Sylvia Hurtado

Professor
Director, Higher Education Research Institute
University of California, Los Angeles

Nominated by
Shaun Harper

Sylvia Hurtado
Director, Higher Education Research Institute, and Professor
University of California, Los Angeles

Sylvia Hurtado's work on the educational benefits associated with diversity and cross-cultural engagement on college and university campuses is said to have had a profound effect on the outcome of the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in the Affirmative Action cases at the University of Michigan. Dr. Hurtado is a Professor and Director of the Higher Education Research Institute in the Graduate School of Education and Information Sciences at the University of California, Los Angeles. Prior to coming to UCLA, she served as Director of the Center for the Study of Higher and Postsecondary Education at the University of Michigan. Dr. Hurtado has published numerous articles and books related to student educational outcomes, campus racial climates, college impact on student development, and diversity in higher education. Her research has been published in the top higher education journals, including the *Review of Higher Education*, *Journal of Higher Education*, *Research in Higher Education*, and *Sociology of Education*, to name a few. She is lead author of the book, *Enacting Diverse Learning Environments: Improving the Climate for Racial/Ethnic Diversity in Higher Education* (Jossey-Bass, 1999). Dr. Hurtado has served on numerous editorial boards for peer-reviewed academic journals in education, and in leadership capacities with the American Association of Higher Education (AAHE) and the Higher Learning Commission. She is the current national president of the Association for the Study of Higher Education (ASHE). In 2004, *Black Issues in Higher Education* magazine named her among the top 15 influential faculty whose work has had a significant impact on the academy. She obtained her Ph.D. in Education from UCLA, Ed.M. from Harvard Graduate School of Education, and A.B. in Sociology from Princeton University. Dr. Hurtado has coordinated several national research projects, including a U.S. Department of Education-sponsored study on how colleges are preparing students to achieve the cognitive, social, and democratic skills requisite for participation in a diverse democracy. She is launching a National Institutes of Health project on the preparation of underrepresented students for biomedical and behavioral science research careers. She has also studied assessment, reform, and innovation in undergraduate education on a project through the National Center for Postsecondary Improvement. Unarguably, Dr. Sylvia Hurtado's scholarship has enhanced higher education research and practice, particularly in the areas of diversity and campus racial climates.

Submitted by: Shaun Harper

2006 Brock International Prize in Education
Nominee Packet for

SYLVIA HURTADO, PH.D.

Professor
Director, Higher Education Research Institute
University of California Los Angeles

Nominated by:

Shaun R. Harper, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor and Research Associate
Center for the Study of Higher Education
The Pennsylvania State University

Nominated for:

Significant intellectual contributions on the educational benefits associated with diversity and cross-cultural engagement on college and university campuses, which affected the outcome of the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in the Affirmative Action cases at the University of Michigan

Sylvia Hurtado

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Culver City, CA 90230
(310) 825-1925 (office)
(310) 903-1833 (cell)
Born: San Antonio, Texas

3005 Moore Hall
GSEIS
405 Hilgard Ave.
Los Angeles, CA 90095-1521
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Education

Ph.D. in Education (Cognate: Sociology), 1986-1990
Graduate School of Education, University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA)

Ed.M. in Administration, Planning and Social Policy, 1982-1983
Graduate School of Education, Harvard University

A.B. in Sociology (Cognate: Anthropology), 1976-1980, Princeton University
Certified teacher in Spanish and Social Studies, State of New Jersey

Academic Awards and Honors

Black Issues in Higher Education, 15th Anniversary Fall 1999, Named among Top 15 Influential Faculty who personify scholarship, service and integrity and whose work has had substantial impact on the academy.
Harold R. Johnson Diversity Award, 1998, University of Michigan
Distinguished Early Career Award, 1995-96, Association for the Study of Higher Education.
Evan and Helen Geib Pattishall Junior Faculty Research Award, 1994 University of Michigan School of Education
University of California President's Postdoctoral Fellowship, 1990-92
Dorothy Danforth Compton Graduate Fellowship, UCLA, 1986-1990

Academic and Administrative Appointments

Professor, 2004—, University of California at Los Angeles, Graduate School of Education and Information Studies
Director, 2004—, Higher Education Research Institute, University of California at Los Angeles
Director, 2000-2003, Center for the Study of Higher and Postsecondary Education, University of Michigan (CSHPE is an academic department and research center).
Associate Professor, 1997-2003, University of Michigan, School of Education
Assistant Professor. 1992-97, University of Michigan, School of Education
University of California Postdoctoral Fellow, 1990-92, UCLA, Department of Sociology
Research Analyst, 1986-1990, Higher Education Research Institute, UCLA
Research Assistant, June-August, 1987, Center for the Study of Evaluation/CRESST, UCLA
Assistant to the Graduate Dean, Division of Graduate Studies and Research, University of California, Santa Cruz, July 1983-June 1986
Special Assistant to the Director of Admissions, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, September 1982-June 1983
Assistant Regional and Interim Associate Director of Admissions, Princeton University, July 1980-August 1982

National Service

American Educational Research Association, AERA Presidential Panel on Racial Dynamics in Higher Education, 1997-99; Elected to Division J Council, 1997-99; AERA/NSF Undergraduate Mathematics Indicators Project, panel member and co-author, 1994-96; AERA Affirmative Action Committee, Division J, 1992-93; Vice Chair for Social Contexts section of Division J Program Committee, *1992*

American Association for Higher Education, Board Member, 1996-2000.

Association of American Colleges and Universities, Diversity Works, Advisory Committee, 1996-2000; Greater Expectations, National Panel, 2000-2002. An initiative to formulate a statement of aims and purposes for twenty-first century college-level study.

Association for the Study of Higher Education, President, 2004-2005; Chair, Dissertation Award Committee, 2002-03; Nominations Committee, 1996; Chair, Conference Program Research Papers, 1995;Chair. Conference Program Symposia, 1992; Board Member, 1990-92.

Gates Millennium Scholarship Program, Research and Evaluation Advisory Board 2001-present

Higher Learning Commission (North Central Accreditation Association), Board Member, 2000-2004

National Center for Urban Partnerships/Ford Foundation, Evaluation facilitator, 1994-97

National Survey of Student Experiences, Technical Advisory Panel

Publications

Books and Monographs

Gurin, P., Lehman, J.S., Lewis, E., with Dey, E. L., Gurin, G. & Hurtado, S. (2004). Defending diversity: Affirmative Action at the University of Michigan. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Schoem, D. and Hurtado, S. (Eds.) (2001). Intergroup Dialogue: Deliberative Democracy in School, College, Community, and Workplace. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Hurtado, S., Milem, J. F., Clayton-Pederson, A., & Allen, W. A.(1999). Enacting Diverse Learning Environments: Improving the Campus Climate for Racial/ethnic Diversity in Higher Education. ASHE-ERIC Series. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

In Preparation

Hurtado, S. (Ed.) Transforming Universities: Research and Practice on Diversity and Civic Engagement in Undergraduate Education.

Hurtado, S. Higher Learning for Citizenship in a Diverse Democracy.

Juried Publications

Hurtado, S. (in press). The next generation of diversity and intergroup relations research. Journal of Social Issues.

Hurtado, S. and Ponjuan, L. (in press) Latino educational outcomes and the campus climate, Journal of Hispanic Higher Education.

Laird, T. N., Engberg, M.E., & Hurtado (in press). Modeling accentuation effects: Enrolling in a diversity course and the importance of social action engagement. Journal of Higher Education, 75.

Hurtado, S., Laird, T. N., and Perorazio, T. (2005). The transition to college for low-income students: The impact of the Gates Millennium Scholars Program. Readings on Equal Education, Vol 20, 153-180.

Hurtado, S., Dey, E.L., Gurin, P., & Gurin, G. (2003). The college environment, diversity, and student learning. In Smart, J. (Ed.) Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research, Vol. XVIII, 145-189. Amsterdam: Kluwer Academic Press.

Gurin, P., Dey, E. L., Hurtado, S. & Gurin, G. (Fall, 2002). Diversity and higher education: Theory and impact on educational outcomes, Harvard Educational Review ,72 (3), 330-366.

_____Reprinted in Howell, A. and Tuitt, F. (2003). Race and Higher Education: Rethinking Pedagogy in Diverse College Classrooms, HER Reprint Series, 36. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Publishing Group.

Hurtado, S., Engberg, M. E., Ponjuan, L., & Landreman, L. (2002). Students' precollege preparation for participation in a diverse democracy, Research in Higher Education, 43 (2), 162-186.

Hurtado, S., Milem, J. F, Clayton-Pederson, A., & Allen, W. A, (1998). Enhancing campus climates for racial/ethnic diversity: Educational policy and practice. Review of Higher Education, 21(3), 279-302.

Hurtado, S. & Carter, D. F. (1997). Effects of college transition and perceptions of campus racial climate on Latinos' sense of belonging. Sociology of Education. 70 (4), 324-345.

_____Reprinted in Stage, F. et al., College Students: The Evolving Nature of Research. ASHE Reader Series. Needham Heights, MA: Simon and Schuster.

Hurtado, S., Inkelas Kurotsuchi, K., Briggs, C.U, & Rhee, B. S. (1997). Differences in college access and choice among racial/ethnic groups: Identifying continuing barriers. Research in Higher Education. 38 (1), 43-75.

Dey, E. L. & Hurtado, S. (1996). Faculty attitudes toward regulating speech on college campuses. Review of Higher Education, 20(1). 15-32.

Hurtado, S., Carter, D. F., & Spuler, A. (1996). Latino student transition to college: Assessing difficulties and factors in successful adjustment. Research in Higher Education, 37(2), 135-157.

Dey, E. L. & Hurtado, S. (1995). College impact, student impact: A reconsideration of the role of students within American higher education. Higher Education: The International Journal of Higher Education and Educational Planning, 207-223.

_____Reprinted in Bess, J. Foundations of American Higher Education. ASHE Reader Series. Needham Heights, MA: Simon & Schuster, 1999.

Hurtado, S. (1994). The graduate school racial climate and academic self-concept among minority graduate students in the 1970s. American Journal of Education. 102(3), 330-351.

Hurtado, S. (1994). The institutional climate for talented Latino students. Research in Higher Education, 35(1), 21-41.

Hurtado, S. (1992). Campus racial climates: Contexts for conflict. Journal of Higher Education, 5 (September/October), 539-569.

_____Reprinted in Turner, C. S., (2002); Turner, C.S. et al.(1996). Racial and Ethnic Diversity in Higher Education. ASHE Reader Series. Needham Heights, MA: Simon and Schuster.

Hurtado, S., Astin, A. W. & Dey, E. L. (1991). Varieties of general education programs: An empirical taxonomy. Journal of General Education, 40, 133- 162.

Book Chapters and Invited Articles

Hurtado, S. (in press) The Public University Role in Preparing Citizens for a Diverse Democracy. Colbeck, C. (Ed.) The Future of the American Public Research University.

Hurtado, S. (in press). Diversity and Learning for a Pluralistic Democracy, in Allen W., Bonous-Hammarth, M., & Teranishi, R. *Higher Education in a Global Society: Achieving Diversity, Equity, and Excellence.* Oxford, England:Elsevier Publishers.

Gurin. P., Dey, E.L., Gurin, G. and Hurtado, S. (2004). The Educational Value of Diversity, in Gurin, P., Lehman, J.S, and Lewis, E. with Dey, E., Gurin, G. and Hurtado, S. Defending Diversity: Affirmative Action at the University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Gurin, P., Dey, E.L., Gurin, G., and Hurtado, S. (2003). How Does Racial Diversity Promote Education? Western Journal of Black Studies, 27 (1), 22-29.

Hurtado, S. and Kamimura, M. (2003). Latina/o Retention in Four-Year Institutions. In Castellanos, J. and Jones, L. (eds.), The Majority in the Minority: Retaining Latina/o Faculty, Administrators, and Students in the 21st century. Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing, Inc.

Hurtado, S. (2003). Institutional Diversity in American Higher Education. In Komives, S. and Woodard, D. (Eds.), Student Services: A Handbook for the Profession. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Rowley, L.and Hurtado, S. (2003). The Non-monetary Benefits of Undergraduate Education. In Lewis, D. and Hearn, J. (eds). The Public Research University: Serving the Public Good in New Times, 207-229. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Hurtado, S. (2002). Toward an inclusive community: Understanding Latino college students. In Smith, W., Altbach, P., and Lomotey, K. (Eds.) The Racial Crisis in American Higher Education. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Hurtado, S. (2001). Research and Evaluation on Intergroup Dialogue. In Schoem, D. and Hurtado, S. (Eds,) Intergroup Dialogue: Deliberative Democracy in School, Workplace, and Community. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Hurtado, S. (2001). Linking diversity with educational purpose: How the diversity impacts the classroom environment and student development. In G. Orfield (ed.) Diversity challenged: Legal crisis and new evidence. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Publishing Group.

Hurtado, S. & Wathington, H. (2000). "Time for Retreat" or Renewal? The Impact of *Hopwood* on Campus. In Heller, D. (Ed.), The States and Public Higher Education: Affordability, Access, and Accountability. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Hurtado, S. (1999). Reaffirming educators' judgment: Educational value of diversity, Journal of Liberal Education, Spring, 24-31. Washington, DC: American Association of Colleges and Universities.

Dey, E. L. & Hurtado, S. (1998) Students, colleges, and society: Considering the interconnections. In Altbach, R, Berdahl, R. & Gumport, P. (Eds.) The American university in the 21st century: Higher education and society. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Hurtado, S., Carter, D. F., & Kardia, D. B. (1998). The climate for diversity: Key issues for institutional self-study. In K. Bauer (ed.), Campus Climate: Understanding the

Critical Components of Today's Colleges and Universities, New Directions for Institutional Research. (98). San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

Hurtado, S. & Navia, C. (1997). Reconciling college access and the affirmative action debate. In Mildred Garcia (S.) Affirmative action's testament of hope: Strategies for a new era. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Hurtado, S. & Dey, E. L. (1997). Achieving the goals of multiculturalism and diversity, 405-431. In Peterson, M. W., Dill, D. D., & Metz, L.A. (Eds.) Planning and management for a changing environment: A handbook on redesigning postsecondary institutions. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Hurtado, S. (1996). How diversity affects teaching and learning. Educational Record. 77(4), 27-29.

Hurtado, S. & Carter, D. F. (1996). Latino Students' sense of belonging in the college community: Rethinking the concept of integration on campus. In Stage, F.K., Anaya, G.L., Bean, J. V. Hossler, D., and Kuh, G. D., College students: The evolving nature of research, (pp. 123-136). Needham Heights, MA: Simon and Schuster.

Dey, E. L. & Hurtado, S. (1994). College students in changing contexts. In Altbach, Philip, Berdahl, Robert, & Gumport, Patricia (Eds.), Higher education in American society, 3rd Edition, (pp. 249-367). Amherst, New York: Prometheus.

Hurtado, S. (1994). Review of Does College Make a Difference? Contemporary Sociology, 23 (4), 566-567.

Hurtado, S. (1994). Latino consciousness and academic success. In Hurtado, A. and Garcia, E. (Eds.), Latino educational achievement. Santa Cruz, CA: University of California.

Technical Research Reports and Instruments

Sax, L., Hurtado, S., Lindholm, J., Astin, A.W., Korn, W.S., Mahoney, K.M. (2005). The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 2004. Los Angeles: Higher Education Research Institute.

Hurtado, S. (2003). Preparing College Students for a Diverse Democracy. Final report to the U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, Field Initiated Studies Program. (see website www.umich.edu/~divdemo/presentations.htm for pdf copy).

Hurtado, S., Maestas, R., Hill, L., Inkelas, K., Wathington, H.D., & Waterson, E. (1998). Perspectives on the Climate for Diversity: Findings and Suggested Recommendations for the Texas A & M University Campus Community. Ann Arbor: Center for the Study of Higher and Postsecondary Education.

Hurtado, S. & Inkelas, K. K. (1998). New dilemmas of access and implications for national data use/availability. In National Center for Education Statistics, Reconceptualizing Access in Postsecondary Education: Report of the Policy Panel on Access, for the Council of the National Postsecondary Education Cooperative. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.

Hurtado, S. & Navia, C. (1997). Assessment of college students. Module produced for the instruction of Brazilian higher education administrators and faculty. Translated into Portuguese, printed, and distributed for use in assessment training in Brazil.

Dey, E. L, Hurtado, S., Rhee, B.S., Inkelas, K K., Wimsatt, L.A., and Guan, F. (1997). Improving research on postsecondary student outcomes: A review of the strengths and limitations of

national data resources. National Center for Postsecondary Improvement, Stanford University.

Hurtado, S., Milem, J., Allen, W., & Clayton-Pederson, A. (1996). Improving the climate for diversity in higher education institutions. Final report to the Lilly Foundation, sponsored by the Common Destiny Alliance. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University.

Hurtado, S. & Dey, E. L. (1996). A framework for monitoring and increasing undergraduate student participation in mathematics education. In Travers, K., Dossey, J. & McKnight., C. (Eds.) Charting the course: quality indicators to monitor undergraduate mathematics education, a joint publication of the American Educational Research Association and the Mathematical Association of America (published as CD).

Hurtado, S. (1992). National Hispanic Scholar Awards program evaluation: Final report to the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. Los Angeles: Higher Education Research Institute.

Hurtado, S., Astin, A.W., Korn, W. S., & Dey, E. U (1989). The American college student, 1987. Los Angeles: Higher Education Research Institute.

Astin, A. W., Green, K.C., Korn, W. S., Schalit, M., Dey, E. L, & Hurtado, S. (1988). The American college student. 1985. Los Angeles: Higher Education Research Institute.

Gonzalez, J. & Hurtado, S. (1987). Expanding educational opportunity in California's schools and colleges: A review of existing and proposed programs. 1986-87. Sacramento: California Postsecondary Education Commission.

Instruments:

Preparing College Students for a Diverse Democracy: First Year Student Views and Experiences (administered to over 20,000 college students)

Classroom-based Survey on Thinking and Interacting, Version 1, Version 2 (pre-and post instruments) (administered to 1,000 students in classrooms).

Institutional Practices on Diversity and Civic Engagement (administered to 1400 Chief Academic Officers)

NCPI Student Experiences with Teaching, Learning and Assessment (with Eric Dey)

NCPI Faculty Survey on Teaching Learning and Assessment (with Eric Dey)

NCPI Departmental Chair Survey on Teaching Learning and Assessment (with Eric Dey and Marv Peterson)

Funded Research/Projects

Promoting Diversity: Access and Engagement in Biomedical and Behavioral Science Research Careers, 2004-2008

Principal investigator, National Institutes of Health. A longitudinal study of underrepresented students seeking research training and careers in the biomedical and behavioral sciences. Funds: $1.7 million for four years.

AERA Postdoctoral Fellowship Support, 2002-2005

Principal investigator, grant will support postdoctoral fellow, Amanda Kim. Funds: Approximately $191,700 for three years.

Promising Practices in Preparing Students for a Diverse Democracy, 2001-2004

Principal investigator, Hewlett Packard Foundation. Extends research to highlight promising practices that result from addressing diversity and civic engagement in a cross-campus collaboration. Funds: $150,000 for three years.

Higher Education Emerging Scholars Program, 2000-2002

Principal Investigator, Spencer Foundation Mentor Grants. Awarded in recognition of an important role in the mentorship of researchers in higher education. The program supported the professional development of graduate students working under my supervision. Funds: $50,000 for two years.

Creating Diverse Learning Environments, 2000-2003
Principal investigator, Spencer Foundation Major Grants Program, in collaboration with the American Council on Education and Don Heller. A study of campus access and financial aid policies and longitudinal study of how public institutions prepare students for a diverse democracy. Funds: $396,550 for three years.

Preparing College Students for a Diverse Democracy, 1999-2003
Principal investigator. OERI, U.S. Department of Education, Field Initiated Studies Program. A longitudinal study of the skills and dispositions college students learn from interaction with diverse peers during college, focusing on outcomes necessary to participate in a diverse democracy. Funds: $765,000 for three years, extended for a fourth year. (See publications and presentations).

Improving Postsecondary Teaching, Learning, and Assessment, 1996-2001
Co-principal investigator with Michael Nettles, Marvin Peterson, and Eric Dey. Documents innovations in teaching, learning, and assessment practices. Subcontract of OERI-sponsored National Center for Postsecondary Improvement includes $2,371,563 for three Michigan team projects. (See publications/presentations).

Climate Study, Texas A&M University, 1997-98
Principal investigator. A study of the climate for racial/ethnic diversity for faculty, staff, and students after elimination of race-sensitive admissions and programs. Funds: Approximately $51,000. (See technical report).

Comparing the Educational Progress of High-Achieving Latinos, 1996-97
Principal Investigator, Office of the Vice Provost for Academic and Multicultural Affairs. Funds: Approximately $13,000 in salary release.

Career Development Fund for Women Faculty, 1996-97.
Awarded in recognition for extensive service commitments, Office of the Provost. Funds: $5,000.

The Transition to College: Comparative Study of Latino and Other Racial/Ethnic Groups, 1994-96.
Principal Investigator, AERA/NSF Grants program. Explored national data bases for racial/ethnic comparisons of college choice, access, and longitudinal analysis of college experiences using CIRP data, the National Survey of Hispanic Students, the NELS '88, and the Beginning Postsecondary Study of Students (BPS). Funds: $25,000. (See publications).

Psychological and Sociological Influences on Minority Progress Through the Educational Pipeline, 1993-94.
Principal Investigator, Rackham Distinguished Partnership Program, University of Michigan. Highly competitive, university-wide grant to encourage successful research partnerships between faculty and graduate students. Funds:Approximately $22,000 in research assistantship funds.

National Longitudinal Study of Hispanic College Students, 1991-1993
Principal Investigator. The project is a National longitudinal study of five cohorts of talented Latino college students. Funds: $69,000 sponsored by Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and the Office of Vice President for Research, University of Michigan (See publications).

Refereed Conference Papers and Symposia (only recent conference papers are listed out of 45 papers delivered since 1992)

Hurtado, S., Chang, M.J., Saenz, V., Chang, J., and Cerna, O. Paper: Pre-college Characteristics and Experiences of Minority Students Committed to the Biomedical and Behavioral Sciences, presented at AIR, San Diego, June 2005.

Hurtado, S., Saenz, V., Ngai, H., Mosqueda, C. Paper: Factors Influencing Positive Interaction Across Race for African American, Asian American, Latino, and White College Students, presented at AIR, San Diego, June 2005.

Hurtado, S., Locks, A., Oseguera, L., Saenz, V. and Denson, N. Paper: Political Attitudes and Voting Behavior: Predicting the Potential Influence of Young Voters in the 2004 Elections, presented at AERA, Montreal, April 2005.

Hurtado, S., Greene, S., Bowan, J., Dwyer, B., and Kim, A. Students and Cultural Awareness: The Relationship Between Interaction with Diverse Peers and Cultural Awareness Development, presented at AIR, Boston, 2004.

Bowman, N., Chen, R., and Hurtado, S. Paper: College Experiences and Academic Achievement, presented at AIR, Boston, 2004.

Hurtado, S., Engberg, M., and Ponjuan, L. Paper: The Impact of the College Experience on Students' Learning for a Diverse Democracy, presented at ASHE, Portland, November 2003.

Hurtado, S., Mayhew, M., and Engberg, M. Paper: Diversity in the Classroom and Students' Moral Reasoning, presented at ASHE, Portland, November 2003.

Hurtado, S., Ponjuan, L., and Smith, G. Paper: Women and Faculty of Color: Impact on Curricular and Co-curricular Initiatives, presented at the AIR Forum, Tampa, FL, May 2003.

Rowley, L., Hurtado, S., Ponjuan, L., and Mawila, K. Paper: Defining the Engaged Campus, presented at the AIR Forum, Tampa, FL, May 2003.

Invited Addresses and Presentations (selected since 1999)

Keynote speaker, National Association of Student Personnel Administrators, Annual Meeting, Tampa, FL, April 2005.

Keynote speaker, Association of College Research Librarians, Minneapolis, MN, April 2005.

Keynote speaker, Provost's Lecture Series, Eastern Washington University, March 2005.

Keynote speaker, Association of American Colleges and Universities, Annual Meeting, San Francisco, January 2005.

Keynote speaker, Moore Chair Lecture, North Carolina State University, September 2004.

Keynote speaker, Ohio University, Campus Diversity Initiative, February, 2004.

Keynote speaker, Minnesota State Colleges and Universities, Teaching and Learning Center Faculty Workshop, January, 2004.

Keynote speaker, UniDiversity Day, Texas A&M University, April, 2003.

Keynote speaker, Kansas State University's Provost's Lecture Series, April, 2003.

Speaker, Achieving Diversity in Tertiary and Higher Education: Problems and Prospects, Bellagio, Italy, March, 2003.

Speaker, Indiana University Retention Conference, Indianapolis, IN, February 2003.

Keynote speaker, Texas Association of Chicanos in Higher Education, Austin, TX, January 2003.

Keynote speaker, National Conference on the First Year Experience, Costa Mesa, CA January 2003.

Keynote speaker, Presidential Leadership Colloquium, Campus Compact, Providence, RI, November 2002.

Keynote speaker, Diversity and Learning Conference, AAC&U, St. Louis, MO, October 2002.

Keynote speaker, DOW Chemical Corporation, Midland, MI, October 2002.

Keynote speaker, Indiana University Retreat for Chief Academic Officers, February, 2002.

Keynote speaker, Assessing Students for Citizenship in a Diverse Society, American Association for Higher Education, Annual Assessment Conference, Denver, CO, June, 2001.

Panelist, Bridging Gender Divides National Conference, Center for the Education of Women, University of Michigan, March, 2001.

Keynote speaker, Retention and Student Success conference, Colorado State University, March, 2001.

Keynote speaker, presentation "Diversity and Learning on Campus," University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, February, 2001.

Discussant to opening conference presentation, Spencer Research Training Grant Network Conference, Cape Town, South Africa, January, 2001.

Keynote speaker, Retention 2000 Conference, University of Maryland, College Park, November, 2000.

Speaker (with Coleman, A., Chang, M. Mann, P. & Milem, J.). Applying and Expanding Diversity and Affirmative Action Research, an AERA Minicourse (four-hour workshop), New Orleans, LA, April 2000.

Speaker (with President Kirwan) Diversity in Higher Education: Why It Matters, the University of Virginia Symposium on "Charting Diversity: Commitment, Honor, and Challenge," February, 2000. Featured on a live webcast.

Plenary Panel, Expanding Diversity Research and Using What We Know, American Council on Education/Association of American Colleges and Universities, Educating All of One Nation, Albuquerque, NM, October, 1999.

Keynote Speaker, The Climate for Student Success, Chancellor's Fall Conference on Student Success, University of California, Santa Cruz, October, 1999.

Keynote Speaker, Diversity and Learning, Interactive Town Hall Diversity Dialogue, Second Annual Week of Campus Dialogue, University of Maryland, College Park, October, 1999.

Editorial Work and Proposal Review

Editorial Advisory Board, American Educational Research Journal. 1999 —.
Editorial Board, Journal of College Student Development. 1997 —1999.
Editorial Board, Journal of Higher Education. 1997 -2002.
Editorial Board, Sociology of Education. 1998 - 2002.
Editorial Board, and Associate Editor, Review of Higher Education. 1993-1996.
Advisory Board, ASHE Reader on Women in Higher Education: A Feminist Perspective; ASHE Reader on Racial and Ethnic Diversity in Higher Education.

Manuscript Reviewer for:
Journal of General Education, Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, Research in Higher Education. Social Science Quarterly, Social Problems, Teachers' College Record, and Temple University Press.

Research Proposal Reviewer for:
Lilly Foundation, Spencer Foundation Major Grants Program, National Science Foundation, Directorate for Education & Human Resources, Rockefeller Foundation, Association for Institutional Research - NCES/NSF Grants Program

Teaching Experience

Courses (graduate level courses taught since May 1992):

Professional Seminar in Higher Education
Reform and Innovation in Undergraduate Education
Introduction to Higher Education
The American College Student
Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in Higher Education
Research on Women and Feminist Perspectives in Higher Education
Research Design

Teaching Module

Brazilian Higher Education, World Bank-funded. Developed a distance module on student assessment in higher education to be used in a sequence of modules on evaluation for Brazilian administrators and faculty as the government develops a new focus on assessment in higher education, 1996. (See publications).

Doctoral Dissertations, Chaired (completed):

Luis Ponjuan (2005). Understanding the Work Lives of Faculty of Color: Job Satisfaction, Perception of Climate, and Intention to Leave. Current job: Assistant Professor, University of Florida.

Mark Elliott Engberg. (2004). Educating the Workforce for the 21st Century: The Impact of Diversity on Undergraduate Students' Pluralistic Orientation. Current job: Senior Research Analyst, Human Capital Research Corporation.

Ellen Waterson Meader. (2004). Students Support for Institutional Diversity: The Impact of Diverse College Experiences. Current job: Senior Research Associate, College of Letters and Science, University of Michigan.

Heather Wathington, (2004). In Search of the Beloved Community: Understanding the Dynamics of Student Interaction Across Racial and Ethnic Communities. Current job: Assistant Professor, University of Virginia.

Lucretia Murphy, (2004). How "At Risk" Youth Become "College People". Current job: Senior Project Manager, Jobs for the Future.

Tom Nelson Laird, (2003). Exploring "Diversity Courses" and Their Effects on Aspects of Students' Identities. Current job: Assistant Professor, Indiana University, Bloomington.

Denise Green, (2002). Conflict, Community, and Affirmative Action: An Examination of the University of Michigan's Campus Response to Anti-Affirmative Action Litigation. Current job: Assistant Professor, University of Illinois-Urbana Champaign.

Malinda Matney, (2001). Institutional and Departmental Factors Influencing Faculty Adoption of Innovative Teaching Practices. Current job: Senior Research Associate, Division of Student Affairs, University of Michigan.

Karen Kurotsuchi Inkelas, (2000). Demystifying the Model Minority: Racial Attitudes of Asian Pacific American College Students. Winner: NASPA Dissertation of the Year Award. Current Job: Assistant Professor, University of Maryland.

Lea Allison, (1999). Integrating Experiences and Retention of Nontraditional Students. Current Job: Consultant.

Philip Knutel, (1998). Adoption of an Innovation: The Process Through Which Faculty Decide Whether to Use Instructional Technology. Current Job: Director of Academic Computing and Adjunct Professor, Bentley College.

Deborah Faye Carter, (1997). A Dream Deferred? Examining the Degree Aspirations of African American and White College Students. Winner: ASHE Bobby Wright Dissertation of the Year Award. Current Job: Associate Professor, University of Michigan.

Adrianna Kezar, (1996). Reconstructing Exclusive Images: An Examination of Higher Education Leadership Models. Winner: CSHPE Dissertation of the Year Award; Finalist ASHE Dissertation of the Year Award. Current Job: Associate Professor, University of Southern California.

Michelle Gilliard, (1995). Racial Climate and Institutional Support Factors Affecting Success in Predominantly White Institutions: An Examination of African American and White Student Experiences. Finalist: NASPA Dissertation of the Year Award. Current job: Director, Council for the Advancement of Private Higher Education, CIC, Washington, D.C.

Diana DeVries Kardia, (1995). Diversity's Closet: Student Attitudes Toward Lesbians. Gay Men, and Bisexual People on a Multicultural Campus. Winner 1995 CSHPE Dissertation of the Year Award; Current job: Research Associate and lecturer, Center for Research on Learning and Teaching, University of Michigan

Professional Consultancies:

Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, Gates Millennium Scholars Program. Advisory Council to monitor evaluation of the scholarship program and long-term outcomes for racial/ethnic minority recipients.

Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis, Diversity Self-Study. External Reviewer of materials and recommendations for change, April, 2000.

National Center for Urban Partnerships (sponsored by the Ford Foundation), Evaluation Team, assisted three cities in evaluating K-16 initiatives 1994-1997.

National Institutes of Health, Program consultant for the review of minority undergraduate training in biomedical fields, 1994.

Lilly Foundation, Review Panel for the Program on Improving Racial and Ethnic Diversity and Campus Climate at Four-Year Independent Midwest Colleges.

American College Testing Program, Test item-review panel for COMPASS, placement tests for community college student& Reviews tests for sensitivity to different gender and ethnic groups, 1993-1995.

Vanderbilt University, Diversity Opportunity Tool, advised on the development of interactive CD-ROM software to be used in college classrooms surrounding racial/ethnic diversity conflict.

