

Preferences in Virginia Higher Education

*Racial and Ethnic Preferences in Undergraduate
Admissions at Ten Virginia Public Colleges and Universities*

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Executive Summary

- All public universities in Virginia in this study show white admittees on average with higher test scores and grades compared to blacks admitted to the same schools. The gap in verbal SATs ranges from 100 points at William and Mary to 30 points at Norfolk State and Old Dominion. Differences in math SATs range from 110 points at William and Mary and James Madison University, to 40 points at Norfolk State. The composite difference in SAT scores at the University of Virginia is 160. Differences in GPAs are very small, ranging from 0.18 points at Longwood to 0.05 points at Old Dominion.
- The odds of admission at four Virginia universities show a strong degree of preference given to blacks over whites (44.93 at UVA, 27.98 at William and Mary, 25.65 at JMU, and 18.52 at Longwood). At Norfolk State, GMU, and Virginia Tech, the odds of admissions are roughly the same for blacks and whites, and the differences are not statistically significant. There is evidence of preference given to whites over blacks at Virginia Commonwealth University and Old Dominion. The odds ratios of blacks to whites there are 0.60 and 0.64, respectively, and are statistically significant.
- Many schools routinely reject many white applicants with higher test scores and grades than black applicants who are admitted.
- Hispanic-white comparisons also show a qualifications gap in most instances. There is a modest gap in test scores between Hispanics and whites. The largest gap in verbal scores is 40 points at William and Mary; the largest gap in math scores is 25 points, also at William and Mary. Differences in GPAs are small; the largest is 0.27 at Longwood.
- Odds ratios at five schools (UVA, William and Mary, JMU, Longwood, and GMU) show a small preference for Hispanics over whites. The odds ratio at Old Dominion shows, conversely, a small but statistically significant preference for whites over Hispanics. The odds ratios at Virginia Tech, Norfolk State, and VCU are roughly the same, and the differences not statistically significant.
- There is almost no evidence that Asians receive preference over whites. Whites generally have better verbal scores, while Asians generally have better math scores. At five schools, Asians also have slightly better GPAs. The odds ratios show only William and Mary exhibiting a small but statistically significant preference for Asians over whites (1.52); the odds ratios at Virginia Tech suggest a small but statistically significant preference for whites over Asians (0.47). Statistical analysis shows no significant differences at the other schools.
- The six-year graduation rates of whites are higher than those of blacks at every university in this study. This finding generally is consistent with the qualifications gap between blacks and whites in admissions and is similar to what we have found elsewhere.
- Virginia schools would not be resegregated in the absence of preferences. All universities, if they used a colorblind admissions process, would have black admittees. Only UVA, William and Mary, and JMU (the more competitive schools) would probably experience significant drops in black admissions and enrollment, but most of the rejected students would be eligible for admission at the other Virginia schools.

Introduction

For nearly 30 years, racial and ethnic preferences have played a key role in how admissions officers at the nation's public and private colleges and universities have chosen their schools' undergraduate classes. A system of racial and ethnic preferences in admissions operates by establishing different standards of admission for individuals based upon their racial or ethnic background, with some students held to a higher standard and others admitted to a lower standard. Earlier in this century, some colleges and universities denied admissions to Jews, blacks, women, and members of other groups even when their grades, test scores, and other measures of academic achievement surpassed those of white males who were offered an opportunity to enroll. The passage of new civil rights legislation in the 1960s made this kind of blatant discrimination illegal.

Since then, however, many colleges and universities created programs meant to boost the enrollment of students whose backgrounds previously had excluded them from pursuing a higher education—especially blacks and, to a lesser extent, Hispanics—by granting them preferences during the admissions process. These policies, when their existence was made public, became immediately controversial, and they remain so today. Defenders of racial and ethnic preferences claim that these policies are not discriminatory and help administrators choose between equally or almost equally qualified students, giving a slight edge to applicants who likely have faced discrimination or have come from disadvantaged backgrounds. Critics of racial and ethnic preferences say that these policies are no better than the discriminatory ones they replaced and that the advantages they confer upon certain applicants are much greater than supporters are willing to admit.

Public colleges and universities have seen their ability to use racial and ethnic preferences increasingly restricted in the last several years. The enactment of California's Proposition 209 (also known as the California Civil Rights Initiative) forbids discrimination against or granting special treatment to any applicant on the bases of race, ethnicity, or sex in the public programs of the country's largest state. A similar ballot initiative in Washington state was approved by a large majority of voters in 1998. Grassroots activists elsewhere are bound to consider placing similar proposals on their own state ballots, and lawmakers—both in Congress and in state capitals—may enact legislation modeled on the new California and Washington laws.

This study examines the extent to which racial and ethnic preferences are used in the admissions policies of a cross section of Virginia's public universities. It submits 1996 admissions data supplied by these universities to a rigorous statistical analysis.

This report is the latest in a series published by the Center for Equal Opportunity (CEO), a Washington, D.C.-based, public policy research organization. Earlier CEO studies have focused on the public colleges and universities of Colorado, Michigan, and North Carolina, the U.S. Military Academy and the U.S. Naval Academy, the University of Washington and Washington State University, as well as the branches of the University of California at Berkeley, Irvine, and San Diego. Previous reports have shown that blacks and Hispanics receive large amounts of preference in undergraduate admissions.

Methodology

The ten public colleges and universities examined in this study represent a cross section of Virginia's four-year institutions of higher education. Figure 1 lists the schools and their rankings in *Barron's Profiles of American Colleges*.

Figure 1
Profiles of Ten Public Institutions of Higher Education in Virginia

School	Abbreviation	Ranking in Barron's
College of William and Mary	William and Mary	Most Competitive
George Mason University	GMU	Competitive
James Madison University	JMU	Very Competitive
Longwood College	Longwood	Competitive
Norfolk State University	Norfolk State	Less Competitive
Old Dominion University	Old Dominion	Competitive
University of Virginia	UVA	Most Competitive
Virginia Commonwealth University	VCU	Competitive
Virginia Military Institute	VMI	Competitive
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University	Virginia Tech	Competitive

We received data on individual applicants, admittees, rejectees, and enrollees regarding their racial or ethnic group membership, sex, verbal and math SAT scores, and high school grade point average (GPA) or class rank.

We omit from our data analyses those cases for which race or ethnicity is listed as "other," "missing," or "unknown." We also omit American Indians because of their small numbers in this context. Lastly, we omit cases with missing academic data.

We do not report group means for test scores or grades. Using group means places greater weight on extreme values than is warranted. A few unusually high or low scores can have a substantial effect on the value of the mean. Standard deviations, which are based on squared deviations from the mean, are even less useful for describing the spread of cases for asymmetrical, badly skewed distributions. This is because standard deviations reflect the mathematical square of these extreme values.

The median, however, and related statistics are far less affected by the values of extreme cases. The median represents the middle of the distribution so that 50 percent of all students have higher scores, and 50 percent have lower scores.

We also report scores at the 25th and 75th percentile, again to deal with the problem of extreme cases. While the median represents the middle of the distribution, the 25th and 75th percentile scores taken together represent the actual spread of scores. For example, a 25th percentile score of 650 means that 25 percent of the scores were below 650, while 75 percent of the scores were above it. A 75th percentile score of 700 means that 75 percent of the scores were below 700, while 25 percent were above 700.

Racial and Ethnic Differences in Admittee Qualifications

Applicants and Admissions

Figure 2 shows the admission rates at the schools studied. The most competitive schools (William and Mary and UVA) admit black applicants at much higher rates compared to Asians, Hispanics, and whites. Black applicants also are admitted at higher rates at Longwood College.

GMU and Norfolk State admit blacks and whites at roughly the same rate, while JMU admits blacks at a somewhat lower rate compared to whites. Old Dominion, VCU, VMI, and Virginia Tech admit blacks at much lower rates compared to whites.

Figure 2
Racial and Ethnic Differences in Admission Rates

	<i>Blacks</i>	<i>Hispanics</i>	<i>Asians</i>	<i>Whites</i>
William and Mary	70%	47%	49%	44%
GMU	70%	83%	75%	71%
JMU	55%	58%	61%	64%
Longwood	82%	79%	62%	74%
Norfolk State	95%	89%	92%	98%
Old Dominion	63%	73%	85%	87%
UVA	48%	21%	27%	25%
VCU	69%	84%	89%	87%
VMI	64%	62%	43%	82%
Virginia Tech	60%	73%	80%	85%

We examine three pairs of differences in qualifications: white-black, white-Hispanic, and white-Asian. Treating each pair of comparisons separately makes it easier to see whether substantial differences in racial and ethnic differences exist, for which schools they are greatest, and for which groups they are the greatest.

Differences between Whites and Blacks

White admittees on average have considerably better test scores compared to blacks, but they have roughly the same GPAs. Figure 3 shows the white-black gap in average verbal and math scores, and in median GPAs for schools that provided such data. The white-black gap in verbal scores ranges from a high of 100 points at William and Mary to 30 points at Norfolk State and Old Dominion. The white-black gap in math scores is similar. The largest gaps in average math scores are at William and Mary and JMU (110 points), while the smallest gap is at Norfolk State (40 points).

In contrast to test scores, the differences in GPAs for the six schools that provided such data are negligible.¹ Longwood College has the largest gap in average GPAs (0.18) between whites and blacks.

There is no case, however, where the black median is equal to or greater than the white median, whether for test scores or grades. We have 20 cases (ten schools and two kinds of test scores) where the white median test score exceeds the black median test score. We also have six cases (i.e., six schools providing GPAs) where the white median also exceeds the black median. This gives us 26 cases where the white median exceeds the black median and none in which the reverse is true. The probability of this happening by chance is exceedingly small. It is like flipping an evenly weighted coin and getting 26 heads in a row. This is strong evidence of using racial preferences to increase black enrollment at Virginia's ten public schools.

