile ranks equal to the white student. In 1966 the Negro mean HSPR was 83.6; for the white the mean was 82.6; (See figure 1) the American College Test results for the two groups was, however, significantly different--21.19 for the CD/Negro group, and 25.54 for the white group. Similarly, SCAT Quantitative scores differed markedly (Figure 2). The resultant success of these two groups, as indicated by first semester grade point average was 3.43 for whites, and 2.95 for the CD/Negro group. Table I presents data on these two groups.

The prediction of success of the two groups is markedly different--about a .55 for the total freshmen class, and a .30 for the CD/Negro group. ACT and GPA correlate only .13 for the CD/Negro group, but .37 for the total group; HSPR and GPA correlate .30 for the CD/Negro group, and .45 for the total group. For the predominantly white group, previous educational experience, and intellectual test scores relate significantly higher to college success than does such variables for the CD/Negro group. Part of this problem can be explained as the difference between university values and attributes vs. ghetto values. Recruitment cannot aid in this problem. Recruitment can assist by obtaining applications from Negro high school students with higher ACT scores, and perhaps, higher HSPR. This will by no means accomplish our purpose completely, but it will enable us, in coordination with altered admissions criteria to attract the already capable Negro student. The other end of this problem is to attract more deserving Negro students. A serious problem might be that we do not know who is deserving. The HSPR and ACT admissions standards may not be valid for this group, not necessarily in terms of lowering admission standards, but in terms of its validity for this group of students. Thus the following is suggested:

- 1) greater numbers of high HSPR/ACT Negro students be recruited to fill

- part of the reserved slots for the Negro, and
- 2) part of the vacancies be filled by an experimental group, who have been accepted on variables other than the normal HSPR/ACT-formula. Research be undertaken, then, to locate, define, measure and collect information relative to these variables. One group which would be tapped here are those that have graduated from high school some time ago or who can be persuaded to take the GED high school certification examination.

It is presumed that many deserving Negro students apply elsewhere because of financial problems--thus we recommend specifically culturally deprived/Negro scholarships to more adequately attract these students.

Financial and personnel costs:

Recruitment

	<u>Federal costs</u>
1 full time professional recruiter @8,000	8,000
Travel funds	1,000
Office expense	1,000
	<u>10,000</u>

Financial aid (by year from all sources)

Tuition, fees, board, room @	1,650
Miscellaneous (clothing, extras)	350
	<u>2,000</u>

Sept. 1967 - 200	200,000
1970 - 300	400,000
1971 - 400	600,000
1972 - 500	800,000
1973 - 500+	1,000,000

Such financial aid will not cover all students for all four years. It is assumed that normal drop-out rates will decrease the amount needed per student from one year to the next; that scholarship funds from other agencies can be applied to successful freshmen students (perhaps, as an incentive).

APPENDIX D

UIUC BOARD POLICY REGARDING SPECIAL ADMISSIONS

Beginning Freshman

1.11 Reserved Spaces for Experimental and Special Programs.

Policy:

"For experimental and special programs, space may be reserved at each campus for applicants of different qualifications, not to exceed ten percent of the previous fall term entering freshman class on that campus." (Board of Trustees, April 15, 1970)

¹Different from the following high school rank and test score criteria approved by the Board of Trustees on April 15, 1970:

1. Applicants approved for admission to regular programs must have at least a one-in-two (50 percent) chance of achieving a 3.0 (C) average for the first term in the college or curriculum to which they apply.
2. To provide the flexibility that may be needed on a temporary basis, applicants whose chances for success range from one-in-four (minimally qualified under present standards) to one-in-two (minimally qualified under recommended standards) may be approved for admission to a curriculum or college under the following circumstances:
 - a. The curriculum or college would not fully utilize available resources of space, staff, and/or facilities unless such applicants were admitted.
 - b. Provision is made by the department or college concerned designed to help such applicants improve their chances for success.
 - c. Special funds are provided where added expenses are involved in making such provision."

VITA

Sandra Joy Kato was born in Chicago, Illinois. She graduated from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in 1977 with a Bachelor of Arts in psychology. She worked for several years as a social worker in Chicago before completing her Master of Arts degree in clinical psychology from Roosevelt University in 1983. She worked for several years as a therapist in the Chicago-land area before she began to pursue a career in the field of education. Sandra relocated to the Champaign-Urbana area to complete her graduate study in the field of education. She is currently employed by the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign as an assistant dean and the director of the Upward Bound College Prep Academy. Following the completion of her doctorate, Sandra plans to continue her work in higher education and conduct further research on post-secondary enrollment trends.