

**The End of Affirmative Action in Washington State and Its Impact on the Transition from High School to College**

by

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### **ABSTRACT**

Changes in affirmative action policies in some states create possibilities for "natural experiments" to observe the impact of affirmative action and the sources of racial and ethnic inequality in American society. In this study, we measure the impact of Initiative 200, a 1998 measure that eliminated affirmative action in Washington State, on the transition from high school to college. After I-200 was passed, we find a significant, though small in absolute size, decrease in the proportion of high school seniors from underrepresented minorities (black, Hispanic, and American Indian) going to college. This impact of I-200 was almost entirely registered at the University of Washington, the flagship public institution in the state. This decrease, however, stemmed less from changes in minority admission rates than from declines in application rates. We speculate that an important impact of affirmative action programs in higher education is as a signal of a welcome environment for minority students.

## **The End of Affirmative Action in Washington State and Its Impact on the Transition from High School to College**

For the last three decades, affirmative action programs have been a fundamental bulwark of governmental efforts to redress racial, ethnic, and gender inequality in the United States (Bowen and Bok 1999, Reskin 1998, Holzer and Neumark 2000). Nonetheless, the effects of affirmative action efforts remain uncertain and controversial. The problem of assessing effects of affirmative action arises not only because programs are so varied, but also because it is difficult to measure discrimination — the phenomenon that affirmative action is designed to prevent or remedy. A few decades ago, racial and gender discrimination was openly practiced (even in newspaper want-ads) and often reinforced by state laws. In such circumstances, it was reasonable to assume that almost all inter-group inequality was caused by discrimination, either directly or indirectly. Thus, the impact of efforts to combat discrimination would be evident in any observable changes in segregation and inequality.

At present, overt or formal discrimination has diminished, but informal practices and everyday expressions of prejudice have proven remarkably resistant to change (see the extraordinary series in *The New York Times* on “How Race is Lived in America,” <http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/specials/race/index.html>). Discrimination that is subtle and hidden (and perhaps even unconscious by the actor) is much more difficult to detect, and its consequences much more uncertain. Over the last 40 years, social science has expended considerable effort and ingenuity trying to measure the changes in the relative role of discrimination as a cause of racial and ethnic gaps in education, occupations, and income, and access to suburban residence. The standard practice is to assume that discrimination is reflected in the net racial or ethnic difference that remains after multivariate statistical models are used to adjust for all measurable social background characteristics that are unrelated to discrimination (Duncan 1969, Featherman and Hauser 1978: chapter 6, Hirschman and Snipp 1998).

This approach is unsatisfactory, however, because racial and ethnic inequality is not only affected by contemporary discrimination, but also by the legacy of historical patterns of discrimination that were often sanctioned by the government and public opinion. As President Lyndon Johnson said at Howard University in 1965, “You do not take a man who, for years, has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up the starting line in a race and then say,

‘You are free to compete with all the others,’ and still believe that you have been completely fair” (quoted in Bowen and Bok 1998: 6). Thus, the historical legacy of discrimination continues to affect racial and ethnic inequality, even if in the absence of contemporary discrimination, to the extent that some groups have poorer family backgrounds or fewer resources for social mobility.

The complex and often elusive relationships between historical discrimination and contemporary inter-group inequality have shaped the organization of affirmative action programs and also led to their political vulnerability. The initial effort was simply to remove discriminatory barriers sanctioned by law or custom. Beyond that, at least three types (or definitions) of affirmative action programs have been designed to address the legacy of prior times or the more subtle aspects of unconscious prejudice or institutional practices that put some groups at a disadvantage. The first type of program consists simply of efforts to insure that minorities and women are included in the pool of eligible candidates through outreach programs and reliance on formal means of recruitment rather than informal networks. The second type of affirmative action program is one that gives qualified minority candidates extra (but not exclusive) consideration in admissions or recruitment. For example, if several qualified candidates were being considered for a position (or admission), affirmative action would give priority to a minority or woman candidate, much as geographic diversity or an alumnus parent might give an advantage to others in a college admission decision. The third type of affirmative action program, and the one that creates the most political controversy, is a program that admits or recruits minorities or women for targeted slots or positions without consideration of other candidates.

In recent times, it is relatively rare to find a “smoking gun” of open discrimination that accounts for educational and employment inequality. Consequently, most affirmative action programs assume that socioeconomic disparities result from past or contemporary discrimination and therefore recruit members of underrepresented minorities (and women) into colleges, employment, and other institutions. In most cases, these programs follow the logic of the first or second definitions above, with extra efforts for recruitment of underrepresented groups and special consideration of qualified minority candidates. Many people assume that any mention of affirmative action inevitably means the third type of program, which can be labeled as “reverse discrimination” that reduces opportunities for men and/or members of the majority population

(or for minorities who are not underrepresented in colleges and professional employment, such as Asian Americans and Jewish Americans).

These perceptions, sometimes substantiated only by a few claims of reverse discrimination, lend support to political campaigns against affirmative action programs. In spite of widespread support for the elimination of discrimination, most whites do not favor programs that appear to give preferences to minorities in university admissions or hiring (Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, and Krysan 1997: 170-183). Campaigns against affirmative action have often been successful whenever the case is made that minorities are given preferential treatment. In July 1995, the regents of the University of California voted to end all race-based preferences in admissions, hiring, and contracts, and the California electorate affirmed this policy five months later through Proposition 209 (Douglass 1998). In 1996, *Hopwood v. Texas* set a precedent in determining that race could be a factor in admissions only to remedy discrimination by the school itself. In November 1998, voters in Washington State passed Initiative 200 eliminating affirmative action by any agency of government. Florida and several other states have advanced other proposals for eliminating the use of race and ethnicity as a criterion for college admission.

These policy changes have created “natural experiments” of a sort that allow for an analysis of the impact of affirmative action. In this article, we examine the impact of Initiative 200 (I-200) that was passed by the electorate of Washington State in November 1998. In particular, we examine the transition from high school to college (the percentage of high school seniors who go on to college) in 1999 relative to prior years. The results show that there was a significant decline of African American, Hispanic, and American Indian freshmen enrolled at the research universities in Washington after I-200 was passed. This decrease was, however, primarily due to a decline in applications to the flagship public institution rather than a decline in admission rates. These findings suggest that affirmative action can be more significant for what it signals than for preferential treatment.

## AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND HIGHER EDUCATION

Affirmative action can affect higher education in two ways: first, by widening the doors of opportunity for disadvantaged groups to attend any college or university, and second, by shaping the choices and chances of attending particular colleges rather than others. These two issues are typically conflated in most research that examines one or a small number of colleges,

when attendance at other colleges cannot be directly observed. Our analysis examines race and ethnic changes in college entry for all institutions in the State of Washington, and also considers the process at specific institutions (or types of institutions).

*Race and Ethnic Inequality in College Enrollment.* Higher education represents the primary means of social mobility in American society. College graduates have average annual earnings of almost twice that of high school graduates: \$40,000 to \$23,000 in 1998 (Day and Curry 1999:1). With almost 90 percent of the American workforce having graduated from high school, college graduation has become the major dividing line of educational stratification. At the present time, about half of all high school graduates go to some sort of tertiary level schooling, and about 25 percent of adult Americans attain a bachelor's degree.

Historically, there have been wide racial and ethnic gaps in educational enrollment and attainment. As recently as 1940, less than 2 percent of black men and women had graduated from college compared to 5 percent and 7.5 percent of white women and men, respectively (Jaynes and Williams 1989: 339). Moreover, the overwhelming proportion of college-educated blacks attended segregated institutions that were poorly funded and had fewer resources than the public and private colleges that served almost exclusively white student bodies (Lieberson 1980: 150-157).

In the wake of the civil rights movement, black students were able to enroll in professional and undergraduate programs in most public and private colleges in the South for the first time, sometimes following protests by white students (and state officials) opposed to integration. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, many universities and colleges, initially motivated by a desire to eliminate past racial injustices, began recruitment programs to attract more minority students. The percentage of black students at Ivy League colleges increased from 2.3 in 1967 to 6.3 percent in 1976 (Bowen and Bok 1998: 7). Although affirmative action programs have undoubtedly played an important role in increasing minority enrollments at colleges and universities, any suggestion of preferences has always been controversial and contested. In the famous *Bakke* case, the Supreme Court justices split over on the question of whether racial quotas could be used to make up for past racism. The deciding vote was cast by Justice Powell, who argued against racial quotas, but suggested that admissions officers in universities could "take race into account" as one of several factors in evaluating minority

candidates (Bowen and Bok 1998: 8). This significant distinction has allowed colleges to maintain affirmative action programs as long as they disavowed the use of quotas.

From the 1950s through the 1970s, the proportion of African Americans, native-born Hispanics, and American Indians with at least some college education doubled. But because the same pattern was true for whites, ethnic differences remained wide (Mare 1995: 173). The rapid gains in the numbers of minorities going to college during the 1960s and 1970s were probably aided by affirmative action programs and the tenor of the times, which encouraged able high school students from disadvantaged backgrounds to aspire to a college education. For a brief window in the 1970s, African American high school graduates were actually more likely to enter college than whites with the same socioeconomic and geographic characteristics (Jaynes and Williams 1989: 342).

Yet by the 1980s, the rates of college attendance and graduation were declining among all groups, especially disadvantaged minorities (Mare 1995: 173-176). It seems unlikely that changes in affirmative action programs could have accounted for such declines. The most plausible reason seems to be a fall in financial aid grants and the reluctance of students from poor households to borrow money for college (Jaynes and Williams 1989: 338-345).

In the 1990s, college enrollments began to rise for all groups, including minority groups, although wide differences by race and ethnicity persisted. By the fall of 1998, 45 percent and 52 percent of 20-21 year old white non-Hispanic men and women, respectively, were enrolled in college (<http://www.census.gov/population/socdemo/school/report98/tab01.pdf>). The comparable figures were 33 and 37 percent for black (non-Hispanic) men and women and 22 and 25 percent for Hispanic (of any race) men and women. Not all minorities are disadvantaged in terms of educational enrollment, however. The comparable percentages of Asian and Pacific Islander 20 and 21 year olds enrolled in college were 65 and 73 percent for men and women, respectively. The relative educational success of Asian Americans is not of recent origin. Native-born Asian Americans have had higher educational attainments than whites for many decades, even prior to World War II (Mare 1995: 172-174, Folger and Nam 1967: 45, Hirschman and Wong 1986).

*The Choice Among Colleges.* Nowadays, affirmative action programs may be more likely to affect where students go to college than whether they do. Even then, it would probably affect only a small proportion of colleges and universities—the selective ones. From 70 to 80 percent

of all U.S. colleges and universities would remain mostly unaffected because they admit almost all applicants who meet basic entrance requirements (Bowen and Bok 1998:15). Most of the attention and research on affirmative action has focused on the relatively few colleges and universities for which there is competition for admission. Students, and their families, generally assume that competitive colleges offer a superior education. Graduates from selective colleges with higher tuition and average SAT scores do report above average earnings (Solmon 1973, Kane 1998), high levels of job satisfaction and civic involvement (Bowen and Bok 1998), and are more likely to get advanced degrees than students at other types of schools (Wegner and Sewell 1970).

These associations, however, do not prove that attendance at selective colleges actually causes these outcomes. Recent research has suggested that characteristics of students prior to their entry into selective colleges, such as socioeconomic background and motivations, many account for many of the positive effects usually attributed to attendance at selective colleges (Pascarella and Terrenzini 1991, Dale and Krueger 1999). Since the labor market probably values many of the same traits that college admissions officers do, there may be a built-in positive correlation between entry into competitive colleges and labor market success. Although there is little doubt that affirmative action programs that promote college entry of students from disadvantaged groups will have long-term impacts, the presumed bonus of attending a selective college (relative to a less selective college) is less clear.