Figure 3
White-Black Admittee Differences

Verbal SAT Scores			
	Whites	Blacks	Differences in Median Scores
William and Mary	680	580	100
JMU	600	520	80
VMI	560	480	80
UVA	680	610	70
Virginia Tech	540	480	60
GMU	580	520	60
Longwood	540	490	50
Norfolk State	520	480	40
Old Dominion	440	410	30
	520	490	30

Math SAT Scores			
	Whites	Blacks	Differences in Median Scores
William and Mary	660	550	110
JMU	610	500	110
UVA	690	600	90
Virginia Tech	600	520	80
GMU	530	460	70
VMI	570	505	65
VCU	510	450	60
Longwood	510	455	55
Old Dominion	520	470	50
Norfolk State	430	390	40

GPAs			
	Whites	Blacks	Differences in Median GPAs
Longwood	3.03	2.85	0.18
GMU	3.08	2.93	0.15
Virginia Tech	3.44	3.30	0.14
Norfolk State	2.40	2.30	0.10
VCU	3.00	2.91	0.09
Old Dominion	2.95	2.90	0.05
William and Mary	--	--	--
JMU	--	--	--
UVA	--	--	--
VMI	--	--	--

¹ William and Mary does not collect GPA or high school class rank data. JMU and UVA provided data on high school class rank. The difference in median class rank between whites and blacks is 5 points at JMU (85th percentile for whites versus 80th percentile for blacks) and 4 points at UVA (97th percentile for whites versus 93rd percentile for blacks). VMI provided data only on students' high school quartiles. The median quartile rank (top quartile) is the same for whites and blacks at VMI.

Differences between Whites and Hispanics

Figure 4 shows the white-Hispanic differences in test scores and grades. The differences are substantially smaller than those between whites and blacks. The largest gap in median verbal scores is at William and Mary (40 points), followed by GMU and VCU (30 points). There is no gap in verbal scores at Old Dominion, JMU, and VMI. The differences are even smaller for math SAT scores. The largest gap is again at William and Mary (25 points).

Differences in GPAs are still smaller. The largest gap is at Longwood (0.27). At Old Dominion and GMU, GPAs are roughly the same, while at VCU the median Hispanic GPA is slightly higher.²

Figure 4
White-Hispanic Admittee Differences

	Whites	Hispanics	Differences in Median Scores
<i>Verbal SAT Scores</i>			
William and Mary	680	640	40
GMU	540	510	30
VCU	540	510	30
Longwood	520	500	20
Virginia Tech	580	560	20
Norfolk State	440	430	10
UVA	680	670	10
Old Dominion	520	520	0
JMU	600	600	0
VMI	560	560	0
<i>Math SAT Scores</i>			
	Whites	Hispanics	Differences in Median Scores
William and Mary	660	635	25
GMU	530	510	20
Old Dominion	520	500	20
UVA	690	670	20
VCU	510	490	20
Virginia Tech	600	580	20
JMU	610	590	20
Norfolk State	430	415	15
Longwood	510	500	10
VMI	570	560	10
<i>GPAs</i>			
	Whites	Hispanics	Differences in Median GPAs
Longwood	3.03	2.76	0.27
Norfolk State	2.40	2.20	0.20
Virginia Tech	3.44	3.33	0.11
Old Dominion	2.95	2.87	0.08
GMU	3.08	3.07	0.01
VCU	3.00	3.04	-0.04
William and Mary	--	--	--
JMU	--	--	--
UVA	--	--	--

² The difference in median class rank between whites and Hispanics is 5 points at JMU (85th percentile for whites, 80th percentile for Hispanics), and 0 points at UVA (97th percentile for both groups). Whites and Hispanics on average graduated in the top quartile at VMI.

Differences between Whites and Asians

Compared to the average white admittees, the average Asian admittees have equal or better math scores and grades, although they have somewhat lower verbal scores. Figure 5 shows the white-Asian gaps. White median verbal scores are greater than Asian verbal scores at all schools, the largest gap being at VMI (50 points). In contrast, Asian math scores are greater than white scores at all schools except for Norfolk State, where the average white math score is 20 points higher than the median Asian score, and at JMU, where white and Asian median scores are the same. The white-Asian gap also favors Asians in grades. At five schools, the median Asian GPA is higher than the median white GPA. At Norfolk State, the white GPA is higher.³

Figure 5
White-Asian Admittee Differences
Verbal SAT Scores

	Whites	Asians	Differences in Median Scores
VMI	560	510	50
VCU	540	500	40
GMU	540	510	30
JMU	600	570	30
William and Mary	680	660	20
Longwood	520	500	20
Virginia Tech	580	560	20
Norfolk State	440	430	10
Old Dominion	520	510	10
UVA	680	670	10

Math SAT Scores

	Whites	Asians	Differences in Median Scores
Norfolk State	430	410	20
JMU	610	610	0
William and Mary	660	670	-10
Longwood	510	520	-10
Virginia Tech	600	610	-10
GMU	530	550	-20
Old Dominion	520	540	-20
VMI	570	590	-20
UVA	690	720	-30
VCU	510	540	-30

GPA's

	Whites	Asians	Differences in Median GPA's
Norfolk State	2.40	2.22	0.18
Longwood	3.03	3.07	-0.04
Virginia Tech	3.44	3.50	-0.06
GMU	3.08	3.25	-0.17
VCU	3.00	3.27	-0.27
Old Dominion	2.95	3.23	-0.28
William and Mary	--	--	--
JMU	--	--	--
UVA	--	--	--
VMI	--	--	--

³ The differences in median class rank between whites and Asians at JMU is 1 percentile, in favor of Asians (the white median is the 85th percentile, while the Asian median is the 86th percentile). At UVA, the median class ranks of Asians and whites are the same. 55 percent of white admittees at VMI rank in the top quartile, compared to only 37 percent of Asian admittees there.

Odds of Admission

Admitting students based on racial or ethnic preferences results in schools accepting minorities with lower test scores and grades than white students at the same schools. This creates a situation in which enrollees who were admitted under a scheme of preferences actually have the same qualifications as whites at a less competitive school. Admissions officers essentially reach down into the applicant pool and pull up certain students. This practice generally results in at least some whites and Asians with better credentials than black and Hispanic admittees being rejected from the same schools, despite their superior qualifications.

One way to show this gap is to combine all the data reported above. A useful way to do this is to develop models that predict the probability of admission at each school for members of the different racial and ethnic groups, holding constant their qualifications. This can be done by computing prediction equations for the admissions decision by race and ethnicity and including test scores and high school grades as statistical control variables.

Computing these prediction equations has a second, extremely important advantage. It allows us to show in a plain manner whether the chances of admission at any school are affected by an individual's racial or ethnic group membership. This provides a single direct measure of the degree of racial or ethnic preference for each group relative to whites at each school.

The technique we employ for this purpose is logistic regression. Computing logistic regression equations allows us to derive the odds of admission for each racial or ethnic group relative to that of whites.⁴ The odds ratio is somewhat like a correlation coefficient, except instead of varying from -1.0 to 1.0, it varies between zero and infinity. An odds ratio of 1 means that the odds (of admissions) for the two groups are equal. It is equivalent to a correlation of zero. An odds ratio greater than 1 means that the odds of members of one group being admitted are greater than those for members of the other group being admitted. An odds ratio of less than 1 is the reverse. The former is similar to a positive correlation, the latter similar to a negative correlation.

We report the computed odds ratios by racial and ethnic group membership, controlling for test scores and grades (see Figure 6). VMI is not included because it did not provide the data in a form that permitted this analysis.

Figure 6
Odds of Admission

	<i>Black to White</i>	<i>Hispanic to White</i>	<i>Asian to White</i>
UVA	44.93*	1.65*	1.09
William and Mary	27.98*	1.93*	1.52*
JMU	25.65*	1.74*	1.24
Longwood	18.52*	4.41*	0.58
Old Dominion	0.64*	0.37*	1.14
VCU	0.60*	0.73	1.36
Norfolk State	1.20	0.67	0.68
GMU	0.99	1.43*	1.01
Virginia Tech	0.89	0.82	0.47*

*Statistically significant at $p < .05$

⁴This is a regression equation that is linear in the logit or the natural logarithm of the odds of the event one is trying to predict (e.g., accept versus reject). For a complete discussion, see *Applied Logistic Regression*, by David W. Hosmer and Stanley Lemeshow (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1989).

As measured by odds ratios, four schools (UVA, William and Mary, JMU, and Longwood) grant an extremely large degree of racial preference in favor of blacks relative to whites. The results for these four schools are statistically significant. At UVA, blacks are 45 times more likely to get in compared to whites with equal test scores and school rank. At William and Mary, the odds favoring blacks are almost 28 to one; at JMU, the odds are 25.65 to one in favor of blacks; and at Longwood, the odds are 18.52 to one.

The reverse is the case at Old Dominion and VCU. The odds ratio at Old Dominion is 0.64, and it is 0.60 at VCU. At these schools, whites are favored over blacks, assuming equal test scores and grades. The odds favoring whites at Old Dominion are 1.56 to one and, at VCU, 1.67 to one. These results are also statistically significant, although less dramatic.

Longwood also grants preference to Hispanics over whites (4.41), as do four other schools (William and Mary, JMU, UVA, and GMU). In contrast, the odds ratio at Old Dominion shows preferences granted to whites over Hispanics. No significant differences were found at the other schools.

Comparing admissions odds of Asians versus whites, no significant differences were found at seven of the ten schools. There is some preference given to Asians over whites at William and Mary (1.52), while there is some preference given to whites over Asians at Virginia Tech (0.47, or 2.13 to one). Both results are statistically significant, but much smaller than the odds ratios favoring black students at UVA, William and Mary, JMU, and Longwood.

How Preferences Affect Graduation Rates

If students gain admission to colleges and universities for reasons other than their academic preparation, it is likely that they will face greater burdens in school than their peers who have met a higher academic standard of admission. They may in fact not earn their degrees. So it makes sense that racial and ethnic preferences will have a negative effect on the graduation rates of students who supposedly benefit from them.

Figure 7 shows the percentage of enrollees who graduate within six years. The differences in graduation rates are generally largest between whites and blacks compared to other groups. While a large majority of blacks graduate at the two most competitive universities (UVA and William and Mary), proportionately fewer graduate compared to Hispanics, Asians, and whites at the same universities. The same is true of JMU, where only two out of three black enrollees graduate within six years, compared to more than eight in ten Hispanics, Asians, and whites. There is also a substantial gap between black and white graduation rates at GMU, Virginia Tech, Longwood, and VMI (21, 27, 16, and 13 percentage points respectively), although there were no significant differences in the odds ratios at GMU and Virginia Tech.

Hispanics, Asians, and whites graduate at roughly the same rates at four schools (UVA, William and Mary, JMU, and Virginia Tech). At Longwood, the Asian graduation rate is the lowest of all four groups, making it unlike the other schools in our study.

Figure 7

Six-Year Graduation Rates

	<i>Blacks</i>	<i>Hispanics</i>	<i>Asians</i>	<i>Whites</i>
UVA	84%	92%	94%	93%
William and Mary	73%	94%	90%	92%
JMU	67%	87%	82%	84%
VMI	53%	85%	57%	66%
Virginia Tech	48%	71%	69%	75%
Longwood	46%	71%	38%	62%
Old Dominion	40%	35%	49%	46%
VCU	37%	37%	53%	47%
GMU	20%	40%	56%	41%
Norfolk State	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.