University Service

University of California, Los Angeles

Chair, Faculty Search Committee, 2004-2005
Member, 2004— Committee on Undergraduate Admissions and Relations with Schools
Member, 2004— WASC Accreditation Committee
Faculty Affiliate, 2004— Chicano Studies Research Center

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Provost's Committee on Diversity and Democracy, 2001-2003
President's Advisory Committee on Women, 2001-2003
Academic Affairs Advisory Committee, 1999-2002, appointed by SACUA
Capital Campaign Committee, 2000-2003 , appointed by the Provost
Diversity Dialogue Committee, 1998-2003 , appointed by the Dean of Rackham Graduate School
Harold Johnson Diversity Award Committee, 1996, 2002, appointed by the Office of the Vice Provost for Academic and Multicultural Affairs
Administrative Leadership Council, Ex-Oficio Member of School Executive Committee
Chair, Promotion and Tenure Committee 1999-2000

Dean's Search Committee, 1997-99, Appointed by the Provost
Council on a Multicultural University (COMU), appointed by Vice Provost, 1995-1997
Women of Color in the Academy Conference Steering Committee, Women's Studies and the Center for the Education of Women 1995-96
President' s Advisory Committee on Minority Affairs 1992-94
Student Relations Committee, Senate Advisory Committee on University Affairs 1994-95
Rockefeller Brothers Fund for Minority Undergraduates Entering the Teaching Profession, Campus selection committee, 1993-95
Latino Studies Advisory Committee. Program in American Culture 1993-94.1997-98.
Co-chair, Planning Committee, Women and Leadership Living/Learning Community, coordinated the writing and development of a proposal for one of eleven new communities for freshmen 1996-98

DIVERSITY CHALLENGED

Evidence on the Impact of Affirmative Action

Edited by **GARY ORFIELD**
with Michal Kurlaender

The Civil Rights Project, Harvard University
Harvard Education Publishing Group

CHAPTER 8

Linking Diversity and Educational Purpose: How Diversity Affects the Classroom Environment and Student Development

SYLVIA HURTADO

We are facing a U.S. society that is increasingly diverse. In such a society, it is ever more important to provide all college and university students with the skills necessary for success in an increasingly complex world. By the year 2000, most new jobs in the economy will require a postsecondary education, and women and racial/ethnic minorities will compose a majority of the work force (Justiz, 1994). It is projected that by 2010, one out of every three Americans will be Latino, African American, Asian American, or Native American. This projection, however, does not reflect the rapid rate at which racial/ethnic populations are becoming the majority in many states—a change that is already evident in elementary and secondary schools. This demographic shift suggests that the role of higher education will remain essential in training a work force that can both economically sustain communities and forge relationships across the diverse populations that make up American society. Educating a diverse student body remains central to this educational purpose.

Several recent reports issued by the American Association of Colleges and Universities have highlighted the importance of educating students for a diverse democracy. Such an education attends to the representation of various gender and racial/ethnic groups at the institution, the interactions inside and outside of the classroom that affect student learning, and the incorporation of knowledge about diverse groups in society:

> As educators we must address these basic challenges for American pluralism across the curriculum—in the classroom, in the co-curriculum, in the intersections between campus and community. In short, this diversity that is part of American society needs to be reflected in the student body, faculty and staff, approaches to teaching, and in the college curriculum. (AAC&U, 1995, p. 8)

Thus, many campuses today have come to recognize diversity as an educational policy or goal that is consistent with the overall objectives of the institution—to equip graduates with the appropriate technical skills, human relation skills, and ways of thinking that will be useful in a complex and diverse society.

Yet, even while educational policymakers recognize these major demographic changes and the need for higher education to prepare its students accordingly, there exists fierce opposition to policies that promote campus diversity. The most contentious conflicts within the diversity debate have primarily been manifest in challenges to policies that consider race as a factor in college and university admissions. At heart, these challenges have questioned the educational benefits of diversity. For example, the *Hopwood* decision by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in Texas suggested that the benefits of racial or gender diversity within the faculty or student body are no more significant than the benefits of a population diverse in individual characteristics, such as height or blood type. Until recently, higher education policymakers have unfortunately offered relatively little empirical research regarding the impact of diversity on students' educational experiences, aside from assertions based on intuitive notions that student and faculty diversity enhance the education provided by schools. This shortage of documentation has left diversity policies susceptible to legal and political attack. Fortunately, the recent research that has been conducted in this area is beginning to show that institutional progress toward diversity goals can have an impact on students' educational experiences (Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pederson, & Allen, 1999; see also Orfield & Whitla, in this volume).

Building on this recent work, this study supplies further evidence of the positive impact of diversity. It gauges diversity's effects on students' self-perceived improvement in the abilities necessary for contributing positively to a pluralistic democracy. The findings, from a nationwide survey of faculty and students at predominantly white four-year colleges and universities, make a strong case for the educational value of student and faculty diversity. A diverse student body provides students with important opportunities to build the skills necessary for bridging cultural differences and may cultivate their capacity for other important learning. The presence of a diverse faculty helps to ensure that students take full advantage of the benefits that diversity offers.

Research on Interaction with Diverse Peers

Much classic and contemporary theory suggests that exposure to diversity plays a key role in student learning and development during the college years. Scholars contend that students' cognitive and social development are intertwined, and as students approach college age they are more likely to apply cognitive abilities and skills to interpersonal situations and social problem-solving (Chickering & Reisser, 1991; Muss, 1988). Both cognitive and social development are also thought to occur through social interaction, spurred by the disequilibrium that results when one tries to reconcile one's own embedded views with those of others (Piaget, 1975). College students who report interactions with diverse peers (in terms of race, interests, and values) have shown a greater openness to diverse perspectives and a willingness to challenge their own beliefs after the first year of college (Pascarella, Edison, Nora, Hagedorn, & Terenzini, 1996). Overall, cognitively complex thinkers rather than dualistic thinkers should be able to develop in-depth and societal perspectives about situations and social problems (Perry, 1970; Selman, 1980). These theories and research support the notion that encountering others who have diverse backgrounds and perspectives can lead to interactions that promote learning and development.

Yet, although diversity is linked with student development in theory, educators must create certain conditions to maximize the potential for learning. Several researchers have supported the notion that learning occurs best when the educational environments support interaction under conditions of equal status (Allport, 1954). In other words, placing students of diverse backgrounds in a classroom is a necessary but insufficient condition for learning. Merely encountering differences can promote feelings of superiority or inferiority among students rather than growth and development. Particular pedagogical techniques promote the type of interaction necessary to create equal status conditions and, thus, learning in diverse environments. For instance, Robert Slavin (1995) and other researchers have consistently shown that students engaged in racially/ethnically diverse cooperative learning groups report cross-racial friendships outside these groups. Overall, cooperative learning has demonstrated value in enhancing the academic achievement of students from all racial/ethnic groups and in reducing prejudice as students improve their inter-

action skills with students from different backgrounds (Slavin, 1995; Wolfe & Spencer, 1996). Elizabeth Cohen (1994) further reveals that without attention to the structure of peer groups in diverse classrooms and to learning activities that promote interaction on an equal status basis, peer status can actually reproduce inequality and undermine the potential learning that can occur among diverse peers. Furthermore, students exposed to complex instructional activity that takes diversity into account have demonstrated gains in factual knowledge and higher-order thinking skills (Cohen et al., 1997). In sum, active learning pedagogies increase interaction in the classroom because students "learn more than when they are passive recipients of instruction" (Cross, 1987, p. 4). Both research and theory support the notion that students learn a great deal from diverse peers when interaction is facilitated in supportive environments.

Such supportive environments also would conceivably include opportunities for students to encounter unfamiliar and diverse perspectives in the curriculum. For example, research evidence presented in the University of Michigan's affirmative action cases reveals that students' learning and civic participation outcomes are enhanced by exposure to diversity in the college curriculum, and that these effects are enhanced further by facilitated interaction with diverse peers in the classroom (*Gratz et al. v. Bollinger et al.; Grutter et al. v. Bollinger et al.*). These results suggest that active pedagogical approaches that stimulate classroom interaction and curricula that attend to the histories and traditions of diverse groups would probably be fundamental features of colleges and universities that capitalize on the potential benefits of diversity. Indeed, after extensive analysis of a national, longitudinal cohort of students in 1985–1989, Astin (1993) concluded:

> The weight of empirical evidence shows that the actual effects on student development of emphasizing diversity and of student participation in diversity activities are overwhelmingly positive. . . . There are many developmental benefits that accrue to students when institutions encourage and support an emphasis on multiculturalism and diversity. (p. 431)

Evaluating the Impact of Diversity on Student Development

This study builds on the results of the preceding studies that have demonstrated the links between campus diversity, when appropriately supported, and educational benefits. It does so by analyzing the self-reported experiences of a national sample of students attending college in the early

1990s. Specifically, the study examines how diversity-related campus activities such as exposure to diverse curricula and opportunities to study and interact with diverse peers—activities that are only possible when a college or university has diversified its faculty and student body (Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pederson, & Allen, 1999)—positively affect student development.

Many campuses were not prepared for the changes they would undergo as a result of including more women and racial/ethnic minorities in their student bodies. Rising minority enrollments were connected with major intellectual and social movements that raised important questions about the production and transmission of knowledge, as well as access to education. Diverse student enrollments produced pressures to make institutions more responsive to the issues that arose as a result. This led to the development of—often with corresponding institutional and individual resistance to—new academic support programs and student organizations, diversification of the faculty and staff, the establishment of ethnic and women's studies programs, and the revision of curricula to better reflect the diversity of experiences and perspectives. Many of these issues posed new challenges in the classroom. For instance, diversification of the student body dictated that faculty develop a more expansive repertoire of approaches to curriculum and pedagogy (AAC&U, 1995).

Given these widespread changes in institutions, the impact of diversity on the intellectual environment is actually quite broad, and one can focus on any number of issues. In addition, measuring the effects of diversity is complicated because they cannot always be observed directly and often are not truly visible until gauged by long-term outcomes such as career choices, personal beliefs, and friendship patterns. Indeed, both Astin (1993) and Chang (1996) suggest that the effects of diversity on student outcomes are likely to be indirect and complex. With these caveats in mind, this study focuses on three questions, the answers to which will at least advance our understanding of the consequences of a more diverse faculty and student body:

- Does the gender or the racial/ethnic background of a faculty member make a difference in the classroom through their attention to pedagogical strategies and curricular emphases that support diversity?
- Do opportunities to interact with someone from a different racial/ethnic background in a learning situation enhance students' assessments of their own learning?
- Does the diversity that faculty introduce into the curriculum make a difference in terms of students' assessments of their own learning?

Method

To address these questions, the study analyzes data from the 1989–1990 Faculty Survey administered by UCLA's Higher Educational Research Institute composed of responses from over 16,000 faculty at 159 medium and highly selective predominantly white institutions across the country. Predominantly black institutions were excluded from these analyses, as were low selectivity institutions, because the current controversy over the benefits of diversity is located in higher education's predominantly white selective institutions. These faculty data were used to examine racial and gender differences in the instructional techniques most commonly used in undergraduate courses. (Details regarding the conduct of the national survey are reported in Astin, Korn, & Dey, 1991.) In addition, longitudinal student data were examined to understand the link between activities associated with a diverse student body and student self-reported growth on twenty general educational outcomes. The student responses come from the 1987–1991 CIRP student survey, also administered by the UCLA Higher Education Research Institute.[1] A random sample of approximately 4,250 students attending 309 four-year, predominantly white colleges and universities provided responses.

Analyses. Chi-square tests were performed on the faculty data to determine significant gender and race differences in instructional techniques. Partial correlations were conducted on the student data, controlling for college selectivity (average freshmen SAT/ACT scores), student abilities (high school GPA, academic self-concept), and academic habits (hours per week spent studying/doing homework). Controlling for these factors provides a strong test of how students' diversity-related activities relate to reported growth in twenty general education outcome areas. These outcomes constitute an item set on the 1991 student follow-up survey that asks students, "Since entering college, how much have you changed in the following areas?" For presentation purposes, the outcomes were sorted into three distinct categories: *civic outcomes*, which speak to a student's capacity for engagement in a pluralistic democracy; *job-related outcomes*, which include skills that employers have deemed important (Bikson & Law, 1994); and *learning outcomes*, or key skills higher educators have come to expect students to acquire in college. The diversity-related activities included the frequency with which students reported studying with someone from a racial/ethnic background different from their own and whether the student enrolled in an ethnic or women's studies courses in 1990. All of the diversity-related activities are more likely to occur with either a diverse faculty to introduce curricular innovations or a diverse student body to provide opportunities for interaction.

The current study relies on student self-reports of growth in a number of general education areas. There are obvious disadvantages to using such data for this purpose, including the possibility that perceptions may not always be a true reflection of reality. Yet, the educational community lacks good, widely used measures of cognitive and affective development for college students on a national level. Current national postsecondary data also lack good measures of current teaching, learning, and assessment practices (Dey et al., 1997). Thus, postsecondary decisionmaking with regard to curricula and a host of academic policies has largely proceeded on assumptions as to what is best for college students, rather than actual empirical data regarding the benefits of any particular approach. Even the use of self-reported data, therefore, represents an improvement (i.e., the use of actual empirical evidence to gauge the effects of higher education policies across institutions), and may actually be the best data available.

In addition, much of the national data does not provide an adequate assessment of the social environments associated with diversity that would allow a fuller understanding of its implications. While there are numerous small-scale, single-institution studies that may show the impact of diversity, evidence across a broad range of institutions regarding the impact of diversity relies on only a few national surveys that have asked some diversity questions, and even these are not consistently pursued. The fact that this study shows any effects across various types of institutions, given the inadequacies and lack of attention to important measures in national data, is significant.

Gender and Race Differences in Instructional Techniques

The findings suggest that the gender of an instructor has a distinct impact on the educational experiences of undergraduates in terms of both how classes are taught and course content. Specifically, female faculty are much more inclined than male faculty to require cooperative learning, experiential learning or field studies, and group projects in some or most of their courses. Table 1 shows the proportion of male and female faculty who report using specific instructional techniques in some or most of the undergraduate courses taught at the colleges. There are significant gender differences ($p = .0001$) with regard to virtually all techniques reportedly used in the majority of courses taught. While a high proportion of faculty utilize extensive lecturing in comparison to other techniques, a lower proportion of women (76 percent) than men (89 percent) report using such a technique in some or most of their courses. The preceding findings relating to gender differences are echoed later in similar findings relating to

TABLE 1 *Instructional Techniques Required in Undergraduate Courses: Percent by Gender of Faculty at Medium and Highly Selective Four-Year Colleges and Universities*

Technique Required in Some or Most Courses	*Women (N)*		*Men*	*(N)*	*Chi-Square Significance*
Cooperative Learning	80%	(4600)	63%	(11370)	p = < .0001
Experiential Learning/ Field Studies	59	(4585)	47	(11349)	p = < .0001
Group Projects	67	(4592)	56	(11365)	p = < .0001
Extensive Lecturing	76	(4597)	89	(11400)	p = < .0001
Readings on Racial/ Ethnic Issues	55	(4589)	36	(11345)	p = < .0001
Readings on Women/ Gender Issues	58	(4590)	36	(11340)	p = < .0001
Social Science Faculty Only:					
Readings on Racial/ Ethnic Issues	70	(2230)	54	(5066)	p = < .0001
Readings on Women/ Gender Issues	68	(2230)	53	(5065)	p = < .0001

ethnic/racial differences in reported pedagogical use. They lend substantial support to policies promoting faculty diversity, suggesting that a diverse faculty is more likely on average to utilize pedagogical approaches that capitalize on the diversity in their classrooms and that lead to favorable learning outcomes.

With regard to diversification of the curriculum, the findings similarly support faculty diversity. It is clear that women are significantly more likely than men to require readings on racial/ethnic or gender issues in their courses. Because inclusion of these types of readings may be influenced by the faculty member's discipline,[2] these data were analyzed controlling for field of study among faculty. Approximately 70 percent of female social scientists and 54 percent of male social scientists required readings on racial/ethnic diversity issues. Similarly, 68 percent of female and 53 percent of male social scientists required readings on gender issues in some or most of their courses.

The race/ethnicity of faculty members is also associated with the reported use of specific instructional techniques. Table 2 shows the specific instructional techniques utilized by faculty of different races/ethnicities

TABLE 2 *Instructional Techniques Required in Undergraduate Courses: Percent by Race/Ethnicity of Faculty at Medium and Highly Selective Four-Year Colleges and Universities*

Technique Required in Some or Most Courses:	*White*	*African American*	*American Indian*	*Asian American*	*Latino*	*Other*	*Sig.**
Cooperative Learning	68	74	70	59	78	64	****
Experiential Learning/ Field Studies	51	53	62	42	51	46	***
Group Projects	60	66	64	54	63	58	**
Extensive Lecturing	86	82	89	92	87	85	****
Readings on Racial/ Ethnic Issues	41	69	53	23	66	43	****
Readings on Women/ Gender Issues	42	64	45	24	59	39	****
Social Science Faculty Only:							
Readings on Racial/ Ethnic Issues	57	78	68	44	78	50	****
Readings on Women/ Gender Issues	58	72	61	42	71	47	****

Note: *Chi-square significant at ** p = < .01; *** p = < .001; **** p = < .0001. Sample sizes for each tabulation is approximately 14,600 White, 271 African American, 91 American Indian, 433 Asian American, 94 Latino, and 316 Other Faculty at Predominantly White, Four-Year Colleges of Medium and High Selectivity. Social Science faculty sample sizes include 6,712 White, 166 African American, 41 American Indian, 148 Asian American, 55 Latino, and 122 Other faculty.

at selective four-year institutions. Latino and African American faculty are most likely to require cooperative learning techniques (78 percent and 74 percent, respectively), while Asian American faculty are least likely to require these techniques in the classroom. Native American faculty are most likely to use experiential learning/field studies techniques (62 percent), while Asian American and Other faculty are least likely to do so (42 percent and 46 percent, respectively). Less pronounced yet still significant (p = .01) differences were detected across racial/ethnic groups with regard to the reported use of group projects in class, ranging from a high of 66 percent among African American faculty to a low of 54 percent among Asian American faculty. Significant differences were detected in the reported use of extensive lecturing, with Asian American faculty most likely to report requiring this technique (92 percent) and African American faculty least likely to report engaging in this teaching practice (82 percent).

With regard to curriculum, African American faculty are most likely (69 percent) to report having required readings on race/ethnicity in their courses, and Asian American faculty are least likely (23 percent) to require these in some or most of their courses. A similar pattern across the race/ethnicity of the faculty was observed with the introduction of gender readings. The course content, or inclusion of readings on race/ethnicity and gender, is clearly influenced by the disciplines the different racial/ethnic groups teach. In controlling for social science disciplines, the proportion of faculty from different racial/ethnic groups who report introducing diversity into the curriculum rises. Approximately 78 percent of African American and Latino faculty and 68 percent of Native American faculty in the social sciences say they have required readings on racial/ethnic issues in some or most of their courses. These same racial/ethnic groups are also significantly more likely than the other social science faculty to report having required readings on women or gender in the curriculum.

These results strongly suggest that women and different racial/ethnic faculty have distinct teaching styles that influence both the content and delivery of knowledge in the classroom. Even when considering the limitations of self-reported data, one can at least assume that faculty believe in the pedagogical methods they report using, even if they do not actually use them in practice. If this is so, these findings at the very least suggest that a diverse faculty is more likely to implement or learn about pedagogical methods known to improve learning outcomes. Furthermore, if students experience their learning environments differently due to the gender or ethnicity of the faculty member, then engagement with a diverse student body and faculty is likely to be related to their cognitive and affective development during college. The next section discusses how the activities associated with a diverse student body and faculty are related to student educational outcomes.

The Relationship between Diversity-Related Activities and Student Educational Outcomes

Table 3 illustrates significant relationships between student self-reported growth on various educational outcomes and activities during college that are associated with having a diverse student body and faculty.[3] The most consistent finding is that students who report having had the opportunity during college to study with someone from a racial/ethnic background different from their own in 1990 also report growth in all areas in 1991. Specifically, the strongest effects were associated with civic out-

TABLE 3 *Partial Correlations: Student Self-Reported Growth on Various Educational Outcomes and Diversity-Related Activities, Predominantly White Four-Year Institutions (N=4,253)*

	Activities Associated with a Diverse Student Body and Diverse Faculty/Curriculum		
Student Educational Outcomes	*Studied with Someone from a Different Racial/Ethnic Background*	*Enrolled in an Ethnic Studies Course*	*Enrolled in a Women's Studies Course*
Civic Outcomes			
Acceptance of People of Different Races/Cultures	.18***	.14***	.08***
Cultural Awareness	.16***	.19***	.14***
Tolerance of People with Different Beliefs	.14***	.11***	.09***
Leadership Abilities	.13***	.04*	.02
Interpersonal Skills	.09***	.05***	.06***
Public Speaking Ability	.07***	.04*	.01
Religious Belief and Conviction	.03*	.01	−.03
Job-Related Outcomes			
Ability to Work Cooperatively	.10***	.01	.01
Ability to Work Independently	.06***	.03*	.03
Job-Related Skills	.06***	.02	−.04*
Preparation for Graduate/Professional School	.06***	.04**	.02
Competitiveness	.06***	−.04**	−.03
Learning Outcomes			
Critical Thinking	.10***	.07***	.06***
Problem-Solving Skills	.08***	.01	.02
General Knowledge	.07***	.08***	.05***
Foreign Language Ability	.07***	.11***	.05***
Knowledge of a Particular Field	.05**	.03	.03
Writing Skills	.05**	.09***	.10***
Mathematical Ability	.04**	−.12***	−.13***
Confidence in Academic Abilities	.04**	.03	.01

Note: Partial correlations controlling for Students' Academic Self-Concept, High School GPA, Hours/week Spent Studying, and College Selectivity. Significance levels: * p = < .05; ** p = < .01; *** p = < .001. Scale of measures: Students reported their growth to be 1 = much weaker to 5 = much stronger.

comes such as the acceptance of people of different races/cultures, cultural awareness, tolerance of people with different beliefs, and leadership abilities. These findings support research conducted on other longitudinal cohorts of college students in the areas of cultural knowledge/awareness and leadership (Antonio, 1998; Bowen & Bok, 1998; see also Orfield & Whitla in this volume), indicating that opportunities for interaction with diverse peers foster civic development among college students. Enrollment in ethnic studies courses is also positively associated with many civic outcomes, such as students' cultural knowledge and awareness. Significant but somewhat less impressive effects were associated with enrollment in women's studies courses. Self-reported growth in job-related skills is associated primarily with a key diversity-related activity that includes the opportunity to study frequently with students from a different racial/ethnic group. It should be noted that the effects of this activity were strongest with regard to growth in student ability to work cooperatively with others without detriment to their capacity to work independently or their competitiveness after four years of college. In contrast, curricular diversity (ethnic or women's studies courses) had either weak or negligible effects on job-related skills. Similarly, having studied with someone from a different racial/ethnic background appears to have more pronounced effects than curricular diversity on self-reported growth in critical thinking and problem-solving skills. This suggests that the opportunity to interact with a diverse group of peers is just as, if not more, important to the development of critical skills as is exposure to a curriculum that makes diversity its explicit focus. Thus, the presence of diverse peers, though probably insufficient on its own, may indeed be an important precondition of learning from any curriculum that emphasizes diverse perspectives.

Some findings pertaining to relationships between curricular diversity and specific academic skills deserve more cautious interpretation due to questions about the direction of causality.[4] Still, relationships that are revealed on this front are of keen interest, if only for the possibility that exposure to a more diverse curriculum affects student outcomes. For instance, curricular diversity appears to be positively related to students' perceptions of growth in foreign language skills, writing ability, and general knowledge after four years of college.[5] Perhaps most notable in terms of academic skill enhancement, however, is the positive association between taking ethnic or women's studies courses and self-reported improvements in critical thinking skills ($p = .001$). Students who took these courses were on average more likely to report improvement in their critical thinking skills—those which would conceivably enhance their learning in any academic course and throughout life.

All told, the student-reported outcomes strongly suggest that interacting with diverse peers, faculty, and curricula as an undergraduate has a substantial positive effect on the development of skills needed to function in an increasingly diverse society as well as other academic skills important to the learning process. Again, caveats about the limitations of self-reported data may be justified here, especially with regard to students' subjective assessments of their academic abilities. Yet, since key outcomes from this study coincide closely with the outcomes of other research studies of the effects of campus diversity (Antonio, 1998; Bowen & Bok, 1998; Orfield & Whitla in this volume), a case for the legitimacy of these findings is quite strong. With regard to questions about the validity of self-reported academic outcomes, these findings at least imply that students, on average, do not perceive that their acquisition of academic skills is compromised as a result of the diversity that exists at their colleges.

Diversity Linked with Educational Objectives

These results suggest that the diversity of the faculty and student body has an impact on classroom environment and student development during college. The empirical evidence suggests that it makes a difference whether students are in classrooms led by diverse faculty and have an opportunity to interact with diverse peers on an equal status basis that may depend on the types of pedagogy that diverse faculty introduce into the classroom. The results show that women and different racial/ethnic faculty report having distinct teaching styles that may influence both the content and delivery of knowledge in the classroom. Therefore, the gender and race/ethnicity of the instructor are likely to have an impact on the educational experiences of undergraduates in predominantly white selective institutions. While faculty can be trained to facilitate more active learning pedagogies through faculty development programs, it should be noted that few instructional programs at the college level actually address how to create the complex instructional activities that facilitate learning in a diverse environment. It appears that female, African American, and Latino faculty may naturally be more attentive to peer status differences in the classroom and be more likely to employ active learning pedagogies.

Perhaps the most compelling argument for a diverse student body rests on evidence showing that interaction across racial/ethnic groups,

particularly of an academic nature, is associated with important outcomes that will prepare students for living in a complex and diverse society. Not only were effects associated with such civic outcomes as acceptance of people of different races/cultures, cultural awareness, tolerance of people with different beliefs, and leadership ability, but also with learning outcomes such as critical thinking and problem-solving skills. Students also report growth of important skills related to a diverse work force, including the ability to work cooperatively with others. It should be noted that interaction with diverse peers demonstrated positive effects on job-related skills more frequently than did curriculum exposure. While the curriculum may acquaint students with the cultural legacies that make up a pluralistic society, it may be that the college peer group provides the opportunity to experience this knowledge firsthand and learn how to negotiate differences. Thus, the *diversity of the peer group becomes a necessary part of the curriculum* in a learning environment that views diversity as central to the learning process. The educational benefits of diversity may accrue as a result of a combination of opportunities to engage in a diverse curriculum introduced by a diverse faculty and to study and interact with racial/ethnically diverse students inside and outside of the classroom.

Conclusion

In sum, the research shows that diversity of the faculty and student body is linked with the fundamental work of teaching and learning in higher education. These findings cast substantial doubt on the veracity of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals' *Hopwood* decision, which asserted that the ethnic and racial diversity of a student body or faculty is of no relative consequential value to the education offered by a college or university. To the contrary, this study strongly suggests that such diversity may contribute significantly to students' improvement on key learning outcomes that are associated with both academic development and the critical abilities needed to work in diverse settings—skills that will be increasingly important in the 21st century.

While external factors may exert pressure on institutions to develop, clarify, or revise their efforts regarding diversity, the educational imperative must take precedence in campus diversity policy and initiatives. Furthermore, proponents of higher education admissions policies that consider race must begin to articulate clearly the educational value of diversity to the learning we expect students to achieve. This and other research helps to explicate diversity's fundamental relationship to the educational imperative. Responsibly defending these diversity policies from

threatening opposition, such as that recently witnessed in California and Texas, demands the use of empirical evidence to sway decisionmakers and provide legal and educational justification for the existence of such policies[6] in this changing and contentious legal and policy environment.

Institutions that have taken up the basic challenges of American pluralism have begun to make changes to their student bodies with a keen eye on the impact of this diversity in the classroom and the cocurriculum. As a recent Association of American Colleges and Universities report stated, today's college students "will need to grapple with a country that is not only diverse but divided. To do this, they must come to understand and respect peoples and ways of life that have been hidden from them" (AACU, 1995, p. 8). Higher education's role remains central to this process as institutions attempt to prepare college graduates for their future as participants in a pluralistic democracy by providing an appropriate education. Sustaining this role will necessitate continuing research efforts to prove what many college and university decisionmakers already intuitively know—that diversity is a prerequisite for such an education.

Notes

1. The Higher Education Research Institute, with the continuing sponsorship of the American Council on Education, administers surveys to faculty and students at institutions across the country through the Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP). The CIRP is the nation's largest and longest-running empirical study of higher education. Since 1966, over seven million students and over 100,000 faculty from over 1,300 institutions have participated. These surveys are collected to document substantial areas of student and faculty experiences at an institution. For the student data, the surveys probe experiences both prior to beginning college and during their college experiences. The student data provide a broad range of statistical controls for dispositions and abilities in order to assess change on a variety of student outcomes, several of which were used for these analyses.
2. Social sciences, for instance, may lend themselves more readily to the inclusion of diversity content than other fields of study.
3. It should be noted that while the coefficients are small, these are not unlike other coefficients in survey data that incorporate analyses of a large sample of students in relation to pedagogical practices (Dey & Hurtado, 1993). The restricted ranges on the four- and five-point scales of the survey items prevent variation that would allow high coefficients. However, many of the effects were strongly significant ($p = < .001$) and consistent across a broad range of outcomes. In order to focus on the most important effects, only those that meet at least a .01 significance level will be discussed. Given the large sample size, those with a .05 significance level or higher will be considered a rather weak or negligible effect.
4. For instance, it is conceivable that students who have a greater facility for foreign languages may be more likely to take ethnic studies courses, as opposed to the alternate interpretation that taking ethnic studies courses improves students' foreign language skills.

5. The negative association between enrollment in ethnic/women's studies courses and mathematical ability is worth a quick explanation. Math is one area where undergraduates are generally less likely to develop during college, unless they continue to take mathematics-related courses (Hurtado, Astin, Korn, & Dey, 1988). Therefore, those students who enroll in ethnic or women's studies courses may report less growth because they are less likely to have pursued mathematics-related majors.
6. See Orfield and Whitla in this volume for an illustration of how to use evidence in this manner.

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Mildred García

Affirmative Action's Testament of Hope

Strategies for a New Era in Higher Education

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK PRESS

Sylvia Hurtado and Christine Navia

5

Reconciling College Access and the Affirmative Action Debate

Early posturing for the 1996 Presidential elections placed state and federal affirmative action policies at the center of public discourse, drawing higher education institutions somewhat unwillingly into a battle framed largely by political interests and less by the problems of inequity that these policies were developed to help resolve. Designing equitable policies and the reexamination of existing policies to address society's difficult problems are a healthy form of public discourse that require careful examination, self-criticism, and continual improvement as the times change. However, this is not how discussions of affirmative action, as it relates to the role and function of higher education, have been framed. The discourse on affirmative action, like so many issues dealing with racial/ethnic issues, is rife with misconceptions and ill-conceived notions regarding how the policy works (or fails to work) in actual practice. We address some of these misconceptions as they apply to college access and admissions practices, illustrate the political nature of the debate using issues that arose surrounding the University of California Regents' vote to eliminate affirmative action, and attempt to highlight important gender and racial/ethnic group inequalities that still exist as part of the need to continue to ensure access to higher education. Reviews of affirmative action programs and policies in higher education should be conducted, not because we view them as suspect but because we wish to determine how we can

effectively work toward resolving some of the persistent problems confronted by our communities.

The main question obscured by the affirmative action debate is the same question higher education historian John Brubacher posed in a 1965 book, the *Bases for Policy in Higher Education*: "Higher education for whom?" Underlying many of our contemporary policies is an unstated assumption regarding who is entitled to attend higher education and which types of institutions they should have the opportunity to attend. Indeed, while decisions regarding whom to serve have become central to the mission of many institutions, increasing equal opportunity in college access now means providing more students with choices to attend a variety of high quality institutions (Southern Education Foundation, 1995). However, the fact that we have not arrived at a collective consensus regarding college access and the representation of various segments of our population is both a testament to the longstanding currency of Brubacher's question and a powerful indictment of how the value of our previous attempts to answer his question has diminished over time. In devising new strategies to meet the demands of the coming millennium, institutions must evaluate their educational goals and mission, including their commitment to ensuring opportunity for women and racial/ethnic groups. Gender and racial/ethnic inequalities persist in our society and higher education's role remains key in working toward the elimination of these problems.

Misconceptions Regarding College Access and Affirmative Action

Nearly every form of affirmative action geared toward improving the educational opportunity for students of color and women has endured public scrutiny. Admissions criteria and financial aid awards based on race have received the lion's share of attention for their perceived bias against white students (Jaschik, 1995). Although conservative politicians have perpetuated misconceptions about affirmative action, perhaps a major part of the problem is that higher education institutions have not effectively communicated their educational goals and related admissions practices to

the general public. Individual institutions have lost legal challenges to affirmative action practices in admissions and the awarding of scholarships because they have failed to communicate how these practices are tailored to remedy past discrimination evident at the institution or to achieve a diverse learning environment that is consistent with the educational mission of the institution (Bazluke, 1995). Clearly establishing diversity as a legitimate educational goal is an important step, but there are other issues that require our attention. We address some of the key misconceptions in relation to college access in order to help refocus discussions among educators on the important issues that remain to be addressed by higher education institutions. In addressing these misconceptions, we pose key questions that underlie some common assumptions about affirmative action for students. When one closely examines the underpinnings of the arguments made against these policies, what one finds is a foundation riddled with false assumptions about the historical and ethical moorings of higher education, its meritocratic practices, and the role of race and gender in college access.

Is Affirmative Action Consistent With the Way Higher Education Has Historically Operated?

Some believe that campus affirmative action programs are unfair because they undermine the meritocratic history and spirit of higher education. In other words, offering a student admission to a college or university based on anything other than academic qualifications violates the historical precedent of access based on merit. However, access to higher education has never been based exclusively on academic merit, rather colleges have historically favored those with the most financial resources. As Laurence Veysey (1965) points out in *The Emergence of the American University*, institutions of higher education were often created to serve very distinct social classes, namely the sons of wealthy donors and businessmen, the clergy, and educators for a growing population. As a result, wealth and status became one of the preconditions for gaining access to college. So much so, Veysey writes, that the purpose of

higher education in the 1800s was defined predominately as a "means of confirming one's respectable place in society" (p. 4). Therefore, the role of higher education was to maintain the social order. Access to elite institutions ratified one's social status, and restricting access for women and students from different income and racial/ethnic groups became an accepted practice because these groups were intended to play less prominent roles in society (Thelin, 1985).