Affirmative action programs may influence the college choice of minority students for several reasons beyond giving an edge in admissions decisions. Perhaps most important is financial aid. Selective colleges tend to be more expensive than less selective ones, and students from disadvantaged backgrounds are often reluctant to go heavily into debt to pay for higher education. Another important dimension is student perceptions of academic programs and campus social life (Chapman 1984, Hanson and Litten 1982, Hossler et al. 1999, Manski and Wise 1983). The prospect of fewer “in-group” classmates or a general sense that minorities are no longer welcome might lead students to shun campuses that have ended affirmative-action policies (Gorov 1997). More broadly, changes in affirmative-action policy could influence how high-school counselors advise students and how universities organize recruitment efforts (Traub 1999). Thus, ending an affirmative action program might be presumed to have an impact on students’ perceptions of the relative attractiveness of different colleges and universities.



## THE PASSAGE OF I-200 IN WASHINGTON STATE

On Nov. 3, 1998, voters in Washington State ended affirmative action by passing Initiative 200 (I-200) by a margin of 58 percent to 42 percent. The measure was worded thus:

“Shall government be prohibited from discriminating or granting preferential treatment based on race, sex, color, ethnicity or national origin in public employment, education, and contracting?”

Among other consequences, the passage of I-200 led to the discontinuation of the use of race and ethnicity of applicants as factors in admissions decisions at the University of Washington (UW) (<http://www.washington.edu/president/articles/I2200.html>). Although the UW admissions office boosted its outreach effort and used alternative criteria for special consideration (such as socioeconomic status), the numbers of African Americans, Latinos, and American Indians enrolled as freshmen in the fall of 1999 declined relative to prior years. The decline in minority enrollments has been interpreted as a direct consequence of I-200 (<http://www.washington.edu/president/articles/AACU.html>). Similar interpretations were offered regarding minority enrollments at Western Washington University (WWU) (<http://www.wwu.edu/depts/eoc/Articles/Enrollment%20figures.html>).

These data, however, do not conclusively confirm if (nor explain how) I-200 affected minority college enrollments. The number of new students entering universities depends on the supply of students (the number and composition of applicants) as well as decisions on whom to admit. The more appropriate indicator (which adjusts for changes in supply) would be the change in the rate or the percentage of Washington State high school graduates who go on to state colleges and universities. Moreover, it is important to identify the social processes that have led to a change in the rate. The presumption is that a tightening up of admissions criteria has excluded less competitive minority applicants. It is also possible that the passage of I-200 discouraged applications to selective colleges from some high school seniors who felt that their chances for admission or financial aid had worsened or that the campus would be less welcoming. For similar reasons, students who were accepted at state colleges and universities

may have decided not to matriculate but to attend other colleges in other states. It is also possible that fewer out-of-state minority students came to colleges in Washington.

In this study, we attempt to examine how the end of affirmative action in Washington has influenced minority college enrollments using enrollment data from state and national sources. Our first goal is to estimate whether the probability of minority high school seniors in Washington enrolling in colleges and universities in-state changed in 1999 relative to the years before passage of Initiative 200. Then for one university, the University of Washington, we are able to separate the process into the three stages of application, admission, and enrollment. There are severe data constraints on this exercise, and we must begin our analysis with a digression into data sources and their limitations.

## MEASURING THE TRANSITION FROM HIGH SCHOOL TO COLLEGE

There is no single source of data that allows for a straightforward computation of the percentage of high school graduates in Washington, by race, sex, and year of high school graduation who are enrolled in a Washington institution of higher education the following year. Indeed, even after combining data from multiple sources, we estimate the proportions of Washington high school students who go to in-state colleges only after making some heroic assumptions.

There are three major sources of data: annual high school enrollment data that are collected by the Washington State Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction (OSPI), community college enrollments that are assembled by the State Board for Community and Technical Colleges, and data on enrollments in all colleges and universities that are collected by the U.S. Department of Education in their Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS). Each of these sources has limitations that impair the assembly of a comprehensive portrait of educational progress in the state.

The OSPI high school enrollment data are collected primarily for administrative and budgeting purposes based on reports from each school in October of each year. OSPI does release some data on high school graduates, but these data are not available for private schools and are not yet published by race/ethnicity and gender. Our analysis of the transition from high school to college relies on the OSPI October estimates of high school seniors as the population at risk (the denominators) of going to college. Not all seniors in October will graduate the

following June; some students drop out of high school, others will move out of the state, and some new students will move in. We do not claim that the OSPI October senior data are ideal, only that the annual data series provides a consistent and reliable basis to measure changes over time. The October enrollment data are available by race/ethnicity (white, black, Hispanic, Asian and Pacific Islander, and American Indian) and gender for every school district in the state.

The IPEDS data are collected by the U.S. Department of Education in tabular form from administrative reports by each college and university in the country. We use IPEDS data for institutions of higher education in Washington State that file consistent annual reports. The major limitation of the IPEDS data for our purposes is that information on state of origin and state of enrollment is collected only in even-numbered years (1996, 1998, etc.), and then only on a separate reporting form that does not include race and ethnicity. The consequence is that we cannot measure the race/ethnic composition of Washington State high school students who go out of state for college, nor the composition of students who come from other states to enroll in Washington State colleges and universities. The IPEDS data from even-numbered years show that the gross flows of students into and out of Washington State for college are relatively modest.<sup>1</sup> Our estimates of the rate of the transition from high school to college in Washington State (by race/ethnicity) cannot be adjusted for inter-state mobility, and this is a major weakness of this study.

Another limitation of the IPEDS data is that an increasing proportion of college students do not report their race/ethnicity (or write in something different from the basic categories) on their application forms (which is used as the source for IPEDS reporting by colleges). The number of first-year college students with an “unknown or non-reported” race tripled from 1994 to 1999, standing at 3 percent of freshmen in 1999 (5 percent of freshmen at four-year institutions). If all the students who do not report a race are white, then the estimates of minority student enrollments will be not be biased, but this is not an assumption that we can directly evaluate.

Although the IPEDS data for four-year institutions are subject to a variety of measurement problems (e.g., definitions of freshman status, full-time vs. part-time, etc.), the numbers are relatively straightforward compared with community-college enrollments. Each

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<sup>1</sup> In 1996, about 7 percent of high school seniors left the state for college, while about 13 percent of Washington’s college freshmen come from out-of-state.

year, the reported number of first-year community college students actually exceeds the number of high school graduates in the state. The community-college system in Washington State enrolls a broad cross-section of the population, from “Running Start” high school students (who can complete up to two years of college before obtaining their high school diploma) to older persons taking a course or two for job skills or for self-fulfillment. In fact, less than a quarter of first-time community college students were enrolled in high school during the previous year. For some community college programs, a high school diploma is not a prerequisite.

In an attempt to insure some degree of comparability, we have limited the community college enrollments to first-year students who declare their intention to transfer to a four-year institution after they finish their studies at the community college. Of course, such declarations may not predict subsequent behavior, and many students who do not initially plan to transfer to a four-year institution may eventually decide to do so.

Even with this significant qualification, community-college enrollments constitute about half of the approximately 30,000 students who enroll as freshmen in colleges and universities in Washington State each year. The state has two major research universities (the University of Washington and Washington State University), four additional four-year public universities and colleges (Western, Central, Eastern, and Evergreen), a number of private colleges (Seattle University, University of Puget Sound, Pacific Lutheran, Gonzaga, Whitman, etc.), and a residual group of other two-year institutions with small enrollments.

#### CHANGES IN THE TRANSITION TO COLLEGE BEFORE AND AFTER 1-200

Table 1 shows the number of seniors enrolled in public and private high schools in Washington State from 1993 to 1999. Because data on high school graduates are not reported in sufficient detail, we rely on administrative reports of students enrolled in October of each year. Although not all of these seniors will graduate the following June, these figures represent our most consistent estimate of the population at risk of attending college in Washington State.

#### TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

About four out of five high school seniors in Washington State are non-Hispanic whites, although the exact proportion has slipped by a couple of percentage points over the seven years

represented here. About 8 percent of seniors in the state are Asian and Pacific Islanders, 6 percent are Hispanic, 4 percent are black, and 2 percent are American Indian. The number of white seniors has increased by 20 percent over this period, but the numbers of other groups have grown substantially faster. The Seattle-Tacoma metropolitan area, and the Puget Sound region more generally, is much more ethnically diverse than the rest of the state, but many Hispanics and American Indians live in the central part of the state.

The top panel of Table 2 shows the trend in freshmen college enrollments, by type of institution, in Washington State from 1994 to 1999. These numbers are taken as ratios to number of Washington State high school seniors in the lower panel. As noted earlier, these figures do not take into account interstate migration from high school to college. Our primary interest is in the change in the ratio of college enrollments to high school seniors in 1999 (following I-200) relative to prior years.

#### TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

There has been a modest growth in the overall number of first-year college students in the state of Washington from 1994 to 1999. In 1999, there were a bit more than 31,000 first-year college students, which was about 45 percent of high school seniors in the prior year. This number is shaky (in addition to the problem of interstate mobility noted above), because of the uncertainty of community college enrollments. The estimate that half of first-year college students are enrolled in community colleges would change markedly if other assumptions about the definition of first-year community college enrollment were used. The proportion of high school seniors going on to four-year colleges held steady at about 23 percent as the exact number of freshmen at four-year colleges rose from about 14,000 to almost 16,000 from 1994 to 1999. Gains in freshmen enrollments were registered at the University of Washington, the four-year state colleges, and at private four-year colleges.

Taking first-year college enrollments in four-year colleges as a percentage of high school seniors in the previous year, Figure 1 shows three distinct ethnic patterns in the transition from high school to college.<sup>2</sup> Slightly more than 20 percent of white students enroll in four-year colleges, compared with about 15 percent of black, Hispanic, and American Indian high school

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<sup>2</sup> Figures 1 and 2 are based on appendix tables A, B, and C.

seniors. On the other hand, about one-third of Asian American high school seniors enroll in four-year colleges. The percentages in Figure 2 bounce around a bit from year to year with no dominant trend over the years, but there do seem to be noticeable declines in the percentages of minority students going to four-year colleges in 1999, the year after the passage of I-200.

#### FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

Figure 2 disaggregates the time trend (from 1994 to 1999) of the percent of high school seniors who enroll in in-state four-year colleges by type of institution: research universities (University of Washington and Washington State University), other four year public institutions, and four year private institutions for the three underrepresented minorities of blacks, American Indians, and Hispanics. The declines in minority college enrollment from 1998 to 1999 (our proxy for the impact of I-200) are evident only at the research universities. Indeed, there were some gains in minority enrollments at four-year public and private colleges, though the absolute numbers are so small that is difficult to draw any significant conclusions.

#### FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE

Closer inspection of appendix tables 1 and 2 shows that the major decline in minority student enrollment occurred at the University of Washington. The number of black freshmen in 1999 at UW is down about 22 percent from the mid 1990s or about 27 percent from the average of 1997 and 1998 enrollments. In absolute terms, this shift is the product of only about 40 fewer black freshmen in 1999 than in 1998 (from 124 to 84). There was a drop of 14 black freshmen at WSU in 1999 relative to 1998 (84 to 70), but this change paralleled the overall decline in WSU student enrollment in 1999. WSU had banner enrollments in 1998 following its appearance in the Rose Bowl.