Black Admittees vs. White Rejectees

The use of racial and ethnic preferences inevitably leads to less qualified students taking the place of more qualified students.

We computed the number of white rejectees with median test scores—math and verbal SATs—equal to or better than the black admittee median. Then we computed the number of these individuals who also had high school grades equal to or greater than the black admittee median. Figure 8 shows the number of white rejectees with test scores and grades equal to or better than the average black admittee. At the most competitive schools (William and Mary, UVA), enormous numbers of whites were rejected despite having superior test scores and/or grades compared to the average black student admitted to these same schools. Large numbers of whites with superior qualifications were also rejected over the average black admittee at JMU and GMU (267 whites and 399 whites, respectively, with superior test scores and grades). There are very few white rejectees at VCU, Virginia Tech, and Longwood with grades and test scores superior to the average black admittee, and at Old Dominion and Norfolk State there are none.

Because the odds ratios showed statistically significant evidence of discrimination against blacks in favor of whites at Old Dominion and VCU, we compared black rejectees to white admittees there. As discussed in more detail in the “Individual School Analysis” section of this study, however, no black rejectee at VCU had better test scores and grades compared to the average white admittee, and only two black rejectees at Old Dominion fell into this category.

Figure 8
Black Admittees Compared to White Rejectees

	<i>White Rejectees, SAT Scores > Average Black Admittee</i>	<i>White Rejectees, SAT Scores and Grades > Average Black Admittee</i>
William and Mary	2,066	--
UVA	4,412	1,129
GMU	582	399
JMU	1,891	267
VCU	115	19
Virginia Tech	595	19
Longwood	113	11
Norfolk State	0	0
Old Dominion	18	0
VMI	20	--

What Colorblind Admissions Would Mean for Virginia

If racial and ethnic preferences ended in Virginia's public universities, would minorities be locked out of opportunities to pursue a higher education? After enacting California's Proposition 209 into law, the experience at the University of California provides plausible answers. Recent information indicates that,

while the most competitive universities had smaller black enrollments than in the past, other universities actually gained black students or at least did not lose them.⁵ Despite critics' fears, all of the University of California's universities, including Berkeley and UCLA, have enrolled (not merely admitted) many blacks.

To address the question for Virginia's universities, we compared the median SATs and median grades of black admittees at nine schools in this report with the 25th percentile scores of whites admitted at the same schools (see Figure 9). If the median score equaled or surpassed the white 25th percentile score in these categories, we assumed that the applicant could gain admission to the particular school in question.

We did not include VMI in Figures 9 and 10 because its unique program makes it difficult to speculate about whether rejected applicants to VMI would be interested in other schools, and whether rejected applicants from other schools would be interested in VMI.

Figure 9

Median Black Admittee > White Admittees at the 25th Percentile

Verbal Score, White Admittee at 25th Percentile										
Median Verbal SAT Score, Black Admittee	William and Mary	GMU	JMU	Longwood	Norfolk State	Old Dominion	UVA	VCU	Virginia Tech	Total # where median black admittee could attend
UVA		X								
William and Mary		X	X	X	X	X		X	X	7
GMU		X		X	X	X		X	X	6
JMU		X		X	X	X		X		5
Old Dominion		X		X	X	X		X		5
Virginia Tech		X		X	X	X		X		5
Longwood		X		X	X	X		X		5
VCU					X	X				2
Norfolk State				X	X	X				2
										1
Math Score, White Admittee at 25th Percentile										
Median Math SAT Score, Black Admittee	William and Mary	GMU	JMU	Longwood	Norfolk State	Old Dominion	UVA	VCU	Virginia Tech	Total # where median black admittee could attend
William and Mary		X	X	X	X					
UVA		X		X	X		X	X	X	7
JMU		X		X	X	X		X	X	6
Virginia Tech		X		X	X	X		X		5
Old Dominion				X	X	X		X		5
GMU				X	X	X		X		4
Longwood					X	X		X		2
Norfolk State					X	X				1
VCU					X	X				1
										1
GPA, White Admittee at 25th Percentile										
Median GPA, Black Admittee	William and Mary	GMU	JMU	Longwood	Norfolk State	Old Dominion	UVA	VCU	Virginia Tech	Total # where median black admittee could attend
Virginia Tech	::	X	::	X	X	X	::	X	X	6
GMU	::	X	::	X	X	X	::	X		5
Longwood	::	X	::	X	X	X	::	X		5
Old Dominion	::	X	::	X	X	X	::	X		5
VCU	::	X	::	X	X	X	::	X		5
Norfolk State	::	X	::	X	X	X	::	X		5
William and Mary	::		::		X		::			1
JMU	::		::				::			1
UVA	::		::				::			1

Los Angeles Times, "Fewer Blacks and Latinos Planning to Enroll at UC: Declines are sharpest at top campuses, while numbers increase at Riverside, Irvine, and Santa Cruz," May 21, 1998.

There is no instance where the average black admittee at any given school would be ineligible to attend every school in our study. Based solely on verbal scores, the average black admittee at UVA would be able to attend all schools in our study except for William and Mary and UVA. The average black admittee at William and Mary would be qualified to attend all schools except William and Mary, UVA, and JMU. Similarly, the average black admittee at GMU, JMU, Old Dominion, and Virginia Tech would still be able to attend five other schools in our study, considering verbal scores alone. Moreover, the average black admittee at GMU and Old Dominion would still be able to attend GMU and Old Dominion, respectively.

Figure 10

Top Quartile Black Admittee > White Admittees at the 25th Percentile

<i>Verbal Score, White Admittee at 25th Percentile</i>										
<i>Top Quartile Verbal SAT Score, Black Admittee</i>	William and Mary	GMU	JMU	Longwood	Norfolk State	Old Dominion	UVA	VCU	Virginia Tech	Total # where top black admittee could attend
William and Mary	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	9
UVA	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	8
JMU		X	X	X	X	X		X	X	7
GMU		X		X	X	X		X	X	6
Old Dominion		X		X	X	X		X	X	6
Virginia Tech		X		X	X	X		X	X	6
Longwood		X		X	X	X		X		5
VCU		X		X	X	X		X		5
Norfolk State					X					1
<i>Math Score, White Admittee at 25th Percentile</i>										
<i>Top Quartile Math SAT Score, Black Admittee</i>	William and Mary	GMU	JMU	Longwood	Norfolk State	Old Dominion	UVA	VCU	Virginia Tech	Total # where top black admittee could attend
UVA	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	9
William and Mary		X		X	X	X		X	X	6
JMU		X		X	X	X		X	X	6
VCU		X		X	X	X		X	X	6
Virginia Tech		X		X	X	X		X	X	6
GMU		X		X	X	X		X		5
Longwood		X		X	X	X		X		5
Old Dominion		X		X	X	X		X		5
Norfolk State					X					1
<i>GPA, White Admittee at 25th Percentile</i>										
<i>Top Quartile GPA, Black Admittee</i>	William and Mary	GMU	JMU	Longwood	Norfolk State	Old Dominion	UVA	VCU	Virginia Tech	Total # where top black admittee could attend
GMU	::	X		X	X	X	::	X	X	6
Old Dominion	::	X		X	X	X	::	X	X	6
VCU	::	X		X	X	X	::	X	X	6
Virginia Tech	::	X		X	X	X	::	X	X	6
Longwood	::	X		X	X	X	::	X		5
Norfolk State	::				X	X	::	X		3
William and Mary	::	::	::	::	::	::	::	::	::	::
JMU	::	::	::	::	::	::	::	::	::	::
UVA	::	::	::	::	::	::	::	::	::	::

Similar results are obtained if we look only at math scores. The average black admittee at William and Mary would still be qualified for seven of the nine schools in our study, based on math scores alone, while the average UVA black admittee would be able to attend six schools. The average black admittee at JMU and Virginia Tech would be qualified to attend five of the nine schools in our study, while the average black admittee at Old Dominion would be qualified to attend four schools, including Old Dominion.

Based on GPAs, the average black admittee at Virginia Tech would be able to attend all six schools that reported GPAs (including Virginia Tech).⁶ Those at GMU, Longwood, Old Dominion, and VCU would be able to attend five of six schools, including the schools they currently attend.

The same calculations can be made for the top quartile of black admittees at each school. Figure 10 shows black admittees at the 75th percentile for our nine schools compared to the white scores at the 25th percentile.

⁶ William and Mary, JMU, and UVA did not report GPAs.

Based on verbal scores, the black admittees in the top quartile at William and Mary would be able to attend all nine schools, while those at UVA would be admitted to all except UVA. Black admittees in the top quartile at JMU, GMU, Old Dominion, and Virginia Tech would be able to attend six schools, while those at Longwood and VCU have scores high enough to attend five. Those at William and Mary, GMU, Old Dominion, Virginia Tech, Longwood, Norfolk State, and VCU would be able to attend the institutions they currently attend.

Considering math scores, the top quartile of black admittees at UVA has higher scores compared to the average white admittee at all schools on this list. The top quartile of black admittees at William and Mary, JMU, VCU, and Virginia Tech would be able to attend six schools, while those at GMU, Longwood, and Old Dominion could attend five. Moreover, those at UVA, VCU, Virginia Tech, GMU, Longwood, Norfolk State, and Old Dominion would still be able to attend their current school.

Of the six schools with GPA data, the top quartile of black admittees at GMU, Old Dominion, VCU, and Virginia Tech would be able to attend all of those schools, since the top quartile of black admittees at these four schools have higher GPAs than the average white admittee at these schools. The top quartile of black admittees at Longwood would be able to attend five schools, while the top quartile of black admittees at Norfolk State could attend three.

Clearly, Virginia's public universities would not become segregated in the absence of preferences. Every university would have some black admittees. William and Mary, UVA, and JMU might lose a large proportion of those who would be admitted today, but many would be admitted to the other public universities in the state.⁷

⁷ None of these calculations, of course, takes into account the possibility that some applicants may apply to private or out-of-state schools.

Individual School Analysis

The College of William and Mary

Applicants, Admittees, and Enrollees

In 1996, 7,061 individuals applied for admission to the College of William and Mary. Of these, 3,224 were admitted and 1,330 enrolled. The overwhelming proportion of applicants, admittees, and enrollees was white.