This is not to suggest that the notions of competition and merit were foreign ideas to those involved in higher education during the 1800s. Rather, admission to colleges and universities was based upon less meritocratic criteria than is currently assumed to be true today. Wealth played a major role not only in the development of higher education during the 1800s but also in determining who would partake of it. Although college admissions became more closely tied to meritocratic principles, in the movement from elite to mass higher education during this century, wealth nevertheless continues to influence college access in important ways. Families from high socioeconomic backgrounds have typically been better able to invest in learning activities that develop their children's academic and nonacademic talents, send their children to the best secondary schools in the country, and obtain better college counseling. More recently, these advantages have been reinforced by a shift from a public model of financing higher education to one that is based on a private model where higher tuition is replacing state taxpayer support. This shift has altered the types of colleges that students from different income levels apply to and attend (Hauptman, 1993). In addition, college admissions offices at many elite colleges continue to give preferential treatment to both alumni children and "development cases," or students from families that have the potential to make significant financial contributions to the college. In effect, these practices continue to bestow the benefits of access through ascription rather than through purely meritocratic means. Yet, factors that sustain the privilege of advantaged students in college admissions receive no criticism nor are these other forms of preferential treatment deemed antiethetical to the way colleges operate.

The introduction of affirmative action programs in college admissions and the expansion of student financial aid were attempts to

make the benefits of college opportunity available to those who had been previously excluded from higher education. However, Cornel West (1994) notes that "every redistributive measure is a compromise with and concession from the caretakers of American prosperity" (p. 94). In the same manner, affirmative action in college admissions is a redistributive measure which was a compromise between those who demanded greater access to higher education in the 1960s and exclusive institutions that conceded space in their entering classes to new groups of students. Expansion in financial aid programs during this era was an incentive or a "carrot" that could make such a compromise work, whereas an enforceable affirmative action policy represented the "stick." Institutions that did not comply with principles to prevent discrimination or remedy past discrimination could risk the loss of federal funding for student aid and research. As part of a compromise, however, the two redistributive measures were designed to be consistent with the way that colleges and universities operated. Institutions retained the autonomy to admit whom they wished, and more importantly, to continue a preferential system of admissions that also established academic merit as the central criteria for admission. Together, affirmative action and financial aid placed a college education within the reach of more students and encouraged institutions to learn how to evaluate the potential of students from different backgrounds. Ultimately, institutions began to acknowledge the benefits of both redistributive measures because they contributed to a vision of higher education that not only more accurately reflected society but also placed institutions at the forefront of social progress in terms of diminishing the hierarchy of race, class, and gender relations in society.

Inherent in the arguments made against the use of race/ethnicity, specifically as a factor in college admissions, is the assumption that the use of race is inconsistent with the way the admissions process normally works. More specifically, the use of race is believed to subvert an otherwise fair and objective admissions process. Part of the problem with such an argument is that it is simply not true. All candidates, including those admitted with affirmative action as a consideration, are first evaluated according to some acceptable level of prior academic achievement and future academic and leadership potential. Furthermore, there are a plethora of objective[1] and

subjective criteria that admissions officers use to determine if an applicant merits admission (Collison, 1992). The mix of race/ethnicity in the student body is an equally legitimate means of ensuring representation in a freshman class just as are considerations of geographic representation, the mix of specific academic majors, the balance of in-state and out-of-state residents, the number of athletes, etc. These forms of preferences in admissions practices, including the preference for racial diversity, can withstand legal challenges because they are intended to serve an educational purpose (Bazluke, 1995). Today, a major educational goal of many institutions is to create a multicultural environment for student learning. To achieve that goal, these institutions must both attract and maintain a diverse student body.

The other problem with this argument is its implication that admission to college is based solely on academic criteria. While an individual's academic record is extremely important, there are still a variety of ways of assessing student potential that require subjective evaluations by experienced admissions staff. Moreover, no single criterion can accurately predict a student's future academic performance. Institutions that place unusual emphasis on academic criteria eventually select candidates based on very fine numerical gradations, which are neither statistically nor substantively meaningful (Crouse & Trusheim, 1988). Furthermore, this approach to admissions does not consider an applicant's potential for learning and growth. As Astin (1994) attests, it is possible for a student with a mediocre academic record to learn and develop in college as much as a student with a strong academic record.

In sum, institutions of higher education do not admit students solely on the basis of standardized scores or high school transcripts but often use a range of information that attests to a student's unique qualities. To argue that institutions should begin to do otherwise only serves to reduce students to "inputs" and "outputs" with little consideration for other salient considerations such as persistence, maturity, and potential for growth among individuals (Astin, 1994; Dey & Hurtado, 1995). Moreover, such a stance does not take into account institutional needs and goals for creating a diverse learning environment which represents the type of society students will encounter after graduation. It is important to note that because

the debate regarding affirmative action has been the most contentious surrounding admission to the highest selectivity institutions, many institutions and students have been left outside the debate in higher education. Those institutions that depend on racial/ethnic enrollments for economic survival or that have redefined their mission to serve a diverse student population are shut out of the discussion, even though we may learn from the challenges they face as they successfully achieve access for a broad segment of the population.

Who is "Qualified" for Admission?

The question of who is qualified for admission is raised primarily in discussions about access to elite colleges whose reputations facilitate access to top jobs and elite graduate schools. The fact that some of these undergraduate institutions turn away up to 85 percent of their applicants further attests to their desirability among college-bound students. It is important to note while many college-bound students are qualified to attend some type of college, very few are eligible to meet the specific admissions criteria of a highly selective college. Only a small portion of the nation's students would qualify under a system with strict cutoffs for academic eligibility; as a result, the composition of the student body on many campuses would look quite different under such a system. A national study of 1992 college-bound seniors showed that only about 6 percent of this cohort met five criteria considered to be representative of highly selective colleges, including: a high school GPA of 3.5 or higher, a score of 1100 or higher on the SAT, credits in the appropriate coursework, positive teacher evaluations, and participation in two or more school-related activities (Owings, McMillen, Burkett, & Pinkerton, 1995). Using these criteria, which are more heavily weighted for students' academic characteristics, the data show women were more likely than men to meet all five criteria, as are Asians and students from the highest socioeconomic backgrounds. The number of white students admitted might remain the same if these criteria for eligibility were employed—as was projected for the University of California system (Lively, 1995)—but the number of white males would probably decrease. Black, Hispanic and Native American students are less

likely than white students to meet all five criteria and therefore would also decrease, but these groups are also more likely to come from low-income families, as well as racially segregated and resource-poor high schools. Thus, it is not simply historical discrimination that warrants a remedy in higher education, but the current inequalities which continue to have a persistent effect on students' chances for college opportunities.

Spurred in part by affirmative action, specific admissions practices and policies have served to ensure better representation of racial/ethnic students through the evaluation of nonacademic criteria in conjunction with academic criteria. These nonacademic criteria include motivation, success in overcoming adverse situations, extensive work and family responsibilities, as well as potential for leadership in their respective communities based on nonacademic accomplishments. At the same time, however, emphasizing specific criteria has also served to ensure better representation of white males. This is because the admissions criteria, as outlined in Owings et. al. (1995), are typically not given equal weight at most selective colleges.

In effect, use of specific admissions criteria gives preferential treatment to specific groups of students. For example, even though women (including women of color) typically earn higher grades in both high school and college than their male counterparts, a college that emphasizes standardized scores tips the balance in favor of males because they typically achieve relatively higher SAT scores (Owings, et al., 1995). In addition, overdependence on the SAT as an admissions criterion has been shown to have an adverse effect on African-American and low-income applicants (Crouse and Trusheim, 1988). Emphasis on criteria that give greater weight to verbal over mathematics scores in admissions or in the awarding of scholarships (such as the National Merit Scholarship) excludes many students whose first language is not English, particularly affecting Asian and Latino students. Further, nonacademic criteria such as athletic achievements and participation in particular leadership activities work to the advantage of male students and put both women and many academically oriented students at a distinct disadvantage. Takagi (1992) documents how using various criteria at elite institutions makes some Asian students appear to be less

attractive candidates to admissions officers, even though their scores and high school grades exceed those of white students. Clearly, different gender[2] and racial/ethnic groups are favored when a college's admissions practices emphasize particular academic and nonacademic criteria. While admissions officers may believe that a substantial portion of their admissions procedures are blind to applicants' sex, race, and income, admission criteria are not blind to these various groups. Selective colleges that acknowledge these biases in criteria can work out these complexities by taking into consideration a wide range of information on each candidate and selecting students who excel along several dimensions.

Thus, while some critics of affirmative action contend that there is an objective definition of a qualified student, the notion of who is qualified for admission to a particular college is not straightforward. Most selective institutions have a broad definition of an ideal student that places relatively strong weight on students' personal characteristics, including leadership, overcoming adversity, and unique talents which might contribute to the educational environment. A well-rounded candidate for admission is someone who has excelled not only at academics but is also judged to have significant nonacademic accomplishments which go beyond involvement in typical high school activities. The ideal "well-rounded student," with significant accomplishments in both academic and nonacademic arenas, is rare and highly recruited. Since very few students meet this ideal, what admissions officers really seek is a well-rounded student body which gives a college considerable latitude in selecting among admissions candidates based on unique personal qualities that ensure a balance of academic and leadership potential in an entering class. Most applicants to highly selective institutions can reliably do the academic work required of them, and so it is these unique personal characteristics that receive significant weight (particularly at private institutions) and allow admissions officers to select candidates consistent with the educational goals of the institution. Under such multifaceted criteria, assertions that affirmative action leads to the admission of unqualified students are difficult to substantiate because most females or students of color typically meet a variety of admissions criteria.

Is Affirmative Action Harmful to Students?

Some studies show that affirmative action may create a social stigma for women and people of color in their admission to colleges and universities. The social stigma of being a minority student in college is very real, but other research suggests this has more to do with a context where members of the organization are unfamiliar with individuals from particular minority groups (Kanter, 1977). A longitudinal survey of college life for the top Latino performers on the PSAT, a test used to identify top academic candidates in the junior year of high school, revealed that approximately 43 percent felt that most students at their four-year college thought that all minorities were special admits (Hurtado, 1994). The same study showed that approximately 68 percent of top Latino SAT performers thought that most students at their college knew very little about Hispanic culture and, not surprisingly, about 29 percent stated that many Hispanic students felt like they did not fit in on their campus. These data suggest that even the most talented racial/ethnic students are subjected to misconceptions regarding their abilities and culture, and sometimes even hostility, all of which affect their sense of belonging in college. The social stigma associated with minority status appears to have less to do with affirmative action policy, however, than with general stereotypes and attitudes towards gender and racial/ethnic differences. This notion of being unqualified is linked with a recurring historical belief that women (Solomon, 1985), nonwhite racial/ethnic groups (Gould, 1981), and low-income groups (Herrnstein & Murray, 1994) are genetically inferior in intelligence. Since social constructions of inferiority and beliefs about cultural differences predate the implementation of affirmative action policies, the dismantling of these policies is not likely to eradicate the deeper problem of longstanding stereotypes or institutionalized racial, ethnic, gender, and class discrimination.

Still, there are others who claim that affirmative action leads to unfair exclusion of many white students who are then forced to attend second- and third-choice schools. An analysis of recent national data indicate that this is clearly not the case for undergraduates. Table 1 shows the percentage of students beginning postsecondary education for the first time in 1990, by racial/ethnic

Table 1. College Applications and Acceptance At First-Choice College by Race/Ethnicity

Student Race/ Ethnicity	Applied to One College	Applied to More Than One College	Accepted At First-Choice[a] Institution
African American	56.5	43.5	50.1
Native American	57.2	42.8	—
Asian American	51.9	48.1	53.7
Latino	74.7	25.3	62.6
White	60.1	39.9	61.7

Source: Beginning Postsecondary Student Study 1990-92, National Center for Education Statistics.
[a]Analysis controlled for students who applied to more than one four-year college;—denotes sample size too small for reliable statistics.

group, who applied to one or more colleges. It shows the percentage of students who stated they are attending their first-choice institution, among those students who applied to more than one four-year college. Asian American students and African American students were somewhat more likely than white students to apply to more than one college and yet they were least likely to be accepted at their first-choice institution. An overwhelming majority of Latinos (75 percent) apply to only one college; of the few who applied to more than one college, they were about as likely to attend their first-choice institution as white students. White students do not appear to be disadvantaged in the admissions process. In fact, of all groups, African Americans and Asian Americans were most likely to report having to attend second- and third-choice institutions. Furthermore, Latino and Native American students are highly concentrated in community colleges (Carter & Wilson, 1992), low-cost institutions with low selectivity which are close to their respective communities but less likely to lead to a baccalaureate degree. Thus, the data show distinct racial/ethnic differences in terms of those who apply and are accepted at their first-choice institution.

The assumption that large numbers of minority students are obstructing white students' access to college is also erroneous. If

anything, affirmative action has intensified competition among institutions for only the most academically able minority students. In fact, many selective colleges continue to admit only a limited number of minority students despite steady increases in the numbers of minority applicants. The potential use of caps or ceilings in relation to the admission of minorities has been best documented with regard to Asian American enrollments at selective colleges, where admission rates have not kept pace with the rising number of applications (Tagaki, 1992). Although admissions officers typically deny employing such ceilings, and they have not been legally challenged, their practices in effect produce restrictions on enrollments of various racial/ethnic groups. In other words, admissions personnel maintain a level of consistency in the freshman class from year to year by keeping in check the numbers of students with particular academic and nonacademic characteristics.

Therefore, in years when the applicant pool is judged to include fewer minority students who rate highly along admissions criteria, fewer minorities are typically admitted. The overall strategy among selective college admissions has been to increase the quality and quantity of the applicant pool from which only a few will continue to be selected. Still, among all other groups that receive some form of preference in admissions, (e.g., athletes, alumni children, development prospects, candidates from underrepresented regions) frustrated white students are quick to blame the relatively small numbers of students of color for their failure to gain admission to a selective college. This expression of entitlement and scapegoating should be mitigated by the sobering reality that, regardless of race/ethnicity or gender, the competition for access to selective institutions has increased and moreover, that these institutions bolster their reputations by rejecting the vast majority of their applicants.

Does Race Matter?

Perhaps the most insidious assumption embedded in anti-affirmative action arguments is that gender or racial/ethnic background is unimportant or insignificant in acquiring societal benefits. In short, it is assumed that an individual's race and gender does not and should not matter. Yet, as history shows, race/ethnicity and gender

has often had serious implications for an individual particularly in terms of the quantity and quality of educational and employment opportunities made available to him or her (Solomon, 1985). Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that little has changed in this regard. People of color with the same level of educational attainment continue to earn significantly lower wages than their white counterparts (US. Department of Commerce, 1992 as cited in Nettles & Rodriguez, 1993) and endure more job bias and discrimination while in the workplace (Kielman, 1995). Both white and racial/ethnic college students are aware of these problems. In a 1989 survey, approximately 88 percent of students attending four-year institutions stated that they thought racial discrimination was still a major problem in America (Hurtado, 1992).

In terms of access to college, we have seen considerable growth in student participation rates for all racial/ethnic groups. At the beginning of the 1990s, the percentage of high school graduates (aged 18 to 24) who enrolled in college was 41 percent compared with 32 percent in 1972 (Carter & Wilson, 1992). However, Table 2 shows that while the college participation rates rose for African American and Latino students, the gap between these groups and white students actually increased over the two decades. In fact, the gap in the college participation rate between white and African

Table 2. Percentage of High School Graduates Participating in Higher Education, 18-to-24 year olds

Student's Race/ Ethnicity	Percentage of Participants in Higher Education		Percentage of Difference between Whites and other Groups	
	1972	1991	1972	1991
All Races	31.9	41.1	—	—
African American	27.1	31.5	–5.2	–10.2
Hispanic	25.8	34.4	–6.5	–7.3
White	32.3	41.7	—	—

Source: Carter & Wilson, 1992. *Minorities in Higher Education*. Washington, DC.: American Council on Education. Data are unpublished tabulations for October 1991 and from the US. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports, School Enrollment—Social and Economic Characteristics of Students: October 1990*, Series P-2-, No. 460.

American students almost doubled, and the gap between Hispanic and white student participation rates increased slightly since 1972. These data suggest that a persistent problem exists in increasing college access for African American and Latino students. This problem merits serious academic study and innovations in both policy and practice. It is not clear how much more inequality we can endure in terms of these attainment gaps before they start to undermine our economic productivity, erode our basic democratic processes, or yield unusually high prison populations.

Given evidence of the growing gap in college participation rates between white and African American students, the assertion that white students are disadvantaged under the current system is highly questionable. The only way to assert such a claim is to deny that race has anything to do with acquiring societal benefits, except under affirmative action policies. Yet this is precisely the claim many opponents of affirmative action make, particularly when it comes to the discussion of their own personal achievements. To illustrate this point, consider the argument that University of California Regent Ward Connerly put forth to justify his appointment to the Board of Regents. Connerly, an African American Republican, stated that he was not appointed to the Board of Regents because he was Black but because he had been a friend of Governor Wilson for 26 years and contributed over $120,000 to the Governor's political campaigns since 1990 (Lively, 1995). In this context, gaining access to benefits and decision-making positions through personal connections and financial advantage is perceived as legitimate, perhaps because this is how we expect that the political world works. However, Connerly's justification raises some serious questions. Since when are appointments to the University Board of Regents based on political contributions? How is this type of appointment consistent with the philosophy of working hard to "move up the ladder" on the basis of individual effort that Connerly claimed was part of his own upbringing? Why is such a process more acceptable than conceding that Wilson had carefully considered the symbolic and political importance of Connerly's race, along with other criteria, in making his appointment to the Board?

Cornel West (1994) states that the quest for black middle-class respectability based on merit, or criteria other than race, cannot be overestimated in the new black conservative movement:

> The need for black conservatives to gain the respect of their white peers deeply shapes certain elements of their conservatism. In this regard, they simply want what most people want, to be judged by the quality of their skills, not the color of their skin. But the black conservatives overlook the fact that affirmative action policies were political responses to the pervasive refusal of most white Americans to judge black Americans on that basis (p. 78).

Connerly's proposal to require the University of California to select a larger proportion of students (from 50 to 75 percent by 1997) on solely academic criteria was consistent with the need to gain respectability and eschew race. His initial proposal to the Board reflected even more stringent reliance on academic criteria. Both proposals, however, gave little consideration to the fact that affirmative action programs were designed to work with evaluations of academic merit to ensure that California's rapidly growing underrepresented populations, which face considerable barriers in access to the elite tier of public higher education, could gain equal footing with others who had advantages in college access.

What these issues reveal is that race does, indeed, matter. It matters because we continue to have persistent gaps among racial/ethnic groups in academic attainment, in access to particular types of colleges, and in admissions criteria which work to the advantage of some groups and to the disadvantage of others. Paradoxically, as was illustrated in the case of Ward Connerly, it appears that race matters most to those who claim it should be less important. Furthermore, opposition to affirmative action arose just as the top-tier public institutions in California began to reflect the diverse population of the state and women became the majority in undergraduate institutions. Such rapid demographic change in the state's population, and its reflection in higher education, may have caused alarm among those who have historically had the privilege of access. Moreover, it was also a politician's racially divisive approach that took precedence in the UC Regents decision to end affirmative action, rather than concrete evaluations of how the institutions had

met their goals for the educational interests of the state's rapidly growing, diverse population. It is to this event that we now turn.

Access to Higher Education as a Zero-sum Game of Politics

The current debate over the use of race/ethnicity and gender in the college admissions process tends to reduce a complex and multifaceted issue into a simplistic, dualistic matter. Affirmative action is characterized as only right or wrong, fair or unfair. As a consequence, the pursuit of higher education is also reduced into an elite zero-sum game where students are pitted against each other in competition for admission to elite colleges or universities. Those students who are offered admission are considered winners while those who are denied that same opportunity are considered losers. Not only does this neglect our common destiny which is based on the adequate training of students from all racial/ethnic groups, but it is also an irresponsible way to deliberate and evaluate the efficacy of something as important as educational policy. Perhaps the best way to illustrate the problems with this dualistic approach is to discuss its shortcomings in light of the events that occurred at the University of California.

In what was labeled as a "major retreat" from justice by Chief of Staff Leon Panetta and other members of the federal government, the University of California Board of Regents decided to eradicate all campus affirmative action programs based on race or sex in July 1995 (Ayers, Jr., 1995). According to Regent member John Davies, the decision was based upon the fact that the Board had "learned that this tool does more harm than good" (Schwartz, 1995). Yet, according to information relayed via internet about the public session and various newspaper accounts of the vote, there was considerable opposition to Davies' assertion from faculty, students, and staff within the university system (Ayers, Jr., 1995; Witt, 1995). In particular, Dean Haile Debas of the University of California at San Francisco School of Medicine provided testimony which argued the contrary: A study conducted by the School of Medicine revealed that many of the Latino and African American graduates had

returned as physicians to their respective communities to establish their medical practices.

If the debate over affirmative action had been cast in anything other than the terms of a zero-sum game, there might have been a chance for Debas and Davies to discuss the particulars of the medical school's approach to admitting and educating students of color. However, under the rules of a zero-sum game, compromise or the possibility of a mutually beneficial alternative does not exist. This is unfortunate, for Debas' study embraced the types of outcomes many public policymakers dream of—one that is mutually beneficial for the individual, for higher education, and for a state in need of improved health care in particular communities.

What also became apparent was that the Board of Regents voted against affirmative action before conducting a thorough assessment of the implications and consequences the policy reversal would have on the university system and its students. In fact, the Regents voted against campus affirmative action programs and then instructed both faculty and university leaders to "come up with something that will achieve . . . diversity" (Schwartz, 1995). One must question the logic behind so readily inviting intervention by the federal government, which could have potentially placed students in jeopardy of losing their federal financial aid as well as millions of dollars in research funds. Additionally, there was no alternative plan for achieving diversity whose financial costs had been evaluated at the time of the vote. Campuses were told to end programs or revise policies and then search for an alternative approach that would achieve diversity.

This action defied the fiduciary responsibility of the Regents and also smacked of extreme political maneuvering. Using divisive racial politics in the week prior to the vote, Governor Wilson stated on national television that admission to the University of California was not based on merit, but on race and gender—an intentional fabrication to stir up the debate that was to follow at the Regents meeting. In the week following the Regents' vote, Wilson presented himself as a champion of white and Asian interests in this battle but could not articulate a clear position on other forms of preferential treatment in admission. As a result, he not only revealed his lack of knowledge regarding multifaceted admissions criteria, but also made the articulation of a sound University admissions policy seem insignificant.

Governor Wilson, via the UC Board of Regents, was virtually handed an ideal topic to convert into a battle of state autonomy over federal intervention that he hoped would escalate and become key in his bid for the presidency. Shortly after the Regents' vote, Wilson reported in newspapers that he would not be intimidated by the threat of a federal government investigation of University programs and policies, essentially calling their bluff in terms of actual enforcement of affirmative action. Although the battle regarding affirmative action was won by Wilson's supporters, Wilson ultimately proved not to be popular enough to gain the financial support necessary to become a strong 1996 presidential contender.

These facts reveal another fundamental flaw in the zero-sum game approach: There are only two consequences of importance—that of winning and losing. The consequence that often receives the most attention is, not surprisingly, related to winning. That there may be negative consequences for the opposition is assumed to be a legitimate part of the game and is therefore tolerated. Suddenly changing the direction on the University's affirmative action policies, particularly the long-term goals regarding student recruitment and admissions, was a win for Wilson. However, the consequences of the decision plunged a University system (including a new president, administrators, and faculty) into a quandary about what to do next. If they changed their practices, would they be in violation of federal guidelines? Could they work around the Regents' decision and still keep their jobs? Could they defer[3] admission to an increasing population of nonwhite racial/ethnic students who, no doubt, would seek admission to the University in the coming years? The President of the University of California, appointed in 1995, wished to delay implementation of the ban on race preferences until 1998 to allow administrators time to develop new procedures for incoming undergraduates, but met considerable resistance from the Regents and the Governor and was forced to retract his decision and submit an apology (Schmidt, 1996). These were unusual events for a new president and can only be understood in a political context: Several of the Regents and the Governor were also in the midst of promoting a state ballot measure banning affirmative action. In sum, what matters most in a zero-sum game is winning. Just as a zero-sum game is not conducive to compromise

or the consideration of consequences unrelated to winning, it is also not conducive to the discussion of larger, more important issues like institutional mission and purpose.

As the following quote from Regent Roy Brophy to the Chairman of the Board indicates, it seems this held true for the University of California system as well. He said:

> Your Board managed to circumvent the president. Your Board managed to circumvent the chancellors, and also to circumvent the faculty and you managed to circumvent the students. I would also say staff too . . . What bothers me more than anything else is for us to circumvent the best people we have . . . I only hope in the future that we keep it in mind that if we are going to do something like this let's not have a quick vote and shake hands and go home. We must plan for the future, in the future, that everyone is involved in the process . . . (Schwartz, 1995).

As a final point, the zero-sum game approach to evaluating higher education policy is also limited because it fails to take into account history or the notion of restitution for injustices committed in the past. In all the rhetoric that has been bandied about regarding affirmative action, there has been virtually no mention of history, historical injustices or the role that the university system may have played in perpetuating those injustices. The assumption is that we are beyond the vestiges of an exclusionary past. However, by all indicators, we have a long way to go toward eliminating the vestiges of historical discrimination and achieving the goals of equity in college access.

Renewed Commitment and Articulation of Goals for College Access

The discussion of misconceptions and zero-sum politics leads us to a central question: If we are not concerned with student welfare, educational purpose, responsibility, history or compromise, then what is the current debate over the use of race and gender in the

college admissions process truly concerned about? Underlying many of our contemporary policies is an assumption regarding whom we believe is entitled to higher education opportunity and what kinds of colleges should remain for the elite or the masses.

Part of the reason that we have not been able to arrive at a consensus regarding Brubacher's question, "Higher education for whom?" has to do with the zero-sum manner in which we have approached the issue of college access. It also has to do with the effects of time and the tests of our commitment. Circumstances have changed considerably for higher education since 1965. Most notably, there is a different student population to educate with varying levels of preparation for college (Dey & Hurtado, 1995), tighter fiscal restraints to contend with (Callan, 1993), and greater societal expectations of higher education to meet the educational needs of its citizenry without a significant increase in resources (Zusman, 1994). Consequently, in an era of growing economic uncertainty, the fervor for redistributive measures to ensure educational opportunity has also diminished. In sum, as the needs of society and individuals have changed, so too has our ability to definitively answer who higher education ought to serve and why. This is a time for higher education institutions to clearly articulate their goals for college access and review procedures, not because affirmative action has been portrayed as an attack on American values by politicians, but because it is part of a reasonable plan for educating students.

One result of affirmative action policy is that today more institutions acknowledge the educational value in having a diverse student body, faculty, and administration. The institutions in the State of California have not abandoned this value but they now must find new ways to achieve greater equity in access before they suffer the economic and social consequences of educating too few. The Regents of the University of California have placed great faith in their institutions to work toward increasing diversity without the "stick" and with a shrinking "carrot." While there is talk about focusing on low-income students, a social category some find more acceptable than race/ethnicity or gender, most admissions practices and programs already serve these students. Perhaps more importantly, the numbers of low-income students who apply to top-tier institutions have dropped dramatically in the last decade as tuition increases and

changes occur in the distribution of federal and state financial aid. Moreover, these declines have resulted in a greater gaps among students based on background: Depending on race/ethnicity, students from high-income families are now eight to thirteen times more likely to attain a baccalaureate degree by age 24 than students in the lowest-income quartile (Mortensen,1990). Tinkering with student-aid programs and doing away with affirmative action programs effectively eliminates key redistributive measures to promote equity in higher education and essentially reinforces the belief that higher education ought to be for the few.

As consequence, some contend that eradicating affirmative action would mean "that racial and sexual discrimination would return with a vengeance" (West, 1992, p. 95). Yet, because these policies were in place, most discrimination is not likely to be so overt. At the same time, eliminating affirmative action will not make our social problems disappear; race and gender inequalities continue to permeate our thinking, practices, and social interactions. What is needed is a renewed commitment to make higher education available to broad segments of the population because both the historical and the continuous inequalities among groups continue to affect our attitudes and interactions with individuals in these social categories. As Audre Lorde (1984) has stated, "we have no patterns for relating across our human differences as equals. As a result, those differences have been misnamed and misused in the service of separation and confusion" (p. 115).

Strategies for a New Era

Higher education institutions have a definitive role to play in addressing this separation and confusion by educating students about social and cultural differences and taking the lead in reframing the issues underlying the debate on affirmative action. Institutions must take a more active role in the shaping of public policy, or as in the case of the University of California system, risk being subjected to its vagaries. Linking activities and practices with clear institutional goals is the first step in creating an institutional strategy that reflects priorities for creating a diverse learning environment.

One way institutions could address some of the misconceptions surrounding affirmative action, racial issues, and social stigma is through the educational process itself. While most campuses have focused on increasing the diversity of their faculties and student bodies, campuses have neglected the important dimension of improving intergroup relations and attitudes. Institutions can build bridges across communities of difference by engaging faculty and students in dialogue activities inside and outside of the classroom which address long standing conflicts, stereotypes, and problems in intergroup relations. Engaging members of the local community also develops public support for the institutional goals of creating a diverse learning environment.

A second way for higher education institutions to eliminate misconceptions is to be less secretive about admissions procedures and openly convey to potential applicants and their parents the realities of weighing various institutional goals in the admissions process. This would entail an honest discussion of how difficult it is to be admitted to a selective college without a combination of unique qualities that is consistent with the college's educational goals and needs. Such an approach would also recognize the anxiety many students and their parents experience about getting into the right college and their concerns about postcollege career possibilities. Rather than contributing to this unhealthy anxiety, institutions should identify ways to reduce this tension.

Even more importantly, admissions officers should conduct analyses of their own affirmative action efforts and engage in frank discussions about their progress toward eliminating inequality in college access and what they can expect to achieve on their campuses in the coming years. This would also enable admissions officers to identify specific strategies which may be highly effective in increasing the number of underrepresented students on their campuses. While some politicians claim that higher education has achieved its goals through affirmative action, there is little evidence regarding which goals were met nor how they were attained. Many campuses that have made a commitment to diversity should report what they have accomplished, acknowledge the obstacles they have faced, and take the lead in promoting and disseminating successful strategies for achieving diversity goals.

In addition, higher education institutions and their admissions offices should assess the extent to which they have relied upon affirmative action as the primary means for diversifying their campuses and student bodies. The use of racial preferences in college admissions is a legal way to ensure diversity, but more documentation may be necessary in terms of providing information on historical and continuous barriers that women and different racial/ethnic groups face in gaining admission. Admissions officers at selective colleges must also acknowledge the biases that result from employing specific criteria for different groups and address them by considering a wide range of information on each candidate, and then selecting students who excel along several dimensions. Moreover, as with all other types of preferences in admissions, institutions must be able to articulate how their selection practices are consistent with the institution's mission and goals. The goal of educating a diverse student body is not only important to educational processes within the institution, but also extends beyond the campus community to the larger social goals of decreasing inequality, improving race relations, and increasing economic productivity and civic participation among broad segments of society.

Institutions can also engage in creative problem-solving to devise additional methods of diversifying their campuses. For example, cooperative agreements regarding course and degree work with secondary schools, community colleges and four-year colleges that have high proportions of women in underrepresented fields or students of color could be established. Coordinated planning and effort across sectors may result in new ways to improve the preparation of students prior to college and increase student progress through the educational pipeline. As a final strategy, maintaining cooperation and dialogue with other institutions facing similar pressures for maintaining diversity in a changing financial and political climate might also inspire the development of new strategies for achieving educational goals.

We must renew our commitment to determining whether higher education is for the few or for the many. Which answer is chosen depends upon how we approach the question. We cannot pick one over the other because it is consistent with our own needs and interests as the current affirmative action debate would suggest we do.

That is simply too easy. In order to answer Brubacher's question and answer it fairly, we must take into consideration what the purposes and goals of higher education should be, whether or not these purposes and goals are consistent with the overall goals and needs of society, whether they are consistent with the needs of individuals, and understand the implications and consequences of our choices. In other words, we have to honestly assess our past, plan for the future, and honor the needs of both the individual and society. Balancing these concerns will require goal clarification, innovations in institutional approaches, and sustained effort.

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How Does Racial/Ethnic Diversity Promote Education?

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Abstract

Educators have been challenged to articulate clearly the educational purposes and benefits of diversity in the context of legal challenges related to affirmative action policies. This article explores the relationship between students' experiences with diverse peers in collegiate settings and their educational outcomes, and discusses this in the context of lawsuits brought against the University of Michigan.