The number of Hispanic freshmen at UW and WSU in 1999 was about one-third lower than the comparable figures for 1997 and 1998. These declines were not evident, however, at other four-year colleges (public and private) or at community colleges. The modest increases in enrollments at these other institutions, however, did not make up for the losses at the research institutions. The overall numbers of Hispanic freshmen declined from 1998 to 1999, and the ratio

of college freshmen (at four-year institutions) to high school seniors declined by two percentage points. American Indian students have also experienced a significant downturn in 1999 freshman college enrollments and also suffer from a persistent problem of a low transition from high school to four-year colleges in Washington State. In 1999, the first year after I-200, the absolute number of American Indians enrolled as college freshmen in four-year institutions declined from 265 to 215.

#### A CLOSER LOOK AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

The University of Washington is the dominant educational institution in the state, both in a quantitative and a qualitative sense. With almost 5,000 freshmen in 2000, the UW had almost one-third of the first year students enrolled in four-year colleges in the state. In addition to its reputation as the flagship institution of the public educational system, the UW has only modest competition from the handful of private colleges in the state. Because of this unique position in the higher educational system of the state, as well as the finding that the impact of I-200 on minority enrollments is primarily limited to the University of Washington, our analysis examines UW minority enrollments. Data come from the UW Admission and Records database, which contains information on applications, admissions, and enrollment of freshmen for 1998, the year prior to the implementation of I-200, and for two years afterwards.

The top panel of Table 3 shows the absolute numbers of UW freshman students by race and ethnicity (and by in-state and out-of-state status) for 1998, 1999, and 2000. The number of enrolled freshmen rose by almost 300 in 1999, and then by more than 450 students in 2000. The UW freshman class of almost 5,000 students in the fall of 2000 is about 18 percent larger than the 4,200 freshmen who entered in 1998. As the number of students in the UW freshmen class increased from 1998 to 2000, the relative proportion (and even the absolute numbers) of black, Hispanic, and American Indian students declined. In 1998, there were 374 freshmen from the three underrepresented minority groups—about 8.9 percent of the UW freshman class, but by 2000 the number had dropped to 295 (122 black, 123 Hispanic, and 50 American Indian) students, which comprised only 5.9 percent of the freshman class.

TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

Students are not required to report race/ethnicity on their college application, and a growing number of students feel that it is not in their interest to report one—about one in ten students are classified in the other/unknown category. The numbers not reporting their race rose in 1999 and initially in 2000. However, the numbers reported here show a modest decline in the "other/unknown" category in 2000, following an administrative request (by email) to fill in missing race and ethnicity information so that the university could better respond to statistical inquiries. The majority of those initial "other/unknown" students reported that they were white.

UW freshman enrollments have risen faster than applications, which are up only by about 5 percent overall from 1998 to 2000 (see the lower panel in Table 1). Applications were actually down in 1999, but then rebounded in 2000, especially from out-of-state. On a proportional basis, applications from the three traditionally under-represented minority groups (blacks, Hispanics and American Indians), declined the most, especially those from Washington State. Although in-state white applications appear to have declined in 1999, this could simply be an artifact of more whites not reporting a race on their applications. There were declines in out-of-state applications, virtually across the board, in 1999, but the numbers rebounded in 2000.

The figures on declining minority applications as well as declining minority enrollments at the University of Washington suggest that the impact of I-200 may be rather more complex than the popular image of a declining rate of university admissions of minorities. If race and ethnicity can no longer be taken into account in the admissions process, minority enrollments might be reduced to the degree that race/ethnicity were used to give preferential admission. There are however, three steps in the matriculation process: application, admission, and enrollment. It is only in the second stage, admission, that the university policies can have any direct influence. Applications may be encouraged by the university, but are really the products of high school students and their families. Similarly the decision to accept an offer of admission is made by the student, presumably in the broader context of alternative opportunities available.

With the University of Washington Admissions and Records database of applicants, we are able to examine race and ethnic variations in the three steps in the process of going from a high school senior to a college freshman: application, admission, and enrollment. These three transitions are presented in three panels across Table 4: 1) the proportion of high school seniors who apply to the UW, 2) the proportion of UW applicants who are admitted, and 3) the proportion of admitted applicants who enroll as freshmen. Since we have only the universe of



Washington State seniors (from OSPI data) and not of the potential pool of high school seniors from other states who might apply to the University of Washington, our primary attention is focused on the application, admission, and enrollment of students from the state of Washington.

#### TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE

About 12 percent of Washington State high school seniors apply to the UW. Under-represented minority (blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians) students are less likely to apply to the UW than are white high school seniors. The differences are fairly modest in absolute terms, but are consequential in affecting the composition of college freshmen, as we shall see shortly. Most importantly, there was a drop-off in the percentages of minority high school students who applied to the UW in 1999 relative to 1998. The application rate for black students rose in 2000 but still remained well below the 1998 level, while the application rates for Hispanics and American Indians declined in 1999 and again in 2000. These figures suggest a “discouragement” effect on minority student applications to the UW following the passage of I-200. As noted from the earlier analysis, minority freshman enrollments at other four-year colleges, private colleges, and community colleges were fairly stable from 1998 to 1999 and were even up in a few cases.

Around 27 to 30 percent of Asian American high school seniors in Washington State apply to the UW. Asian Americans are more likely to go to college than any other racial and ethnic group, and they are disproportionately drawn to the University of Washington. Although their application rate decreased in 1999 and 2000, the situation of Asian American students is distinctly different from the other minority populations. With such high application rate, the decline might be explained by a variety of reasons, including a spreading out (“diversification”) of college choices.

Most of the discussion of affirmative action focuses on the admission rate among applicants. Indeed, the intent of I-200 was to limit any direct consideration of race or ethnicity in admission decisions. In 1998, when race and ethnicity could be taken into account, there were only slight differences in the admission rates among Washington State applications—the rate hovered around 80 percent for most groups (see the middle panel of Table 4). In 1998, out of

state applicants, especially whites and Asian Americans (and international students), had admission rates below 50 percent.

In 1999 (post I-200), there was a decline of about 14 percentage points in the admission rates of Washington State black students (to 70 percent from 84 percent), and smaller declines for the other under-represented minorities. In 2000, the admission rates for most Washington State minority groups are back up to where they were in 1998. The most dramatic change in 1999 was an increase in the admissions rate for out-of-state applicants, which rose by more than 20 percentage points overall. The prime beneficiaries of this change in policy were whites and Asian Americans who comprised the majority of out-of-state applicants. The admissions rate for out-of-state black and Hispanic applicants decreased. There was relatively little further change in admission rates in 2000 relative to 1999. Note that the admissions rates of the other/unknown applicants parallel those of white applicants.

While some interesting patterns emerge in the last step of the process—the percentage of admitted applicants who actually enroll -- there do not appear to be any dramatic changes in the rates after I-200 (see the right hand panel in Table 3). About one-half of all admitted Washington applicants enroll and about one-quarter of those from out-of-state enroll as UW freshmen. The rates for the under-represented groups in Washington State are fairly close to those of whites. There appears to be a modest increase in enrollment rates over this three-year period. Asian American students from Washington are consistently more likely to matriculate than any other group.

One method to sum up the independent effects of the three processes on the change in the race and ethnic composition of freshman enrollments is the demographic method of "decomposition of differences in rates" (Kitagawa 1955, Wang et al. 2000).<sup>3</sup> In Table 5, we present the decomposition of the 1998-1999 and 1999-2000 change in rates (percentage point changes) of Washington State high school seniors who enroll as freshmen at the University of Washington. The left hand panel shows the percentages, by race/ethnicity for 1998, 1999, and 2000, as well as the source data of numerators (college freshmen) and denominators (high school seniors from OSPI data). There is one important difference in the race/ethnic classification between the college enrollment numerators and the high school senior denominators, namely the

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<sup>3</sup> The decomposition formula used here is similar to n-way standardization where the interaction terms are averaged across components; see Cho and Retherford 1973.

unknown (other or non-reported) category for the college enrollment data. As noted earlier, the number of with an unknown race/ethnicity rose dramatically from 1998 to 1999 and then declined in 2000. In computing the percentage high school seniors going to UW, we computed a "white & unknown" category in addition to the regular "white" category. Although we do not have any evidence on the race and ethnic identities of those in the "not reported" category, it seems reasonable to assume that most of the unknowns are white.

#### TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE

Overall, about 1 in 20 Washington State high school seniors enters the University of Washington as a freshman the following year. The exact proportion rose slightly from 5.4 percent in 1998 to 5.5 percent in 1999, and then to 5.7 percent in 2000. There are essentially three ethnic patterns (or levels) in the transition from high school to college. At the high end is the Asian American population: About 17-18 percent of Asian American high school seniors in the state go to the UW. Close to the state average are whites (or whites and unknowns) with about 4 to 5 percent of seniors enrolling as UW freshmen the following year. Consistently below the white level are blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians, whose rates of transition from high school (as seniors) to college hover around 2 to 4 percent. Since underrepresented minorities have higher attrition during high school, the ethnic differences in college enrollment for the entire cohort (including all those who could have graduated from high school but didn't) would be wider than those reported here.

Our primary attention here is on the change in the transition rates from 1998 to 1999 (the year following I-200) and from 1999 to 2000. From 1998 to 1999, the rates of transition from high school senior to UW freshman dropped from all groups except whites. Although these declines are only 1.0 percentage points for blacks, 1.4 points for Hispanics, and 0.5 points for American Indians, these are significant changes from the prior year. For example, the decline from 3.4 to 2.4 percent for blacks is a decline of 29 percent in the rate of transition from high school to college. In the panels on the right hand side, we decompose the percentage point change for each group for each interval into three processes: application, admission, and enrollment (the actual transition rates are presented in Table 4).

The top panel shows the decomposition of the 1998 to 1999 change. Note that components can be positive or negative. Of the 1.0 percentage point drop in black student college enrollment from 1998 to 1999, 0.6 was due to lower application rate and 0.5 was due to lower admission rate by the university. The overall total change in the black rate was pushed up by 0.2 points by a change in the enrollment rate. The decline in Hispanic enrollment of 1.4 percentage points was due partially to declines in the application rate (-0.5), but also to declines in rates of admission (-0.2) and enrollment (-0.7). Declines in application and admission rates also lowered the American Indian rate of transition from high school senior to UW freshman. While there was a large absolute decline in the rate of applications of Asian American seniors, this represents a much smaller relative change of the overall Asian rate.

The decomposition for the next year, 1999 to 2000, shows an interesting pattern of an overall rise in the rate of enrollment, but a continued decline in the application component, especially for Hispanics and American Indians. Overall, the total enrollment rate (of high school seniors) is up slightly because of a general rise in rates of admission rates. There is a much more mixed pattern of declines in the application rates for many minority groups and some selected increases in the rates of enrollment among those admitted.

The bottom panel shows the decomposition of the change in the rates from 1998 to 2000. Over the two-year period, the impact of declines in the application has been consequential. For example, the total black rate of enrollment of high school seniors held about even, although there has been a decline in the application rate (-0.5), which had made up by a rise in the enrollment rate. The total Hispanic enrollment rate at the University of Washington is down substantially, primarily because of a declining application rate. Applications are also down for American Indians and Asian Americans, but overall enrollments have held up because of increases in admission rates and enrollment rates of those admitted.

The decomposition exercise provides evidence that changes in the rates of application are an important part of the explanation behind the relative declines of minority enrollments after the passage of I-200. At first glance, it might seem that the white application rate is down as well, but if we can assume most of those not reporting a race (the "unknowns") are white, there has been no overall change in the application rate of the majority population to the UW from 1998 to 2000.

Another perspective on the entire process is revealed in Table 6 and Figure 3, which show the consequences of three alternative strategies or scenarios that might be considered to increase the numbers of under-represented minority students. The first strategy is to increase the application rate of minority high school seniors to the UW to the average of all Washington State seniors—12.0 percent in 2000. The second strategy would be to admit 100 percent of all students who apply. The third strategy would be to persuade 100 percent of all accepted students to matriculate. None of these strategies is realistic, in the sense that they could be achieved, or even that they are desirable. The goal of this “what if” exercise is to discover the potential of these three “levers” to increase the numbers of under-represented students.