William and Mary applicants

- 4 percent black
- 3 percent Hispanic
- 8 percent Asian
- 85 percent white

William and Mary admittees

- 6 percent black
- 3 percent Hispanic
- 9 percent Asian
- 82 percent white

William and Mary admission rates

- 70 percent of black applicants
- 47 percent of Hispanic applicants
- 49 percent of Asian applicants
- 44 percent of white applicants

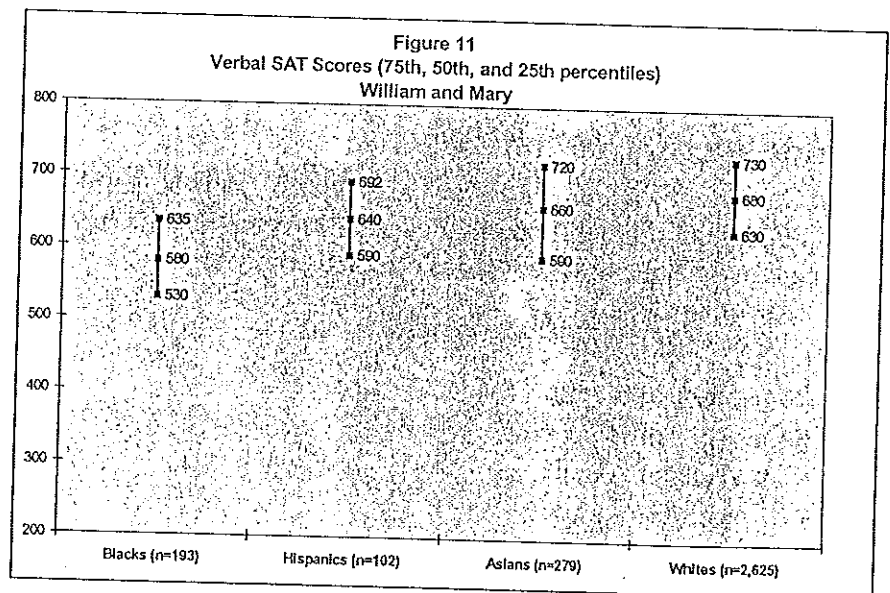
William and Mary enrollees

- 5 percent black
- 2 percent Hispanic
- 7 percent Asian
- 86 percent white

Differences in Verbal SAT Scores

Figure 11 shows the range of verbal SAT scores by racial and ethnic group for William and Mary admittees. Whites admitted to William and Mary have higher scores compared to other groups at the same quartiles. The white median verbal score is 20 points higher than that of Asian admittees, and 40 points higher than the median verbal score of Hispanics admitted to William and Mary. The white median verbal score is 100 points higher than that for blacks admitted to William and Mary.

Black scores at the reported quartiles are substantially lower than those for the other groups. The median score for black admittees is lower than the scores at the 25th percentiles for Hispanics, Asians, and whites. In other words, the average black student admitted to William and Mary has a lower score compared to more than 75 percent of all Hispanics, Asians, and whites also admitted to William and Mary.

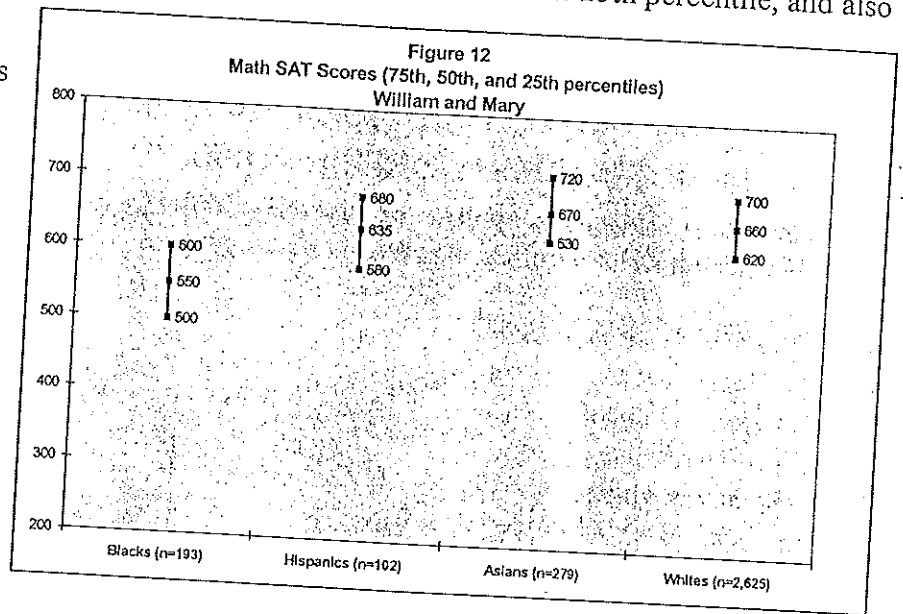


Differences in Math SAT Scores

Group differences are also found in admittees' math scores. Asians and whites have similar math scores (Asian scores are slightly higher). Hispanic scores are somewhat lower than white and Asian scores. The median Hispanic math score is slightly higher than the math score for Asians at the 25th percentile, and also falls between the 25th and 50th percentiles for white admittees.

The largest gaps are between blacks and other groups. The white-black gap in median scores is 110 points. The Asian-black gap is 120 points, while the Hispanic-black gap is 85 points.

The math score at the 75th percentile for black admittees is lower than the Asian and white scores at the 25th percentile. This means that more than 75 percent of all blacks admitted to William and Mary have lower math scores compared to more than 75 percent of all Asian and white admittees.



Differences in GPAs

According to William and Mary, the institution does not retain data relating to high school grades.

Rejectees vs. Admittees

The College of William and Mary rejected 290 Asians, 82 blacks, 117 Hispanics, and 3,348 whites. 125 Asians, 60 Hispanics, and 2,066 whites were rejected despite having higher verbal and math scores compared to the median verbal and math scores of black admittees.

Six-Year Graduation Rates⁸

- 73 percent of blacks
- 94 percent of Hispanics
- 90 percent of Asians
- 92 percent of whites

At the College of William and Mary, Hispanics, Asians, and whites graduate at similar rates. This is consistent with their similar math and verbal test scores. The black graduation rate is roughly 20 points lower, a differential that is not surprising given generally lower test scores.

⁸ The graduation data were provided by the College of William and Mary to the NCAA. See National Collegiate Athletic Association, 1997 NCAA Division I Graduation-Rates Report.

George Mason University

Applicants, Admittees, and Enrollees

In 1996, 4,803 individuals applied for admission to George Mason University (GMU). Of these, 3,326 were admitted and 1,725 enrolled. The overwhelming proportion of applicants, admittees, and enrollees was white.

GMU applicants

- 12 percent black
- 7 percent Hispanic
- 16 percent Asian
- 65 percent white

GMU admittees

- 11 percent black
- 8 percent Hispanic
- 16 percent Asian
- 65 percent white

GMU admission rates

- 70 percent of black applicants
- 83 percent of Hispanic applicants
- 75 percent of Asian applicants
- 71 percent of white applicants

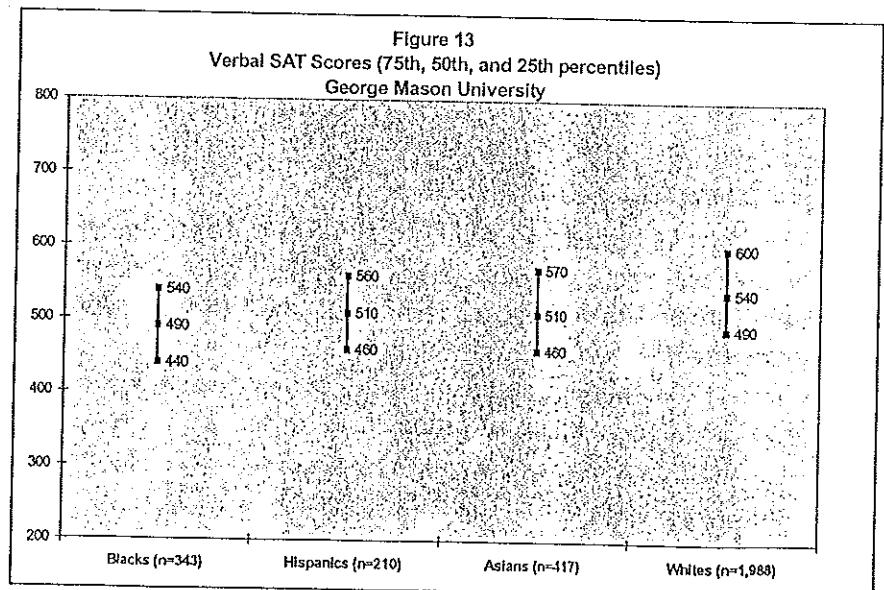
GMU enrollees

- 12 percent black
- 8 percent Hispanic
- 18 percent Asian
- 62 percent white

Differences in Verbal SAT Scores

Figure 13 shows the range of verbal SAT scores by racial and ethnic group at GMU. The white median score is 50 points higher than the black median, and is the same as the black score at the 75th percentile. This means that three out of four blacks admitted to GMU are admitted with lower verbal scores compared to the average white admittee.