The authors are all faculty members at The University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, and are nationally renowned scholars in the areas of diversity and affirmative action. They have published numerous books and articles. Their seminal collective work, usually referred to as the "Gurin Study," served as the foundation for the University of Michigan's defense in Grutter v. Bollinger (U of M Law School) and Gratz v. Bollinger (U of M College of Literature, Science, and the Arts), the two landmark cases which challenged the school's practice of considering race as a factor during the admission process. Both affirmative action cases were argued before the Supreme Court on April 1, 2003. On June 23, 2003, the court ruled that the university had the right to consider race in its admission procedures in order to achieve a diverse student body. Chief Justice Sandra Day O'Connor wrote the 5-4 majority opinion in favor of the Law School, while Chief Justice William Rehnquist issued the majority opinion in a 6-3 vote which reversed, in part, the University's undergraduate admissions policy. The court concluded in this instance that race may be considered as a factor, but not the deciding factor, in the undergraduate admissions process.

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By the time this journal is published in July 2003, the Supreme Court of the United States will have rendered a decision on two important higher education affirmative action cases: Gratz v. Bollinger et al., and Grutter v. Bollinger et al. The crucial significance of the Court's decision for our nation cannot be underestimated, affecting not only the use of race as one of many factors in admissions at the University of Michigan, but also at every other selective college and university, both public and private, in the United States.

The consequence of the Court's decision will be felt far beyond colleges and universities. The Court's decision will either support or undermine the opportunities of minority students for top leadership positions in the military, corporations, and other public and private institutions that draw especially from the nation's most selective higher education institutions. As *amicus* briefs submitted in behalf of the University respondents by former military leaders, Fortune Five Hundred corporations, a wide range of educational institutions from K-12 through professional schools, and many other American mainstream institutions, the decision will ultimately weigh heavily on their capacity to function effectively in our increasingly racially and ethnically diverse society. The military brief (No. 02-241, 02-516) states:

> *In the 1960s and 1970s, however, while integration increased the percentage of African Americans in the enlisted ranks, the percentage of minority officers remained extremely low (3% of Army officers), and perceptions of discrimination were pervasive. This deficiency in the officer corps and the discrimination perceived to be its cause led to low morale and heightened racial tension. The danger that this created was not theoretical, as the Vietnam era demonstrates. As that war continued, the armed forces suffered increased racial polarization, pervasive disciplinary problems, and racially motivated incidents in Vietnam and on post around the world . . . . The military's leadership 'recognized that its racial problem was so critical that it was on the verge of self-destruction. (pp. 6-7)*

Through affirmative action initiatives that the military put in place – financial and tutorial assistance, recruiting programs, employing race as a factor in recruiting and admissions policies and decisions, and preparatory academies to increase the pool of qualified minority candidates – 19% of active duty officers are now minority. The military *Amici* submit that "the government's compelling interest in promoting racial diversity in higher education is buttressed by its compelling national security interest in a cohesive military. That requires both a diverse officer corps and substantial numbers of officers educated and trained in diverse educational settings, including the military academies and ROTC programs." (p. 8) The military *Amici* conclude that "At present no alternative exists to limited, race-conscious programs to increase the pool of high quality minority officer candidates and to establish diverse educational settings for officers." (p. 9)

In this article, we delineate why diversity was the rationale on which the University of Michigan waged a defense of its admission policies and thus why diversity was the framework for our scholarly work on the lawsuit cases. This rationale dates back to the *Bakke* Supreme Court decision in 1978. We will also address how ethnic/racial diversity in the student body operates – what it can and cannot do – and what the evidence is for its impact on students through the actual experiences students have with diverse peers.

The Diversity Rationale

U.S. Supreme Court Justice Lewis Powell wrote the defining opinion in the 1978 *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* case, quoting in part from a previous Supreme Court ruling in Keyshian v. Board of Regents, 385 U.S. 589 (1967). He stated that the "atmosphere of 'speculation, experiment and creation' – so essential to the quality of higher education – is widely believed to be promoted by a diverse student body.... It is not too much to say that the nation's future depends upon leaders trained through wide exposure to the ideas and mores of students as diverse as this Nation of many peoples" (*Bakke* 1978, p. 2760). Since the 1978 Supreme Court decision, the educational benefits of diversity as a compelling governmental interest have provided the primary justification for affirmative action at selective institutions across the country.

The diversity argument has not been supported in all lower court cases since the original *Bakke* decision. The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in *Hopwood v. University of Texas* denied that diversity has any impact on educational experience: "The use of race, in and of itself, to choose students simply achieves a student body that looks different. Such a criterion is no more rational on its own terms than would be choices based upon the physical size or blood type of applicants" (1996, p. 950). This statement is incredulous to us in light of the role that race and ethnicity have played in every aspect of our society. As Victor Bolden, David Goldberg, and Dennis Parker point out: "No constitutional compromise was required over blood type; no civil war was fought and no Southern Manifesto signed over physical size" (1999, p. 27).

Courts across the country have produced conflicting rulings on diversity as a compelling governmental interest since the *Hopwood* decision was made. In the two cases involving the University of Michigan, one challenging its undergraduate admissions and the other its law school admissions, two different rulings on diversity as a compelling governmental interest were given at the district court level. In *Gratz v. Bollinger, et al.* (2000) the District Court ruled on summary judgment in favor of the University of Michigan, upholding its current undergraduate admissions policy and concluding that diversity was a compelling governmental interest that justified the policy. In *Grutter v. Bollinger, et al.*, (2002) the District Court held that the educational benefits of diversity are not a compelling state interest, and even if they were, the Law School's policy was not "narrowly tailored" to the interest in diversity. Both cases were appealed to the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals, which heard arguments in December 2001. This court overturned the lower court decision in *Grutter*, deciding in favor of the university and setting the stage for the appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. This court did not render a decision in Gratz, but the Supreme Court accepted both cases and heard oral arguments on April 1, 2003.

The intervenors in these two cases, representing high school students of color and law graduates of color, marshaled a defense of affirmative action policies in higher education on the basis of a remedy for past and present discrimination. The District Court ruled against them in both cases, as did the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals in the Grutter case (the only case on which it made a ruling).

We concur with the intervenors that social justice in America requires corrective action. Our scholarly work for these lawsuits, however, followed the legal argument of the University of Michigan that made diversity the primary rationale for using race as one of many factors in admissions decisions. Thus, the central task that we undertook was to examine the impact of experience with diversity on educational outcomes of students. While the University's legal strategy was framed by the diversity rationale that was provided by Justice Lewis Powell in the Bakke decision, the educational value of diversity was a major focus of Michigan's efforts to have a diverse student body long before the University was sued over its admissions policies. President Duderstadt made this clear in enunciating the Michigan Mandate in 1990:

> *The fundamental premise of the Michigan Mandate is that for the University to achieve excellence in teaching and research in the years ahead, for it to serve our state, our nation, and the world, we simply must achieve and sustain a campus community recognized for its racial and ethnic diversity. But beyond this, we believe that the University has a mandate not just to reflect the growing diversity of America – indeed, the world – in our students, faculty, and staff; but to go beyond this to build a model of pluralistic, multicultural community for our nation. We seek to build a community that values and respects and, indeed, draws its intellectual strength from the rich diversity of peoples of different races, cultures, religions, nationalities, and beliefs.*

At the same time, we know of no one associated with the University of Michigan's arguments in these cases who would deny the importance of American institutions, including higher education institutions, addressing and correcting the continued legacy of this nation's 300 years of racial inequities.

When we were asked in 1998 to examine the educational benefits of racial and ethnic diversity, there was little published empirical evidence about the educational benefits of diversity, and little research evidence had been brought to bear in legal suits on higher education affirmative action. Jonathan Alger, formerly Counsel for the American Association of University Professors and now on the University of Michigan's legal team for these two lawsuits, argued in 1998, just as we were beginning our work on the cases: "The unfinished homework in the affirmative action debate concerns the development of an articulated vision – supported by a strong evidentiary basis – of the educational benefits of racial diversity in higher education" (p. 74).

This was exactly what we sought to do: 1) to provide a theoretical rationale for why racial and ethnic diversity should foster education, and 2) to test that rationale using empirical materials available in already existing datasets at the University of Michigan and at the Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP) at the University of California, Los Angeles. The four of us worked collaboratively on the research in the so-called Gurin Report. One of us necessarily had to be the expert witness for the lawsuit. Patricia Gurin undertook that responsibility. Because our collaboration produced the Expert Report, we refer to it here not as the Gurin Report but as the Expert Report.

The theoretical rationale is laid out in both the Expert Report and in an article that we jointly authored for the *Harvard Educational Review (2002)*. It drew from social psychological theories and research, and posited that the conditions important for active learning, intellectual engagement, and preparation for democratic

citizenship in a diverse society are provided at most selective institutions by racial/ethnic diversity, namely:

- novelty and unfamiliarity that occurs upon the transition to college for the vast majorities of students who have been educated previously in largely racially homogeneous environments (This was true of 92% of Michigan's white students and half of the African American students at the time our research was conducted.);

- opportunities to identify discrepancies between students with distinct pre-college social experience; and

- diversity as a source of multiple and different perspectives on the nature of society and its institutions.

The Meanings of Diversity

We laid out three meanings of diversity. Structural diversity is the numerical representation of diverse groups on a campus. Informal interactional diversity is the actual experience students have with diverse peers in the campus environment. Classroom diversity is exposure to knowledge about race and ethnicity in formal classrooms.

What Can Structural Diversity Accomplish?

Structural diversity increases the probability that students will have experiences with diverse peers through their informal interactions and through formal classrooms. Simply attending an ethnically diverse college does not guarantee that students will have meaningful intergroup interactions of the kind that social psychologist Gordon Allport (1954) suggested in his classic book, *The Nature of Prejudice*. Structural diversity is not an air-borne virus that you simply catch by being on a campus that is racially/ethnically diverse. It is a resource – like any other resource such as an excellent library or outstanding faculty. To have an impact, students must use the resource of structural diversity, and colleges and universities must encourage actual experience with diversity, as the University of Michigan has done through a wide range of multicultural curricular and co-curricular programs. The University has a deliberate policy, not only of building a diverse student body, but also of promoting diversity experiences for students that in turn are related to educational outcomes. This is not a policy of simply recruiting a diverse student body and then neglecting the intellectual environment in which students interact. To do so would be irresponsible. Like all resources, structural diversity must be used intelligently to fulfill its potential.

If structural diversity *by itself* were sufficient for achieving desired outcomes, then having good buildings, high faculty salaries, and good libraries would all be sufficient to ensure a good education. No one with the responsibility to run a university would make such an argument, precisely because the nature of educational activities and the extent to which students avail themselves of these resources are crucial to achieving an excellent education. Similarly, students must be engaged with diverse peers if we expect learning and development to occur. A diverse student body is a resource and a necessary condition for engagement with diverse peers that permit higher education to achieve these educational goals.

We showed in the Expert Report in the national sample of 184 institutions provided by CIRP that students more frequently had informal interactions and classroom diversity experiences on those campuses that were racially and ethnically diverse. Other scholarship supports this conclusion, showing that dating, dining, studying, and interacting in class with diverse peers were the most frequent on the most diverse campuses (Chang 1999; Astin, Chang, and Kim, in review). Colleges with greater racial/ethnic diversity had higher intergroup interaction even on campuses with difficult racial climates (Hurtado, Dey, and Trevino 1994). This suggests that interactions are more probable on the most diverse campuses, as individuals become accustomed to dealing with racial/ethnic diversity. Other scholarly work further shows that structural diversity increases the range of student opinions and thus fosters the intellectual diversity (Chang, Seltzer, and Kim, in review) that is so important for students to learn from each other. Finally, structural diversity is important because it increases the number of students who benefit from the effects of informal interactions with diverse peers and from classroom diversity because more of them have those experiences.

The critical point is that structural diversity provides an opportunity for actual interaction with diverse peers who have multiple points of view. Justice Lewis Powell understood that the impact of diversity came from this opportunity. He included in his diversity rationale for the consideration of race in admissions a quotation from William Bowen, then President of

Princeton University, that makes clear that the impact of diversity comes from actual interaction with diverse peers.

The president of Princeton University has described some of the benefits derived from a diverse student body: '(A) great deal of learning occurs informally. It occurs through interactions among students of both sexes; of different races, religions, and backgrounds; who come from cities and rural areas, from various states and countries; who have a wide variety of interests, talents, and perspectives; and who are able, directly or indirectly to learn from their differences and to stimulate one another to reexamine even their most deeply held assumptions about themselves and their world. As a wise graduate of ours observed in commenting on this aspect of the educational process, 'People do not learn very much when they are surrounded only by the likes of themselves.' Bowen, Admissions and the Relevance of Race, Princeton Alumni Weekly *7, 9 (Sept. 26, 1977).*

The role of structural diversity has been *the* major focus of disagreement between us and our critics from the National Association of Scholars. In website reports and *amicus* briefs in behalf of the Plaintiffs to the District, Circuit, and Supreme Courts these critics of our work and of affirmative action have argued that percent minority on a campus must have direct effects on students' educational outcomes (Wood and Sherman 2001; Wood and Sherman 2003; Briefs of the National Association of Scholars 2003). We have responded at length to those criticisms (see Gurin 2003), including showing major statistical errors in their analyses that purportedly but wrongly tested the impact of structural diversity. The bottom line is that students cannot have experiences with diversity, especially actual interaction with diverse peers, in a racially/ethnically homogeneous institution. One cannot have experience with diversity without diversity. And it is the experience that leads to educational outcomes.

Actual Experience with Diversity

In the Expert Report for the lawsuits we used measures of actual experience with diversity in the three datasets that we examined for the two lawsuits. (These measures are laid out in detail in both the Expert Report and in an article published in the *Harvard Educational Review* (Gurin et al. 2002).

- *Classroom diversity* was represented in the national database on 184 institutions by responses to whether or not students had taken an ethnic studies class. In the Michigan Student Study we had more information about classroom diversity. We used responses from seniors about the extent to which they had been exposed in classes to "information/activities devoted to understanding other racial/ethnic groups and inter-racial ethnic relationships," and if they had taken a course during college that had an important impact on their "views of racial/ethnic diversity and multiculturalism." (Their responses likely referred to classes that exposed them to racially/ethnically diverse students as well as to curriculum content. In 1994, when these students were seniors, they had to have taken a course that met the Race and Ethnicity Requirement (R&E). To meet that requirement, the Literature, Sciences, and Arts College had approved 111 courses. We obtained the racial/ethnic distribution of students in those courses for 1993-94, the year that the MSS gathered senior data. Two-thirds of these courses had enrolled between 20 and 80 percent students of color. Thus, there is a strong probability that the majority of classes White students were referring to in the MSS measure of classroom diversity included at least 20 percent students of color.) In the Michigan classroom study, classroom diversity was represented by participation or not in the curricular Program on Intergroup Relations.

- *Informal interaction with diverse peers* was measured in the national study by responses to the extent to which students, over their college years, had socialized with someone from a different racial/ethnic group, had discussed racial issues, and had attended a racial/cultural awareness workshop. In the Michigan Student Study, an index summarized responses to questions asking about both amount and quality of contact with diverse peers, number of multicultural events students had attended, and whether or not they had taken part in an intergroup dialogue during their college years. In the classroom study, participation or not in the Program in Intergroup Relations provided the measure, as these classes are diverse and require participation in intergroup dialogues.

The Impact of Experience with Diversity

Background of the Studies

All three databases (gathered from students in a curricular program called the Program on Intergroup Relations at the University of Michigan campuswide at the Univerity of Michigan, and at multiple institutions on a national level) that we used to test our theory about the impact of diversity on educational outcomes

included longitudinal data. The national study followed the same students (approximately 13,000) at the 184 institutions from 1985 through 1989 during their college years and again through 1994 in the post-college world. The Michigan Student Study followed students (approximately 1200) who entered in 1990 through 1994 The evaluation of the impact of the Program on Intergroup Relations followed students (174) also from 1990 through 1994.

The longitudinal nature of these studies made possible a reasonable approach to controlling for the problem of selectivity. Students who become involved in diversity experiences may have entered these universities in the national sample as well as the University of Michigan already different on the very educational outcomes that we argued were effects of diversity experiences. It was possible, however, to adjust for that possibility by statistically controlling in our analyses their freshman-year responses on nearly all of these outcomes. Thus, when we find an effect of the diversity experiences on students, we can be reasonably sure that it isn't the fact that these students were different even before coming to Michigan and before interacting with diverse peers and having exposure to knowledge about race and ethnicity in their college classrooms. The study of the impact of the Program on Intergroup Relations also exercised another control, making it a quasi-experimental study. The 87 participants were matched with 87 non-participants on gender, race/ethnicity, pre-college residency within Michigan or some other state, and residence hall during the first year of college. (At that time the Program was located in a particular residence hall.)

Effects of Diversity Experiences

In all three databases, our analyses showed effects of classroom diversity and informal interaction with diverse peers on what we called *learning outcomes and democracy outcomes.* (See Gurin et al., 2002, for a detailed summary of the effects of diversity experiences in the national multi-institutional study and the Michigan Student Study. See Gurin et al., in press, for a summary of the effects of participation in the Program on Intergroup Relations.)

- Classroom diversity experience and interaction with diverse peers fostered:

Learning outcomes — intellectual engagement, motivation to think actively and deeply about social phenomena, and self-assessed gains on a number of academic/intellectual skills.

Democracy outcomes — commitment to promoting racial understanding, perspective taking, sense of commonality in values with students from different racial/ethnic backgrounds, agreement that diversity and democracy can be congenial, involvement in political affairs and community service during college as well as commitment to civic affairs after college.

- With only minor exceptions, these effects applied to all groups of students: whites, African Americans, and Latinos (and, in later analyses reported in the *Harvard Educational Review* article, Asian American students as well).

- There was great consistency of effects across single-item measures of learning and democracy outcomes and when these single-items were combined into multiple-item indices, the effects were (as expected) larger and still consistent across the multiple institutional study, the single institutional study, and the specific classroom study.

Supportive Research

We summarized the relevant research carried out by other scholars in the Expert Report. These, and other studies conducted since we submitted our expert testimony, are generally supportive of the conclusions we reached. These additional studies are highlighted in two *amicus* briefs to the Supreme Court in behalf of the University respondents. Two were submitted (one for Gratz, one for Grutter) by the American Educational Research Association, the Association of American Colleges and Universities, and the American Association for Higher Education (No. 02-516 and No. 02-241). The third was submitted in both cases by the American Psychological Association (Nos. 02-241 and 02-516).

With respect to engagement in learning and thinking, research shows an impact of diversity experience on problem solving and self-reported gains in critical thinking and other learning outcomes (Hurtado 2001; Terenzini, Cabrera, Colbeck, Bjorklund and Parente 2001; Chang 1999), more involvement in active and collaborative learning or group skills (Terenzini et al. 2001; Kuh 2003), and consideration of multiple points of view and

thinking about legal problems and solutions (Orfield and Whitla 2001).

With respect to democracy-related perspectives, other scholars also have shown an impact of diversity experience on students' motivation to promote racial understanding and cultural awareness (Astin 1993; Milem 1994; Antonio 2001), self-reported ability to work well with members of other races (Orfield and Whitla 2001), citizenship after college (Bowen and Bok 1998), and longer-term integrated living and relationships (Bowen and Bok 1998). A recent study by Duncan and colleagues (2003) is especially important on the effect of actual experience with diverse peers on longer-term relationships across race. That study examined the effect of an experiment in which students at a midwest university were randomly assigned roommates, with some students being assigned roommates from their own race/ethnicity and others being assigned roommates from other backgrounds. Because random assignment was involved, the findings specifically handle the problem of selectivity and demonstrate the causal relationship between experience and impact. They show that white students randomly assigned roommates of color, as compared to white students randomly assigned white roommates, two to four years later had more personal contact with students of other racial/ethnic groups, and were more likely to report that they interact comfortably with people of other racial/ethnic groups. More white students randomly assigned African American roommates than those randomly assigned white roommates considered the roommate to be one of their best friends during the freshman year, and these white students were more supportive of affirmative action.

Most impressively, these and other relevant studies have been brought together in two major books published since we submitted our expert testimony: *Diversity Challenged: Evidence on the Impact of Affirmative Action* by Gary Orfield and Michal Kurlaender (eds.) in 2001; the forthcoming book, *Compelling Interest: Examining the Evidence on Racial Dynamics in Higher Education* by Mitchell Chang et al. (Eds). In addition, the individual, institutional, and social benefits of diversity as documented in a wide variety of studies are summarized by Jeffrey Milem and Kenji Hakuta in a status report on minorities in higher education (ACE 2000). We have also summarized the work as it relates to college environments and students in higher education research (Hurtado, Dey, Gurin, and Gurin 2003).

Attacks by the National Association of Scholars

Our claims and those of other scholars are not without contest. As already noted, members of the National Association of Scholars have repeatedly attempted to undermine our Expert Report. We have responded to these critiques in great detail on the University of Michigan's website on the admissions lawsuits, which is available at http://www.umich.edu/~urel/admissions/research/ (especially, Gurin, G. *Point-by-point response to critique of U-M diversity research*, 2003; Gurin, P. *Evidence for the Educational Benefits of Diversity in Higher Education: Response to the Wood & Sherman Critique by the National Association of Scholars of the Expert Witness Report of Patricia Gurin in Gratz, et al. v Bollinger, et al. and Grutter v Bollinger, et al.* 2001; Gurin, P. *Evidence for the Educational Benefits of Diversity in Higher Education: An Addendum (Response to Lerner & Nagai Critique)*, 2001; Gurin, P. *Response to the National Association of Scholars Amicus Brief to the Supreme Court and Addendum by Wood and Sherman*, 2003; Gurin, P., Gurin, G., and Matlock, J. *Response to Diversity Distorted: How the University of Michigan Withheld Data to Hide Evidence of Racial Conflict and Polarization by Robert Lerner and Althea Nagai*, 2003).

Our work has been independently evaluated and validated in the *amicus* briefs (referred to above) that were submitted to the Supreme Court by the American Educational Research Association (and other higher education associations) and the American Psychological Association, as well by two eminent statisticians at Stanford University; Dr. Richard Shavelson, former dean of the School of Education at Stanford, and Dr. Ewart Thomas, former dean of the Stanford School of Humanities and Sciences, for an amicus brief submitted by the Stanford Institute for Higher Education Research to the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals (Nos. 01-1333, 01-1418). Most importantly, as we have shown in the Expert Report and subsequent published articles, our work is supported by studies carried out by other scholars using different data and methodological approaches. The critics continually attack our Expert Report as though supportive evidence provided by other scholars did not exist.

Conclusion: Where Do We Go from Here?

Considerable research is underway by scholars across the country. Our work is being extended in several ways. Sylvia Hurtado has just completed a multi-institutional study, involving before-after assessments

of students' experiences with diversity and their educational outcomes as well as interviews with administrators, focus groups with students, and observations of the campuses. Patricia and Gerald Gurin, along with John Matlock and Katrina Wade, have two studies underway. One is coordinated with the Hurtado multi-institutional study and is following the class that entered the University of Michigan in 2000 through the senior year in 2004 (a year beyond the Hurtado study). This study essentially replicates the Michigan Student Study that was included in the lawsuit — research that assessed students entering a decade earlier in 1990, following them through 1994. The second, in the field currently, follows the graduates of 1994 into their adult lives nine years after graduation. This study provides the opportunity to assess long-term effects (if any) of experience with diversity during college on the extent to which they are living, working, and performing citizenship roles with diverse people and colleagues almost a decade after they graduated.

Many other studies are underway, some using experimental methods, others carrying out large-scale quantitative evaluations, and still others using qualitative methods to examine the impact of diversity. Some of these studies will focus on actual experience with diversity, as we have done, while others will rely on students' perceptions of campus diversity and subjective assessments of the impact of diversity. Some will be specifically relevant to diversity and affirmative action, while others may merely claim such relevance.

A recent study by Rothman, 2003, which received wide media attention for purportedly undermining the diversity argument for affirmative action, is an example of research that neither focused on students' own experiences with diversity nor actually pertained to affirmative action. It claimed, however, to address affirmative action and to discredit the positive impact of diversity.

What did this study actually do? It was a survey of 140 college and universities. The authors correlated an institution's percent African American students with students' satisfaction with their educations, as well as with students', faculty members' and administrators' evaluations of the institution's quality of education, and showed that perceived quality of education and student satisfaction were lower in those institutions that had the largest percentage of African American students. The percentage of African American students across the 140 institutions varied from zero to 43%. Whatever else this study may show (and it is clearly a negative characterization of colleges and universities with a substantial proportion of African American students), it has no relevance to affirmative action. Affirmative action policies exist only in highly selective institutions that rarely have more than 8-10% African American students. Moreover, the study is not about diversity as it focuses exclusively on African American students rather than on the many racial and ethnic groups that provide multiple bases of diversity. Finally, this study says nothing about the students' own experiences with diversity or, for that matter, nothing about the students' own educational outcomes. It relies nearly exclusively on students' perceptions of institutional quality rather than measuring their educational outcomes. In a letter to the Chronicle of Higher Education that has featured the Rothman et al. study, Stephen Raudenbush (2003) makes the strong statement that conclusions by Rothman and his colleagues are "entirely unwarranted."

Their survey brings no credible evidence to bear on the Michigan case, and indeed, their attempt to use the evidence from their survey for this purpose represents a misuse of social science that would be obvious to any first-year graduate student.

Raudenbush shows why this is so. He cites the central finding of the Rothman et al. study, "that as the proportion of African American students enrolled at an institution *rose* (italics added), student satisfaction with their university dropped, as did the assessments of the quality of their education, and the work efforts of their peers." Raudenbush points out that "any reader who neglected to study the details of the study methodology would reasonably conclude from this sentence that the authors had followed the history of institutions seeking to achieve higher levels of diversity by recruiting more black students, with the finding that increasing diversity in this way harmed educational outcomes. In fact, the authors did no such thing. Instead, they compared 140 institutions *at a single point in time*. Thus, the authors never studied what happened when the percent black of an institution rose."

Scholars launched a concerted and continuous series of attacks on it. Criticisms should have been part of the legal process itself, in which Patricia Gurin could have been cross-examined and responded. Failing to call for a trial on diversity, the Center for Individual Rights and the National Association of Scholars reverted to trying to influence public opinion and to affecting the Court's decision by attempting to create new issues of fact that should have been settled at the District Court level.

The decision by the Supreme Court will not settle the research controversies because they have become highly politicized during the process of litigation. The critiques of our work generated by the critics of affirmative action were explicitly intended to influence the Supreme Court decision outside of the legal process. The lawyers for the Plaintiffs in these two cases provided no rebuttal witnesses for Patricia Gurin.

They agreed that a trial on the matter of diversity was not needed and conceded in oral argument for summary judgment that "diversity is 'good, important, and valuable.'" (Gratz 122 F. Supp.2d at 823) Only after Judge Duggan in the undergraduate lawsuit cited our Expert Report did the critics, largely from the National Association of Scholars, revert to trying to influence public opinion and to affecting the Court's decision by attempting to create new issues of fact that should have been settled at the District Court level.

These efforts to discredit our work have coincided with reports of new scholarly evidence that generally supports our work for the litigation about how universities may realize the true learning and democratic potential of diversity for both individuals and society. The collective conclusion of nearly all of the empirical research is that educational institutions can and should make diversity central to their educational missions because student experiences with diversity can promote more active, complex thinking and prepare students as citizens in a diverse democracy. Based on the evidence to date, this is essentially what institutions should aspire to achieve.

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Patricia Gurin, Jeffrey S. Lehman, and Earl Lewis, with others

Defending Diversity

Affirmative Action at the University of Michigan

Introduction by Nancy Cantor

Afterword by Mary Sue Coleman

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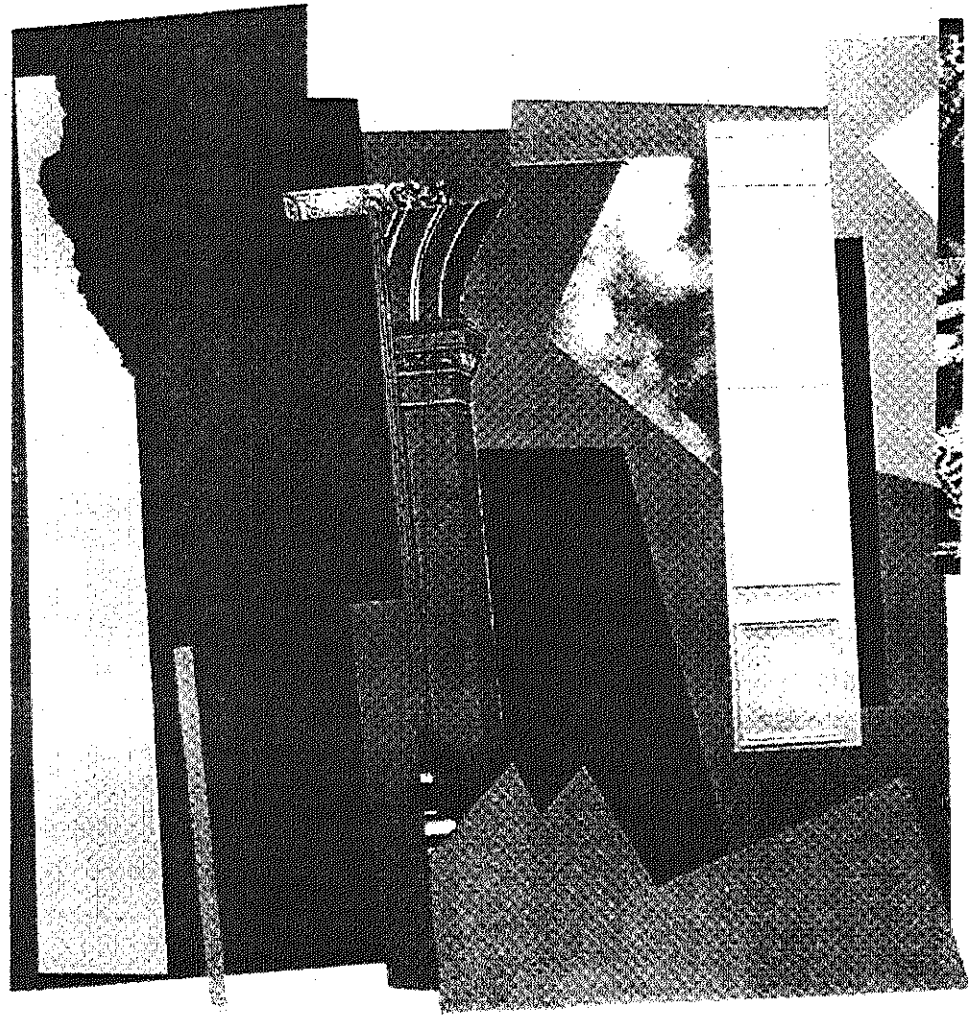
Enacting Diverse Learning Environments

Improving the Climate for Racial/Ethnic Diversity in Higher Education

Sylvia Hurtado, Jeffrey Milem, Alma Clayton-Pedersen, and Walter Allen



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DIFFERENCES IN COLLEGE ACCESS AND CHOICE AMONG RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUPS: Identifying Continuing Barriers

Sylvia Hurtado, Karen Kurotsuchi Inkelas, Charlotte Briggs, and Byung-Shik Rhee

This study focuses on the college application behaviors of students from various racial/ethnic groups in order to understand differences in access and college choice. Student characteristics, predispositions, academic abilities, and income levels were taken into account in our analyses. We analyzed data from the National Education Longitudinal Study (NELS) and the Beginning Postsecondary Student Longitudinal Study (BPS) and found significant group differences in preparation behaviors, college application behavior (number of colleges to which students applied), and attendance at their first choice of institution. The results of this study call attention to the need for campuses to evaluate the potential effects of policy decisions that may impact student choice for different populations of students.

Access and equity have long been central goals of American higher education, as reflections of both egalitarian and pragmatic interests. There is fairly wide agreement that throughout the 1960s and 1970s, men and women of all racial/ethnic groups achieved ever increasing levels of representation at American two- and four-year institutions, and that college participation rates have increased substantially to the point of eliminating disparities between gender groups in college access (Alexander, Pallas, and Holupka, 1987; Orfield, 1990; Paul, 1990). There is deep disagreement, however, over whether historically underrepresented racial and ethnic groups and those of lower socioeconomic status have gained or lost ground since the 1980s. Alexander et al. (1987) found that for a cohort of 1980 high school seniors, within individual socioeconomic status (SES) levels, minority youth consistently showed higher participation rates than white students. Overall, low family SES was nonetheless strongly

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Sylvia Hurtado's work on the educational benefits associated with diversity and cross-cultural engagement on college and university campuses is said to have had a profound effect on the outcome of the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in the Affirmative Action cases at the University of Michigan. Dr. Hurtado is a Professor and Director of the Higher Education Research Institute in the Graduate School of Education and Information Sciences at the University of California, Los Angeles. Prior to coming to UCLA, she served as Director of the Center for the Study of Higher and Postsecondary Education at the University of Michigan. Dr. Hurtado has published numerous articles and books related to student educational outcomes, campus racial climates, college impact on student development, and diversity in higher education. Her research has been published in the top higher education journals, including the *Review of Higher Education*, *Journal of Higher Education*, *Research in Higher Education*, and *Sociology of Education*, to name a few. She is lead author of the book, *Enacting Diverse Learning Environments: Improving the Climate for Racial/Ethnic Diversity in Higher Education* (Jossey-Bass, 1999). Dr. Hurtado has served on numerous editorial boards for peer-reviewed academic journals in education, and in leadership capacities with the American Association of Higher Education (AAHE) and the Higher Learning Commission. She is the current national president of the Association for the Study of Higher Education (ASHE). In 2004, *Black Issues in Higher Education* magazine named her among the top 15 influential faculty whose work has had a significant impact on the academy. She obtained her Ph.D. in Education from UCLA, Ed.M. from Harvard Graduate School of Education, and A.B. in Sociology from Princeton University. Dr. Hurtado has coordinated several national research projects, including a U.S. Department of Education-sponsored study on how colleges are preparing students to achieve the cognitive, social, and democratic skills requisite for participation in a diverse democracy. She is launching a National Institutes of Health project on the preparation of underrepresented students for biomedical and behavioral science research careers. She has also studied assessment, reform, and innovation in undergraduate education on a project through the National Center for Postsecondary Improvement. Unarguably, Dr. Sylvia Hurtado's scholarship has enhanced higher education research and practice, particularly in the areas of diversity and campus racial climates.