#### TABLE 6 AND FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE

The first column in Table 6 is the baseline for comparison, which is the actual number of minority UW freshmen in the fall of 2000. For purposes of this discussion, we focus on the middle panel of numbers, which are the in-state students (presented in Figure 3). There are 109 black freshmen, 103 Hispanic freshmen, and 43 American Indian freshmen—altogether 255 minority Washington students out of the entering class of 4,984 freshmen (the number is 295 if both in-state and out-of-state students were included).

The first scenario in the second column raises the application rates for these groups to the simple average of all Washington seniors—12.0 percent. In this scenario, the other two processes, the admission rates and the enrollment rates, remained unchanged from their current levels. The change in application rate would have a very dramatic impact on the numbers of minority freshmen. The number of black freshmen would increase by two-thirds and the numbers of Hispanic and American Indian students would more than double. Of course, this scenario assumes that qualified minority applicants exist; we will address this point later.

The second scenario of increasing the admission rate to 100 percent of all applicants would have the least effect on the numbers of minority students. At the UW, the admission rates for in-state minority students were around 70 to 80 percent, even after passage of I-200. This indicates that most applicants are from the pool of students who can meet the admissions requirement. For all the debate on the relative merits of using race as one criterion for admission, race differences in admission rates scarcely affects the composition of a freshman class.

The third scenario—having all admitted students matriculate—would have a more substantial impact on minority student enrollments, approximately doubling their numbers. This is because only about half of admitted applicants (minorities and the majority) currently enroll. The matriculation rate of out-of-state applicants is particularly low, so their numbers would also increase substantially. Although this strategy would be efficacious in terms of increasing minority enrollments, it is also probably the most difficult to accomplish. Students who are admitted but decline usually have multiple offers of admission from other universities. It would be very difficult to entice more than a small number of minority students with offers of admission and financial aid from prestigious colleges and universities (e.g. in the Ivy League) to accept offers to the UW.

Overall, it seems that the most promising avenue is to increase the number of minority applications from high school seniors. Only 7.3 percent of black high school seniors and about 5 percent of Hispanic and American Indian high school seniors in Washington State applied for freshman admission in the year 2000. In spite of some progress, these fractions are below those of 1998 for all three under-represented minority groups. Even a small growth in the proportions of qualified minorities who apply is likely to translate to substantially larger numbers of minorities in the freshman classes. Of course, ensuring that these students are qualified may well mean that efforts beyond recruitment are required. Interventions may have to start well before the senior year in high school to insure that students have the credentials and preparation necessary for a successful application to college.

#### HAS THE QUANTITY OR QUALITY OF THE APPLICANT POOL CHANGED?

The preceding analysis has examined the changes in the transition from high school to college by race and ethnicity for the state as a whole in the wake of I-200. The statewide analysis pointed to declining minority enrollments at the research universities, and at the University of Washington in particular. For the UW, we were able to decompose the change in enrollments after 1998 into three components of application, admission and enrollment. We are also simulated the effects of potential changes in rates of application, admission, and acceptance on minority enrollments. Both of these exercises identified the rate of applications as the primary factor. Declines in application rates appear to have been the major reason for the post 1998 decline in under-represented minority freshmen at the UW. Boosting the rate of in-state minority

applications to the UW would appear to be more consequential than any other strategy to raise the absolute number of minority freshmen.

All of these analyses assume that the pool of minority applicants—Washington State high school seniors—has remained fairly constant, or at least not deteriorated over the last few years. For example, an alternative explanation for the decline in minority freshman enrollments and the decline in applications to UW (other than as a consequence of I-200) is that there are fewer minority college-bound students or that the pool of minority high school students after 1998 is less qualified than those prior to 1998.

One possible way to address this issue is to examine the numbers and qualifications of the pool of students taking standardized examinations required by most colleges. The most popular exam is the SAT examination administered by the College Board. Table 7 presents a basic description of the pool of "SAT Takers" in 1998, 1999 and 2000 by race and ethnicity, and changes from 1998 to 1999 and from 1999 to 2000.

#### TABLE 7 ABOUT HERE

The number of SAT takers in Washington State has risen with the increasing population of eligible students, but the percentage of high school seniors taking the test has remained virtually constant over the three years at a little over 41 percent. There are wide race and ethnic differentials in the proportion of high school seniors who take the SAT, ranging from over 50 percent of Asian Americans, 36-37 percent of whites, 27-28 percent of blacks, and around 20 percent of Hispanics and American Indians. These race and ethnic differentials are fairly constant over time, though there are some fluctuations, the largest of which is for American Indians. The proportion of American Indian seniors taking the SAT declined from 28 percent in 1998 to 20 percent in 2000.

There are smaller declines in the reported percentages of other racial and ethnic groups taking the SAT, especially from 1999 to 2000, even though the overall percentage of students taking the test has remained constant. This apparent anomaly is explained by the rising percentage of SAT takers who do not report race and ethnicity. In 1998, 10 percent of SAT takers did not report their race/ethnicity, but by 2000, the percentage had risen to more than 16

percent. Although we assume that most of those not reporting race are whites (their SAT scores are closest to whites), there may be smaller fractions of every group not reporting their race.

With the exception of the American Indian community, there is no evidence of any dramatic change in the numbers of minorities taking the SAT that could account for the decline in the rate of Washington seniors applying to the UW. Nor has there been any significant change in the quality of the pool of SAT takers as measured by the average verbal and math SAT scores. The scores of black and American Indian students are down about 11-12 points over the two-year period, while scores of Hispanics and Asians are up a few points. These modest changes are unlikely to be large enough to have changed the "supply" of potential college-bound minority students. In short, three years of data on SAT takers in Washington yields few consistent trends to distinguish one population from another.

We have interpreted the decline in the application rate to the University of Washington in 1999 and 2000 as a discouragement effect following the passage of I-200. The discouragement might arise for two reasons—because the UW is seen as a less welcoming environment for minorities or because many high school seniors think that they are less likely to be admitted in a race blind admissions process. Although it is difficult to disentangle these interpretations, we can examine the changes in the composition of the minority applicant pools prior to and following the passage of I-200. The UW admissions office constructs an "admission index" score, ranging from 0 to 99 for each freshman applicant. The index is based on high school grade point average and SAT scores. Students with an admissions index above a certain level are automatically admitted if they have all the other prerequisites; at the other end of the distribution, applicants with an admission index below a line are routinely denied admission. Students with admissions index scores between the upper and lower cut-off points are examined in greater depth before making an admission decision. Table 8 shows changes in the numbers of UW applicants from 1998 to 2000 for three levels of the admissions index, below 30, 30 to 65, and 66 and higher. Although these divisions do not represent the exact cut-off points (the lines vary from year to year), they do represent the relative academic "quality" of applicants.

TABLE 8 ABOUT HERE



Most of the decline in the Washington State applicant pool of the underrepresented minorities from 1998 to 1999 occurred among students in the top or middle range of the admissions index. This is particularly true for African Americans, American Indians, and Pacific Islanders. Most of decline of Hispanics was from students in the middle range. In 2000, there a recovery in the in-state applicant pool for African Americans, and the increase was particularly evident in the middle and upper range of the admissions index.

Changes in the out-of-state applicant pool are more varied and form few consistent patterns. The absolute numbers are small and perhaps should not be the basis of sweeping conclusions. The number of low scoring African American applicants declined (from 29 to 21 to 14) across the three years, while those in the middle range declined and then rose. This is really the only sign that the decline in minority applicants might have been partially a response from students who thought there chances of admission had been lowered after the passage of 1-200. For other out-of-state minority groups, there were modest declines among the pool of highly ranked candidates.

Our reading of this evidence is that most of the decline in minority applicants, especially among Washington students, was among students who stood a good chance of being admitted to the University of Washington. Perhaps, many of these students were competitive at other colleges, perhaps out of state, and decided not to apply at the University of Washington.

## CONCLUSIONS

In the debate over affirmative action, most researchers, policy makers, and political leaders might agree with the definition of affirmative action programs as efforts designed to reduce racial and ethnic inequality that is caused by discrimination. However, there is certain to be major disagreement on the meaning and impact of discrimination. Does discrimination include individual and organizational actions that are not motivated by intent to discriminate on the basis of race and ethnicity? Does discrimination include unequal conditions that are the residue of prior eras of discrimination? If it is not possible to measure the consequences of present or past discrimination, should all or any fraction of racial and ethnic inequality be assumed to be the product of discrimination? Disagreements on these matters fuel the often fierce and ideological debates over the appropriate role of affirmative action by political actors.

Social science has made modest contributions to this debate, but the intractability of defining and measuring discrimination (and its consequences) has reduced possibilities for empirical progress that might lessen the role of ideology. However, changes in public policies can sometimes create opportunities for “natural experiments” that allow researchers to measure the impact of programs. In the present case, the end of affirmative action after the passage of I-200 eliminated the ability of colleges and universities in Washington State to take race into account in admission and financial aid decisions. Although we do not know if present or past patterns of discrimination had any influence on college attendance by minorities in Washington State, we can probably assume that there were no dramatic changes in the conditions that affected the transition from high school to college in Washington from 1998 to 1999, including any patterns of discrimination. This would leave changes in policy as the most likely cause of any significant change in college enrollment rates from 1998 to 1999.

There was a substantial decline in the numbers (and percentage of high school graduates) of African American, Hispanic, and American Indian freshmen enrolled in the fall of 1999, and this decline was almost entirely concentrated at the two research universities, the University of Washington (UW) and Washington State University (WSU). The decline in freshman enrollments at WSU affected all groups, including non-Hispanic whites, perhaps because of the unusually high enrollments in 1998 following their participation in the Rose Bowl the year before. The decline in the under-represented minorities at the University of Washington, however, was in stark contrast to a substantial rise in non-Hispanic white freshman enrollments.

If a substantial number of the minority students at the University of Washington in the 1990s had been there solely because of preferential admissions policies, the passage of I-200 would have reduced their numbers because more qualified majority students took their places. However, changes in the rates of admission of applicants played a secondary role in the decline of minority students from 1998 to 1999. The rates of admission of minority applicants were only marginally lower in 1999 than in 1998.

The decline in minority enrollments occurred primarily because of a decline in minority student applications. There may be a variety of reasons for the decline of minority student applicants, but we can safely conclude that changes in the pool of numbers and qualified high school seniors was not the reason. The numbers of Washington State minorities taking SAT exams were about the same in 1999 as in 1998, as were their SAT scores. Nor were the declines

in minority applicants concentrated among students who were unlikely to be admitted to the University of Washington. We suggest that the publicity over I-200 made many minority high school students feel that the University of Washington was not the institution for them. The declines in highly qualified minority applicants may be due to a broader range of choices. Although this interpretation must be considered tentative, it would suggest that affirmative action programs have an important influence by encouraging students (and in motivating encouragement by friends and family, and also by high school mentors teachers and counselors) to apply to college, especially to prestigious colleges.

The patterns reported for the state of Washington may not be similar to other areas and institutions where the ending of affirmative action may affect substantially the admissions rates of minorities. For selective private colleges and states with very selective public institutions, such as California, changes in affirmative action may be much more consequential because of the much lower rates of admission of qualified students. On the other hand, the UW experience may be more representative of public higher education in most states, where there is only a moderate degree of selectivity of admissions decisions. In such settings, affirmative action may be a very important program to achieve a diverse study body, regardless of any consideration of race and ethnicity in admissions decisions.