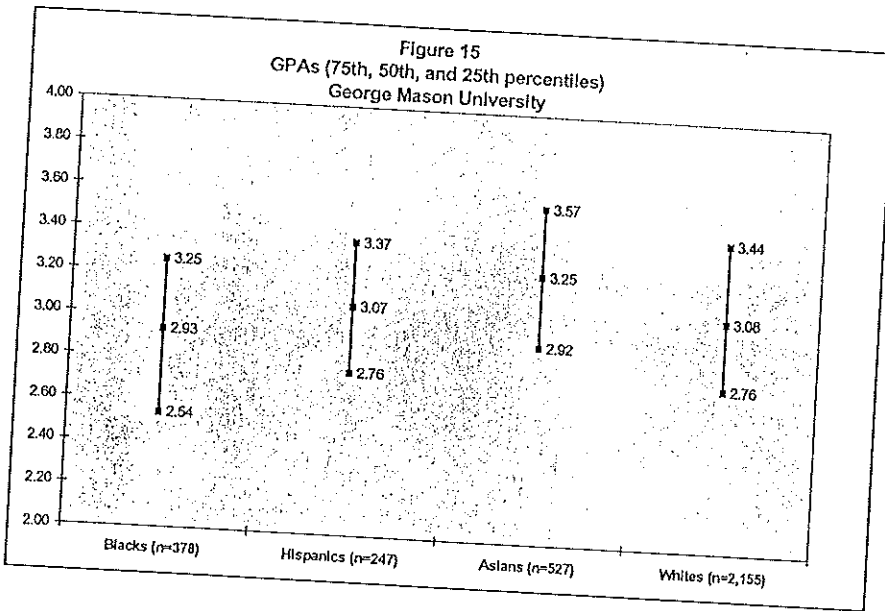
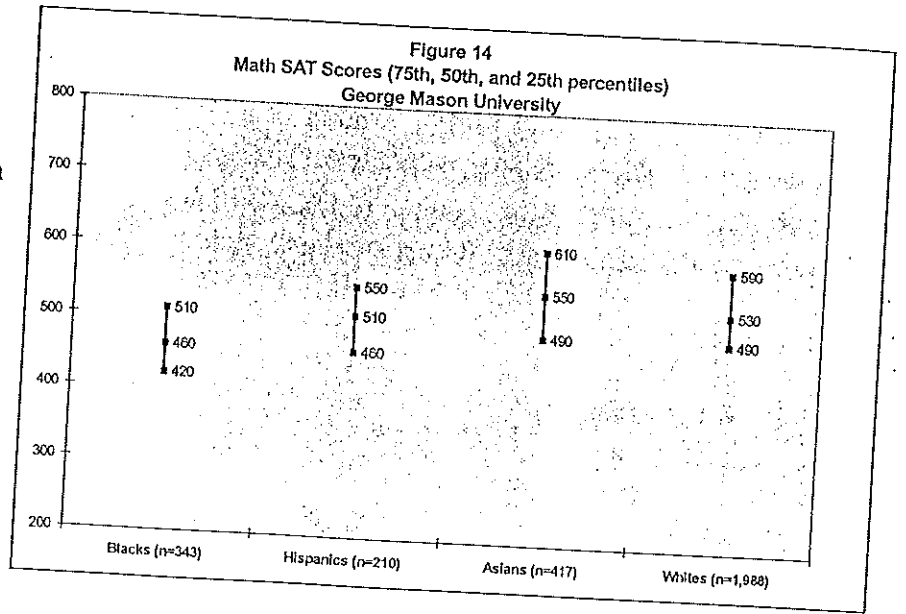
White-Asian and white-Hispanic gaps are more modest. The white-Asian and white-Hispanic gap in median verbal scores is 30 points.



Differences in Math SAT Scores

Group differences are somewhat larger for math scores. The white-Asian gap favors Asians by 20 points, while the Hispanic median is 20 points lower than the white median.

The white-black gap is more substantial. The white median is 70 points greater than the black median, and is 20 points higher than the black score at the 75th percentile. This means that more than 75 percent of blacks admitted to GMU have lower math scores compared to the average white admittee.



Differences in GPAs

There are also group differences in high school GPAs, but the differences are small. Asian admittees have somewhat higher GPAs compared to other groups. Whites and Hispanics are roughly the same, while the GPAs of black admittees are on the whole slightly lower.

The white-black gap in median GPAs is small (0.15 points), and the black GPA at the 75th percentile falls between the white verbal score at the median and the 75th percentile.

Rejectees vs. Admittees

In 1996, GMU rejected 246 Asians, 218 blacks, 93 Hispanics, and 920 whites. 86 Asians, 22 Hispanics, and 582 whites were rejected despite having higher verbal and math scores compared to the median scores for black admittees. 126 Asians, 32 Hispanics, and 513 whites were rejected despite having GPAs greater than the median GPA for black admittees.

60 Asians, 12 Hispanics, and 399 whites were rejected despite having both higher test scores and grades compared to the average black admittee.

Six-Year Graduation Rates

- 20 percent of blacks
- 40 percent of Hispanics
- 56 percent of Asians

- 41 percent of whites

At GMU, most blacks, Hispanics, and whites do not graduate in six years. A majority of Asians graduate in six years. Whites and Hispanics graduate at nearly the same rate, which is twice the graduation rate of blacks at GMU.

James Madison University

Applicants, Admittees, and Enrollees

In 1996, 13,280 individuals applied for admission to James Madison University (JMU). Of these, 8,412 were admitted and 3,247 enrolled. The overwhelming proportion of applicants, admittees, and enrollees was white.

JMU applicants

- 6 percent black
- 2 percent Hispanic
- 5 percent Asian
- 87 percent white

JMU admittees

- 5 percent black
- 2 percent Hispanic
- 5 percent Asian
- 88 percent white

JMU admission rates

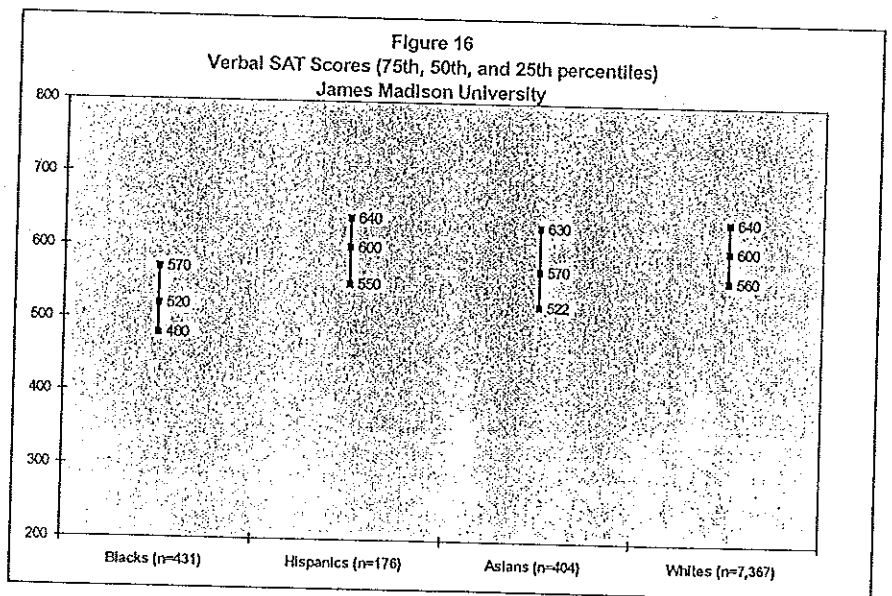
- 55 percent of black applicants
- 58 percent of Hispanic applicants
- 61 percent of Asian applicants
- 64 percent of white applicants

JMU enrollees

- 4 percent black
- 2 percent Hispanic
- 4 percent Asian
- 90 percent white

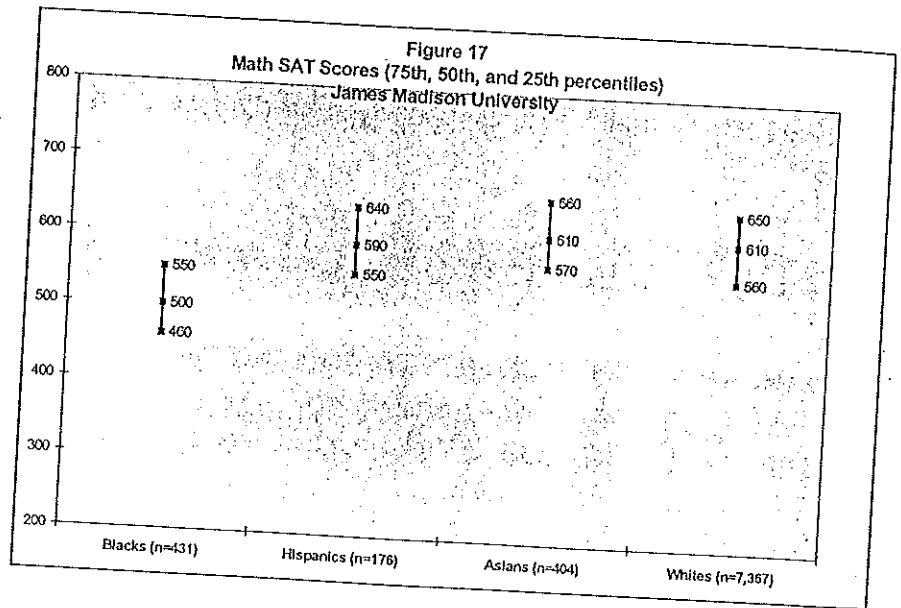
Differences in Verbal SAT Scores

Figure 16 shows the range of verbal SAT scores by racial and ethnic group for JMU admittees. White and Hispanic verbal scores are roughly the same, while Asian verbal scores are somewhat lower. Blacks admitted to JMU have lower verbal scores compared to other groups at the same quartiles. The median score for black admittees is lower than Hispanic, Asian, and white scores at the 25th percentile. This means that more than half the blacks admitted to JMU are accepted despite having lower scores than 75 percent of Hispanics, Asians, and whites admitted to JMU.



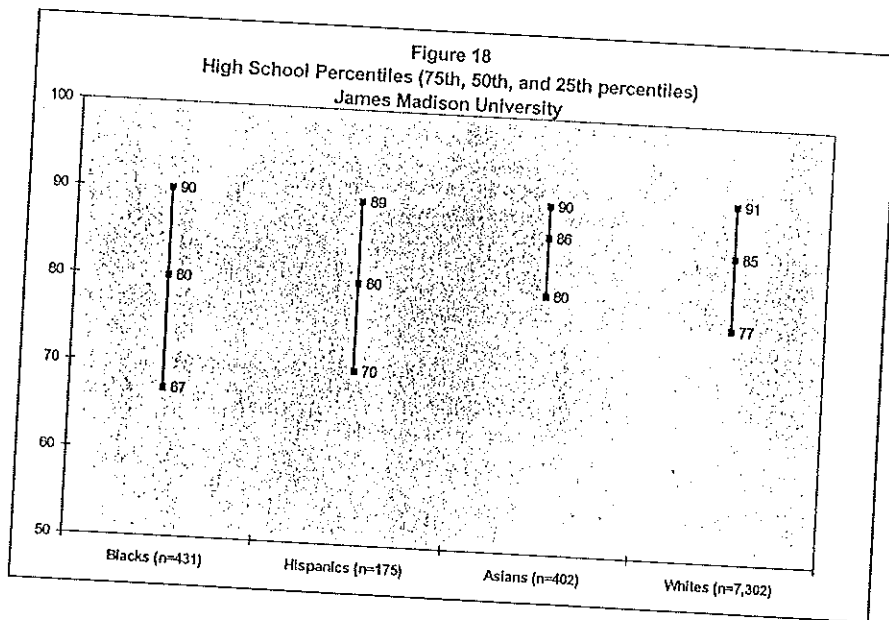
Differences in Math SAT Scores

Differences in math scores are even greater. The median score for black admittees is 90 points lower than the median Hispanic score, and 110 points lower than the median Asian and white scores. Black scores at the 75th percentile are the same as Hispanic scores at the 25th percentile and lower than Asian and white scores at the 25th percentile.