Submitted by: Shaun Harper

2006 Brock International Prize in Education
Nominee Packet for

SYLVIA HURTADO, PH.D.

Professor
Director, Higher Education Research Institute
University of California Los Angeles

Nominated by:

Shaun R. Harper, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor and Research Associate
Center for the Study of Higher Education
The Pennsylvania State University

Nominated for:

Significant intellectual contributions on the educational benefits associated with diversity and cross-cultural engagement on college and university campuses, which affected the outcome of the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in the Affirmative Action cases at the University of Michigan

Sylvia Hurtado

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Culver City, CA 90230
(310) 825-1925 (office)
(310) 903-1833 (cell)
Born: San Antonio, Texas

3005 Moore Hall
GSEIS
405 Hilgard Ave.
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Education

Ph.D. in Education (Cognate: Sociology), 1986-1990
Graduate School of Education, University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA)

Ed.M. in Administration, Planning and Social Policy, 1982-1983
Graduate School of Education, Harvard University

A.B. in Sociology (Cognate: Anthropology), 1976-1980, Princeton University
Certified teacher in Spanish and Social Studies, State of New Jersey

Academic Awards and Honors

Black Issues in Higher Education, 15th Anniversary Fall 1999, Named among Top 15 Influential Faculty who personify scholarship, service and integrity and whose work has had substantial impact on the academy.
Harold R. Johnson Diversity Award, 1998, University of Michigan
Distinguished Early Career Award, 1995-96, Association for the Study of Higher Education.
Evan and Helen Geib Pattishall Junior Faculty Research Award, 1994 University of Michigan School of Education
University of California President's Postdoctoral Fellowship, 1990-92
Dorothy Danforth Compton Graduate Fellowship, UCLA, 1986-1990

Academic and Administrative Appointments

Professor, 2004—, University of California at Los Angeles, Graduate School of Education and Information Studies
Director, 2004—, Higher Education Research Institute, University of California at Los Angeles
Director, 2000-2003, Center for the Study of Higher and Postsecondary Education, University of Michigan (CSHPE is an academic department and research center).
Associate Professor, 1997-2003, University of Michigan, School of Education
Assistant Professor. 1992-97, University of Michigan, School of Education
University of California Postdoctoral Fellow, 1990-92, UCLA, Department of Sociology
Research Analyst, 1986-1990, Higher Education Research Institute, UCLA
Research Assistant, June-August, 1987, Center for the Study of Evaluation/CRESST, UCLA
Assistant to the Graduate Dean, Division of Graduate Studies and Research, University of California, Santa Cruz, July 1983-June 1986
Special Assistant to the Director of Admissions, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, September 1982-June 1983
Assistant Regional and Interim Associate Director of Admissions, Princeton University, July 1980-August 1982

National Service

American Educational Research Association, AERA Presidential Panel on Racial Dynamics in Higher Education, 1997-99; Elected to Division J Council, 1997-99; AERA/NSF Undergraduate Mathematics Indicators Project, panel member and co-author, 1994-96; AERA Affirmative Action Committee, Division J, 1992-93; Vice Chair for Social Contexts section of Division J Program Committee, *1992*

American Association for Higher Education, Board Member, 1996-2000.

Association of American Colleges and Universities, Diversity Works, Advisory Committee, 1996-2000; Greater Expectations, National Panel, 2000-2002. An initiative to formulate a statement of aims and purposes for twenty-first century college-level study.

Association for the Study of Higher Education, President, 2004-2005; Chair, Dissertation Award Committee, 2002-03; Nominations Committee, 1996; Chair, Conference Program Research Papers, 1995;Chair. Conference Program Symposia, 1992; Board Member, 1990-92.

Gates Millennium Scholarship Program, Research and Evaluation Advisory Board 2001-present

Higher Learning Commission (North Central Accreditation Association), Board Member, 2000-2004

National Center for Urban Partnerships/Ford Foundation, Evaluation facilitator, 1994-97

National Survey of Student Experiences, Technical Advisory Panel

Publications

Books and Monographs

Gurin, P., Lehman, J.S., Lewis, E., with Dey, E. L., Gurin, G. & Hurtado, S. (2004). Defending diversity: Affirmative Action at the University of Michigan. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Schoem, D. and Hurtado, S. (Eds.) (2001). Intergroup Dialogue: Deliberative Democracy in School, College, Community, and Workplace. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Hurtado, S., Milem, J. F., Clayton-Pederson, A., & Allen, W. A.(1999). Enacting Diverse Learning Environments: Improving the Campus Climate for Racial/ethnic Diversity in Higher Education. ASHE-ERIC Series. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

In Preparation

Hurtado, S. (Ed.) Transforming Universities: Research and Practice on Diversity and Civic Engagement in Undergraduate Education.

Hurtado, S. Higher Learning for Citizenship in a Diverse Democracy.

Juried Publications

Hurtado, S. (in press). The next generation of diversity and intergroup relations research. Journal of Social Issues.

Hurtado, S. and Ponjuan, L. (in press) Latino educational outcomes and the campus climate, Journal of Hispanic Higher Education.

Laird, T. N., Engberg, M.E., & Hurtado (in press). Modeling accentuation effects: Enrolling in a diversity course and the importance of social action engagement. Journal of Higher Education, 75.

Hurtado, S., Laird, T. N., and Perorazio, T. (2005). The transition to college for low-income students: The impact of the Gates Millennium Scholars Program. Readings on Equal Education, Vol 20, 153-180.

Hurtado, S., Dey, E.L., Gurin, P., & Gurin, G. (2003). The college environment, diversity, and student learning. In Smart, J. (Ed.) Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research, Vol. XVIII, 145-189. Amsterdam: Kluwer Academic Press.

Gurin, P., Dey, E. L., Hurtado, S. & Gurin, G. (Fall, 2002). Diversity and higher education: Theory and impact on educational outcomes, Harvard Educational Review ,72 (3), 330-366.

_____Reprinted in Howell, A. and Tuitt, F. (2003). Race and Higher Education: Rethinking Pedagogy in Diverse College Classrooms, HER Reprint Series, 36. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Publishing Group.

Hurtado, S., Engberg, M. E., Ponjuan, L., & Landreman, L. (2002). Students' precollege preparation for participation in a diverse democracy, Research in Higher Education, 43 (2), 162-186.

Hurtado, S., Milem, J. F, Clayton-Pederson, A., & Allen, W. A, (1998). Enhancing campus climates for racial/ethnic diversity: Educational policy and practice. Review of Higher Education, 21(3), 279-302.

Hurtado, S. & Carter, D. F. (1997). Effects of college transition and perceptions of campus racial climate on Latinos' sense of belonging. Sociology of Education. 70 (4), 324-345.

_____Reprinted in Stage, F. et al., College Students: The Evolving Nature of Research. ASHE Reader Series. Needham Heights, MA: Simon and Schuster.

Hurtado, S., Inkelas Kurotsuchi, K., Briggs, C.U, & Rhee, B. S. (1997). Differences in college access and choice among racial/ethnic groups: Identifying continuing barriers. Research in Higher Education. 38 (1), 43-75.

Dey, E. L. & Hurtado, S. (1996). Faculty attitudes toward regulating speech on college campuses. Review of Higher Education, 20(1). 15-32.

Hurtado, S., Carter, D. F., & Spuler, A. (1996). Latino student transition to college: Assessing difficulties and factors in successful adjustment. Research in Higher Education, 37(2), 135-157.

Dey, E. L. & Hurtado, S. (1995). College impact, student impact: A reconsideration of the role of students within American higher education. Higher Education: The International Journal of Higher Education and Educational Planning, 207-223.

_____Reprinted in Bess, J. Foundations of American Higher Education. ASHE Reader Series. Needham Heights, MA: Simon & Schuster, 1999.

Hurtado, S. (1994). The graduate school racial climate and academic self-concept among minority graduate students in the 1970s. American Journal of Education. 102(3), 330-351.

Hurtado, S. (1994). The institutional climate for talented Latino students. Research in Higher Education, 35(1), 21-41.

Hurtado, S. (1992). Campus racial climates: Contexts for conflict. Journal of Higher Education, 5 (September/October), 539-569.

_____Reprinted in Turner, C. S., (2002); Turner, C.S. et al.(1996). Racial and Ethnic Diversity in Higher Education. ASHE Reader Series. Needham Heights, MA: Simon and Schuster.

Hurtado, S., Astin, A. W. & Dey, E. L. (1991). Varieties of general education programs: An empirical taxonomy. Journal of General Education, 40, 133- 162.

Book Chapters and Invited Articles

Hurtado, S. (in press) The Public University Role in Preparing Citizens for a Diverse Democracy. Colbeck, C. (Ed.) The Future of the American Public Research University.

Hurtado, S. (in press). Diversity and Learning for a Pluralistic Democracy, in Allen W., Bonous-Hammarth, M., & Teranishi, R. *Higher Education in a Global Society: Achieving Diversity, Equity, and Excellence.* Oxford, England:Elsevier Publishers.

Gurin. P., Dey, E.L., Gurin, G. and Hurtado, S. (2004). The Educational Value of Diversity, in Gurin, P., Lehman, J.S, and Lewis, E. with Dey, E., Gurin, G. and Hurtado, S. Defending Diversity: Affirmative Action at the University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Gurin, P., Dey, E.L., Gurin, G., and Hurtado, S. (2003). How Does Racial Diversity Promote Education? Western Journal of Black Studies, 27 (1), 22-29.

Hurtado, S. and Kamimura, M. (2003). Latina/o Retention in Four-Year Institutions. In Castellanos, J. and Jones, L. (eds.), The Majority in the Minority: Retaining Latina/o Faculty, Administrators, and Students in the 21st century. Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing, Inc.

Hurtado, S. (2003). Institutional Diversity in American Higher Education. In Komives, S. and Woodard, D. (Eds.), Student Services: A Handbook for the Profession. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Rowley, L.and Hurtado, S. (2003). The Non-monetary Benefits of Undergraduate Education. In Lewis, D. and Hearn, J. (eds). The Public Research University: Serving the Public Good in New Times, 207-229. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Hurtado, S. (2002). Toward an inclusive community: Understanding Latino college students. In Smith, W., Altbach, P., and Lomotey, K. (Eds.) The Racial Crisis in American Higher Education. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Hurtado, S. (2001). Research and Evaluation on Intergroup Dialogue. In Schoem, D. and Hurtado, S. (Eds,) Intergroup Dialogue: Deliberative Democracy in School, Workplace, and Community. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Hurtado, S. (2001). Linking diversity with educational purpose: How the diversity impacts the classroom environment and student development. In G. Orfield (ed.) Diversity challenged: Legal crisis and new evidence. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Publishing Group.

Hurtado, S. & Wathington, H. (2000). "Time for Retreat" or Renewal? The Impact of *Hopwood* on Campus. In Heller, D. (Ed.), The States and Public Higher Education: Affordability, Access, and Accountability. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Hurtado, S. (1999). Reaffirming educators' judgment: Educational value of diversity, Journal of Liberal Education, Spring, 24-31. Washington, DC: American Association of Colleges and Universities.

Dey, E. L. & Hurtado, S. (1998) Students, colleges, and society: Considering the interconnections. In Altbach, R, Berdahl, R. & Gumport, P. (Eds.) The American university in the 21st century: Higher education and society. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Hurtado, S., Carter, D. F., & Kardia, D. B. (1998). The climate for diversity: Key issues for institutional self-study. In K. Bauer (ed.), Campus Climate: Understanding the

Critical Components of Today's Colleges and Universities. New Directions for Institutional Research. (98). San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

Hurtado, S. & Navia, C. (1997). Reconciling college access and the affirmative action debate. In Mildred Garcia (S.) Affirmative action's testament of hope: Strategies for a new era. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Hurtado, S. & Dey, E. L. (1997). Achieving the goals of multiculturalism and diversity, 405-431. In Peterson, M. W., Dill, D. D., & Metz, L.A. (Eds.) Planning and management for a changing environment: A handbook on redesigning postsecondary institutions. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Hurtado, S. (1996). How diversity affects teaching and learning. Educational Record. 77(4), 27-29.

Hurtado, S. & Carter, D. F. (1996). Latino Students' sense of belonging in the college community: Rethinking the concept of integration on campus. In Stage, F.K., Anaya, G.L., Bean, J. V. Hossler, D., and Kuh, G. D., College students: The evolving nature of research, (pp. 123-136). Needham Heights, MA: Simon and Schuster.

Dey, E. L. & Hurtado, S. (1994). College students in changing contexts. In Altbach, Philip, Berdahl, Robert, & Gumport, Patricia (Eds.), Higher education in American society, 3rd Edition, (pp. 249-367). Amherst, New York: Prometheus.

Hurtado, S. (1994). Review of Does College Make a Difference? Contemporary Sociology, 23 (4), 566-567.

Hurtado, S. (1994). Latino consciousness and academic success. In Hurtado, A. and Garcia, E. (Eds.), Latino educational achievement. Santa Cruz, CA: University of California.

Technical Research Reports and Instruments

Sax, L., Hurtado, S., Lindholm, J., Astin, A.W., Korn, W.S., Mahoney, K.M. (2005). The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 2004. Los Angeles: Higher Education Research Institute.

Hurtado, S. (2003). Preparing College Students for a Diverse Democracy. Final report to the U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, Field Initiated Studies Program. (see website www.umich.edu/~divdemo/presentations.htm for pdf copy).

Hurtado, S., Maestas, R., Hill, L., Inkelas, K., Wathington, H.D., & Waterson, E. (1998). Perspectives on the Climate for Diversity: Findings and Suggested Recommendations for the Texas A & M University Campus Community. Ann Arbor: Center for the Study of Higher and Postsecondary Education.

Hurtado, S. & Inkelas, K. K. (1998). New dilemmas of access and implications for national data use/availability. In National Center for Education Statistics, Reconceptualizing Access in Postsecondary Education: Report of the Policy Panel on Access, for the Council of the National Postsecondary Education Cooperative. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.

Hurtado, S. & Navia, C. (1997). Assessment of college students. Module produced for the instruction of Brazilian higher education administrators and faculty. Translated into Portuguese, printed, and distributed for use in assessment training in Brazil.

Dey, E. L, Hurtado, S., Rhee, B.S., Inkelas, K K., Wimsatt, L.A., and Guan, F. (1997). Improving research on postsecondary student outcomes: A review of the strengths and limitations of

national data resources. National Center for Postsecondary Improvement, Stanford University.

Hurtado, S., Milem, J., Allen, W., & Clayton-Pederson, A. (1996). Improving the climate for diversity in higher education institutions. Final report to the Lilly Foundation, sponsored by the Common Destiny Alliance. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University.

Hurtado, S. & Dey, E. L. (1996). A framework for monitoring and increasing undergraduate student participation in mathematics education. In Travers, K., Dossey, J. & McKnight., C. (Eds.) Charting the course: quality indicators to monitor undergraduate mathematics education, a joint publication of the American Educational Research Association and the Mathematical Association of America (published as CD).

Hurtado, S. (1992). National Hispanic Scholar Awards program evaluation: Final report to the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. Los Angeles: Higher Education Research Institute.

Hurtado, S., Astin, A.W., Korn, W. S., & Dey, E. U (1989). The American college student, 1987. Los Angeles: Higher Education Research Institute.

Astin, A. W., Green, K.C., Korn, W. S., Schalit, M., Dey, E. L, & Hurtado, S. (1988). The American college student. 1985. Los Angeles: Higher Education Research Institute.

Gonzalez, J. & Hurtado, S. (1987). Expanding educational opportunity in California's schools and colleges: A review of existing and proposed programs. 1986-87. Sacramento: California Postsecondary Education Commission.

Instruments:

Preparing College Students for a Diverse Democracy: First Year Student Views and Experiences (administered to over 20,000 college students)

Classroom-based Survey on Thinking and Interacting, Version 1, Version 2 (pre-and post instruments) (administered to 1,000 students in classrooms).

Institutional Practices on Diversity and Civic Engagement (administered to 1400 Chief Academic Officers)

NCPI Student Experiences with Teaching, Learning and Assessment (with Eric Dey)

NCPI Faculty Survey on Teaching Learning and Assessment (with Eric Dey)

NCPI Departmental Chair Survey on Teaching Learning and Assessment (with Eric Dey and Marv Peterson)

Funded Research/Projects

Promoting Diversity: Access and Engagement in Biomedical and Behavioral Science Research Careers, 2004-2008

Principal investigator, National Institutes of Health. A longitudinal study of underrepresented students seeking research training and careers in the biomedical and behavioral sciences. Funds: $1.7 million for four years.

AERA Postdoctoral Fellowship Support, 2002-2005

Principal investigator, grant will support postdoctoral fellow, Amanda Kim. Funds: Approximately $191,700 for three years.

Promising Practices in Preparing Students for a Diverse Democracy, 2001-2004

Principal investigator, Hewlett Packard Foundation. Extends research to highlight promising practices that result from addressing diversity and civic engagement in a cross-campus collaboration. Funds: $150,000 for three years.

Higher Education Emerging Scholars Program, 2000-2002

Principal Investigator, Spencer Foundation Mentor Grants. Awarded in recognition of an important role in the mentorship of researchers in higher education. The program supported the professional development of graduate students working under my supervision. Funds: $50,000 for two years.

Creating Diverse Learning Environments, 2000-2003
Principal investigator, Spencer Foundation Major Grants Program, in collaboration with the American Council on Education and Don Heller. A study of campus access and financial aid policies and longitudinal study of how public institutions prepare students for a diverse democracy. Funds: $396,550 for three years.

Preparing College Students for a Diverse Democracy, 1999-2003
Principal investigator. OERI, U.S. Department of Education, Field Initiated Studies Program. A longitudinal study of the skills and dispositions college students learn from interaction with diverse peers during college, focusing on outcomes necessary to participate in a diverse democracy. Funds: $765,000 for three years, extended for a fourth year. (See publications and presentations).

Improving Postsecondary Teaching, Learning, and Assessment, 1996-2001
Co-principal investigator with Michael Nettles, Marvin Peterson, and Eric Dey. Documents innovations in teaching, learning, and assessment practices. Subcontract of OERI-sponsored National Center for Postsecondary Improvement includes $2,371,563 for three Michigan team projects. (See publications/presentations).

Climate Study, Texas A&M University, 1997-98
Principal investigator. A study of the climate for racial/ethnic diversity for faculty, staff, and students after elimination of race-sensitive admissions and programs. Funds: Approximately $51,000. (See technical report).

Comparing the Educational Progress of High-Achieving Latinos, 1996-97
Principal Investigator, Office of the Vice Provost for Academic and Multicultural Affairs. Funds: Approximately $13,000 in salary release.

Career Development Fund for Women Faculty, 1996-97.
Awarded in recognition for extensive service commitments, Office of the Provost. Funds: $5,000.

The Transition to College: Comparative Study of Latino and Other Racial/Ethnic Groups, 1994-96.
Principal Investigator, AERA/NSF Grants program. Explored national data bases for racial/ethnic comparisons of college choice, access, and longitudinal analysis of college experiences using CIRP data, the National Survey of Hispanic Students, the NELS '88, and the Beginning Postsecondary Study of Students (BPS). Funds: $25,000. (See publications).

Psychological and Sociological Influences on Minority Progress Through the Educational Pipeline, 1993-94.
Principal Investigator, Rackham Distinguished Partnership Program, University of Michigan. Highly competitive, university-wide grant to encourage successful research partnerships between faculty and graduate students. Funds:Approximately $22,000 in research assistantship funds.

National Longitudinal Study of Hispanic College Students, 1991-1993
Principal Investigator. The project is a National longitudinal study of five cohorts of talented Latino college students. Funds: $69,000 sponsored by Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and the Office of Vice President for Research, University of Michigan (See publications).

Refereed Conference Papers and Symposia (only recent conference papers are listed out of 45 papers delivered since 1992)

Hurtado, S., Chang, M.J., Saenz, V., Chang, J., and Cerna, O. Paper: Pre-college Characteristics and Experiences of Minority Students Committed to the Biomedical and Behavioral Sciences, presented at AIR, San Diego, June 2005.

Hurtado, S., Saenz, V., Ngai, H., Mosqueda, C. Paper: Factors Influencing Positive Interaction Across Race for African American, Asian American, Latino, and White College Students, presented at AIR, San Diego, June 2005.

Hurtado, S., Locks, A., Oseguera, L., Saenz, V. and Denson, N. Paper: Political Attitudes and Voting Behavior: Predicting the Potential Influence of Young Voters in the 2004 Elections, presented at AERA, Montreal, April 2005.

Hurtado, S., Greene, S., Bowan, J., Dwyer, B., and Kim, A. Students and Cultural Awareness: The Relationship Between Interaction with Diverse Peers and Cultural Awareness Development, presented at AIR, Boston, 2004.

Bowman, N., Chen, R., and Hurtado, S. Paper: College Experiences and Academic Achievement, presented at AIR, Boston, 2004.

Hurtado, S., Engberg, M., and Ponjuan, L. Paper: The Impact of the College Experience on Students' Learning for a Diverse Democracy, presented at ASHE, Portland, November 2003.

Hurtado, S., Mayhew, M., and Engberg, M. Paper: Diversity in the Classroom and Students' Moral Reasoning, presented at ASHE, Portland, November 2003.

Hurtado, S., Ponjuan, L., and Smith, G. Paper: Women and Faculty of Color: Impact on Curricular and Co-curricular Initiatives, presented at the AIR Forum, Tampa, FL, May 2003.

Rowley, L., Hurtado, S., Ponjuan, L., and Mawila, K. Paper: Defining the Engaged Campus, presented at the AIR Forum, Tampa, FL, May 2003.

Invited Addresses and Presentations (selected since 1999)

Keynote speaker, National Association of Student Personnel Administrators, Annual Meeting, Tampa, FL, April 2005.

Keynote speaker, Association of College Research Librarians, Minneapolis, MN, April 2005.

Keynote speaker, Provost's Lecture Series, Eastern Washington University, March 2005.

Keynote speaker, Association of American Colleges and Universities, Annual Meeting, San Francisco, January 2005.

Keynote speaker, Moore Chair Lecture, North Carolina State University, September 2004.

Keynote speaker, Ohio University, Campus Diversity Initiative, February, 2004.

Keynote speaker, Minnesota State Colleges and Universities, Teaching and Learning Center Faculty Workshop, January, 2004.

Keynote speaker, UniDiversity Day, Texas A&M University, April, 2003.

Keynote speaker, Kansas State University's Provost's Lecture Series, April, 2003.

Speaker, Achieving Diversity in Tertiary and Higher Education: Problems and Prospects, Bellagio, Italy, March, 2003.

Speaker, Indiana University Retention Conference, Indianapolis, IN, February 2003.

Keynote speaker, Texas Association of Chicanos in Higher Education, Austin, TX, January 2003.

Keynote speaker, National Conference on the First Year Experience, Costa Mesa, CA January 2003.

Keynote speaker, Presidential Leadership Colloquium, Campus Compact, Providence, RI, November 2002.

Keynote speaker, Diversity and Learning Conference, AAC&U, St. Louis, MO, October 2002.

Keynote speaker, DOW Chemical Corporation, Midland, MI, October 2002.

Keynote speaker, Indiana University Retreat for Chief Academic Officers, February, 2002.

Keynote speaker, Assessing Students for Citizenship in a Diverse Society, American Association for Higher Education, Annual Assessment Conference, Denver, CO, June, 2001.

Panelist, Bridging Gender Divides National Conference, Center for the Education of Women, University of Michigan, March, 2001.

Keynote speaker, Retention and Student Success conference, Colorado State University, March, 2001.

Keynote speaker, presentation "Diversity and Learning on Campus," University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, February, 2001.

Discussant to opening conference presentation, Spencer Research Training Grant Network Conference, Cape Town, South Africa, January, 2001.

Keynote speaker, Retention 2000 Conference, University of Maryland, College Park, November, 2000.

Speaker (with Coleman, A., Chang, M. Mann, P. & Milem, J.). Applying and Expanding Diversity and Affirmative Action Research, an AERA Minicourse (four-hour workshop), New Orleans, LA, April 2000.

Speaker (with President Kirwan) Diversity in Higher Education: Why It Matters, the University of Virginia Symposium on "Charting Diversity: Commitment, Honor, and Challenge," February, 2000. Featured on a live webcast.

Plenary Panel, Expanding Diversity Research and Using What We Know, American Council on Education/Association of American Colleges and Universities, Educating All of One Nation, Albuquerque, NM, October, 1999.

Keynote Speaker, The Climate for Student Success, Chancellor's Fall Conference on Student Success, University of California, Santa Cruz, October, 1999.

Keynote Speaker, Diversity and Learning, Interactive Town Hall Diversity Dialogue, Second Annual Week of Campus Dialogue, University of Maryland, College Park, October, 1999.

Editorial Work and Proposal Review

Editorial Advisory Board, American Educational Research Journal. 1999 —.
Editorial Board, Journal of College Student Development. 1997 —1999.
Editorial Board, Journal of Higher Education. 1997 -2002.
Editorial Board, Sociology of Education. 1998 - 2002.
Editorial Board, and Associate Editor, Review of Higher Education. 1993-1996.
Advisory Board, ASHE Reader on Women in Higher Education: A Feminist Perspective; ASHE Reader on Racial and Ethnic Diversity in Higher Education.

Manuscript Reviewer for:
Journal of General Education, Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, Research in Higher Education. Social Science Quarterly, Social Problems, Teachers' College Record, and Temple University Press.

Research Proposal Reviewer for:
Lilly Foundation, Spencer Foundation Major Grants Program, National Science Foundation, Directorate for Education & Human Resources, Rockefeller Foundation, Association for Institutional Research - NCES/NSF Grants Program

Teaching Experience

Courses (graduate level courses taught since May 1992):

Professional Seminar in Higher Education
Reform and Innovation in Undergraduate Education
Introduction to Higher Education
The American College Student
Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in Higher Education
Research on Women and Feminist Perspectives in Higher Education
Research Design

Teaching Module

Brazilian Higher Education, World Bank-funded. Developed a distance module on student assessment in higher education to be used in a sequence of modules on evaluation for Brazilian administrators and faculty as the government develops a new focus on assessment in higher education, 1996. (See publications).

Doctoral Dissertations, Chaired (completed):

Luis Ponjuan (2005). Understanding the Work Lives of Faculty of Color: Job Satisfaction, Perception of Climate, and Intention to Leave. Current job: Assistant Professor, University of Florida.

Mark Elliott Engberg. (2004). Educating the Workforce for the 21st Century: The Impact of Diversity on Undergraduate Students' Pluralistic Orientation. Current job: Senior Research Analyst, Human Capital Research Corporation.

Ellen Waterson Meader. (2004). Students Support for Institutional Diversity: The Impact of Diverse College Experiences. Current job: Senior Research Associate, College of Letters and Science, University of Michigan.

Heather Wathington, (2004). In Search of the Beloved Community: Understanding the Dynamics of Student Interaction Across Racial and Ethnic Communities. Current job: Assistant Professor, University of Virginia.

Lucretia Murphy, (2004). How "At Risk" Youth Become "College People". Current job: Senior Project Manager, Jobs for the Future.

Tom Nelson Laird, (2003). Exploring "Diversity Courses" and Their Effects on Aspects of Students' Identities. Current job: Assistant Professor, Indiana University, Bloomington.

Denise Green, (2002). Conflict, Community, and Affirmative Action: An Examination of the University of Michigan's Campus Response to Anti-Affirmative Action Litigation. Current job: Assistant Professor, University of Illinois-Urbana Champaign.

Malinda Matney, (2001). Institutional and Departmental Factors Influencing Faculty Adoption of Innovative Teaching Practices. Current job: Senior Research Associate, Division of Student Affairs, University of Michigan.

Karen Kurotsuchi Inkelas, (2000). Demystifying the Model Minority: Racial Attitudes of Asian Pacific American College Students. Winner: NASPA Dissertation of the Year Award. Current Job: Assistant Professor, University of Maryland.

Lea Allison, (1999). Integrating Experiences and Retention of Nontraditional Students. Current Job: Consultant.

Philip Knutel, (1998). Adoption of an Innovation: The Process Through Which Faculty Decide Whether to Use Instructional Technology. Current Job: Director of Academic Computing and Adjunct Professor, Bentley College.

Deborah Faye Carter, (1997). A Dream Deferred? Examining the Degree Aspirations of African American and White College Students. Winner: ASHE Bobby Wright Dissertation of the Year Award. Current Job: Associate Professor, University of Michigan.

Adrianna Kezar, (1996). Reconstructing Exclusive Images: An Examination of Higher Education Leadership Models. Winner: CSHPE Dissertation of the Year Award; Finalist ASHE Dissertation of the Year Award. Current Job: Associate Professor, University of Southern California.

Michelle Gilliard, (1995). Racial Climate and Institutional Support Factors Affecting Success in Predominantly White Institutions: An Examination of African American and White Student Experiences. Finalist: NASPA Dissertation of the Year Award. Current job: Director, Council for the Advancement of Private Higher Education, CIC, Washington, D.C.

Diana DeVries Kardia, (1995). Diversity's Closet: Student Attitudes Toward Lesbians, Gay Men, and Bisexual People on a Multicultural Campus. Winner 1995 CSHPE Dissertation of the Year Award; Current job: Research Associate and lecturer, Center for Research on Learning and Teaching, University of Michigan

Professional Consultancies:

Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, Gates Millennium Scholars Program. Advisory Council to monitor evaluation of the scholarship program and long-term outcomes for racial/ethnic minority recipients.

Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis, Diversity Self-Study. External Reviewer of materials and recommendations for change, April, 2000.

National Center for Urban Partnerships (sponsored by the Ford Foundation), Evaluation Team, assisted three cities in evaluating K-16 initiatives 1994-1997.

National Institutes of Health, Program consultant for the review of minority undergraduate training in biomedical fields, 1994.

Lilly Foundation, Review Panel for the Program on Improving Racial and Ethnic Diversity and Campus Climate at Four-Year Independent Midwest Colleges.

American College Testing Program, Test item-review panel for COMPASS, placement tests for community college student& Reviews tests for sensitivity to different gender and ethnic groups, 1993-1995.

Vanderbilt University, Diversity Opportunity Tool, advised on the development of interactive CD-ROM software to be used in college classrooms surrounding racial/ethnic diversity conflict.

University Service

University of California, Los Angeles

Chair, Faculty Search Committee, 2004-2005
Member, 2004— Committee on Undergraduate Admissions and Relations with Schools
Member, 2004— WASC Accreditation Committee
Faculty Affiliate, 2004— Chicano Studies Research Center

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Provost's Committee on Diversity and Democracy, 2001-2003
President's Advisory Committee on Women, 2001-2003
Academic Affairs Advisory Committee, 1999-2002, appointed by SACUA
Capital Campaign Committee, 2000-2003 , appointed by the Provost
Diversity Dialogue Committee, 1998-2003 , appointed by the Dean of Rackham Graduate School
Harold Johnson Diversity Award Committee, 1996, 2002, appointed by the Office of the Vice Provost for Academic and Multicultural Affairs
Administrative Leadership Council, Ex-Oficio Member of School Executive Committee
Chair, Promotion and Tenure Committee 1999-2000

Dean's Search Committee, 1997-99, Appointed by the Provost
Council on a Multicultural University (COMU), appointed by Vice Provost, 1995-1997
Women of Color in the Academy Conference Steering Committee, Women's Studies and the Center for the Education of Women 1995-96
President' s Advisory Committee on Minority Affairs 1992-94
Student Relations Committee, Senate Advisory Committee on University Affairs 1994-95
Rockefeller Brothers Fund for Minority Undergraduates Entering the Teaching Profession, Campus selection committee, 1993-95
Latino Studies Advisory Committee. Program in American Culture 1993-94.1997-98.
Co-chair, Planning Committee, Women and Leadership Living/Learning Community, coordinated the writing and development of a proposal for one of eleven new communities for freshmen 1996-98

DIVERSITY CHALLENGED

Evidence on the Impact of Affirmative Action

Edited by **GARY ORFIELD**
with Michal Kurlaender

The Civil Rights Project, Harvard University
Harvard Education Publishing Group

CHAPTER 8

Linking Diversity and Educational Purpose: How Diversity Affects the Classroom Environment and Student Development

SYLVIA HURTADO

We are facing a U.S. society that is increasingly diverse. In such a society, it is ever more important to provide all college and university students with the skills necessary for success in an increasingly complex world. By the year 2000, most new jobs in the economy will require a postsecondary education, and women and racial/ethnic minorities will compose a majority of the work force (Justiz, 1994). It is projected that by 2010, one out of every three Americans will be Latino, African American, Asian American, or Native American. This projection, however, does not reflect the rapid rate at which racial/ethnic populations are becoming the majority in many states—a change that is already evident in elementary and secondary schools. This demographic shift suggests that the role of higher education will remain essential in training a work force that can both economically sustain communities and forge relationships across the diverse populations that make up American society. Educating a diverse student body remains central to this educational purpose.