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**Table 1. Number of High School Seniors in Washington State by Race/Ethnicity and School Year**

RACE & ETHNICITY	RACE AND ETHNIC COMPOSITION						
	1993-94	1994-95	1995-96	1996-97	1997-98	1998-99	1999-00
White (non-Hispanic)	81.2%	80.6%	80.7%	80.4%	79.8%	79.2%	79.1%
Black	3.8%	4.1%	4.1%	4.3%	4.1%	4.1%	4.3%
Hispanic	5.1%	5.3%	5.7%	5.8%	6.2%	6.4%	6.2%
American Indian	2.3%	2.3%	2.2%	2.2%	2.3%	2.2%	2.3%
Asian/Pacific Islander	7.6%	7.6%	7.5%	7.4%	7.6%	8.1%	8.2%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

RACE & ETHNICITY	NUMBER OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS						
	1993-94	1994-95	1995-96	1996-97	1997-98	1998-99	1999-00
White (non-Hispanic)	47,506	49,199	50,517	52,426	54,409	54,875	56,974
Black	2,238	2,472	2,542	2,789	2,790	2,840	3,112
Hispanic	2,979	3,264	3,539	3,771	4,226	4,410	4,432
American Indian	1,331	1,424	1,355	1,458	1,561	1,511	1,624
Asian/Pacific Islander	4,435	4,652	4,666	4,801	5,157	5,636	5,888
TOTAL	58,489	61,011	62,619	65,245	68,143	69,272	72,030

Source: Office of the Superintendent for Public Instruction, Washington State.

- Notes: (1) High school enrollments are reported as of October; not all high school seniors graduate the following June.  
 (2) School records in Washington State report each student in only one race or ethnic category.  
 (3) These data include both public and private school students; about 5 percent of Washington State high school seniors are enrolled in private schools.

**Table 2. Trend in Freshman Enrollment at Washington State Universities and Colleges, 1994-1999 (1)**

<b>Universities and Colleges (2, 3, 4)</b>	<b>1994</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>1996</b>	<b>1997</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>Percent Change To 1999 From:</b>	
							<b>1994-96</b>	<b>1997-98</b>
University of Washington	3,441	3,664	3,966	4,411	4,147	4,298	16.5%	0.4%
Washington State University	2,687	2,471	2,254	2,243	2,940	2,458	-0.5%	-5.2%
Western Washington University	1,486	1,815	2,021	2,066	2,104	2,077	17.1%	-0.4%
Other four-year public universities	2,154	2,155	2,202	2,106	2,270	2,598	19.7%	18.7%
Private four-year colleges	4,237	4,338	4,349	4,388	4,599	4,678	8.6%	4.1%
Community colleges (new transfer-bound students only) (5)	15,678	14,733	15,071	15,273	15,552	15,159	0.0%	-1.6%
Other tertiary enrollments	237	327	229	295	337	341	29.0%	7.9%
<b>Total College Enrollment</b>	<b>29,836</b>	<b>29,368</b>	<b>29,825</b>	<b>30,489</b>	<b>31,656</b>	<b>31,310</b>	<b>5.5%</b>	<b>0.8%</b>
<b>Wash. State HS Seniors: Fall of the previous year (6)</b>	<b>58,489</b>	<b>61,011</b>	<b>62,619</b>	<b>65,245</b>	<b>68,143</b>	<b>69,272</b>		
<i>Percentage of seniors enrolled the following year (7)</i>								
University of Washington	5.9%	6.0%	6.3%	6.8%	6.1%	6.2%		
Washington State University	4.6%	4.1%	3.6%	3.4%	4.3%	3.5%		
Western Washington University	2.5%	3.0%	3.2%	3.2%	3.1%	3.0%		
Other four-year universities	3.7%	3.5%	3.5%	3.2%	3.3%	3.8%		
Other private four-year colleges	7.2%	7.1%	6.9%	6.7%	6.7%	6.8%		
Community colleges (new transfer-bound students)	26.8%	24.1%	24.1%	23.4%	22.8%	21.9%		
Other tertiary enrollments	0.4%	0.5%	0.4%	0.5%	0.5%	0.5%		
<i>Cumulative percentages</i>								
In four-year institutions	23.9%	23.7%	23.6%	23.3%	23.6%	23.3%		
In four-year institutions and community college	50.7%	47.8%	47.7%	46.7%	46.4%	45.1%		

**Notes:**

(1) Entering first-year students in the fall term of each year, based on data from the U.S. Department of Education Integrated Postsecondary Educational Data System (IPEDS) and the Data Warehouse of the State Board for Community and Technical Colleges. These data include Washington State high school graduates as well as residents of other states attending college in Washington (international students are not included here). IPEDS data by state of high school graduation are published only every other year and not broken down by race and ethnicity.

(2) The schools listed above do not represent every institution of higher education in Washington State. Tertiary-level schools of less than two years are excluded. Also excluded are those institutions that did not file IPEDS reports for each of the six years listed. These include three small church-related schools that stopped filing in 1995. Also excluded is the Northwest Indian College, a two-year public school, whose IPEDS reports do not regularly report first year students. Inclusion of this school would more than double the number of American Indians enrolled in two-year colleges.

(3) All high-school students in Washington State are assigned a race or ethnicity, but not all college students are. College students who do not specify their race or ethnicity or who give multiple races are considered unknown.

(4) Most, but not all of these first-time college freshmen are recent high-school graduates. Other IPEDS data show that 92.3 percent of first year (freshman) students in four-year Washington colleges in 1996 were recent college graduates (Washington ranked third among states nationwide in this indicator), but only 24.1 percent of first year students in two-year Washington community colleges were recent high school graduates (Washington ranked last among states on this measure).

(5) The number of community college students reported in IPEDS as first-time freshmen exceeds the number of high school seniors in the prior year. The community college system in Washington is geared for people of all ages, so we have selected only those students who are reported to be both "new" and "transfer-oriented." Students who have already taken community-college credits, such as those in the Running Start program in the high schools, are not "new" students. Although it would have been appropriate to include students who are planning to study for an associate's degree (regardless of their intention to transfer to four-year schools), it is impossible to distinguish between these community college students from mid-career students who simply taking a few community-college classes.

(6) Data from the Office of the Superintendent for Public Instruction.

(7) The numerator in this percentage includes all college freshman (from in and out of state), while the denominator only includes Washington State seniors.



**Table 3. Change in the Number and Composition of Freshman Class and and Applicants  
University of Washington by Race and Ethnicity and Resident Staus, 1998 to 20**

FRESHMAN CLASS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON								
	Number of Students			Change in Number		Percent Distribution		
	1998	1999	2000	1998-99	1999-00	1998	1999	2000
ALL STUDENTS	4,220	4,516	4,984	296	468	100%	100%	100%
White	2,299	2,439	2,748	140	309	54%	54%	55%
Black	124	83	122	-41	39	3%	2%	2%
Hispanic	196	131	123	-65	-8	5%	3%	2%
Amer. Ind.	54	41	50	-13	9	1%	1%	1%
Asian Amer.	1,015	1,108	1,271	93	163	24%	25%	26%
Pac Islander	38	11	24	-27	13	1%	0%	0%
Other/Unknown	441	650	528	209	-122	10%	14%	11%
International	53	53	118	0	65	1%	1%	2%
TOTAL	4,220	4,516	4,984	296	468	100%	100%	100%
WASHINGTON STATE								
White	2,056	2,082	2,309	26	227	49%	46%	46%
Black	94	68	109	-26	41	2%	2%	2%
Hispanic	166	112	103	-54	-9	4%	2%	2%
Amer. Ind.	44	35	43	-9	8	1%	1%	1%
Asian Amer.	917	930	1,044	13	114	22%	21%	21%
Pac Islander	18	10	18	-8	8	0%	0%	0%
Other/Unknown	401	585	457	184	-128	10%	13%	9%
International	0	0	7	0	7	0%	0%	0%
TOTAL	3,696	3,822	4,090	126	268	88%	85%	82%
OUT OF STATE								
White	243	357	439	114	82	6%	8%	9%
Black	30	15	13	-15	-2	1%	0%	0%
Hispanic	30	19	20	-11	1	1%	0%	0%
Amer. Ind.	10	6	7	-4	1	0%	0%	0%
Asian Amer.	98	178	227	80	49	2%	4%	5%
Pac Islander	20	1	6	-19	5	0%	0%	0%
Other/Unknown	40	65	71	25	6	1%	1%	1%
International	53	53	111	0	58	1%	1%	2%
TOTAL	524	694	894	170	200	12%	15%	18%
APPLICANTS TO THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON								
	Number of Students			Change in Number		Percent Distribution		
	1998	1999	2000	1998-99	1999-00	1998	1999	2000
ALL STUDENTS	12,702	12,442	13,464	-260	1,022	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
White	7,441	7,190	7,539	-251	349	58.6%	57.8%	56.0%
Black	326	265	315	-61	50	2.6%	2.1%	2.3%
Hispanic	457	415	382	-42	-33	3.6%	3.3%	2.8%
Amer. Ind.	135	126	116	-9	-10	1.1%	1.0%	0.9%
Asian Amer.	2,416	2,339	2,646	-77	307	19.0%	18.8%	19.7%
Pac Islander	112	49	59	-63	10	0.9%	0.4%	0.4%
Other/Unknown	1,448	1,660	1,886	212	226	11.4%	13.3%	14.0%
International	367	398	521	31	123	2.9%	3.2%	3.9%
TOTAL	12,702	12,442	13,464	-260	1,022	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
WASHINGTON STATE								
White	5,147	5,035	5,166	-112	131	40.5%	40.5%	38.4%
Black	233	189	227	-44	38	1.8%	1.5%	1.7%
Hispanic	294	266	233	-28	-33	2.3%	2.1%	1.7%
Amer. Ind.	100	85	83	-15	-2	0.8%	0.7%	0.6%
Asian Amer.	1,528	1,500	1,642	-28	142	12.0%	12.1%	12.2%
Pac Islander	37	24	28	-13	4	0.3%	0.2%	0.2%
Other/Unknown	975	1,285	1,212	310	-73	7.7%	10.3%	9.0%
International	8	10	23	2	13	0.1%	0.1%	0.2%
TOTAL	8,322	8,394	8,614	72	220	65.5%	67.5%	64.0%
OUT OF STATE								
White	2,294	2,155	2,373	-139	218	18.1%	17.3%	17.6%
Black	93	76	88	-17	12	0.7%	0.6%	0.7%
Hispanic	163	149	149	-14	0	1.3%	1.2%	1.1%
Amer. Ind.	35	41	33	6	-8	0.3%	0.3%	0.2%
Asian Amer.	888	839	1,004	-49	165	7.0%	6.7%	7.5%
Pac Islander	75	25	31	-50	6	0.6%	0.2%	0.2%
Other/Unknown	473	375	674	-98	299	3.7%	3.0%	5.0%
International	359	388	498	29	110	2.8%	3.1%	3.7%
TOTAL	4,380	4,048	4,850	-332	802	34.5%	32.5%	36.0%

Source: University of Washington Admissions and Records database.