Differences in High School Percentiles

Unlike test scores, there are only small group differences in high school percentile rankings. Half the black admittees were ranked at the 80th percentile or higher in their high school classes. Half the Hispanic admittees were also ranked at the 80th percentile or better in their high school classes, while half the whites were ranked at the 85th percentile and half the Asians were ranked at the 86th.



Rejectees vs. Admittees

JMU rejected 255 Asians, 350 blacks, 129 Hispanics, and 4,134 whites. 64 Asians, 39 Hispanics, and 1,891 whites were rejected by JMU despite having higher verbal and math scores compared to the median test scores of the average black admittee. 72 Asian, 26 Hispanic, and 825 white rejectees had a higher class rank compared to the average black admittee. Finally, 8 Asians, 4 Hispanics, and 267 whites were rejected by JMU despite higher test scores *and* class rank compared to the average black admittee.

Six-Year Graduation Rates

- 67 percent of blacks
- 87 percent of Hispanics
- 82 percent of Asians
- 84 percent of whites

At JMU, Hispanics, Asians, and whites graduate at similar rates. This is consistent with their similar math and verbal test scores. The black graduation rate is 15-20 points lower.

Longwood College

Applicants, Admittees, and Enrollees

In 1996, 2,248 individuals applied for admission to Longwood College. Of these, 1,685 were admitted and 656 enrolled. The overwhelming proportion of applicants, admittees, and enrollees was white.

Longwood College applicants

- 8 percent black
- 2 percent Hispanic
- 2 percent Asian
- 87 percent white

Longwood College admittees

- 9 percent black
- 2 percent Hispanic
- 2 percent Asian
- 86 percent white

Longwood College admission rates

- 82 percent of black applicants
- 79 percent of Hispanic applicants
- 62 percent of Asian applicants
- 74 percent of white applicants

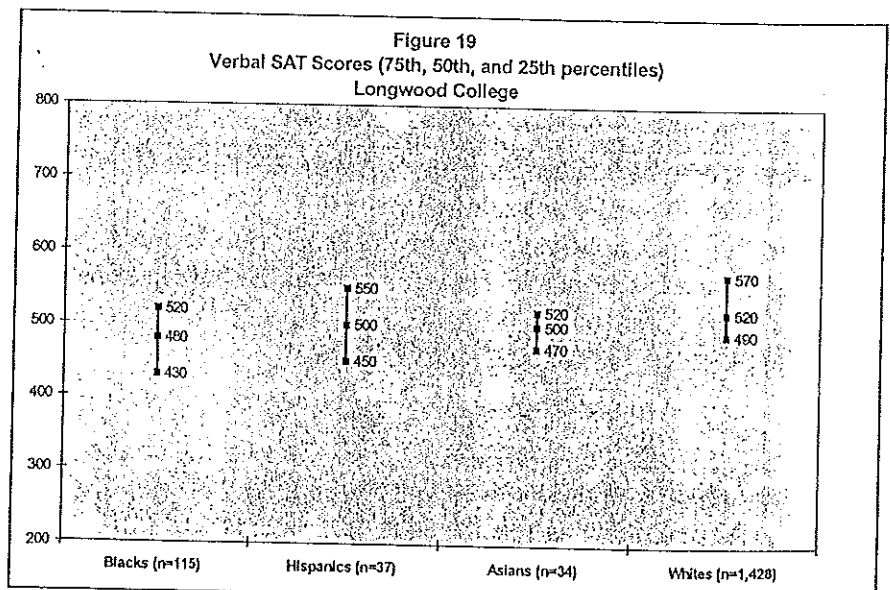
Longwood College enrollees

- 11 percent black
- 3 percent Hispanic
- 1 percent Asian
- 85 percent white

Differences in Verbal SAT Scores

Figure 19 shows the range of verbal SAT scores by racial and ethnic group. White scores are somewhat higher than Hispanic, Asian, and black scores, although the gaps are greatest between white and black scores. There is a 40-point gap in median scores between whites and blacks, while there is a 20-point gap between whites and Hispanics and between whites and Asians.

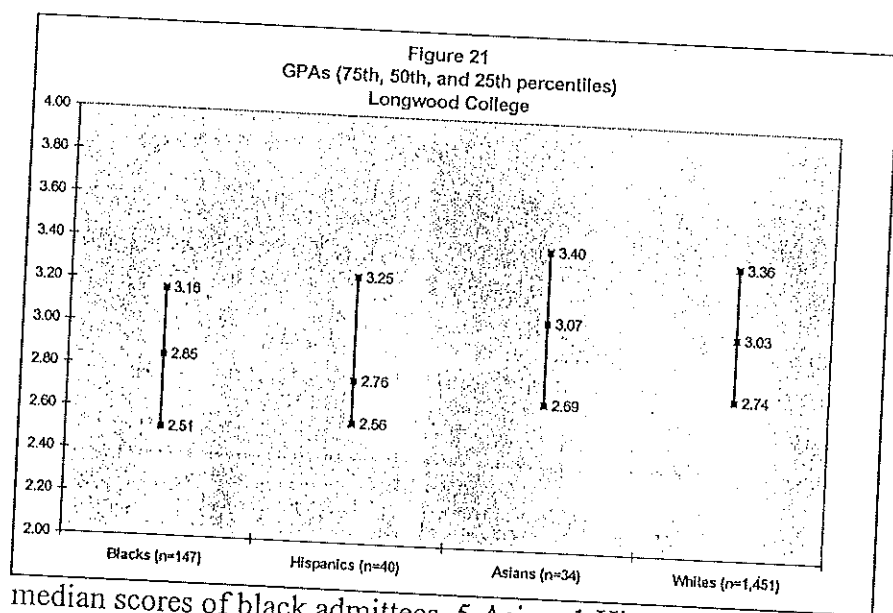
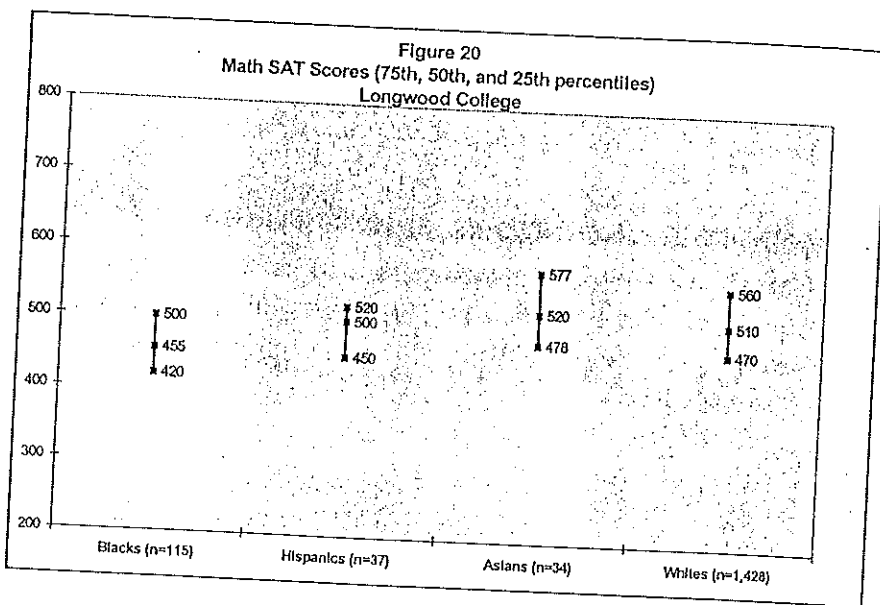
There is overlap in group scores. The white median is the same as black and Asian scores at the 75th percentile, while the black median is only slightly lower than white scores at the 25th percentile.



Differences in Math SAT Scores

Group differences are somewhat larger for math scores. Asian scores are the highest, followed by white and Hispanic scores.

The gaps are much greater between these groups and blacks, although the range of scores does overlap. The Hispanic-black gap in median scores is the smallest, at 45 points. The white-black gap in median scores is 55 points, and the Asian-black gap is 65 points. Black scores at the 75th percentile are the same as the Hispanic median. Thus, most Asians and whites, and half the Hispanic admittees, have higher math scores compared to 75 percent of black admittees.



Differences in GPAs

There are only small group differences in high school GPAs. The largest gap is between the Hispanic and Asian medians, 0.31 points. The white-black difference in median GPAs is 0.18.

Rejectees vs. Admittees

Longwood College rejected 21 Asians, 33 blacks, 11 Hispanics, and 498 whites. Relatively few rejectees had better qualifications compared to the average black admittee. 3 Asians, 2 Hispanics, and 113 whites had better verbal and math scores compared to the median GPA of black admittees. 5 Asian, 1 Hispanic, and 76 white rejectees had better GPAs compared to the median GPA of black admittees. Combining qualifications, only 11 white rejectees and no Asian or Hispanic rejectees had higher GPAs, verbal scores, and math scores compared to the average black admittee.

Six-Year Graduation Rates

- 46 percent of blacks
- 71 percent of Hispanics
- 38 percent of Asians
- 62 percent of whites

Less than half the blacks and Asians at Longwood College graduate in a six-year period, compared to a large majority of Hispanics and whites. The low graduation rate for Asians contrasts with the Asian scores and grades that are comparable to test scores and grades of whites.

Norfolk State University

Applicants, Admittees, and Enrollees

In 1996, 3,152 individuals applied for admission to Norfolk State University. Of these, 2,997 were admitted and 1,337 enrolled. The overwhelming proportion of applicants, admittees, and enrollees was black.