Several recent reports issued by the American Association of Colleges and Universities have highlighted the importance of educating students for a diverse democracy. Such an education attends to the representation of various gender and racial/ethnic groups at the institution, the interactions inside and outside of the classroom that affect student learning, and the incorporation of knowledge about diverse groups in society:

> As educators we must address these basic challenges for American pluralism across the curriculum—in the classroom, in the co-curriculum, in the intersections between campus and community. In short, this diversity that is part of American society needs to be reflected in the student body, faculty and staff, approaches to teaching, and in the college curriculum. (AAC&U, 1995, p. 8)

Thus, many campuses today have come to recognize diversity as an educational policy or goal that is consistent with the overall objectives of the institution—to equip graduates with the appropriate technical skills, human relation skills, and ways of thinking that will be useful in a complex and diverse society.

Yet, even while educational policymakers recognize these major demographic changes and the need for higher education to prepare its students accordingly, there exists fierce opposition to policies that promote campus diversity. The most contentious conflicts within the diversity debate have primarily been manifest in challenges to policies that consider race as a factor in college and university admissions. At heart, these challenges have questioned the educational benefits of diversity. For example, the *Hopwood* decision by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in Texas suggested that the benefits of racial or gender diversity within the faculty or student body are no more significant than the benefits of a population diverse in individual characteristics, such as height or blood type. Until recently, higher education policymakers have unfortunately offered relatively little empirical research regarding the impact of diversity on students' educational experiences, aside from assertions based on intuitive notions that student and faculty diversity enhance the education provided by schools. This shortage of documentation has left diversity policies susceptible to legal and political attack. Fortunately, the recent research that has been conducted in this area is beginning to show that institutional progress toward diversity goals can have an impact on students' educational experiences (Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pederson, & Allen, 1999; see also Orfield & Whitla, in this volume).

Building on this recent work, this study supplies further evidence of the positive impact of diversity. It gauges diversity's effects on students' self-perceived improvement in the abilities necessary for contributing positively to a pluralistic democracy. The findings, from a nationwide survey of faculty and students at predominantly white four-year colleges and universities, make a strong case for the educational value of student and faculty diversity. A diverse student body provides students with important opportunities to build the skills necessary for bridging cultural differences and may cultivate their capacity for other important learning. The presence of a diverse faculty helps to ensure that students take full advantage of the benefits that diversity offers.

Research on Interaction with Diverse Peers

Much classic and contemporary theory suggests that exposure to diversity plays a key role in student learning and development during the college years. Scholars contend that students' cognitive and social development are intertwined, and as students approach college age they are more likely to apply cognitive abilities and skills to interpersonal situations and social problem-solving (Chickering & Reisser, 1991; Muss, 1988). Both cognitive and social development are also thought to occur through social interaction, spurred by the disequilibrium that results when one tries to reconcile one's own embedded views with those of others (Piaget, 1975). College students who report interactions with diverse peers (in terms of race, interests, and values) have shown a greater openness to diverse perspectives and a willingness to challenge their own beliefs after the first year of college (Pascarella, Edison, Nora, Hagedorn, & Terenzini, 1996). Overall, cognitively complex thinkers rather than dualistic thinkers should be able to develop in-depth and societal perspectives about situations and social problems (Perry, 1970; Selman, 1980). These theories and research support the notion that encountering others who have diverse backgrounds and perspectives can lead to interactions that promote learning and development.

Yet, although diversity is linked with student development in theory, educators must create certain conditions to maximize the potential for learning. Several researchers have supported the notion that learning occurs best when the educational environments support interaction under conditions of equal status (Allport, 1954). In other words, placing students of diverse backgrounds in a classroom is a necessary but insufficient condition for learning. Merely encountering differences can promote feelings of superiority or inferiority among students rather than growth and development. Particular pedagogical techniques promote the type of interaction necessary to create equal status conditions and, thus, learning in diverse environments. For instance, Robert Slavin (1995) and other researchers have consistently shown that students engaged in racially/ethnically diverse cooperative learning groups report cross-racial friendships outside these groups. Overall, cooperative learning has demonstrated value in enhancing the academic achievement of students from all racial/ethnic groups and in reducing prejudice as students improve their inter-

action skills with students from different backgrounds (Slavin, 1995; Wolfe & Spencer, 1996). Elizabeth Cohen (1994) further reveals that without attention to the structure of peer groups in diverse classrooms and to learning activities that promote interaction on an equal status basis, peer status can actually reproduce inequality and undermine the potential learning that can occur among diverse peers. Furthermore, students exposed to complex instructional activity that takes diversity into account have demonstrated gains in factual knowledge and higher-order thinking skills (Cohen et al., 1997). In sum, active learning pedagogies increase interaction in the classroom because students "learn more than when they are passive recipients of instruction" (Cross, 1987, p. 4). Both research and theory support the notion that students learn a great deal from diverse peers when interaction is facilitated in supportive environments.

Such supportive environments also would conceivably include opportunities for students to encounter unfamiliar and diverse perspectives in the curriculum. For example, research evidence presented in the University of Michigan's affirmative action cases reveals that students' learning and civic participation outcomes are enhanced by exposure to diversity in the college curriculum, and that these effects are enhanced further by facilitated interaction with diverse peers in the classroom (*Gratz et al. v. Bollinger et al.; Grutter et al. v. Bollinger et al.*). These results suggest that active pedagogical approaches that stimulate classroom interaction and curricula that attend to the histories and traditions of diverse groups would probably be fundamental features of colleges and universities that capitalize on the potential benefits of diversity. Indeed, after extensive analysis of a national, longitudinal cohort of students in 1985–1989, Astin (1993) concluded:

> The weight of empirical evidence shows that the actual effects on student development of emphasizing diversity and of student participation in diversity activities are overwhelmingly positive. . . . There are many developmental benefits that accrue to students when institutions encourage and support an emphasis on multiculturalism and diversity. (p. 431)

Evaluating the Impact of Diversity on Student Development

This study builds on the results of the preceding studies that have demonstrated the links between campus diversity, when appropriately supported, and educational benefits. It does so by analyzing the self-reported experiences of a national sample of students attending college in the early

1990s. Specifically, the study examines how diversity-related campus activities such as exposure to diverse curricula and opportunities to study and interact with diverse peers—activities that are only possible when a college or university has diversified its faculty and student body (Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pederson, & Allen, 1999)—positively affect student development.

Many campuses were not prepared for the changes they would undergo as a result of including more women and racial/ethnic minorities in their student bodies. Rising minority enrollments were connected with major intellectual and social movements that raised important questions about the production and transmission of knowledge, as well as access to education. Diverse student enrollments produced pressures to make institutions more responsive to the issues that arose as a result. This led to the development of—often with corresponding institutional and individual resistance to—new academic support programs and student organizations, diversification of the faculty and staff, the establishment of ethnic and women's studies programs, and the revision of curricula to better reflect the diversity of experiences and perspectives. Many of these issues posed new challenges in the classroom. For instance, diversification of the student body dictated that faculty develop a more expansive repertoire of approaches to curriculum and pedagogy (AAC&U, 1995).

Given these widespread changes in institutions, the impact of diversity on the intellectual environment is actually quite broad, and one can focus on any number of issues. In addition, measuring the effects of diversity is complicated because they cannot always be observed directly and often are not truly visible until gauged by long-term outcomes such as career choices, personal beliefs, and friendship patterns. Indeed, both Astin (1993) and Chang (1996) suggest that the effects of diversity on student outcomes are likely to be indirect and complex. With these caveats in mind, this study focuses on three questions, the answers to which will at least advance our understanding of the consequences of a more diverse faculty and student body:

- Does the gender or the racial/ethnic background of a faculty member make a difference in the classroom through their attention to pedagogical strategies and curricular emphases that support diversity?
- Do opportunities to interact with someone from a different racial/ethnic background in a learning situation enhance students' assessments of their own learning?
- Does the diversity that faculty introduce into the curriculum make a difference in terms of students' assessments of their own learning?

Method

To address these questions, the study analyzes data from the 1989–1990 Faculty Survey administered by UCLA's Higher Educational Research Institute composed of responses from over 16,000 faculty at 159 medium and highly selective predominantly white institutions across the country. Predominantly black institutions were excluded from these analyses, as were low selectivity institutions, because the current controversy over the benefits of diversity is located in higher education's predominantly white selective institutions. These faculty data were used to examine racial and gender differences in the instructional techniques most commonly used in undergraduate courses. (Details regarding the conduct of the national survey are reported in Astin, Korn, & Dey, 1991.) In addition, longitudinal student data were examined to understand the link between activities associated with a diverse student body and student self-reported growth on twenty general educational outcomes. The student responses come from the 1987–1991 CIRP student survey, also administered by the UCLA Higher Education Research Institute.[1] A random sample of approximately 4,250 students attending 309 four-year, predominantly white colleges and universities provided responses.

Analyses. Chi-square tests were performed on the faculty data to determine significant gender and race differences in instructional techniques. Partial correlations were conducted on the student data, controlling for college selectivity (average freshmen SAT/ACT scores), student abilities (high school GPA, academic self-concept), and academic habits (hours per week spent studying/doing homework). Controlling for these factors provides a strong test of how students' diversity-related activities relate to reported growth in twenty general education outcome areas. These outcomes constitute an item set on the 1991 student follow-up survey that asks students, "Since entering college, how much have you changed in the following areas?" For presentation purposes, the outcomes were sorted into three distinct categories: *civic outcomes*, which speak to a student's capacity for engagement in a pluralistic democracy; *job-related outcomes*, which include skills that employers have deemed important (Bikson & Law, 1994); and *learning outcomes*, or key skills higher educators have come to expect students to acquire in college. The diversity-related activities included the frequency with which students reported studying with someone from a racial/ethnic background different from their own and whether the student enrolled in an ethnic or women's studies courses in 1990. All of the diversity-related activities are more likely to occur with either a diverse faculty to introduce curricular innovations or a diverse student body to provide opportunities for interaction.

The current study relies on student self-reports of growth in a number of general education areas. There are obvious disadvantages to using such data for this purpose, including the possibility that perceptions may not always be a true reflection of reality. Yet, the educational community lacks good, widely used measures of cognitive and affective development for college students on a national level. Current national postsecondary data also lack good measures of current teaching, learning, and assessment practices (Dey et al., 1997). Thus, postsecondary decisionmaking with regard to curricula and a host of academic policies has largely proceeded on assumptions as to what is best for college students, rather than actual empirical data regarding the benefits of any particular approach. Even the use of self-reported data, therefore, represents an improvement (i.e., the use of actual empirical evidence to gauge the effects of higher education policies across institutions), and may actually be the best data available.

In addition, much of the national data does not provide an adequate assessment of the social environments associated with diversity that would allow a fuller understanding of its implications. While there are numerous small-scale, single-institution studies that may show the impact of diversity, evidence across a broad range of institutions regarding the impact of diversity relies on only a few national surveys that have asked some diversity questions, and even these are not consistently pursued. The fact that this study shows any effects across various types of institutions, given the inadequacies and lack of attention to important measures in national data, is significant.

Gender and Race Differences in Instructional Techniques

The findings suggest that the gender of an instructor has a distinct impact on the educational experiences of undergraduates in terms of both how classes are taught and course content. Specifically, female faculty are much more inclined than male faculty to require cooperative learning, experiential learning or field studies, and group projects in some or most of their courses. Table 1 shows the proportion of male and female faculty who report using specific instructional techniques in some or most of the undergraduate courses taught at the colleges. There are significant gender differences ($p = .0001$) with regard to virtually all techniques reportedly used in the majority of courses taught. While a high proportion of faculty utilize extensive lecturing in comparison to other techniques, a lower proportion of women (76 percent) than men (89 percent) report using such a technique in some or most of their courses. The preceding findings relating to gender differences are echoed later in similar findings relating to

TABLE 1 *Instructional Techniques Required in Undergraduate Courses: Percent by Gender of Faculty at Medium and Highly Selective Four-Year Colleges and Universities*

Technique Required in Some or Most Courses	*Women (N)*		*Men*	*(N)*	*Chi-Square Significance*
Cooperative Learning	80%	(4600)	63%	(11370)	p = < .0001
Experiential Learning/ Field Studies	59	(4585)	47	(11349)	p = < .0001
Group Projects	67	(4592)	56	(11365)	p = < .0001
Extensive Lecturing	76	(4597)	89	(11400)	p = < .0001
Readings on Racial/ Ethnic Issues	55	(4589)	36	(11345)	p = < .0001
Readings on Women/ Gender Issues	58	(4590)	36	(11340)	p = < .0001
Social Science Faculty Only:					
Readings on Racial/ Ethnic Issues	70	(2230)	54	(5066)	p = < .0001
Readings on Women/ Gender Issues	68	(2230)	53	(5065)	p = < .0001

ethnic/racial differences in reported pedagogical use. They lend substantial support to policies promoting faculty diversity, suggesting that a diverse faculty is more likely on average to utilize pedagogical approaches that capitalize on the diversity in their classrooms and that lead to favorable learning outcomes.

With regard to diversification of the curriculum, the findings similarly support faculty diversity. It is clear that women are significantly more likely than men to require readings on racial/ethnic or gender issues in their courses. Because inclusion of these types of readings may be influenced by the faculty member's discipline,[2] these data were analyzed controlling for field of study among faculty. Approximately 70 percent of female social scientists and 54 percent of male social scientists required readings on racial/ethnic diversity issues. Similarly, 68 percent of female and 53 percent of male social scientists required readings on gender issues in some or most of their courses.

The race/ethnicity of faculty members is also associated with the reported use of specific instructional techniques. Table 2 shows the specific instructional techniques utilized by faculty of different races/ethnicities

TABLE 2 *Instructional Techniques Required in Undergraduate Courses: Percent by Race/Ethnicity of Faculty at Medium and Highly Selective Four-Year Colleges and Universities*

Technique Required in Some or Most Courses:	*White*	*African American*	*American Indian*	*Asian American*	*Latino*	*Other*	*Sig.**
Cooperative Learning	68	74	70	59	78	64	****
Experiential Learning/ Field Studies	51	53	62	42	51	46	***
Group Projects	60	66	64	54	63	58	**
Extensive Lecturing	86	82	89	92	87	85	****
Readings on Racial/ Ethnic Issues	41	69	53	23	66	43	****
Readings on Women/ Gender Issues	42	64	45	24	59	39	****
Social Science Faculty Only:							
Readings on Racial/ Ethnic Issues	57	78	68	44	78	50	****
Readings on Women/ Gender Issues	58	72	61	42	71	47	****

Note: *Chi-square significant at ** p = < .01; *** p = < .001; **** p = < .0001. Sample sizes for each tabulation is approximately 14,600 White, 271 African American, 91 American Indian, 433 Asian American, 94 Latino, and 316 Other Faculty at Predominantly White, Four-Year Colleges of Medium and High Selectivity. Social Science faculty sample sizes include 6,712 White, 166 African American, 41 American Indian, 148 Asian American, 55 Latino, and 122 Other faculty.

at selective four-year institutions. Latino and African American faculty are most likely to require cooperative learning techniques (78 percent and 74 percent, respectively), while Asian American faculty are least likely to require these techniques in the classroom. Native American faculty are most likely to use experiential learning/field studies techniques (62 percent), while Asian American and Other faculty are least likely to do so (42 percent and 46 percent, respectively). Less pronounced yet still significant (p = .01) differences were detected across racial/ethnic groups with regard to the reported use of group projects in class, ranging from a high of 66 percent among African American faculty to a low of 54 percent among Asian American faculty. Significant differences were detected in the reported use of extensive lecturing, with Asian American faculty most likely to report requiring this technique (92 percent) and African American faculty least likely to report engaging in this teaching practice (82 percent).

With regard to curriculum, African American faculty are most likely (69 percent) to report having required readings on race/ethnicity in their courses, and Asian American faculty are least likely (23 percent) to require these in some or most of their courses. A similar pattern across the race/ethnicity of the faculty was observed with the introduction of gender readings. The course content, or inclusion of readings on race/ethnicity and gender, is clearly influenced by the disciplines the different racial/ethnic groups teach. In controlling for social science disciplines, the proportion of faculty from different racial/ethnic groups who report introducing diversity into the curriculum rises. Approximately 78 percent of African American and Latino faculty and 68 percent of Native American faculty in the social sciences say they have required readings on racial/ethnic issues in some or most of their courses. These same racial/ethnic groups are also significantly more likely than the other social science faculty to report having required readings on women or gender in the curriculum.

These results strongly suggest that women and different racial/ethnic faculty have distinct teaching styles that influence both the content and delivery of knowledge in the classroom. Even when considering the limitations of self-reported data, one can at least assume that faculty believe in the pedagogical methods they report using, even if they do not actually use them in practice. If this is so, these findings at the very least suggest that a diverse faculty is more likely to implement or learn about pedagogical methods known to improve learning outcomes. Furthermore, if students experience their learning environments differently due to the gender or ethnicity of the faculty member, then engagement with a diverse student body and faculty is likely to be related to their cognitive and affective development during college. The next section discusses how the activities associated with a diverse student body and faculty are related to student educational outcomes.

The Relationship between Diversity-Related Activities and Student Educational Outcomes

Table 3 illustrates significant relationships between student self-reported growth on various educational outcomes and activities during college that are associated with having a diverse student body and faculty.[3] The most consistent finding is that students who report having had the opportunity during college to study with someone from a racial/ethnic background different from their own in 1990 also report growth in all areas in 1991. Specifically, the strongest effects were associated with civic out-

TABLE 3 *Partial Correlations: Student Self-Reported Growth on Various Educational Outcomes and Diversity-Related Activities, Predominantly White Four-Year Institutions (N=4,253)*

	Activities Associated with a Diverse Student Body and Diverse Faculty/Curriculum		
Student Educational Outcomes	*Studied with Someone from a Different Racial/Ethnic Background*	*Enrolled in an Ethnic Studies Course*	*Enrolled in a Women's Studies Course*
Civic Outcomes			
Acceptance of People of Different Races/Cultures	.18***	.14***	.08***
Cultural Awareness	.16***	.19***	.14***
Tolerance of People with Different Beliefs	.14***	.11***	.09***
Leadership Abilities	.13***	.04*	.02
Interpersonal Skills	.09***	.05***	.06***
Public Speaking Ability	.07***	.04*	.01
Religious Belief and Conviction	.03*	.01	−.03
Job-Related Outcomes			
Ability to Work Cooperatively	.10***	.01	.01
Ability to Work Independently	.06***	.03*	.03
Job-Related Skills	.06***	.02	−.04*
Preparation for Graduate/ Professional School	.06***	.04**	.02
Competitiveness	.06***	−.04**	−.03
Learning Outcomes			
Critical Thinking	.10***	.07***	.06***
Problem-Solving Skills	.08***	.01	.02
General Knowledge	.07***	.08***	.05***
Foreign Language Ability	.07***	.11***	.05***
Knowledge of a Particular Field	.05**	.03	.03
Writing Skills	.05**	.09***	.10***
Mathematical Ability	.04**	−.12***	−.13***
Confidence in Academic Abilities	.04**	.03	.01

Note: Partial correlations controlling for Students' Academic Self-Concept, High School GPA, Hours/week Spent Studying, and College Selectivity. Significance levels: * p = < .05; ** p = < .01; *** p = < .001. Scale of measures: Students reported their growth to be 1 = much weaker to 5 = much stronger.

comes such as the acceptance of people of different races/cultures, cultural awareness, tolerance of people with different beliefs, and leadership abilities. These findings support research conducted on other longitudinal cohorts of college students in the areas of cultural knowledge/awareness and leadership (Antonio, 1998; Bowen & Bok, 1998; see also Orfield & Whitla in this volume), indicating that opportunities for interaction with diverse peers foster civic development among college students. Enrollment in ethnic studies courses is also positively associated with many civic outcomes, such as students' cultural knowledge and awareness. Significant but somewhat less impressive effects were associated with enrollment in women's studies courses. Self-reported growth in job-related skills is associated primarily with a key diversity-related activity that includes the opportunity to study frequently with students from a different racial/ethnic group. It should be noted that the effects of this activity were strongest with regard to growth in student ability to work cooperatively with others without detriment to their capacity to work independently or their competitiveness after four years of college. In contrast, curricular diversity (ethnic or women's studies courses) had either weak or negligible effects on job-related skills. Similarly, having studied with someone from a different racial/ethnic background appears to have more pronounced effects than curricular diversity on self-reported growth in critical thinking and problem-solving skills. This suggests that the opportunity to interact with a diverse group of peers is just as, if not more, important to the development of critical skills as is exposure to a curriculum that makes diversity its explicit focus. Thus, the presence of diverse peers, though probably insufficient on its own, may indeed be an important precondition of learning from any curriculum that emphasizes diverse perspectives.

Some findings pertaining to relationships between curricular diversity and specific academic skills deserve more cautious interpretation due to questions about the direction of causality.[4] Still, relationships that are revealed on this front are of keen interest, if only for the possibility that exposure to a more diverse curriculum affects student outcomes. For instance, curricular diversity appears to be positively related to students' perceptions of growth in foreign language skills, writing ability, and general knowledge after four years of college.[5] Perhaps most notable in terms of academic skill enhancement, however, is the positive association between taking ethnic or women's studies courses and self-reported improvements in critical thinking skills ($p = .001$). Students who took these courses were on average more likely to report improvement in their critical thinking skills—those which would conceivably enhance their learning in any academic course and throughout life.

All told, the student-reported outcomes strongly suggest that interacting with diverse peers, faculty, and curricula as an undergraduate has a substantial positive effect on the development of skills needed to function in an increasingly diverse society as well as other academic skills important to the learning process. Again, caveats about the limitations of self-reported data may be justified here, especially with regard to students' subjective assessments of their academic abilities. Yet, since key outcomes from this study coincide closely with the outcomes of other research studies of the effects of campus diversity (Antonio, 1998; Bowen & Bok, 1998; Orfield & Whitla in this volume), a case for the legitimacy of these findings is quite strong. With regard to questions about the validity of self-reported academic outcomes, these findings at least imply that students, on average, do not perceive that their acquisition of academic skills is compromised as a result of the diversity that exists at their colleges.

Diversity Linked with Educational Objectives

These results suggest that the diversity of the faculty and student body has an impact on classroom environment and student development during college. The empirical evidence suggests that it makes a difference whether students are in classrooms led by diverse faculty and have an opportunity to interact with diverse peers on an equal status basis that may depend on the types of pedagogy that diverse faculty introduce into the classroom. The results show that women and different racial/ethnic faculty report having distinct teaching styles that may influence both the content and delivery of knowledge in the classroom. Therefore, the gender and race/ethnicity of the instructor are likely to have an impact on the educational experiences of undergraduates in predominantly white selective institutions. While faculty can be trained to facilitate more active learning pedagogies through faculty development programs, it should be noted that few instructional programs at the college level actually address how to create the complex instructional activities that facilitate learning in a diverse environment. It appears that female, African American, and Latino faculty may naturally be more attentive to peer status differences in the classroom and be more likely to employ active learning pedagogies.

Perhaps the most compelling argument for a diverse student body rests on evidence showing that interaction across racial/ethnic groups,

particularly of an academic nature, is associated with important outcomes that will prepare students for living in a complex and diverse society. Not only were effects associated with such civic outcomes as acceptance of people of different races/cultures, cultural awareness, tolerance of people with different beliefs, and leadership ability, but also with learning outcomes such as critical thinking and problem-solving skills. Students also report growth of important skills related to a diverse work force, including the ability to work cooperatively with others. It should be noted that interaction with diverse peers demonstrated positive effects on job-related skills more frequently than did curriculum exposure. While the curriculum may acquaint students with the cultural legacies that make up a pluralistic society, it may be that the college peer group provides the opportunity to experience this knowledge firsthand and learn how to negotiate differences. Thus, the *diversity of the peer group becomes a necessary part of the curriculum* in a learning environment that views diversity as central to the learning process. The educational benefits of diversity may accrue as a result of a combination of opportunities to engage in a diverse curriculum introduced by a diverse faculty and to study and interact with racial/ethnically diverse students inside and outside of the classroom.

Conclusion

In sum, the research shows that diversity of the faculty and student body is linked with the fundamental work of teaching and learning in higher education. These findings cast substantial doubt on the veracity of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals' *Hopwood* decision, which asserted that the ethnic and racial diversity of a student body or faculty is of no relative consequential value to the education offered by a college or university. To the contrary, this study strongly suggests that such diversity may contribute significantly to students' improvement on key learning outcomes that are associated with both academic development and the critical abilities needed to work in diverse settings—skills that will be increasingly important in the 21st century.

While external factors may exert pressure on institutions to develop, clarify, or revise their efforts regarding diversity, the educational imperative must take precedence in campus diversity policy and initiatives. Furthermore, proponents of higher education admissions policies that consider race must begin to articulate clearly the educational value of diversity to the learning we expect students to achieve. This and other research helps to explicate diversity's fundamental relationship to the educational imperative. Responsibly defending these diversity policies from

threatening opposition, such as that recently witnessed in California and Texas, demands the use of empirical evidence to sway decisionmakers and provide legal and educational justification for the existence of such policies[6] in this changing and contentious legal and policy environment.

Institutions that have taken up the basic challenges of American pluralism have begun to make changes to their student bodies with a keen eye on the impact of this diversity in the classroom and the cocurriculum. As a recent Association of American Colleges and Universities report stated, today's college students "will need to grapple with a country that is not only diverse but divided. To do this, they must come to understand and respect peoples and ways of life that have been hidden from them" (AACU, 1995, p. 8). Higher education's role remains central to this process as institutions attempt to prepare college graduates for their future as participants in a pluralistic democracy by providing an appropriate education. Sustaining this role will necessitate continuing research efforts to prove what many college and university decisionmakers already intuitively know—that diversity is a prerequisite for such an education.

Notes

1. The Higher Education Research Institute, with the continuing sponsorship of the American Council on Education, administers surveys to faculty and students at institutions across the country through the Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP). The CIRP is the nation's largest and longest-running empirical study of higher education. Since 1966, over seven million students and over 100,000 faculty from over 1,300 institutions have participated. These surveys are collected to document substantial areas of student and faculty experiences at an institution. For the student data, the surveys probe experiences both prior to beginning college and during their college experiences. The student data provide a broad range of statistical controls for dispositions and abilities in order to assess change on a variety of student outcomes, several of which were used for these analyses.
2. Social sciences, for instance, may lend themselves more readily to the inclusion of diversity content than other fields of study.
3. It should be noted that while the coefficients are small, these are not unlike other coefficients in survey data that incorporate analyses of a large sample of students in relation to pedagogical practices (Dey & Hurtado, 1993). The restricted ranges on the four- and five-point scales of the survey items prevent variation that would allow high coefficients. However, many of the effects were strongly significant ($p = < .001$) and consistent across a broad range of outcomes. In order to focus on the most important effects, only those that meet at least a .01 significance level will be discussed. Given the large sample size, those with a .05 significance level or higher will be considered a rather weak or negligible effect.
4. For instance, it is conceivable that students who have a greater facility for foreign languages may be more likely to take ethnic studies courses, as opposed to the alternate interpretation that taking ethnic studies courses improves students' foreign language skills.

5. The negative association between enrollment in ethnic/women's studies courses and mathematical ability is worth a quick explanation. Math is one area where undergraduates are generally less likely to develop during college, unless they continue to take mathematics-related courses (Hurtado, Astin, Korn, & Dey, 1988). Therefore, those students who enroll in ethnic or women's studies courses may report less growth because they are less likely to have pursued mathematics-related majors.
6. See Orfield and Whitla in this volume for an illustration of how to use evidence in this manner.

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Mildred García

Affirmative Action's Testament of Hope

Strategies for a New Era in Higher Education

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK PRESS

Sylvia Hurtado and Christine Navia

5

Reconciling College Access and the Affirmative Action Debate

Early posturing for the 1996 Presidential elections placed state and federal affirmative action policies at the center of public discourse, drawing higher education institutions somewhat unwillingly into a battle framed largely by political interests and less by the problems of inequity that these policies were developed to help resolve. Designing equitable policies and the reexamination of existing policies to address society's difficult problems are a healthy form of public discourse that require careful examination, self-criticism, and continual improvement as the times change. However, this is not how discussions of affirmative action, as it relates to the role and function of higher education, have been framed. The discourse on affirmative action, like so many issues dealing with racial/ethnic issues, is rife with misconceptions and ill-conceived notions regarding how the policy works (or fails to work) in actual practice. We address some of these misconceptions as they apply to college access and admissions practices, illustrate the political nature of the debate using issues that arose surrounding the University of California Regents' vote to eliminate affirmative action, and attempt to highlight important gender and racial/ethnic group inequalities that still exist as part of the need to continue to ensure access to higher education. Reviews of affirmative action programs and policies in higher education should be conducted, not because we view them as suspect but because we wish to determine how we can

effectively work toward resolving some of the persistent problems confronted by our communities.

The main question obscured by the affirmative action debate is the same question higher education historian John Brubacher posed in a 1965 book, the *Bases for Policy in Higher Education*: "Higher education for whom?" Underlying many of our contemporary policies is an unstated assumption regarding who is entitled to attend higher education and which types of institutions they should have the opportunity to attend. Indeed, while decisions regarding whom to serve have become central to the mission of many institutions, increasing equal opportunity in college access now means providing more students with choices to attend a variety of high quality institutions (Southern Education Foundation, 1995). However, the fact that we have not arrived at a collective consensus regarding college access and the representation of various segments of our population is both a testament to the longstanding currency of Brubacher's question and a powerful indictment of how the value of our previous attempts to answer his question has diminished over time. In devising new strategies to meet the demands of the coming millennium, institutions must evaluate their educational goals and mission, including their commitment to ensuring opportunity for women and racial/ethnic groups. Gender and racial/ethnic inequalities persist in our society and higher education's role remains key in working toward the elimination of these problems.

Misconceptions Regarding College Access and Affirmative Action

Nearly every form of affirmative action geared toward improving the educational opportunity for students of color and women has endured public scrutiny. Admissions criteria and financial aid awards based on race have received the lion's share of attention for their perceived bias against white students (Jaschik, 1995). Although conservative politicians have perpetuated misconceptions about affirmative action, perhaps a major part of the problem is that higher education institutions have not effectively communicated their educational goals and related admissions practices to

the general public. Individual institutions have lost legal challenges to affirmative action practices in admissions and the awarding of scholarships because they have failed to communicate how these practices are tailored to remedy past discrimination evident at the institution or to achieve a diverse learning environment that is consistent with the educational mission of the institution (Bazluke, 1995). Clearly establishing diversity as a legitimate educational goal is an important step, but there are other issues that require our attention. We address some of the key misconceptions in relation to college access in order to help refocus discussions among educators on the important issues that remain to be addressed by higher education institutions. In addressing these misconceptions, we pose key questions that underlie some common assumptions about affirmative action for students. When one closely examines the underpinnings of the arguments made against these policies, what one finds is a foundation riddled with false assumptions about the historical and ethical moorings of higher education, its meritocratic practices, and the role of race and gender in college access.

Is Affirmative Action Consistent With the Way Higher Education Has Historically Operated?

Some believe that campus affirmative action programs are unfair because they undermine the meritocratic history and spirit of higher education. In other words, offering a student admission to a college or university based on anything other than academic qualifications violates the historical precedent of access based on merit. However, access to higher education has never been based exclusively on academic merit, rather colleges have historically favored those with the most financial resources. As Laurence Veysey (1965) points out in *The Emergence of the American University*, institutions of higher education were often created to serve very distinct social classes, namely the sons of wealthy donors and businessmen, the clergy, and educators for a growing population. As a result, wealth and status became one of the preconditions for gaining access to college. So much so, Veysey writes, that the purpose of

higher education in the 1800s was defined predominately as a "means of confirming one's respectable place in society" (p. 4). Therefore, the role of higher education was to maintain the social order. Access to elite institutions ratified one's social status, and restricting access for women and students from different income and racial/ethnic groups became an accepted practice because these groups were intended to play less prominent roles in society (Thelin, 1985).

This is not to suggest that the notions of competition and merit were foreign ideas to those involved in higher education during the 1800s. Rather, admission to colleges and universities was based upon less meritocratic criteria than is currently assumed to be true today. Wealth played a major role not only in the development of higher education during the 1800s but also in determining who would partake of it. Although college admissions became more closely tied to meritocratic principles, in the movement from elite to mass higher education during this century, wealth nevertheless continues to influence college access in important ways. Families from high socioeconomic backgrounds have typically been better able to invest in learning activities that develop their children's academic and nonacademic talents, send their children to the best secondary schools in the country, and obtain better college counseling. More recently, these advantages have been reinforced by a shift from a public model of financing higher education to one that is based on a private model where higher tuition is replacing state taxpayer support. This shift has altered the types of colleges that students from different income levels apply to and attend (Hauptman, 1993). In addition, college admissions offices at many elite colleges continue to give preferential treatment to both alumni children and "development cases," or students from families that have the potential to make significant financial contributions to the college. In effect, these practices continue to bestow the benefits of access through ascription rather than through purely meritocratic means. Yet, factors that sustain the privilege of advantaged students in college admissions receive no criticism nor are these other forms of preferential treatment deemed antiethetical to the way colleges operate.