Table 4. Percent of Students Who Apply, Who are Admitted, and Who Enroll as Freshman at the University of Washington by Race and Ethnicity and Resident Status, 1998 to 2000

	Applicants to UW			Admissions to UW			Enrollments at UW		
	Percent of H.S. Seniors			Percent of Applicants			Percent of Those Admitted		
	1998	1999	2000	1998	1999	2000	1998	1999	2000
ALL STUDENTS	--	--	--	69%	80%	81%	45%	42%	45%
White	--	--	--	69%	80%	81%	45%	42%	45%
Black	--	--	--	78%	65%	75%	49%	48%	52%
Hispanic	--	--	--	83%	75%	76%	52%	42%	43%
Amer. Ind.	--	--	--	77%	73%	82%	52%	45%	53%
Asian Amer.	--	--	--	69%	82%	83%	60%	58%	58%
Pac Islander	--	--	--	94%	69%	76%	36%	32%	53%
Other/Unknown	--	--	--	69%	82%	78%	44%	47%	36%
International	--	--	--	41%	35%	60%	35%	38%	38%
TOTAL	--	--	--	69%	79%	80%	48%	46%	46%
WASHINGTON STATE									
White	9%	9%	9%	79%	82%	86%	50%	50%	52%
Black	8%	7%	7%	84%	70%	83%	48%	51%	58%
Hispanic	7%	6%	5%	87%	80%	83%	65%	53%	53%
Amer. Ind.	6%	6%	5%	82%	76%	90%	54%	54%	57%
Asian Amer.1	30%	27%	28%	82%	86%	88%	73%	72%	72%
Pac Islander				97%	83%	86%	50%	50%	75%
Other/Unknown				79%	84%	83%	52%	54%	45%
International				38%	40%	65%	0%	0%	47%
TOTAL	12%	12%	12%	80%	83%	86%	55%	55%	56%
OUT OF STATE									
White	--	--	--	45%	76%	72%	23%	22%	26%
Black	--	--	--	63%	53%	48%	51%	38%	28%
Hispanic	--	--	--	75%	66%	64%	24%	19%	21%
Amer. Ind.	--	--	--	63%	66%	58%	45%	22%	35%
Asian Amer.	--	--	--	47%	76%	75%	23%	28%	30%
Pac Islander	--	--	--	92%	56%	69%	29%	7%	29%
Other/Unknown	--	--	--	49%	77%	68%	17%	23%	16%
International	--	--	--	41%	35%	68%	36%	39%	37%
TOTAL	--	--	--	48%	71%	71%	25%	24%	26%

Source: University of Washington Admission and Records database.

Notes: (1) The application rate of high school seniors to UW is based on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders

**Table 5. Decomposition of the Change in the Rate of Washington State High School Seniors Enrolling as Freshmen at the University of Washington by Race and Ethnicity, 1998 to 1999 and 1999 to 2000**

Race/ethnicity	Percent of Washington State Seniors Enrolling at UW			Percentage Point Change	
	1998	1999	2000	1998-99	1999-00
White	3.8%	3.8%	4.1%	0.0%	0.3%
White & Unknown	4.5%	4.9%	4.9%	0.3%	0.0%
Black	3.4%	2.4%	3.5%	-1.0%	1.1%
Hispanic	3.9%	2.5%	2.3%	-1.4%	-0.2%
Amer. Ind	2.8%	2.3%	2.6%	-0.5%	0.3%
Asian/PI	18.1%	16.7%	18.0%	-1.5%	1.4%
Total	5.4%	5.5%	5.7%	0.1%	0.2%

Race/ethnicity	In-State UW Freshmen			Change	
	1998	1999	2000	1998-99	1999-00
White	2,056	2,082	2,309	26	227
Black	94	68	109	-26	41
Hispanic	166	112	103	-54	-9
Amer. Ind	44	35	43	-9	8
Asian/PI	917	930	1,044	13	114
Pacific Islander	18	10	18	-8	8
Unknown	401	585	457	184	-128
International	0	0	7	0	7
Total	3,696	3,822	4,090	126	268

Race/ethnicity	Washington State Seniors			Change	
	1998	1999	2000	1998-99	1999-00
White	54,409	54,875	56,974	466	2,099
Black	2,790	2,840	3,112	50	272
Hispanic	4,226	4,410	4,432	184	22
Amer. Ind	1,561	1,511	1,624	-50	113
Asian/PI	5,157	5,636	5,888	479	252
Total	68,143	69,272	72,030	1,129	2,758

**Decomposition of the Rate of UW Enrollment of H.S. Seniors**

**1998 to 1999 Change Attributable to:**

Race/ethnicity	Application	Admission	Enrollment	Total
White	-0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0
White & Unknown	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.3
Black	-0.6	-0.5	0.2	-1.0
Hispanic	-0.5	-0.3	-0.7	-1.4
Amer. Ind	-0.3	-0.2	0.0	-0.5
Asian/PI	-2.0	0.6	0.0	-1.5
Total	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.1

**1999 to 2000 Change Attributable to:**

Race/ethnicity	Application	Admission	Enrollment	Total
White	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.3
White & unknown	-0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0
Black	0.3	0.5	0.4	1.1
Hispanic	-0.3	0.1	0.0	-0.2
Amer. Ind	-0.2	0.4	0.2	0.3
Asian/PI	0.8	0.4	0.3	1.5
Total	-0.1	0.2	0.0	0.2

**1998 to 2000 Change Attributable to:**

Race/ethnicity	Application	Admission	Enrollment	Total
White	-0.2	0.3	0.1	0.3
White & Unknown	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.3
Black	-0.5	0.0	0.6	0.1
Hispanic	-0.9	-0.1	-0.6	-1.6
Amer. Ind	-0.6	0.3	0.2	-0.2
Asian/PI	-1.2	1.1	0.2	0.1
Total	-0.1	0.4	0.0	0.3

Source: Tables 1 and 4.

**Table 6. Actual and Expected Enrollment of Under-Represented Minority Freshman at the University of Washington in the Year 2000:  
Based on Alternative Assumptions of the Probabilities of Application, Admission, and Enrollment**

ALTERNATIVE SCENARIOS OF YEAR 2000 ENROLLMENT OF UNDER-REPRESENTED MINORITIES UNDER ASSUMPTIONS

	ACTUAL		SCENARIO 1		SCENARIO 2		SCENARIO 3	
	(N)	% of Actual	(N)	% of Actual	(N)	% of Actual	(N)	% of Actual
ALL STUDENTS								
Black	122	2.4%			164	3.3%	235	4.7%
Hispanic	123	2.5%			163	3.3%	289	5.8%
Amer. Ind.	50	1.0%			61	1.2%	95	1.9%
TOTAL	4984	100.0%						
WASHINGTON STATE								
Black	109	2.2%	179	3.6%	131	2.6%	189	3.8%
Hispanic	103	2.1%	234	4.7%	124	2.5%	193	3.9%
Amer. Ind.	43	0.9%	101	2.0%	48	1.0%	75	1.5%
TOTAL	4090	82.1%						
OUT OF STATE								
Black	13	0.3%			25	0.5%	42	0.8%
Hispanic	20	0.4%			31	0.6%	95	1.9%
Amer. Ind.	7	0.1%			12	0.2%	19	0.4%
TOTAL	894	17.9%						

Notes:

1. The first scenario assumes that the average application rate of Wash. State H.S. seniors to UW (11.959%) applies to all race/ethnic groups.
2. The second scenario assumes that all applicants to the UW (of that group) are admitted, but actual enrollment rates are unchanged.
3. The third scenario assumes that all of those who are admitted to the UW (of that group) enroll, but that the admission rates are unchanged.

**Table 7. Change in the Number and Characteristics of SAT Takers Among High School Seniors in Washington State, 1998-2000.**

	1998							CHANGE FROM 1998 TO 1999						
	White	Black	Hispanic	Am. Ind.	Asian/PI	Unknown	Total	White	Black	Hispanic	Am. Ind.	Asian/PI	Unknown	Total
HS Seniors (OSPI)	54,409	2,790	4,226	1,561	5,157	--	68,143	466	50	184	-50	479	--	1,129
<b>ETS DATA</b>														
SAT Takers	20,459	790	894	438	2,748	2,830	28,159	-71	-11	43	-86	202	338	415
Takers/Seniors	37.6%	28.3%	21.2%	28.1%	53.3%	--	41.3%	-0.4%	-0.9%	0.1%	-4.8%	-0.9%	--	-0.1%
Mean Verbal Score	532	466	480	499	488	535	524	0	-6	10	-2	2	7	1
Mean Math Score	530	454	478	495	540	524	526	0	-12	11	-8	-5	4	0
<b>Total Scores Sent</b>	63,769	2,248	2,847	1,205	10,757	6,795	84,507	-2,390	-216	102	-231	14	1,525	-435
Scores Sent/Test Takers	3.1	2.8	3.2	2.8	3.9	2.4	3.0	-0.1	-0.2	0.0	0.0	-0.3	0.2	-0.1
	1999							CHANGE FROM 1999 TO 2000						
	White	Black	Hispanic	Am. Ind.	Asian/PI	Unknown	Total	White	Black	Hispanic	Am. Ind.	Asian/PI	Unknown	Total
HS Seniors (OSPI)	54,875	2,840	4,410	1,511	5,636	--	69,272	2,099	272	22	113	245	--	2,758
<b>ETS DATA</b>														
SAT Takers	20,388	779	937	352	2,950	3,168	28,574	-149	65	-55	-27	-67	1,533	1,300
Takers/Seniors	37.2%	27.4%	21.2%	23.3%	52.3%	--	41.2%	-1.6%	-0.3%	-1.3%	-3.3%	-3.3%	--	0.2%
Mean Verbal Score	532	460	490	497	490	542	525	3	-6	0	-15	5	-13	1
Mean Math Score	530	442	489	487	535	528	526	2	1	-5	-4	9	0	2
<b>Total Scores Sent</b>	61,379	2,032	2,949	974	10,771	8,320	84,072	-295	26	-270	-150	-38	2,936	4,562
Scores Sent/Test Takers	3.0	2.6	3.1	2.8	3.7	2.6	2.9	0.0	-0.2	-0.1	-0.2	0.1	-0.2	0.0
	2000													
	White	Black	Hispanic	Am. Ind.	Asian/PI	Unknown	Total							
HS Seniors (OSPI)	56,974	3,112	4,432	1,624	5,881	--	72,030							
<b>ETS DATA</b>														
SAT Takers	20,239	844	882	325	2,883	4,701	29,874							
Takers/Seniors	35.5%	27.1%	19.9%	20.0%	49.0%	--	41.5%							
Mean Verbal Score	535	454	490	482	495	529	526							
Mean Math Score	532	443	484	483	544	528	528							
<b>Total Scores Sent</b>	61,084	2,058	2,679	824	10,733	11,256	88,634							
Scores Sent/Test Takers	3.0	2.4	3.0	2.5	3.7	2.4	3.0							

Source: Table 1 and The College Board

**Table 8. Change in the Ratings of Freshman Applicants to the University of Washington by Residence Status and Race and Ethnicity, 1998 to 2000**