Norfolk State applicants

- 94 percent black
- 1 percent Hispanic
- 1 percent Asian
- 4 percent white

Norfolk State admittees

- 94 percent black
- 1 percent Hispanic
- 1 percent Asian
- 4 percent white

Norfolk State admission rates

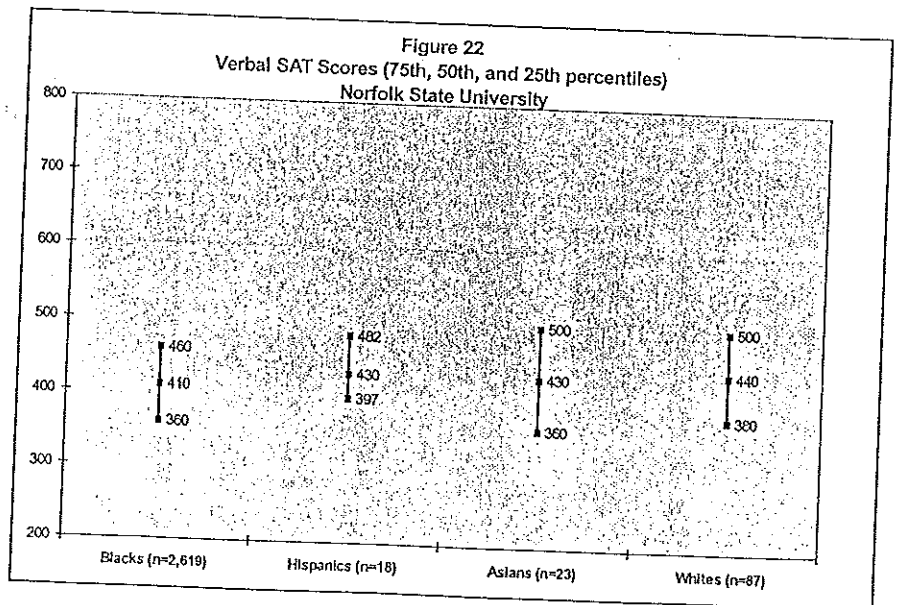
- 95 percent of black applicants
- 89 percent of Hispanic applicants
- 92 percent of Asian applicants
- 98 percent of white applicants

Norfolk State enrollees

- 95 percent black
- 1 percent Hispanic
- 0.4 percent Asian
- 4 percent white

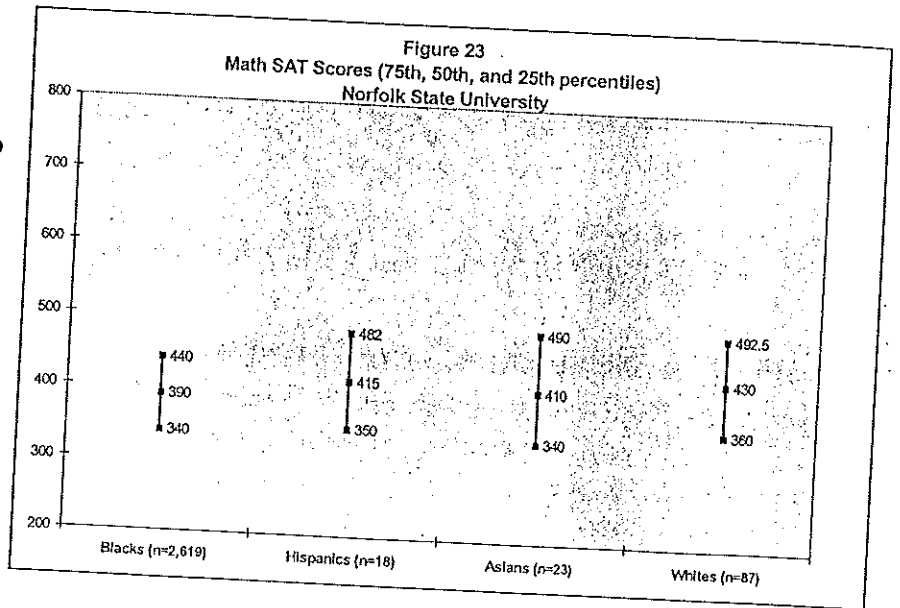
Differences in Verbal SAT Scores

Figure 22 shows the range of verbal SAT scores at Norfolk State. There are small differences in admittee verbal scores among groups. The difference in median scores between whites and blacks is 30 points. Other group differences are even smaller.



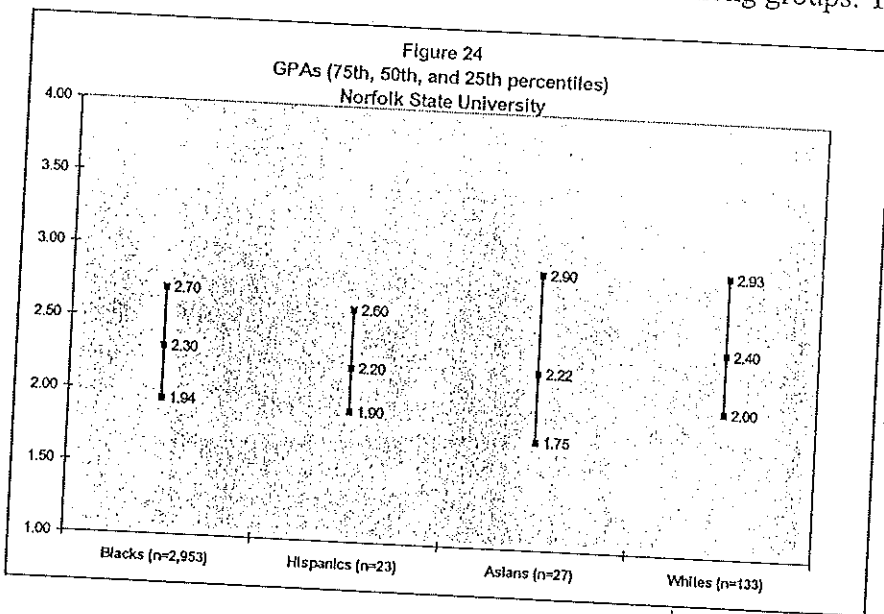
Differences in Math SAT Scores

Figure 23 shows the range of math scores at Norfolk State. There are group differences in math scores that are only a little larger than the differences in verbal scores. The white-black gap in scores is 40 points. Other group differences are smaller. The largest gap is at the 75th percentile, where the score for black admittees is 53 points lower than that for white admittees and only 10 points higher than the white median.



Differences in GPAs

There are no significant differences in GPAs among groups. The white-black difference in median GPAs is a mere one-tenth point. The largest gap is at the 75th percentile between whites and Hispanics (0.33 point).



Rejectees vs. Admittees

Norfolk State rejected 3 Asians, 147 blacks, 2 Hispanics, and 3 whites. No rejectees had verbal and math scores higher than the median scores of black admittees. No rejectees had GPAs greater than the median GPA of black admittees.

Graduation Rates

Norfolk State does not keep data on graduation rates.

Old Dominion University

Applicants, Admittees, and Enrollees

In 1996, 4,512 individuals applied for admission to Old Dominion University. Of these, 3,608 were admitted and 1,524 enrolled. The overwhelming proportion of applicants, admittees, and enrollees was white.

Old Dominion applicants

- 27 percent black
- 3 percent Hispanic
- 6 percent Asian
- 64 percent white

Old Dominion admittees

- 22 percent black
- 3 percent Hispanic
- 6 percent Asian
- 70 percent white

Old Dominion admission rates

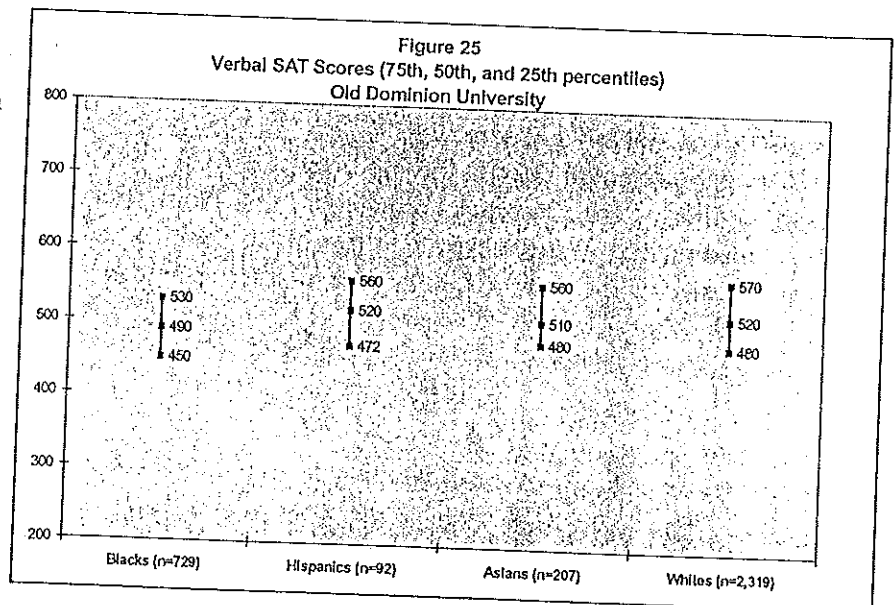
- 63 percent of black applicants
- 73 percent of Hispanic applicants
- 85 percent of Asian applicants
- 87 percent of white applicants

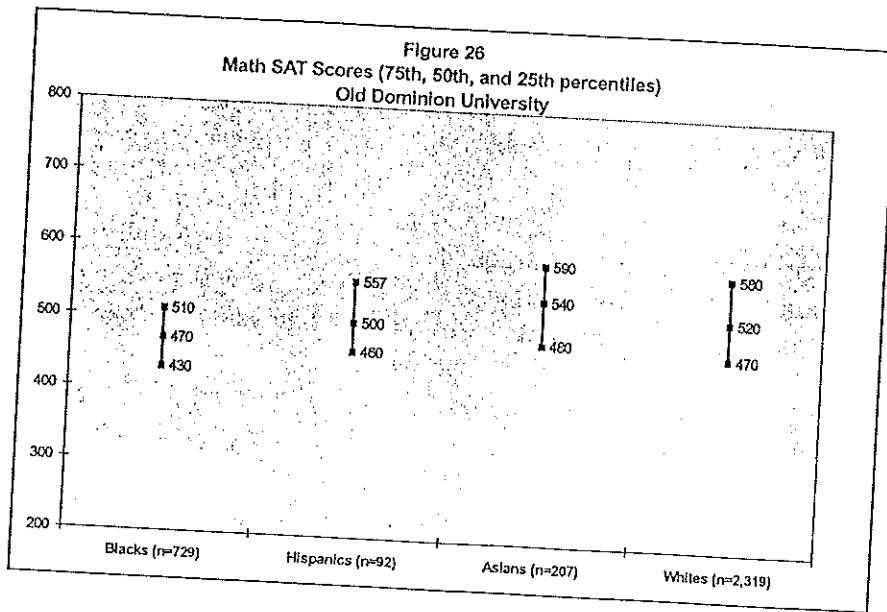
Old Dominion enrollees

- 25 percent black
- 3 percent Hispanic
- 7 percent Asian
- 65 percent white

Differences in Verbal SAT Scores

There are small group differences in verbal scores among Old Dominion admittees (see Figure 25). The largest gap is between blacks and whites at the 75th percentile (40 points). The gap in median verbal scores between blacks and whites is 30 points.