The introduction of affirmative action programs in college admissions and the expansion of student financial aid were attempts to

make the benefits of college opportunity available to those who had been previously excluded from higher education. However, Cornel West (1994) notes that "every redistributive measure is a compromise with and concession from the caretakers of American prosperity" (p. 94). In the same manner, affirmative action in college admissions is a redistributive measure which was a compromise between those who demanded greater access to higher education in the 1960s and exclusive institutions that conceded space in their entering classes to new groups of students. Expansion in financial aid programs during this era was an incentive or a "carrot" that could make such a compromise work, whereas an enforceable affirmative action policy represented the "stick." Institutions that did not comply with principles to prevent discrimination or remedy past discrimination could risk the loss of federal funding for student aid and research. As part of a compromise, however, the two redistributive measures were designed to be consistent with the way that colleges and universities operated. Institutions retained the autonomy to admit whom they wished, and more importantly, to continue a preferential system of admissions that also established academic merit as the central criteria for admission. Together, affirmative action and financial aid placed a college education within the reach of more students and encouraged institutions to learn how to evaluate the potential of students from different backgrounds. Ultimately, institutions began to acknowledge the benefits of both redistributive measures because they contributed to a vision of higher education that not only more accurately reflected society but also placed institutions at the forefront of social progress in terms of diminishing the hierarchy of race, class, and gender relations in society.

Inherent in the arguments made against the use of race/ethnicity, specifically as a factor in college admissions, is the assumption that the use of race is inconsistent with the way the admissions process normally works. More specifically, the use of race is believed to subvert an otherwise fair and objective admissions process. Part of the problem with such an argument is that it is simply not true. All candidates, including those admitted with affirmative action as a consideration, are first evaluated according to some acceptable level of prior academic achievement and future academic and leadership potential. Furthermore, there are a plethora of objective[1] and

subjective criteria that admissions officers use to determine if an applicant merits admission (Collison, 1992). The mix of race/ethnicity in the student body is an equally legitimate means of ensuring representation in a freshman class just as are considerations of geographic representation, the mix of specific academic majors, the balance of in-state and out-of-state residents, the number of athletes, etc. These forms of preferences in admissions practices, including the preference for racial diversity, can withstand legal challenges because they are intended to serve an educational purpose (Bazluke, 1995). Today, a major educational goal of many institutions is to create a multicultural environment for student learning. To achieve that goal, these institutions must both attract and maintain a diverse student body.

The other problem with this argument is its implication that admission to college is based solely on academic criteria. While an individual's academic record is extremely important, there are still a variety of ways of assessing student potential that require subjective evaluations by experienced admissions staff. Moreover, no single criterion can accurately predict a student's future academic performance. Institutions that place unusual emphasis on academic criteria eventually select candidates based on very fine numerical gradations, which are neither statistically nor substantively meaningful (Crouse & Trusheim, 1988). Furthermore, this approach to admissions does not consider an applicant's potential for learning and growth. As Astin (1994) attests, it is possible for a student with a mediocre academic record to learn and develop in college as much as a student with a strong academic record.

In sum, institutions of higher education do not admit students solely on the basis of standardized scores or high school transcripts but often use a range of information that attests to a student's unique qualities. To argue that institutions should begin to do otherwise only serves to reduce students to "inputs" and "outputs" with little consideration for other salient considerations such as persistence, maturity, and potential for growth among individuals (Astin, 1994; Dey & Hurtado, 1995). Moreover, such a stance does not take into account institutional needs and goals for creating a diverse learning environment which represents the type of society students will encounter after graduation. It is important to note that because

the debate regarding affirmative action has been the most contentious surrounding admission to the highest selectivity institutions, many institutions and students have been left outside the debate in higher education. Those institutions that depend on racial/ethnic enrollments for economic survival or that have redefined their mission to serve a diverse student population are shut out of the discussion, even though we may learn from the challenges they face as they successfully achieve access for a broad segment of the population.

Who is "Qualified" for Admission?

The question of who is qualified for admission is raised primarily in discussions about access to elite colleges whose reputations facilitate access to top jobs and elite graduate schools. The fact that some of these undergraduate institutions turn away up to 85 percent of their applicants further attests to their desirability among college-bound students. It is important to note while many college-bound students are qualified to attend some type of college, very few are eligible to meet the specific admissions criteria of a highly selective college. Only a small portion of the nation's students would qualify under a system with strict cutoffs for academic eligibility; as a result, the composition of the student body on many campuses would look quite different under such a system. A national study of 1992 college-bound seniors showed that only about 6 percent of this cohort met five criteria considered to be representative of highly selective colleges, including: a high school GPA of 3.5 or higher, a score of 1100 or higher on the SAT, credits in the appropriate coursework, positive teacher evaluations, and participation in two or more school-related activities (Owings, McMillen, Burkett, & Pinkerton, 1995). Using these criteria, which are more heavily weighted for students' academic characteristics, the data show women were more likely than men to meet all five criteria, as are Asians and students from the highest socioeconomic backgrounds. The number of white students admitted might remain the same if these criteria for eligibility were employed—as was projected for the University of California system (Lively, 1995)—but the number of white males would probably decrease. Black, Hispanic and Native American students are less

likely than white students to meet all five criteria and therefore would also decrease, but these groups are also more likely to come from low-income families, as well as racially segregated and resource-poor high schools. Thus, it is not simply historical discrimination that warrants a remedy in higher education, but the current inequalities which continue to have a persistent effect on students' chances for college opportunities.

Spurred in part by affirmative action, specific admissions practices and policies have served to ensure better representation of racial/ethnic students through the evaluation of nonacademic criteria in conjunction with academic criteria. These nonacademic criteria include motivation, success in overcoming adverse situations, extensive work and family responsibilities, as well as potential for leadership in their respective communities based on nonacademic accomplishments. At the same time, however, emphasizing specific criteria has also served to ensure better representation of white males. This is because the admissions criteria, as outlined in Owings et. al. (1995), are typically not given equal weight at most selective colleges.

In effect, use of specific admissions criteria gives preferential treatment to specific groups of students. For example, even though women (including women of color) typically earn higher grades in both high school and college than their male counterparts, a college that emphasizes standardized scores tips the balance in favor of males because they typically achieve relatively higher SAT scores (Owings, et al., 1995). In addition, overdependence on the SAT as an admissions criterion has been shown to have an adverse effect on African-American and low-income applicants (Crouse and Trusheim, 1988). Emphasis on criteria that give greater weight to verbal over mathematics scores in admissions or in the awarding of scholarships (such as the National Merit Scholarship) excludes many students whose first language is not English, particularly affecting Asian and Latino students. Further, nonacademic criteria such as athletic achievements and participation in particular leadership activities work to the advantage of male students and put both women and many academically oriented students at a distinct disadvantage. Takagi (1992) documents how using various criteria at elite institutions makes some Asian students appear to be less

attractive candidates to admissions officers, even though their scores and high school grades exceed those of white students. Clearly, different gender[2] and racial/ethnic groups are favored when a college's admissions practices emphasize particular academic and nonacademic criteria. While admissions officers may believe that a substantial portion of their admissions procedures are blind to applicants' sex, race, and income, admission criteria are not blind to these various groups. Selective colleges that acknowledge these biases in criteria can work out these complexities by taking into consideration a wide range of information on each candidate and selecting students who excel along several dimensions.

Thus, while some critics of affirmative action contend that there is an objective definition of a qualified student, the notion of who is qualified for admission to a particular college is not straightforward. Most selective institutions have a broad definition of an ideal student that places relatively strong weight on students' personal characteristics, including leadership, overcoming adversity, and unique talents which might contribute to the educational environment. A well-rounded candidate for admission is someone who has excelled not only at academics but is also judged to have significant nonacademic accomplishments which go beyond involvement in typical high school activities. The ideal "well-rounded student," with significant accomplishments in both academic and nonacademic arenas, is rare and highly recruited. Since very few students meet this ideal, what admissions officers really seek is a well-rounded student body which gives a college considerable latitude in selecting among admissions candidates based on unique personal qualities that ensure a balance of academic and leadership potential in an entering class. Most applicants to highly selective institutions can reliably do the academic work required of them, and so it is these unique personal characteristics that receive significant weight (particularly at private institutions) and allow admissions officers to select candidates consistent with the educational goals of the institution. Under such multifaceted criteria, assertions that affirmative action leads to the admission of unqualified students are difficult to substantiate because most females or students of color typically meet a variety of admissions criteria.

Is Affirmative Action Harmful to Students?

Some studies show that affirmative action may create a social stigma for women and people of color in their admission to colleges and universities. The social stigma of being a minority student in college is very real, but other research suggests this has more to do with a context where members of the organization are unfamiliar with individuals from particular minority groups (Kanter, 1977). A longitudinal survey of college life for the top Latino performers on the PSAT, a test used to identify top academic candidates in the junior year of high school, revealed that approximately 43 percent felt that most students at their four-year college thought that all minorities were special admits (Hurtado, 1994). The same study showed that approximately 68 percent of top Latino SAT performers thought that most students at their college knew very little about Hispanic culture and, not surprisingly, about 29 percent stated that many Hispanic students felt like they did not fit in on their campus. These data suggest that even the most talented racial/ethnic students are subjected to misconceptions regarding their abilities and culture, and sometimes even hostility, all of which affect their sense of belonging in college. The social stigma associated with minority status appears to have less to do with affirmative action policy, however, than with general stereotypes and attitudes towards gender and racial/ethnic differences. This notion of being unqualified is linked with a recurring historical belief that women (Solomon, 1985), nonwhite racial/ethnic groups (Gould, 1981), and low-income groups (Herrnstein & Murray, 1994) are genetically inferior in intelligence. Since social constructions of inferiority and beliefs about cultural differences predate the implementation of affirmative action policies, the dismantling of these policies is not likely to eradicate the deeper problem of longstanding stereotypes or institutionalized racial, ethnic, gender, and class discrimination.

Still, there are others who claim that affirmative action leads to unfair exclusion of many white students who are then forced to attend second- and third-choice schools. An analysis of recent national data indicate that this is clearly not the case for undergraduates. Table 1 shows the percentage of students beginning postsecondary education for the first time in 1990, by racial/ethnic

Table 1. College Applications and Acceptance At First-Choice College by Race/Ethnicity

Student Race/ Ethnicity	Applied to One College	Applied to More Than One College	Accepted At First-Choice[a] Institution
African American	56.5	43.5	50.1
Native American	57.2	42.8	—
Asian American	51.9	48.1	53.7
Latino	74.7	25.3	62.6
White	60.1	39.9	61.7

Source: Beginning Postsecondary Student Study 1990-92, National Center for Education Statistics.
[a]Analysis controlled for students who applied to more than one four-year college;—denotes sample size too small for reliable statistics.

group, who applied to one or more colleges. It shows the percentage of students who stated they are attending their first-choice institution, among those students who applied to more than one four-year college. Asian American students and African American students were somewhat more likely than white students to apply to more than one college and yet they were least likely to be accepted at their first-choice institution. An overwhelming majority of Latinos (75 percent) apply to only one college; of the few who applied to more than one college, they were about as likely to attend their first-choice institution as white students. White students do not appear to be disadvantaged in the admissions process. In fact, of all groups, African Americans and Asian Americans were most likely to report having to attend second- and third-choice institutions. Furthermore, Latino and Native American students are highly concentrated in community colleges (Carter & Wilson, 1992), low-cost institutions with low selectivity which are close to their respective communities but less likely to lead to a baccalaureate degree. Thus, the data show distinct racial/ethnic differences in terms of those who apply and are accepted at their first-choice institution.

The assumption that large numbers of minority students are obstructing white students' access to college is also erroneous. If

anything, affirmative action has intensified competition among institutions for only the most academically able minority students. In fact, many selective colleges continue to admit only a limited number of minority students despite steady increases in the numbers of minority applicants. The potential use of caps or ceilings in relation to the admission of minorities has been best documented with regard to Asian American enrollments at selective colleges, where admission rates have not kept pace with the rising number of applications (Tagaki, 1992). Although admissions officers typically deny employing such ceilings, and they have not been legally challenged, their practices in effect produce restrictions on enrollments of various racial/ethnic groups. In other words, admissions personnel maintain a level of consistency in the freshman class from year to year by keeping in check the numbers of students with particular academic and nonacademic characteristics.

Therefore, in years when the applicant pool is judged to include fewer minority students who rate highly along admissions criteria, fewer minorities are typically admitted. The overall strategy among selective college admissions has been to increase the quality and quantity of the applicant pool from which only a few will continue to be selected. Still, among all other groups that receive some form of preference in admissions, (e.g., athletes, alumni children, development prospects, candidates from underrepresented regions) frustrated white students are quick to blame the relatively small numbers of students of color for their failure to gain admission to a selective college. This expression of entitlement and scapegoating should be mitigated by the sobering reality that, regardless of race/ethnicity or gender, the competition for access to selective institutions has increased and moreover, that these institutions bolster their reputations by rejecting the vast majority of their applicants.

Does Race Matter?

Perhaps the most insidious assumption embedded in anti-affirmative action arguments is that gender or racial/ethnic background is unimportant or insignificant in acquiring societal benefits. In short, it is assumed that an individual's race and gender does not and should not matter. Yet, as history shows, race/ethnicity and gender

has often had serious implications for an individual particularly in terms of the quantity and quality of educational and employment opportunities made available to him or her (Solomon, 1985). Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that little has changed in this regard. People of color with the same level of educational attainment continue to earn significantly lower wages than their white counterparts (US. Department of Commerce, 1992 as cited in Nettles & Rodriguez, 1993) and endure more job bias and discrimination while in the workplace (Kielman, 1995). Both white and racial/ethnic college students are aware of these problems. In a 1989 survey, approximately 88 percent of students attending four-year institutions stated that they thought racial discrimination was still a major problem in America (Hurtado, 1992).

In terms of access to college, we have seen considerable growth in student participation rates for all racial/ethnic groups. At the beginning of the 1990s, the percentage of high school graduates (aged 18 to 24) who enrolled in college was 41 percent compared with 32 percent in 1972 (Carter & Wilson, 1992). However, Table 2 shows that while the college participation rates rose for African American and Latino students, the gap between these groups and white students actually increased over the two decades. In fact, the gap in the college participation rate between white and African

Table 2. Percentage of High School Graduates Participating in Higher Education, 18-to-24 year olds

Student's Race/ Ethnicity	Percentage of Participants in Higher Education		Percentage of Difference between Whites and other Groups	
	1972	1991	1972	1991
All Races	31.9	41.1	—	—
African American	27.1	31.5	–5.2	–10.2
Hispanic	25.8	34.4	–6.5	–7.3
White	32.3	41.7	—	—

Source: Carter & Wilson, 1992. *Minorities in Higher Education*. Washington, DC.: American Council on Education. Data are unpublished tabulations for October 1991 and from the US. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports, School Enrollment—Social and Economic Characteristics of Students: October 1990*, Series P-2-, No. 460.

American students almost doubled, and the gap between Hispanic and white student participation rates increased slightly since 1972. These data suggest that a persistent problem exists in increasing college access for African American and Latino students. This problem merits serious academic study and innovations in both policy and practice. It is not clear how much more inequality we can endure in terms of these attainment gaps before they start to undermine our economic productivity, erode our basic democratic processes, or yield unusually high prison populations.

Given evidence of the growing gap in college participation rates between white and African American students, the assertion that white students are disadvantaged under the current system is highly questionable. The only way to assert such a claim is to deny that race has anything to do with acquiring societal benefits, except under affirmative action policies. Yet this is precisely the claim many opponents of affirmative action make, particularly when it comes to the discussion of their own personal achievements. To illustrate this point, consider the argument that University of California Regent Ward Connerly put forth to justify his appointment to the Board of Regents. Connerly, an African American Republican, stated that he was not appointed to the Board of Regents because he was Black but because he had been a friend of Governor Wilson for 26 years and contributed over $120,000 to the Governor's political campaigns since 1990 (Lively, 1995). In this context, gaining access to benefits and decision-making positions through personal connections and financial advantage is perceived as legitimate, perhaps because this is how we expect that the political world works. However, Connerly's justification raises some serious questions. Since when are appointments to the University Board of Regents based on political contributions? How is this type of appoinment consistent with the philosophy of working hard to "move up the ladder" on the basis of individual effort that Connerly claimed was part of his own upbringing? Why is such a process more acceptable than conceding that Wilson had carefully considered the symbolic and political importance of Connerly's race, along with other criteria, in making his appointment to the Board?

Cornel West (1994) states that the quest for black middle-class respectability based on merit, or criteria other than race, cannot be overestimated in the new black conservative movement:

> The need for black conservatives to gain the respect of their white peers deeply shapes certain elements of their conservatism. In this regard, they simply want what most people want, to be judged by the quality of their skills, not the color of their skin. But the black conservatives overlook the fact that affirmative action policies were political responses to the pervasive refusal of most white Americans to judge black Americans on that basis (p. 78).

Connerly's proposal to require the University of California to select a larger proportion of students (from 50 to 75 percent by 1997) on solely academic criteria was consistent with the need to gain respectability and eschew race. His initial proposal to the Board reflected even more stringent reliance on academic criteria. Both proposals, however, gave little consideration to the fact that affirmative action programs were designed to work with evaluations of academic merit to ensure that California's rapidly growing underrepresented populations, which face considerable barriers in access to the elite tier of public higher education, could gain equal footing with others who had advantages in college access.

What these issues reveal is that race does, indeed, matter. It matters because we continue to have persistent gaps among racial/ethnic groups in academic attainment, in access to particular types of colleges, and in admissions criteria which work to the advantage of some groups and to the disadvantage of others. Paradoxically, as was illustrated in the case of Ward Connerly, it appears that race matters most to those who claim it should be less important. Furthermore, opposition to affirmative action arose just as the top-tier public institutions in California began to reflect the diverse population of the state and women became the majority in undergraduate institutions. Such rapid demographic change in the state's population, and its reflection in higher education, may have caused alarm among those who have historically had the privilege of access. Moreover, it was also a politician's racially divisive approach that took precedence in the UC Regents decision to end affirmative action, rather than concrete evaluations of how the institutions had

met their goals for the educational interests of the state's rapidly growing, diverse population. It is to this event that we now turn.

Access to Higher Education as a Zero-sum Game of Politics

The current debate over the use of race/ethnicity and gender in the college admissions process tends to reduce a complex and multifaceted issue into a simplistic, dualistic matter. Affirmative action is characterized as only right or wrong, fair or unfair. As a consequence, the pursuit of higher education is also reduced into an elite zero-sum game where students are pitted against each other in competition for admission to elite colleges or universities. Those students who are offered admission are considered winners while those who are denied that same opportunity are considered losers. Not only does this neglect our common destiny which is based on the adequate training of students from all racial/ethnic groups, but it is also an irresponsible way to deliberate and evaluate the efficacy of something as important as educational policy. Perhaps the best way to illustrate the problems with this dualistic approach is to discuss its shortcomings in light of the events that occurred at the University of California.

In what was labeled as a "major retreat" from justice by Chief of Staff Leon Panetta and other members of the federal government, the University of California Board of Regents decided to eradicate all campus affirmative action programs based on race or sex in July 1995 (Ayers, Jr., 1995). According to Regent member John Davies, the decision was based upon the fact that the Board had "learned that this tool does more harm than good" (Schwartz, 1995). Yet, according to information relayed via internet about the public session and various newspaper accounts of the vote, there was considerable opposition to Davies' assertion from faculty, students, and staff within the university system (Ayers, Jr., 1995; Witt, 1995). In particular, Dean Haile Debas of the University of California at San Francisco School of Medicine provided testimony which argued the contrary: A study conducted by the School of Medicine revealed that many of the Latino and African American graduates had returned as physicians to their respective communities to establish their medical practices.

If the debate over affirmative action had been cast in anything other than the terms of a zero-sum game, there might have been a chance for Debas and Davies to discuss the particulars of the medical school's approach to admitting and educating students of color. However, under the rules of a zero-sum game, compromise or the possibility of a mutually beneficial alternative does not exist. This is unfortunate, for Debas' study embraced the types of outcomes many public policymakers dream of—one that is mutually beneficial for the individual, for higher education, and for a state in need of improved health care in particular communities.

What also became apparent was that the Board of Regents voted against affirmative action before conducting a thorough assessment of the implications and consequences the policy reversal would have on the university system and its students. In fact, the Regents voted against campus affirmative action programs and then instructed both faculty and university leaders to "come up with something that will achieve . . . diversity" (Schwartz, 1995). One must question the logic behind so readily inviting intervention by the federal government, which could have potentially placed students in jeopardy of losing their federal financial aid as well as millions of dollars in research funds. Additionally, there was no alternative plan for achieving diversity whose financial costs had been evaluated at the time of the vote. Campuses were told to end programs or revise policies and then search for an alternative approach that would achieve diversity.

This action defied the fiduciary responsibility of the Regents and also smacked of extreme political maneuvering. Using divisive racial politics in the week prior to the vote, Governor Wilson stated on national television that admission to the University of California was not based on merit, but on race and gender—an intentional fabrication to stir up the debate that was to follow at the Regents meeting. In the week following the Regents' vote, Wilson presented himself as a champion of white and Asian interests in this battle but could not articulate a clear position on other forms of preferential treatment in admission. As a result, he not only revealed his lack of knowledge regarding multifaceted admissions criteria, but also made the articulation of a sound University admissions policy seem insignificant.

Governor Wilson, via the UC Board of Regents, was virtually handed an ideal topic to convert into a battle of state autonomy over federal intervention that he hoped would escalate and become key in his bid for the presidency. Shortly after the Regents' vote, Wilson reported in newspapers that he would not be intimidated by the threat of a federal government investigation of University programs and policies, essentially calling their bluff in terms of actual enforcement of affirmative action. Although the battle regarding affirmative action was won by Wilson's supporters, Wilson ultimately proved not to be popular enough to gain the financial support necessary to become a strong 1996 presidential contender.

These facts reveal another fundamental flaw in the zero-sum game approach: There are only two consequences of importance—that of winning and losing. The consequence that often receives the most attention is, not surprisingly, related to winning. That there may be negative consequences for the opposition is assumed to be a legitimate part of the game and is therefore tolerated. Suddenly changing the direction on the University's affirmative action policies, particularly the long-term goals regarding student recruitment and admissions, was a win for Wilson. However, the consequences of the decision plunged a University system (including a new president, administrators, and faculty) into a quandary about what to do next. If they changed their practices, would they be in violation of federal guidelines? Could they work around the Regents' decision and still keep their jobs? Could they defer[3] admission to an increasing population of nonwhite racial/ethnic students who, no doubt, would seek admission to the University in the coming years? The President of the University of California, appointed in 1995, wished to delay implementation of the ban on race preferences until 1998 to allow administrators time to develop new procedures for incoming undergraduates, but met considerable resistance from the Regents and the Governor and was forced to retract his decision and submit an apology (Schmidt, 1996). These were unusual events for a new president and can only be understood in a political context: Several of the Regents and the Governor were also in the midst of promoting a state ballot measure banning affirmative action. In sum, what matters most in a zero-sum game is winning. Just as a zero-sum game is not conducive to compromise

or the consideration of consequences unrelated to winning, it is also not conducive to the discussion of larger, more important issues like institutional mission and purpose.

As the following quote from Regent Roy Brophy to the Chairman of the Board indicates, it seems this held true for the University of California system as well. He said:

> Your Board managed to circumvent the president. Your Board managed to circumvent the chancellors, and also to circumvent the faculty and you managed to circumvent the students. I would also say staff too . . . What bothers me more than anything else is for us to circumvent the best people we have . . . I only hope in the future that we keep it in mind that if we are going to do something like this let's not have a quick vote and shake hands and go home. We must plan for the future, in the future, that everyone is involved in the process . . . (Schwartz, 1995).

As a final point, the zero-sum game approach to evaluating higher education policy is also limited because it fails to take into account history or the notion of restitution for injustices committed in the past. In all the rhetoric that has been bandied about regarding affirmative action, there has been virtually no mention of history, historical injustices or the role that the university system may have played in perpetuating those injustices. The assumption is that we are beyond the vestiges of an exclusionary past. However, by all indicators, we have a long way to go toward eliminating the vestiges of historical discrimination and achieving the goals of equity in college access.

Renewed Commitment and Articulation of Goals for College Access

The discussion of misconceptions and zero-sum politics leads us to a central question: If we are not concerned with student welfare, educational purpose, responsibility, history or compromise, then what is the current debate over the use of race and gender in the

college admissions process truly concerned about? Underlying many of our contemporary policies is an assumption regarding whom we believe is entitled to higher education opportunity and what kinds of colleges should remain for the elite or the masses.

Part of the reason that we have not been able to arrive at a consensus regarding Brubacher's question, "Higher education for whom?" has to do with the zero-sum manner in which we have approached the issue of college access. It also has to do with the effects of time and the tests of our commitment. Circumstances have changed considerably for higher education since 1965. Most notably, there is a different student population to educate with varying levels of preparation for college (Dey & Hurtado, 1995), tighter fiscal restraints to contend with (Callan, 1993), and greater societal expectations of higher education to meet the educational needs of its citizenry without a significant increase in resources (Zusman, 1994). Consequently, in an era of growing economic uncertainty, the fervor for redistributive measures to ensure educational opportunity has also diminished. In sum, as the needs of society and individuals have changed, so too has our ability to definitively answer who higher education ought to serve and why. This is a time for higher education institutions to clearly articulate their goals for college access and review procedures, not because affirmative action has been portrayed as an attack on American values by politicians, but because it is part of a reasonable plan for educating students.

One result of affirmative action policy is that today more institutions acknowledge the educational value in having a diverse student body, faculty, and administration. The institutions in the State of California have not abandoned this value but they now must find new ways to achieve greater equity in access before they suffer the economic and social consequences of educating too few. The Regents of the University of California have placed great faith in their institutions to work toward increasing diversity without the "stick" and with a shrinking "carrot." While there is talk about focusing on low-income students, a social category some find more acceptable than race/ethnicity or gender, most admissions practices and programs already serve these students. Perhaps more importantly, the numbers of low-income students who apply to top-tier institutions have dropped dramatically in the last decade as tuition increases and

changes occur in the distribution of federal and state financial aid. Moreover, these declines have resulted in a greater gaps among students based on background: Depending on race/ethnicity, students from high-income families are now eight to thirteen times more likely to attain a baccalaureate degree by age 24 than students in the lowest-income quartile (Mortensen,1990). Tinkering with student-aid programs and doing away with affirmative action programs effectively eliminates key redistributive measures to promote equity in higher education and essentially reinforces the belief that higher education ought to be for the few.

As consequence, some contend that eradicating affirmative action would mean "that racial and sexual discrimination would return with a vengeance" (West, 1992, p. 95). Yet, because these policies were in place, most discrimination is not likely to be so overt. At the same time, eliminating affirmative action will not make our social problems disappear; race and gender inequalities continue to permeate our thinking, practices, and social interactions. What is needed is a renewed commitment to make higher education available to broad segments of the population because both the historical and the continuous inequalities among groups continue to affect our attitudes and interactions with individuals in these social categories. As Audre Lorde (1984) has stated, "we have no patterns for relating across our human differences as equals. As a result, those differences have been misnamed and misused in the service of separation and confusion" (p. 115).

Strategies for a New Era

Higher education institutions have a definitive role to play in addressing this separation and confusion by educating students about social and cultural differences and taking the lead in reframing the issues underlying the debate on affirmative action. Institutions must take a more active role in the shaping of public policy, or as in the case of the University of California system, risk being subjected to its vagaries. Linking activities and practices with clear institutional goals is the first step in creating an institutional strategy that reflects priorities for creating a diverse learning environment.

One way institutions could address some of the misconceptions surrounding affirmative action, racial issues, and social stigma is through the educational process itself. While most campuses have focused on increasing the diversity of their faculties and student bodies, campuses have neglected the important dimension of improving intergroup relations and attitudes. Institutions can build bridges across communities of difference by engaging faculty and students in dialogue activities inside and outside of the classroom which address long standing conflicts, stereotypes, and problems in intergroup relations. Engaging members of the local community also develops public support for the institutional goals of creating a diverse learning environment.

A second way for higher education institutions to eliminate misconceptions is to be less secretive about admissions procedures and openly convey to potential applicants and their parents the realities of weighing various institutional goals in the admissions process. This would entail an honest discussion of how difficult it is to be admitted to a selective college without a combination of unique qualities that is consistent with the college's educational goals and needs. Such an approach would also recognize the anxiety many students and their parents experience about getting into the right college and their concerns about postcollege career possibilities. Rather than contributing to this unhealthy anxiety, institutions should identify ways to reduce this tension.

Even more importantly, admissions officers should conduct analyses of their own affirmative action efforts and engage in frank discussions about their progress toward eliminating inequality in college access and what they can expect to achieve on their campuses in the coming years. This would also enable admissions officers to identify specific strategies which may be highly effective in increasing the number of underrepresented students on their campuses. While some politicians claim that higher education has achieved its goals through affirmative action, there is little evidence regarding which goals were met nor how they were attained. Many campuses that have made a commitment to diversity should report what they have accomplished, acknowledge the obstacles they have faced, and take the lead in promoting and disseminating successful strategies for achieving diversity goals.

In addition, higher education institutions and their admissions offices should assess the extent to which they have relied upon affirmative action as the primary means for diversifying their campuses and student bodies. The use of racial preferences in college admissions is a legal way to ensure diversity, but more documentation may be necessary in terms of providing information on historical and continuous barriers that women and different racial/ethnic groups face in gaining admission. Admissions officers at selective colleges must also acknowledge the biases that result from employing specific criteria for different groups and address them by considering a wide range of information on each candidate, and then selecting students who excel along several dimensions. Moreover, as with all other types of preferences in admissions, institutions must be able to articulate how their selection practices are consistent with the institution's mission and goals. The goal of educating a diverse student body is not only important to educational processes within the institution, but also extends beyond the campus community to the larger social goals of decreasing inequality, improving race relations, and increasing economic productivity and civic participation among broad segments of society.

Institutions can also engage in creative problem-solving to devise additional methods of diversifying their campuses. For example, cooperative agreements regarding course and degree work with secondary schools, community colleges and four-year colleges that have high proportions of women in underrepresented fields or students of color could be established. Coordinated planning and effort across sectors may result in new ways to improve the preparation of students prior to college and increase student progress through the educational pipeline. As a final strategy, maintaining cooperation and dialogue with other institutions facing similar pressures for maintaining diversity in a changing financial and political climate might also inspire the development of new strategies for achieving educational goals.

We must renew our commitment to determining whether higher education is for the few or for the many. Which answer is chosen depends upon how we approach the question. We cannot pick one over the other because it is consistent with our own needs and interests as the current affirmative action debate would suggest we do.

That is simply too easy. In order to answer Brubacher's question and answer it fairly, we must take into consideration what the purposes and goals of higher education should be, whether or not these purposes and goals are consistent with the overall goals and needs of society, whether they are consistent with the needs of individuals, and understand the implications and consequences of our choices. In other words, we have to honestly assess our past, plan for the future, and honor the needs of both the individual and society. Balancing these concerns will require goal clarification, innovations in institutional approaches, and sustained effort.

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How Does Racial/Ethnic Diversity Promote Education?

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Abstract

Educators have been challenged to articulate clearly the educational purposes and benefits of diversity in the context of legal challenges related to affirmative action policies. This article explores the relationship between students' experiences with diverse peers in collegiate settings and their educational outcomes, and discusses this in the context of lawsuits brought against the University of Michigan.

The authors are all faculty members at The University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, and are nationally renowned scholars in the areas of diversity and affirmative action. They have published numerous books and articles. Their seminal collective work, usually referred to as the "Gurin Study," served as the foundation for the University of Michigan's defense in Grutter v. Bollinger (U of M Law School) and Gratz v. Bollinger (U of M College of Literature, Science, and the Arts), the two landmark cases which challenged the school's practice of considering race as a factor during the admission process. Both affirmative action cases were argued before the Supreme Court on April 1, 2003. On June 23, 2003, the court ruled that the university had the right to consider race in its admission procedures in order to achieve a diverse student body. Chief Justice Sandra Day O'Connor wrote the 5-4 majority opinion in favor of the Law School, while Chief Justice William Rehnquist issued the majority opinion in a 6-3 vote which reversed, in part, the University's undergraduate admissions policy. The court concluded in this instance that race may be considered as a factor, but not the deciding factor, in the undergraduate admissions process.

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By the time this journal is published in July 2003, the Supreme Court of the United States will have rendered a decision on two important higher education affirmative action cases: Gratz v. Bollinger et al., and Grutter v. Bollinger et al. The crucial significance of the Court's decision for our nation cannot be underestimated, affecting not only the use of race as one of many factors in admissions at the University of Michigan, but also at every other selective college and university, both public and private, in the United States.