Race and Ethnicity Mean Admissions Index	WASHINGTON STATE						OUT OF STATE					
	Number of Applicants			Percent Change			Number of Applicants			Percent Change		
	1998	1999	2000	1998-99	1999-00		1998	1999	2000	1998-99	1999-00	
<b>White</b>	<b>5,147</b>	<b>5,035</b>	<b>5,166</b>	<b>-2%</b>	<b>3%</b>		<b>2,294</b>	<b>2,155</b>	<b>2,373</b>	<b>-6%</b>	<b>10%</b>	
Less than 30	110	138	83	25%	-40%		77	84	77	9%	-8%	
30 to 65	1,652	1,543	1,506	-7%	-2%		735	644	696	-12%	8%	
66 & higher	3,385	3,354	3,577	-1%	7%		1,482	1,427	1,600	-4%	12%	
<b>Black</b>	<b>233</b>	<b>189</b>	<b>227</b>	<b>-19%</b>	<b>20%</b>		<b>93</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>-18%</b>	<b>16%</b>	
Less than 30	32	31	25	-3%	-19%		29	21	14	-28%	-33%	
30 to 65	121	93	115	-23%	24%		44	34	45	-23%	32%	
66 & higher	80	65	87	-19%	34%		20	21	29	5%	38%	
<b>Hispanic</b>	<b>294</b>	<b>266</b>	<b>233</b>	<b>-10%</b>	<b>-12%</b>		<b>163</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>-9%</b>	<b>0%</b>	
Less than 30	23	16	10	-30%	-38%		16	11	13	-31%	18%	
30 to 65	146	126	118	-14%	-6%		63	64	50	2%	-22%	
66 & higher	125	124	105	-1%	-15%		84	74	86	-12%	16%	
<b>Amer. Ind.</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>-15%</b>	<b>-2%</b>		<b>35</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>17%</b>	<b>-20%</b>	
Less than 30	10	12	2	20%	-83%		3	2	5	--	--	
30 to 65	41	41	30	0%	-27%		15	18	13	20%	-28%	
66 & higher	49	32	51	-35%	59%		17	21	15	24%	-29%	
<b>Asian Amer</b>	<b>1,528</b>	<b>1,500</b>	<b>1,642</b>	<b>-2%</b>	<b>9%</b>		<b>888</b>	<b>839</b>	<b>1,004</b>	<b>-6%</b>	<b>20%</b>	
Less than 30	68	62	60	-9%	-3%		33	29	28	-12%	-3%	
30 to 65	469	489	525	4%	7%		276	275	312	0%	13%	
66 & higher	991	949	1,057	-4%	11%		579	535	664	-8%	24%	
<b>Pac Islander</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>-35%</b>	<b>17%</b>		<b>75</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>-67%</b>	<b>24%</b>	
Less than 30	0	1	1	--	--		1	3	0	--	--	
30 to 65	19	12	12	-37%	0%		35	12	13	-66%	8%	
66 & higher	18	11	15	-39%	36%		38	10	18	-74%	80%	
<b>Other/Unknown</b>	<b>975</b>	<b>1,285</b>	<b>1,212</b>	<b>32%</b>	<b>-6%</b>		<b>473</b>	<b>375</b>	<b>674</b>	<b>-21%</b>	<b>80%</b>	
Less than 30	31	36	29	16%	-19%		13	7	35	--	--	
30 to 65	313	392	366	25%	-7%		145	113	223	-22%	97%	
66 & higher	631	857	817	36%	-5%		312	254	414	-19%	63%	
<b>International</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>--</b>	<b>--</b>		<b>359</b>	<b>388</b>	<b>498</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>28%</b>	
Less than 30	--	--	--	--	--		191	143	167	-25%	17%	
30 to 65	--	--	--	--	--		36	67	62	86%	-7%	
66 & higher	--	--	--	--	--		132	178	269	35%	51%	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>8,322</b>	<b>8,394</b>	<b>8,614</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>3%</b>		<b>4,380</b>	<b>4,048</b>	<b>4,850</b>	<b>-8%</b>	<b>20%</b>	
Less than 30	278	299	216	8%	-28%		367	301	341	-18%	13%	
30 to 65	2,761	2,697	2,674	-2%	-1%		1,349	1,227	1,414	-9%	15%	
66 & higher	5,283	5,398	5,724	2%	6%		2,664	2,520	3,095	-5%	23%	

Source: University of Washington Admissions and Records database.

\*First-year applicants are rated from 0-99 on an index based on grade-point average and SAT score.

**Appendix Table 1. Trends in Black and Hispanic Freshman Enrollment at Washington State Universities and Colleges, 1994-1999 (1)**

**BLACK**

Universities and Colleges (2, 3, 4)	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	Percent Change To 1999 From:	
							1994-96	1997-98
University of Washington	98	108	116	107	124	84	-21.7%	-27.3%
Washington State University	72	62	58	62	84	70	9.4%	-4.1%
Western Washington University	33	37	35	47	36	37	5.7%	-10.8%
Other four-year public universities	55	45	51	47	64	55	9.3%	-0.9%
Private four-year colleges	82	68	83	76	78	90	15.9%	16.9%
Community colleges (new transfer-bound students only) (5)	700	723	632	727	737	746	8.9%	1.9%
Other tertiary enrollments	29	32	18	22	43	35	32.9%	7.7%
<b>Total College Enrollment</b>	<b>1,069</b>	<b>1,075</b>	<b>993</b>	<b>1,088</b>	<b>1,166</b>	<b>1,117</b>	<b>6.8%</b>	<b>-0.9%</b>
<b>Wash. State HS Seniors: Fall of the previous year (6)</b>	<b>2,238</b>	<b>2,472</b>	<b>2,542</b>	<b>2,789</b>	<b>2,790</b>	<b>2,840</b>		
<i>Percentage of seniors enrolled the following year (7)</i>								
University of Washington	4.4%	4.4%	4.6%	3.8%	4.4%	3.0%		
Washington State University	3.2%	2.5%	2.3%	2.2%	3.0%	2.5%		
Western Washington University	1.5%	1.5%	1.4%	1.7%	1.3%	1.3%		
Other four-year universities	2.5%	1.8%	2.0%	1.7%	2.3%	1.9%		
Other private four-year colleges	3.7%	2.8%	3.3%	2.7%	2.8%	3.2%		
Community colleges (new transfer-bound students)	31.3%	29.2%	24.9%	26.1%	26.4%	26.3%		
Other tertiary enrollments	1.3%	1.3%	0.7%	0.8%	1.5%	1.2%		
<i>Cumulative percentages</i>								
In four-year institutions	16.5%	14.2%	14.2%	12.9%	15.4%	13.1%		
In four-year institutions and community college	47.8%	43.5%	39.1%	39.0%	41.8%	39.3%		

**HISPANIC**

Universities and Colleges (2, 3, 4)	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	Percent Change To 1999 From:	
							1994-96	1997-98
University of Washington	127	124	169	168	194	120	-14.3%	-33.7%
Washington State University	86	99	82	94	107	67	-24.7%	-33.3%
Western Washington University	49	139	61	64	60	61	-26.5%	-1.6%
Other four-year public universities	378	91	86	74	96	120	-35.1%	41.2%
Private four-year colleges	130	153	152	140	154	183	26.2%	24.5%
Community colleges (new transfer-bound students only) (5)	612	591	700	726	839	864	36.2%	10.4%
Other tertiary enrollments	6	17	24	9	13	17	8.5%	54.5%
<b>Total College Enrollment</b>	<b>1,388</b>	<b>1,214</b>	<b>1,274</b>	<b>1,275</b>	<b>1,463</b>	<b>1,432</b>	<b>10.8%</b>	<b>4.6%</b>
<b>Wash. State HS Seniors: Fall of the previous year (6)</b>	<b>2,979</b>	<b>3,264</b>	<b>3,539</b>	<b>3,771</b>	<b>4,226</b>	<b>4,410</b>		
<i>Percentage of seniors enrolled the following year (7)</i>								
University of Washington	4.3%	3.8%	4.8%	4.5%	4.6%	2.7%		
Washington State University	2.9%	3.0%	2.3%	2.5%	2.5%	1.5%		
Western Washington University	1.6%	4.3%	1.7%	1.7%	1.4%	1.4%		
Other four-year universities	12.7%	2.8%	2.4%	2.0%	2.3%	2.7%		
Other private four-year colleges	4.4%	4.7%	4.3%	3.7%	3.6%	4.1%		
Community colleges (new transfer-bound students)	20.5%	18.1%	19.8%	19.3%	19.9%	19.6%		
Other tertiary enrollments	0.2%	0.5%	0.7%	0.2%	0.3%	0.4%		
<i>Cumulative percentages</i>								
In four-year institutions	25.8%	18.6%	15.5%	14.3%	14.5%	12.5%		
In four-year institutions and community college	46.4%	36.7%	35.3%	33.6%	34.3%	32.1%		

Notes: See Table 2.

The Hispanic numbers for 1994 and 1995 may be affected by classification errors

**Appendix Table 2. Trends in American Indian/Alaska Native and Asian/Pacific Islander Freshman Enrollment at Washington State Universities and Colleges, 1994-1999 (1)**

**American Indian and Alaska Native**

Universities and Colleges (2, 3, 4)	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	Percent Change	
							To 1999 From:	
							1994-96	1997-98
University of Washington	33	26	49	60	52	38	5.6%	-32.1%
Washington State University	57	52	53	38	56	32	-40.7%	-31.9%
Western Washington University	28	31	37	28	44	38	18.8%	5.6%
Other four-year public universities	59	54	56	52	62	64	13.6%	12.3%
Private four-year colleges	60	73	74	73	51	43	-37.7%	-30.6%
Community colleges (new transfer-bound students only) (5)	327	289	315	314	289	252	-18.8%	-16.4%
Other tertiary enrollments	7	7	3	1	3	5	-11.8%	150.0%
<b>Total College Enrollment</b>	<b>571</b>	<b>532</b>	<b>587</b>	<b>566</b>	<b>557</b>	<b>472</b>	<b>-16.2%</b>	<b>-15.9%</b>
<b>Wash. State HS Seniors: Fall of the previous year (6)</b>	<b>1331</b>	<b>1424</b>	<b>1355</b>	<b>1458</b>	<b>1561</b>	<b>1511</b>		
<u>Percentage of seniors enrolled the following year (7)</u>								
University of Washington	2.5%	1.8%	3.6%	4.1%	3.3%	2.5%		
Washington State University	4.3%	3.7%	3.9%	2.6%	3.6%	2.1%		
Western Washington University	2.1%	2.2%	2.7%	1.9%	2.8%	2.5%		
Other four-year universities	4.4%	3.8%	4.1%	3.6%	4.0%	4.2%		
Other private four-year colleges	4.5%	5.1%	5.5%	5.0%	3.3%	2.8%		
Community colleges (new transfer-bound students)	24.6%	20.3%	23.2%	21.5%	18.5%	16.7%		
Other tertiary enrollments	0.5%	0.5%	0.2%	0.1%	0.2%	0.3%		
<u>Cumulative percentages</u>								
In four-year institutions	17.8%	16.6%	19.9%	17.2%	17.0%	14.2%		
In four-year institutions and community college	42.4%	36.9%	43.1%	38.8%	35.5%	30.9%		

**Asian and Pacific Islander**

Universities and Colleges (2, 3, 4)	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	Percent Change	
							To 1999 From:	
							1994-96	1997-98
University of Washington	830	871	1,045	1,143	1,050	1,097	19.8%	0.0%
Washington State University	155	130	111	114	159	115	-12.9%	-15.8%
Western Washington University	165	139	161	160	159	183	18.1%	14.7%
Other four-year public universities	69	96	74	74	61	111	39.3%	64.4%
Private four-year colleges	373	350	393	363	425	381	2.4%	-3.3%
Community colleges (new transfer-bound students only) (5)	1,396	1,183	1,145	1,261	1,287	1,267	2.1%	-0.5%
Other tertiary enrollments	18	35	18	1	47	37	56.3%	54.2%
<b>Total College Enrollment</b>	<b>3,006</b>	<b>2,804</b>	<b>2,947</b>	<b>3,116</b>	<b>3,188</b>	<b>3,191</b>	<b>9.3%</b>	<b>1.2%</b>
<b>Wash. State HS Seniors: Fall of the previous year (6)</b>	<b>4,435</b>	<b>4,652</b>	<b>4,666</b>	<b>4,801</b>	<b>5,157</b>	<b>5,636</b>		
<u>Percentage of seniors enrolled the following year (7)</u>								
University of Washington	18.7%	18.7%	22.4%	23.8%	20.4%	19.5%		
Washington State University	3.5%	2.8%	2.4%	2.4%	3.1%	2.0%		
Western Washington University	3.7%	3.0%	3.5%	3.3%	3.1%	3.2%		
Other four-year universities	1.6%	2.1%	1.6%	1.5%	1.2%	2.0%		
Other private four-year colleges	8.4%	7.5%	8.4%	7.6%	8.2%	6.8%		
Community colleges (new transfer-bound students)	31.5%	25.4%	24.5%	26.3%	25.0%	22.5%		
Other tertiary enrollments	0.4%	0.8%	0.4%	0.0%	0.9%	0.7%		
<u>Cumulative percentages</u>								
In four-year institutions	35.9%	34.1%	38.2%	38.6%	36.0%	33.5%		
In four-year institutions and community college	67.4%	59.5%	62.8%	64.9%	60.9%	56.0%		

Notes: See Table 2.



**Appendix Table 3. Trends in White NonHispanic and Unknown Race Freshman Enrollment at Washington State Universities and Colleges, 1994-1999 (1)**

**WHITE NONHISPANIC**

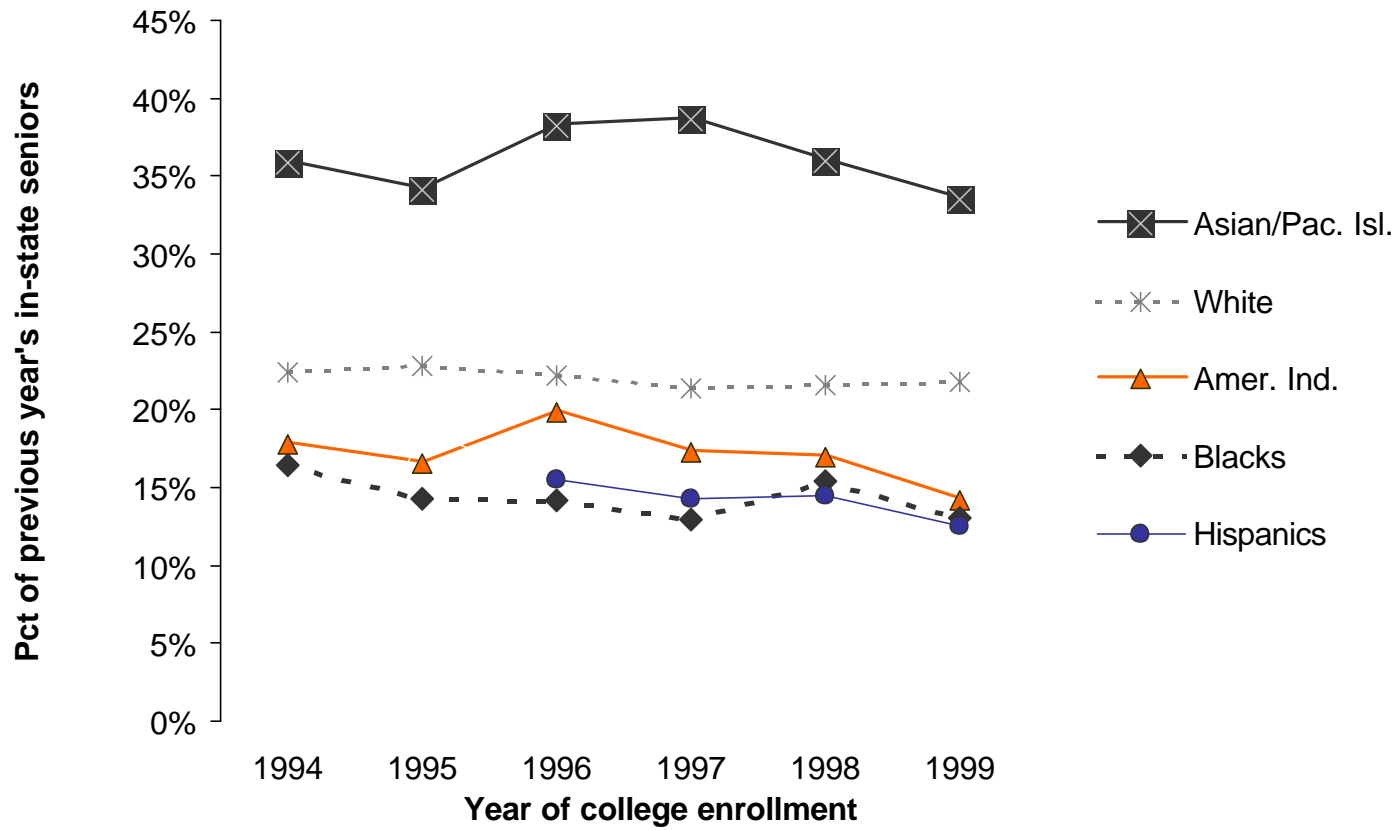
<b>Universities and Colleges (2, 3, 4)</b>	<b>1994</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>1996</b>	<b>1997</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>Percent Change</b>	
							<b>To 1999-96</b>	<b>From: 1997-98</b>
University of Washington	2,353	2,535	2,587	2,539	2,282	2,335	-6.3%	-3.1%
Washington State University	2,229	2,035	1,848	1,804	2,385	2,062	1.2%	-1.6%
Western Washington University	1,125	1,379	1,597	1,613	1,632	1,758	28.6%	8.4%
Other four-year public universities	1,571	1,755	1,805	1,702	1,803	2,062	20.6%	17.7%
Private four-year colleges	3,383	3,503	3,382	3,535	3,621	3,727	8.9%	4.2%
Community colleges (new transfer-bound students only) (5)	12,559	11,812	12,012	11,952	12,107	11,731	-3.3%	-2.5%
Other tertiary enrollments	177	235	164	154	210	231	20.3%	26.9%
<b>Total College Enrollment</b>	<b>23,397</b>	<b>23,254</b>	<b>23,395</b>	<b>23,299</b>	<b>24,040</b>	<b>23,906</b>	<b>2.4%</b>	<b>1.0%</b>
<b>Wash. State HS Seniors: Fall of the previous year (6)</b>	<b>47,506</b>	<b>49,199</b>	<b>50,517</b>	<b>52,426</b>	<b>54,409</b>	<b>54,875</b>		
<i>Percentage of seniors enrolled the following year (7)</i>								
University of Washington	5.0%	5.2%	5.1%	4.8%	4.2%	4.3%		
Washington State University	4.7%	4.1%	3.7%	3.4%	4.4%	3.8%		
Western Washington University	2.4%	2.8%	3.2%	3.1%	3.0%	3.2%		
Other four-year universities	3.3%	3.6%	3.6%	3.2%	3.3%	3.8%		
Other private four-year colleges	7.1%	7.1%	6.7%	6.7%	6.7%	6.8%		
Community colleges (new transfer-bound students)	26.4%	24.0%	23.8%	22.8%	22.3%	21.4%		
Other tertiary enrollments	0.4%	0.5%	0.3%	0.3%	0.4%	0.4%		
<i>Cumulative percentages</i>								
In four-year institutions	22.4%	22.8%	22.2%	21.4%	21.5%	21.8%		
In four-year institutions and community college	48.9%	46.8%	46.0%	44.1%	43.8%	43.1%		

**STUDENTS NOT REPORTING RACE**

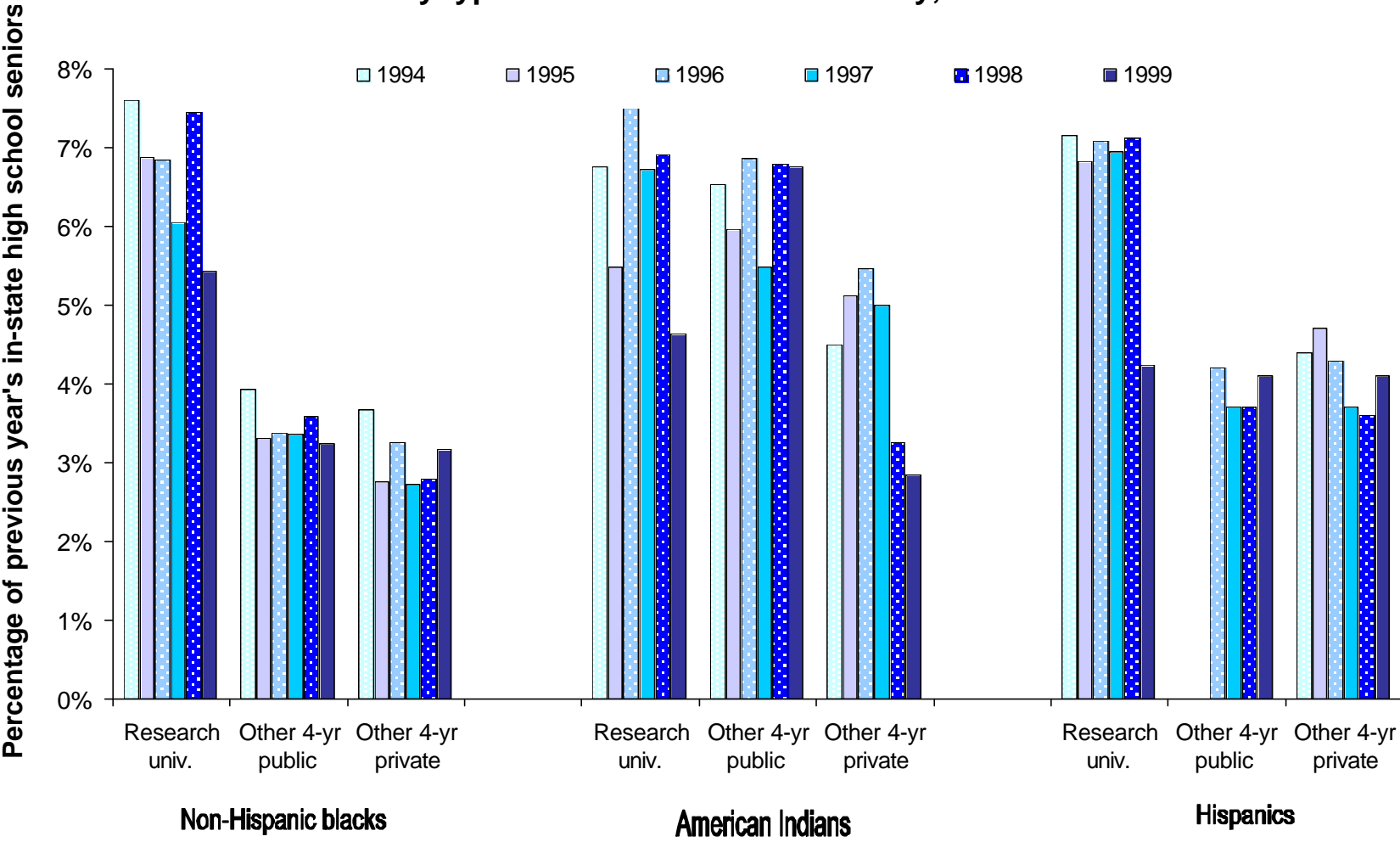
<b>Universities and Colleges (2, 3, 4)</b>	<b>1994</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>1996</b>	<b>1997</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>1999</b>
University of Washington	0	0	0	394	445	624
Washington State University	88	93	102	131	149	112
Western Washington University	86	90	130	154	173	0
Other four-year public universities	22	114	130	157	184	186
Private four-year colleges	209	191	265	201	270	254
Community colleges (new transfer-bound students only) (5)	84	135	267	293	293	299
Other tertiary enrollments	0	1	2	108	21	16
<b>Total College Enrollment</b>	<b>405</b>	<b>489</b>	<b>629</b>	<b>1145</b>	<b>1242</b>	<b>1192</b>

Notes: See Table 2.

**Figure 1. Percentage of previous year's seniors enrolled as freshmen in four-year institutions in Washington, by race/ethnicity and year**



**Figure 2. First-time in-state enrollment at Washington colleges, by type of school and race/ethnicity, 1994-99**



**Figure 3. Alternative Scenarios of Year 2000 Enrollment of Underrepresented Minorities as First-Year Students at the University of Washington**