The consequence of the Court's decision will be felt far beyond colleges and universities. The Court's decision will either support or undermine the opportunities of minority students for top leadership positions in the military, corporations, and other public and private institutions that draw especially from the nation's most selective higher education institutions. As *amicus* briefs submitted in behalf of the University respondents by former military leaders, Fortune Five Hundred corporations, a wide range of educational institutions from K-12 through professional schools, and many other American mainstream institutions, the decision will ultimately weigh heavily on their capacity to function effectively in our increasingly racially and ethnically diverse society. The military brief (No. 02-241, 02-516) states:

> *In the 1960s and 1970s, however, while integration increased the percentage of African Americans in the enlisted ranks, the percentage of minority officers remained extremely low (3% of Army officers), and perceptions of discrimination were pervasive. This deficiency in the officer corps and the discrimination perceived to be its cause led to low morale and heightened racial tension. The danger that this created was not theoretical, as the Vietnam era demonstrates. As that war continued, the armed forces suffered increased racial polarization, pervasive disciplinary problems, and racially motivated incidents in Vietnam and on post around the world . . . . The military's leadership 'recognized that its racial problem was so critical that it was on the verge of self-destruction. (pp. 6-7)*

Through affirmative action initiatives that the military put in place – financial and tutorial assistance, recruiting programs, employing race as a factor in recruiting and admissions policies and decisions, and preparatory academies to increase the pool of qualified minority candidates – 19% of active duty officers are now minority. The military *Amici* submit that "the government's compelling interest in promoting racial diversity in higher education is buttressed by its compelling national security interest in a cohesive military. That requires both a diverse officer corps and substantial numbers of officers educated and trained in diverse educational settings, including the military academies and ROTC programs." (p. 8) The military *Amici* conclude that "At present no alternative exists to limited, race-conscious programs to increase the pool of high quality minority officer candidates and to establish diverse educational settings for officers." (p. 9)

In this article, we delineate why diversity was the rationale on which the University of Michigan waged a defense of its admission policies and thus why diversity was the framework for our scholarly work on the lawsuit cases. This rationale dates back to the *Bakke* Supreme Court decision in 1978. We will also address how ethnic/racial diversity in the student body operates – what it can and cannot do – and what the evidence is for its impact on students through the actual experiences students have with diverse peers.

The Diversity Rationale

U.S. Supreme Court Justice Lewis Powell wrote the defining opinion in the 1978 *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* case, quoting in part from a previous Supreme Court ruling in Keyshian v. Board of Regents, 385 U.S. 589 (1967). He stated that the "atmosphere of 'speculation, experiment and creation' – so essential to the quality of higher education – is widely believed to be promoted by a diverse student body.... It is not too much to say that the nation's future depends upon leaders trained through wide exposure to the ideas and mores of students as diverse as this Nation of many peoples" (*Bakke* 1978, p. 2760). Since the 1978 Supreme Court decision, the educational benefits of diversity as a compelling governmental interest have provided the primary justification for affirmative action at selective institutions across the country.

The diversity argument has not been supported in all lower court cases since the original *Bakke* decision. The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in *Hopwood v. University of Texas* denied that diversity has any impact on educational experience: "The use of race, in and of itself, to choose students simply achieves a student body that looks different. Such a criterion is no more rational on its own terms than would be choices based upon the physical size or blood type of applicants" (1996, p. 950). This statement is incredulous to us in light of the role that race and ethnicity have played in every aspect of our society. As Victor Bolden, David Goldberg, and Dennis Parker point out: "No constitutional compromise was required over blood type; no civil war was fought and no Southern Manifesto signed over physical size" (1999, p. 27).

Courts across the country have produced conflicting rulings on diversity as a compelling governmental interest since the *Hopwood* decision was made. In the two cases involving the University of Michigan, one challenging its undergraduate admissions and the other its law school admissions, two different rulings on diversity as a compelling governmental interest were given at the district court level. In *Gratz v. Bollinger, et al.* (2000) the District Court ruled on summary judgment in favor of the University of Michigan, upholding its current undergraduate admissions policy and concluding that diversity was a compelling governmental interest that justified the policy. In *Grutter v. Bollinger, et al.*, (2002) the District Court held that the educational benefits of diversity are not a compelling state interest, and even if they were, the Law School's policy was not "narrowly tailored" to the interest in diversity. Both cases were appealed to the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals, which heard arguments in December 2001. This court overturned the lower court decision in *Grutter*, deciding in favor of the university and setting the stage for the appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. This court did not render a decision in Gratz, but the Supreme Court accepted both cases and heard oral arguments on April 1, 2003.

The intervenors in these two cases, representing high school students of color and law graduates of color, marshaled a defense of affirmative action policies in higher education on the basis of a remedy for past and present discrimination. The District Court ruled against them in both cases, as did the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals in the Grutter case (the only case on which it made a ruling).

We concur with the intervenors that social justice in America requires corrective action. Our scholarly work for these lawsuits, however, followed the legal argument of the University of Michigan that made diversity the primary rationale for using race as one of many factors in admissions decisions. Thus, the central task that we undertook was to examine the impact of experience with diversity on educational outcomes of students. While the University's legal strategy was framed by the diversity rationale that was provided by Justice Lewis Powell in the Bakke decision, the educational value of diversity was a major focus of Michigan's efforts to have a diverse student body long before the University was sued over its admissions policies. President Duderstadt made this clear in enunciating the Michigan Mandate in 1990:

> *The fundamental premise of the Michigan Mandate is that for the University to achieve excellence in teaching and research in the years ahead, for it to serve our state, our nation, and the world, we simply must achieve and sustain a campus community recognized for its racial and ethnic diversity. But beyond this, we believe that the University has a mandate not just to reflect the growing diversity of America – indeed, the world – in our students, faculty, and staff; but to go beyond this to build a model of pluralistic, multicultural community for our nation. We seek to build a community that values and respects and, indeed, draws its intellectual strength from the rich diversity of peoples of different races, cultures, religions, nationalities, and beliefs.*

At the same time, we know of no one associated with the University of Michigan's arguments in these cases who would deny the importance of American institutions, including higher education institutions, addressing and correcting the continued legacy of this nation's 300 years of racial inequities.

When we were asked in 1998 to examine the educational benefits of racial and ethnic diversity, there was little published empirical evidence about the educational benefits of diversity, and little research evidence had been brought to bear in legal suits on higher education affirmative action. Jonathan Alger, formerly Counsel for the American Association of University Professors and now on the University of Michigan's legal team for these two lawsuits, argued in 1998, just as we were beginning our work on the cases: "The unfinished homework in the affirmative action debate concerns the development of an articulated vision – supported by a strong evidentiary basis – of the educational benefits of racial diversity in higher education" (p. 74).

This was exactly what we sought to do: 1) to provide a theoretical rationale for why racial and ethnic diversity should foster education, and 2) to test that rationale using empirical materials available in already existing datasets at the University of Michigan and at the Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP) at the University of California, Los Angeles. The four of us worked collaboratively on the research in the so-called Gurin Report. One of us necessarily had to be the expert witness for the lawsuit. Patricia Gurin undertook that responsibility. Because our collaboration produced the Expert Report, we refer to it here not as the Gurin Report but as the Expert Report.

The theoretical rationale is laid out in both the Expert Report and in an article that we jointly authored for the *Harvard Educational Review (2002)*. It drew from social psychological theories and research, and posited that the conditions important for active learning, intellectual engagement, and preparation for democratic

citizenship in a diverse society are provided at most selective institutions by racial/ethnic diversity, namely:

- novelty and unfamiliarity that occurs upon the transition to college for the vast majorities of students who have been educated previously in largely racially homogeneous environments (This was true of 92% of Michigan's white students and half of the African American students at the time our research was conducted.);

- opportunities to identify discrepancies between students with distinct pre-college social experience; and

- diversity as a source of multiple and different perspectives on the nature of society and its institutions.

The Meanings of Diversity

We laid out three meanings of diversity. Structural diversity is the numerical representation of diverse groups on a campus. Informal interactional diversity is the actual experience students have with diverse peers in the campus environment. Classroom diversity is exposure to knowledge about race and ethnicity in formal classrooms.

What Can Structural Diversity Accomplish?

Structural diversity increases the probability that students will have experiences with diverse peers through their informal interactions and through formal classrooms. Simply attending an ethnically diverse college does not guarantee that students will have meaningful intergroup interactions of the kind that social psychologist Gordon Allport (1954) suggested in his classic book, *The Nature of Prejudice*. Structural diversity is not an air-borne virus that you simply catch by being on a campus that is racially/ethnically diverse. It is a resource – like any other resource such as an excellent library or outstanding faculty. To have an impact, students must use the resource of structural diversity, and colleges and universities must encourage actual experience with diversity, as the University of Michigan has done through a wide range of multicultural curricular and co-curricular programs. The University has a deliberate policy, not only of building a diverse student body, but also of promoting diversity experiences for students that in turn are related to educational outcomes. This is not a policy of simply recruiting a diverse student body and then neglecting the intellectual environment in which students interact. To do so would be irresponsible. Like all resources, structural diversity must be used intelligently to fulfill its potential.

If structural diversity *by itself* were sufficient for achieving desired outcomes, then having good buildings, high faculty salaries, and good libraries would all be sufficient to ensure a good education. No one with the responsibility to run a university would make such an argument, precisely because the nature of educational activities and the extent to which students avail themselves of these resources are crucial to achieving an excellent education. Similarly, students must be engaged with diverse peers if we expect learning and development to occur. A diverse student body is a resource and a necessary condition for engagement with diverse peers that permit higher education to achieve these educational goals.

We showed in the Expert Report in the national sample of 184 institutions provided by CIRP that students more frequently had informal interactions and classroom diversity experiences on those campuses that were racially and ethnically diverse. Other scholarship supports this conclusion, showing that dating, dining, studying, and interacting in class with diverse peers were the most frequent on the most diverse campuses (Chang 1999; Astin, Chang, and Kim, in review). Colleges with greater racial/ethnic diversity had higher intergroup interaction even on campuses with difficult racial climates (Hurtado, Dey, and Trevino 1994). This suggests that interactions are more probable on the most diverse campuses, as individuals become accustomed to dealing with racial/ethnic diversity. Other scholarly work further shows that structural diversity increases the range of student opinions and thus fosters the intellectual diversity (Chang, Seltzer, and Kim, in review) that is so important for students to learn from each other. Finally, structural diversity is important because it increases the number of students who benefit from the effects of informal interactions with diverse peers and from classroom diversity because more of them have those experiences.

The critical point is that structural diversity provides an opportunity for actual interaction with diverse peers who have multiple points of view. Justice Lewis Powell understood that the impact of diversity came from this opportunity. He included in his diversity rationale for the consideration of race in admissions a quotation from William Bowen, then President of

Princeton University, that makes clear that the impact of diversity comes from actual interaction with diverse peers.

The president of Princeton University has described some of the benefits derived from a diverse student body: '(A) great deal of learning occurs informally. It occurs through interactions among students of both sexes; of different races, religions, and backgrounds; who come from cities and rural areas, from various states and countries; who have a wide variety of interests, talents, and perspectives; and who are able, directly or indirectly to learn from their differences and to stimulate one another to reexamine even their most deeply held assumptions about themselves and their world. As a wise graduate of ours observed in commenting on this aspect of the educational process, 'People do not learn very much when they are surrounded only by the likes of themselves.' Bowen, Admissions and the Relevance of Race, Princeton Alumni Weekly *7, 9 (Sept. 26, 1977).*

The role of structural diversity has been *the* major focus of disagreement between us and our critics from the National Association of Scholars. In website reports and *amicus* briefs in behalf of the Plaintiffs to the District, Circuit, and Supreme Courts these critics of our work and of affirmative action have argued that percent minority on a campus must have direct effects on students' educational outcomes (Wood and Sherman 2001; Wood and Sherman 2003; Briefs of the National Association of Scholars 2003). We have responded at length to those criticisms (see Gurin 2003), including showing major statistical errors in their analyses that purportedly but wrongly tested the impact of structural diversity. The bottom line is that students cannot have experiences with diversity, especially actual interaction with diverse peers, in a racially/ethnically homogeneous institution. One cannot have experience with diversity without diversity. And it is the experience that leads to educational outcomes.

Actual Experience with Diversity

In the Expert Report for the lawsuits we used measures of actual experience with diversity in the three datasets that we examined for the two lawsuits. (These measures are laid out in detail in both the Expert Report and in an article published in the *Harvard Educational Review* (Gurin et al. 2002).

- *Classroom diversity* was represented in the national database on 184 institutions by responses to whether or not students had taken an ethnic studies class. In the Michigan Student Study we had more information about classroom diversity. We used responses from seniors about the extent to which they had been exposed in classes to "information/activities devoted to understanding other racial/ethnic groups and inter-racial ethnic relationships," and if they had taken a course during college that had an important impact on their "views of racial/ethnic diversity and multiculturalism." (Their responses likely referred to classes that exposed them to racially/ethnically diverse students as well as to curriculum content. In 1994, when these students were seniors, they had to have taken a course that met the Race and Ethnicity Requirement (R&E). To meet that requirement, the Literature, Sciences, and Arts College had approved 111 courses. We obtained the racial/ethnic distribution of students in those courses for 1993-94, the year that the MSS gathered senior data. Two-thirds of these courses had enrolled between 20 and 80 percent students of color. Thus, there is a strong probability that the majority of classes White students were referring to in the MSS measure of classroom diversity included at least 20 percent students of color.) In the Michigan classroom study, classroom diversity was represented by participation or not in the curricular Program on Intergroup Relations.

- *Informal interaction with diverse peers* was measured in the national study by responses to the extent to which students, over their college years, had socialized with someone from a different racial/ethnic group, had discussed racial issues, and had attended a racial/cultural awareness workshop. In the Michigan Student Study, an index summarized responses to questions asking about both amount and quality of contact with diverse peers, number of multicultural events students had attended, and whether or not they had taken part in an intergroup dialogue during their college years. In the classroom study, participation or not in the Program in Intergroup Relations provided the measure, as these classes are diverse and require participation in intergroup dialogues.

The Impact of Experience with Diversity

Background of the Studies

All three databases (gathered from students in a curricular program called the Program on Intergroup Relations at the University of Michigan campuswide at the Univerity of Michigan, and at multiple institutions on a national level) that we used to test our theory about the impact of diversity on educational outcomes

included longitudinal data. The national study followed the same students (approximately 13,000) at the 184 institutions from 1985 through 1989 during their college years and again through 1994 in the post-college world. The Michigan Student Study followed students (approximately 1200) who entered in 1990 through 1994 The evaluation of the impact of the Program on Intergroup Relations followed students (174) also from 1990 through 1994.

The longitudinal nature of these studies made possible a reasonable approach to controlling for the problem of selectivity. Students who become involved in diversity experiences may have entered these universities in the national sample as well as the University of Michigan already different on the very educational outcomes that we argued were effects of diversity experiences. It was possible, however, to adjust for that possibility by statistically controlling in our analyses their freshman-year responses on nearly all of these outcomes. Thus, when we find an effect of the diversity experiences on students, we can be reasonably sure that it isn't the fact that these students were different even before coming to Michigan and before interacting with diverse peers and having exposure to knowledge about race and ethnicity in their college classrooms. The study of the impact of the Program on Intergroup Relations also exercised another control, making it a quasi-experimental study. The 87 participants were matched with 87 non-participants on gender, race/ethnicity, pre-college residency within Michigan or some other state, and residence hall during the first year of college. (At that time the Program was located in a particular residence hall.)

Effects of Diversity Experiences

In all three databases, our analyses showed effects of classroom diversity and informal interaction with diverse peers on what we called *learning outcomes and democracy outcomes.* (See Gurin et al., 2002, for a detailed summary of the effects of diversity experiences in the national multi-institutional study and the Michigan Student Study. See Gurin et al., in press, for a summary of the effects of participation in the Program on Intergroup Relations.)

- Classroom diversity experience and interaction with diverse peers fostered:

Learning outcomes — intellectual engagement, motivation to think actively and deeply about social phenomena, and self-assessed gains on a number of academic/intellectual skills.

Democracy outcomes — commitment to promoting racial understanding, perspective taking, sense of commonality in values with students from different racial/ethnic backgrounds, agreement that diversity and democracy can be congenial, involvement in political affairs and community service during college as well as commitment to civic affairs after college.

- With only minor exceptions, these effects applied to all groups of students: whites, African Americans, and Latinos (and, in later analyses reported in the *Harvard Educational Review* article, Asian American students as well).

- There was great consistency of effects across single-item measures of learning and democracy outcomes and when these single-items were combined into multiple-item indices, the effects were (as expected) larger and still consistent across the multiple institutional study, the single institutional study, and the specific classroom study.

Supportive Research

We summarized the relevant research carried out by other scholars in the Expert Report. These, and other studies conducted since we submitted our expert testimony, are generally supportive of the conclusions we reached. These additional studies are highlighted in two *amicus* briefs to the Supreme Court in behalf of the University respondents. Two were submitted (one for Gratz, one for Grutter) by the American Educational Research Association, the Association of American Colleges and Universities, and the American Association for Higher Education (No. 02-516 and No. 02-241). The third was submitted in both cases by the American Psychological Association (Nos. 02-241 and 02-516).

With respect to engagement in learning and thinking, research shows an impact of diversity experience on problem solving and self-reported gains in critical thinking and other learning outcomes (Hurtado 2001; Terenzini, Cabrera, Colbeck, Bjorklund and Parente 2001; Chang 1999), more involvement in active and collaborative learning or group skills (Terenzini et al. 2001; Kuh 2003), and consideration of multiple points of view and

thinking about legal problems and solutions (Orfield and Whitla 2001).

With respect to democracy-related perspectives, other scholars also have shown an impact of diversity experience on students' motivation to promote racial understanding and cultural awareness (Astin 1993; Milem 1994; Antonio 2001), self-reported ability to work well with members of other races (Orfield and Whitla 2001), citizenship after college (Bowen and Bok 1998), and longer-term integrated living and relationships (Bowen and Bok 1998). A recent study by Duncan and colleagues (2003) is especially important on the effect of actual experience with diverse peers on longer-term relationships across race. That study examined the effect of an experiment in which students at a midwest university were randomly assigned roommates, with some students being assigned roommates from their own race/ethnicity and others being assigned roommates from other backgrounds. Because random assignment was involved, the findings specifically handle the problem of selectivity and demonstrate the causal relationship between experience and impact. They show that white students randomly assigned roommates of color, as compared to white students randomly assigned white roommates, two to four years later had more personal contact with students of other racial/ethnic groups, and were more likely to report that they interact comfortably with people of other racial/ethnic groups. More white students randomly assigned African American roommates than those randomly assigned white roommates considered the roommate to be one of their best friends during the freshman year, and these white students were more supportive of affirmative action.

Most impressively, these and other relevant studies have been brought together in two major books published since we submitted our expert testimony: *Diversity Challenged: Evidence on the Impact of Affirmative Action* by Gary Orfield and Michal Kurlaender (eds.) in 2001; the forthcoming book, *Compelling Interest: Examining the Evidence on Racial Dynamics in Higher Education* by Mitchell Chang et al. (Eds). In addition, the individual, institutional, and social benefits of diversity as documented in a wide variety of studies are summarized by Jeffrey Milem and Kenji Hakuta in a status report on minorities in higher education (ACE 2000). We have also summarized the work as it relates to college environments and students in higher education research (Hurtado, Dey, Gurin, and Gurin 2003).

Attacks by the National Association of Scholars

Our claims and those of other scholars are not without contest. As already noted, members of the National Association of Scholars have repeatedly attempted to undermine our Expert Report. We have responded to these critiques in great detail on the University of Michigan's website on the admissions lawsuits, which is available at http://www.umich.edu/~urel/admissions/research/ (especially, Gurin, G. *Point-by-point response to critique of U-M diversity research*, 2003; Gurin, P. *Evidence for the Educational Benefits of Diversity in Higher Education: Response to the Wood & Sherman Critique by the National Association of Scholars of the Expert Witness Report of Patricia Gurin in Gratz, et al. v Bollinger, et al. and Grutter v Bollinger, et al.* 2001; Gurin, P. *Evidence for the Educational Benefits of Diversity in Higher Education: An Addendum (Response to Lerner & Nagai Critique)*, 2001; Gurin, P. *Response to the National Association of Scholars Amicus Brief to the Supreme Court and Addendum by Wood and Sherman*, 2003; Gurin, P., Gurin, G., and Matlock, J. *Response to Diversity Distorted: How the University of Michigan Withheld Data to Hide Evidence of Racial Conflict and Polarization by Robert Lerner and Althea Nagai*, 2003).

Our work has been independently evaluated and validated in the *amicus* briefs (referred to above) that were submitted to the Supreme Court by the American Educational Research Association (and other higher education associations) and the American Psychological Association, as well by two eminent statisticians at Stanford University; Dr. Richard Shavelson, former dean of the School of Education at Stanford, and Dr. Ewart Thomas, former dean of the Stanford School of Humanities and Sciences, for an amicus brief submitted by the Stanford Institute for Higher Education Research to the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals (Nos. 01-1333, 01-1418). Most importantly, as we have shown in the Expert Report and subsequent published articles, our work is supported by studies carried out by other scholars using different data and methodological approaches. The critics continually attack our Expert Report as though supportive evidence provided by other scholars did not exist.

Conclusion: Where Do We Go from Here?

Considerable research is underway by scholars across the country. Our work is being extended in several ways. Sylvia Hurtado has just completed a multi-institutional study, involving before-after assessments

of students' experiences with diversity and their educational outcomes as well as interviews with administrators, focus groups with students, and observations of the campuses. Patricia and Gerald Gurin, along with John Matlock and Katrina Wade, have two studies underway. One is coordinated with the Hurtado multi-institutional study and is following the class that entered the University of Michigan in 2000 through the senior year in 2004 (a year beyond the Hurtado study). This study essentially replicates the Michigan Student Study that was included in the lawsuit — research that assessed students entering a decade earlier in 1990, following them through 1994. The second, in the field currently, follows the graduates of 1994 into their adult lives nine years after graduation. This study provides the opportunity to assess long-term effects (if any) of experience with diversity during college on the extent to which they are living, working, and performing citizenship roles with diverse people and colleagues almost a decade after they graduated.

Many other studies are underway, some using experimental methods, others carrying out large-scale quantitative evaluations, and still others using qualitative methods to examine the impact of diversity. Some of these studies will focus on actual experience with diversity, as we have done, while others will rely on students' perceptions of campus diversity and subjective assessments of the impact of diversity. Some will be specifically relevant to diversity and affirmative action, while others may merely claim such relevance.

A recent study by Rothman, 2003, which received wide media attention for purportedly undermining the diversity argument for affirmative action, is an example of research that neither focused on students' own experiences with diversity nor actually pertained to affirmative action. It claimed, however, to address affirmative action and to discredit the positive impact of diversity.

What did this study actually do? It was a survey of 140 college and universities. The authors correlated an institution's percent African American students with students' satisfaction with their educations, as well as with students', faculty members' and administrators' evaluations of the institution's quality of education, and showed that perceived quality of education and student satisfaction were lower in those institutions that had the largest percentage of African American students. The percentage of African American students across the 140 institutions varied from zero to 43%. Whatever else this study may show (and it is clearly a negative characterization of colleges and universities with a substantial proportion of African American students), it has no relevance to affirmative action. Affirmative action policies exist only in highly selective institutions that rarely have more than 8-10% African American students. Moreover, the study is not about diversity as it focuses exclusively on African American students rather than on the many racial and ethnic groups that provide multiple bases of diversity. Finally, this study says nothing about the students' own experiences with diversity or, for that matter, nothing about the students' own educational outcomes. It relies nearly exclusively on students' perceptions of institutional quality rather than measuring their educational outcomes. In a letter to the Chronicle of Higher Education that has featured the Rothman et al. study, Stephen Raudenbush (2003) makes the strong statement that conclusions by Rothman and his colleagues are "entirely unwarranted."

Their survey brings no credible evidence to bear on the Michigan case, and indeed, their attempt to use the evidence from their survey for this purpose represents a misuse of social science that would be obvious to any first-year graduate student.

Raudenbush shows why this is so. He cites the central finding of the Rothman et al. study, "that as the proportion of African American students enrolled at an institution *rose* (italics added), student satisfaction with their university dropped, as did the assessments of the quality of their education, and the work efforts of their peers." Raudenbush points out that "any reader who neglected to study the details of the study methodology would reasonably conclude from this sentence that the authors had followed the history of institutions seeking to achieve higher levels of diversity by recruiting more black students, with the finding that increasing diversity in this way harmed educational outcomes. In fact, the authors did no such thing. Instead, they compared 140 institutions *at a single point in time*. Thus, the authors never studied what happened when the percent black of an institution rose."

Scholars launched a concerted and continuous series of attacks on it. Criticisms should have been part of the legal process itself, in which Patricia Gurin could have been cross-examined and responded. Failing to call for a trial on diversity, the Center for Individual Rights and the National Association of Scholars reverted to trying to influence public opinion and to affecting the Court's decision by attempting to create new issues of fact that should have been settled at the District Court level.

The decision by the Supreme Court will not settle the research controversies because they have become highly politicized during the process of litigation. The critiques of our work generated by the critics of affirmative action were explicitly intended to influence the Supreme Court decision outside of the legal process. The lawyers for the Plaintiffs in these two cases provided no rebuttal witnesses for Patricia Gurin.

They agreed that a trial on the matter of diversity was not needed and conceded in oral argument for summary judgment that "diversity is 'good, important, and valuable.'" (Gratz 122 F. Supp.2d at 823) Only after Judge Duggan in the undergraduate lawsuit cited our Expert Report did the critics, largely from the National Association of Scholars, revert to trying to influence public opinion and to affecting the Court's decision by attempting to create new issues of fact that should have been settled at the District Court level.

These efforts to discredit our work have coincided with reports of new scholarly evidence that generally supports our work for the litigation about how universities may realize the true learning and democratic potential of diversity for both individuals and society. The collective conclusion of nearly all of the empirical research is that educational institutions can and should make diversity central to their educational missions because student experiences with diversity can promote more active, complex thinking and prepare students as citizens in a diverse democracy. Based on the evidence to date, this is essentially what institutions should aspire to achieve.

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Patricia Gurin, Jeffrey S. Lehman, and Earl Lewis, with others

Defending Diversity

Affirmative Action at the University of Michigan

Introduction by Nancy Cantor

Afterword by Mary Sue Coleman

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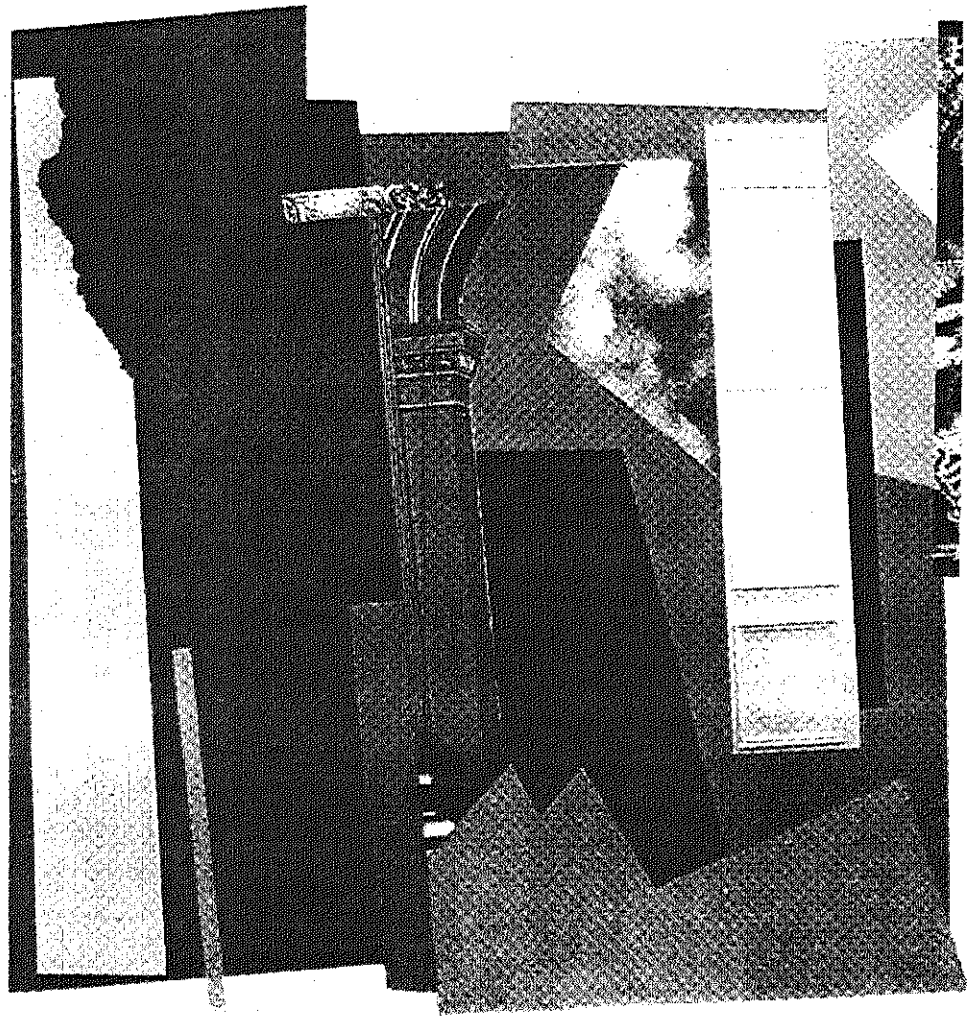
Enacting Diverse Learning Environments

Improving the Climate for Racial/Ethnic Diversity in Higher Education

Sylvia Hurtado, Jeffrey Milem, Alma Clayton-Pedersen, and Walter Allen



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JE Sylvia Hurtado

The Campus Racial Climate

Contexts of Conflict

Racial conflict was becoming commonplace on American college campuses throughout the 1980s, with more than one hundred college campuses reporting incidents of racial/ethnic harassment and violence in each of the last two years of the decade [40]. The most highly publicized racial incidents, ranging from verbal harassment to violent beatings, occurred at some of the most elite institutions in the country [25, 56]. In many cases students organized protests as a direct response to these problems, or to express solidarity with students facing similar problems at other institutions [60]. Although these events have provided the impetus for examining the quality of race relations on individual college campuses, researchers have not explored at any great length the nature of campus race relations across a variety of institutional contexts.

The research on minorities in higher education is extensive, yet a surprisingly small number of empirical studies have focused specifically on campus racial climates. Only a few studies include measures of campus race relations in their models of student persistence [54, 57, 58], academic achievement [2, 41, 42, 46], and social involvement [1]. Al-

The Exxon Education Foundation provided generous support for the administration of surveys at selected institutions, thereby facilitating analyses by ethnic group. This funding was provided as part of a project on the outcomes of general education conducted at the Higher Education Research Institute, UCLA. Research was conducted in UCLA's Department of Sociology and the Graduate School of Education with the support of the University of California President's Postdoctoral Fellowship. The author extends her appreciation for Walter R. Allen's and Michael A. Olivas's helpful comments on an earlier draft of this article.

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DIFFERENCES IN COLLEGE ACCESS AND CHOICE AMONG RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUPS: Identifying Continuing Barriers

Sylvia Hurtado, Karen Kurotsuchi Inkelas, Charlotte Briggs, and Byung-Shik Rhee

This study focuses on the college application behaviors of students from various racial/ethnic groups in order to understand differences in access and college choice. Student characteristics, predispositions, academic abilities, and income levels were taken into account in our analyses. We analyzed data from the National Education Longitudinal Study (NELS) and the Beginning Postsecondary Student Longitudinal Study (BPS) and found significant group differences in preparation behaviors, college application behavior (number of colleges to which students applied), and attendance at their first choice of institution. The results of this study call attention to the need for campuses to evaluate the potential effects of policy decisions that may impact student choice for different populations of students.

Access and equity have long been central goals of American higher education, as reflections of both egalitarian and pragmatic interests. There is fairly wide agreement that throughout the 1960s and 1970s, men and women of all racial/ethnic groups achieved ever increasing levels of representation at American two- and four-year institutions, and that college participation rates have increased substantially to the point of eliminating disparities between gender groups in college access (Alexander, Pallas, and Holupka, 1987; Orfield, 1990; Paul, 1990). There is deep disagreement, however, over whether historically underrepresented racial and ethnic groups and those of lower socioeconomic status have gained or lost ground since the 1980s. Alexander et al. (1987) found that for a cohort of 1980 high school seniors, within individual socioeconomic status (SES) levels, minority youth consistently showed higher participation rates than white students. Overall, low family SES was nonetheless strongly

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Diversity and Higher Education: Theory and Impact on Educational Outcomes

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In the current context of legal challenges to affirmative action and race-based considerations in college admissions, educators have been challenged to articulate clearly the educational purposes and benefits of diversity. In this article, Patricia Gurin, Eric Dey, Sylvia Hurtado, and Gerald Gurin explore the relationship between students' experiences with diverse peers in the college or university setting and their educational outcomes. Rooted in theories of cognitive development and social psychology, the authors present a framework for understanding how diversity introduces the relational discontinuities critical to identity construction and its subsequent role in fostering cognitive growth. Using both single- and multi-institutional data from the University of Michigan and the Cooperative Institutional Research Program, the authors go on to examine the effects of classroom diversity and informal interaction among African American, Asian American, Latino/a, and White students on learning and democracy outcomes. The results of their analyses underscore the educational and civic importance of informal interaction among different racial and ethnic groups during the college years. The authors offer their findings as evidence of the continuing importance of affirmative action and diversity efforts by colleges and universities, not only as a means of increasing access to higher education for greater numbers of students, but also as a means of fostering students' academic and social growth.

Educators in U.S. higher education have long argued that affirmative action policies are justified because they ensure the creation of the racially and eth-

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