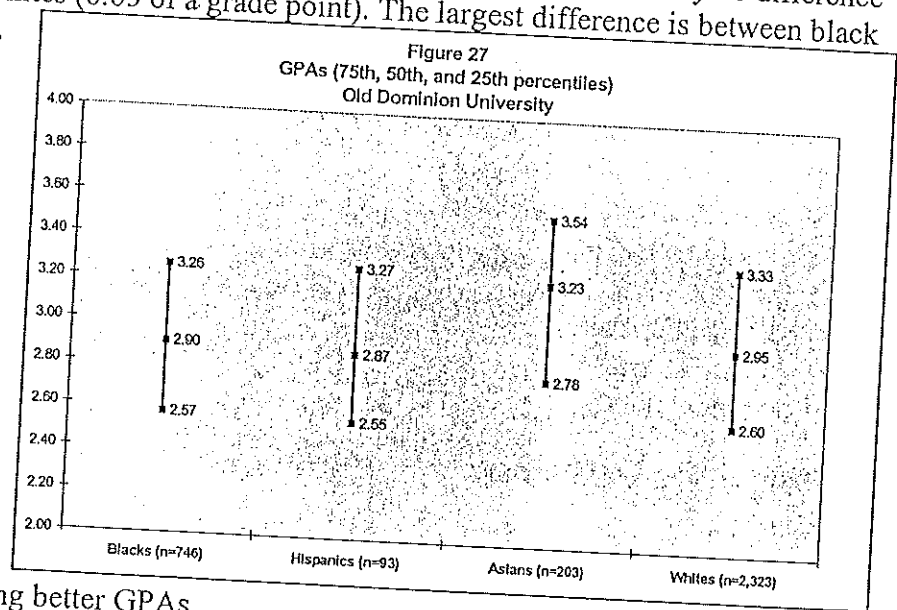


Differences in Math SAT Scores

Group differences are larger when comparing math scores. Black scores are generally lower than those for other groups. The largest gap is between blacks and Asians at the 75th percentile (80 points). The gap between white and black median math scores is 50 points. The median-score gap is 30 points between blacks and Hispanics and 70 points between blacks and Asians.

In contrast with test scores, group differences in GPAs are very small. There is practically no difference in median GPAs between blacks and whites (0.05 of a grade point). The largest difference is between black and Asian median GPAs, but here, too, the difference is quite small (one-third of a grade point).

Differences in GPAs



Rejectees vs. Admittees

Old Dominion rejected 39 Asians, 464 blacks, 36 Hispanics, and 365 whites. There were no rejectees with better grades *and* test scores compared to the average black admittee. Two Asians and 18 whites were rejected despite having higher test scores compared to the average black admittee, while 3 Asians, 4 Hispanics, and 19 whites were rejected despite having better GPAs.

In contrast, there were 396 blacks rejected by Old Dominion despite having better grades compared to the average white admittee. There were also three black rejectees with better test scores compared to the average white admittee; two of these three blacks also had better grades.

Graduation Rates

- 40 percent of blacks
- 35 percent of Hispanics
- 49 percent of Asians
- 46 percent of whites

A majority of students in all racial and ethnic categories at Old Dominion fail to graduate in six years. Hispanics graduate at the lowest rate, which is roughly 9 percent lower than the graduation rate for whites. A

somewhat higher percentage of blacks graduate in six years (40 percent), while Asians graduate at the highest rate of the four groups (49 percent).

University of Virginia

Applicants, Admittees, and Enrollees

In 1996, 15,089 individuals applied for admission to the University of Virginia (UVA). Of these, 4,008 were admitted and 1,408 enrolled. The overwhelming proportion of applicants, admittees, and enrollees was white.

UVA applicants

- 8 percent black
- 3 percent Hispanic
- 10 percent Asian
- 79 percent white

UVA admittees

- 15 percent black
- 2 percent Hispanic
- 10 percent Asian
- 73 percent white

UVA admission rates

- 48 percent of black applicants
- 21 percent of Hispanic applicants
- 27 percent of Asian applicants
- 25 percent of white applicants

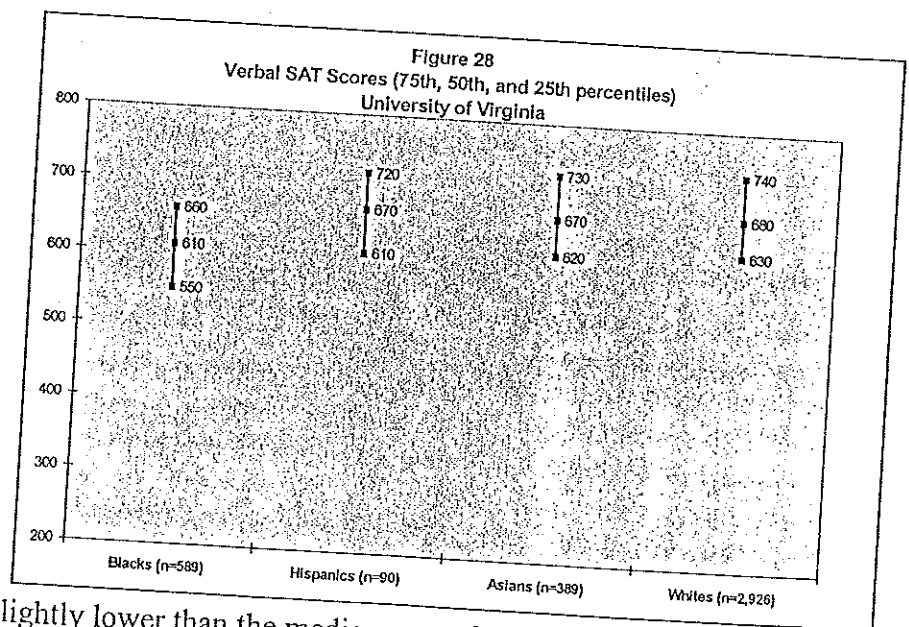
UVA enrollees

- 9 percent black
- 3 percent Hispanic
- 8 percent Asian
- 80 percent white

Differences in Verbal SAT Scores

Figure 28 shows the range of verbal SAT scores by racial group. Scores for white admittees are slightly higher compared to Asian and Hispanic admittees.

The white-black gap in verbal scores is larger. The gap in median scores is 70 points. The verbal score for black admittees at the 75th percentile is slightly lower than the median score for Hispanics, Asians, and whites. This means that more than 75 percent of all black admittees have lower verbal scores compared to more than half of Hispanics, Asians, and whites.

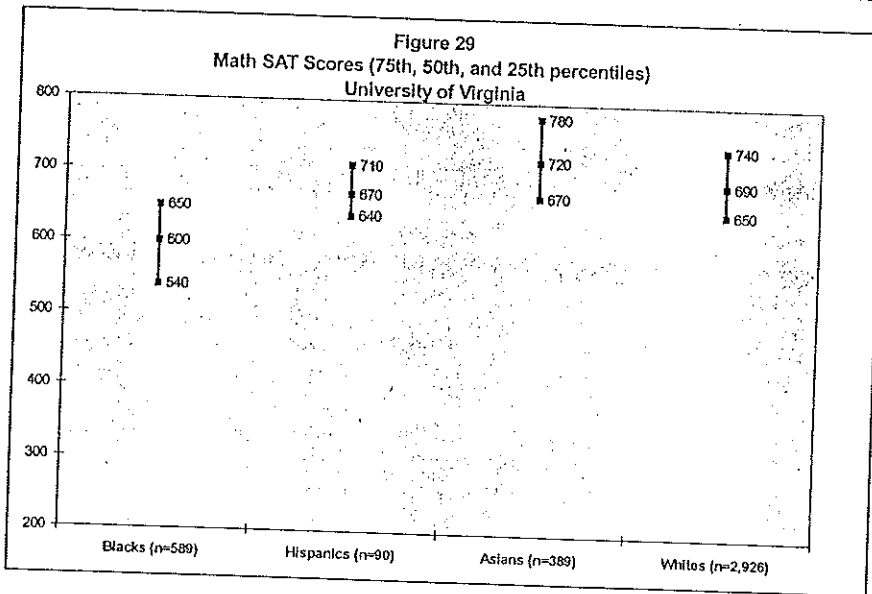


Differences in Math SAT Scores

Group differences are larger for math scores. Asians on the whole have the highest math scores, followed by whites and then Hispanics. The

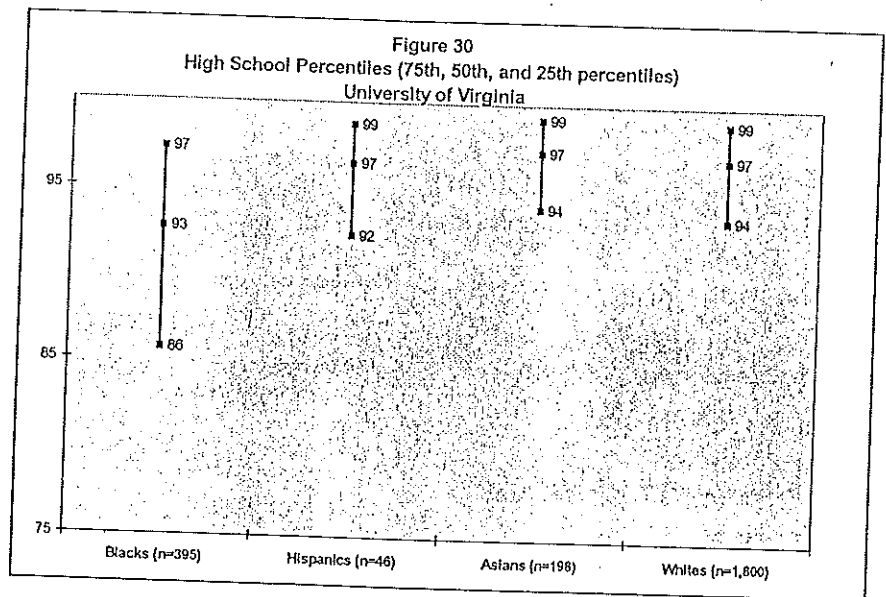
median Asian math score is 30 points higher than the median score for whites, and 50 points higher than the Hispanic median.

Black scores are the lowest, by a considerable degree. The black-white gap in median scores, for instance, is 90 points. The black median score is lower than scores at the 25th percentile for Hispanics, Asians, and whites. Black scores at the 75th percentile are the same as white scores at the 25th percentile, slightly higher than Hispanic scores at the 25th percentile, and lower than Asian scores at the 25th percentile.



Differences in High School Percentiles

There are only slight differences in high school percentile rankings among groups, and there is considerable overlap among groups. Half the Hispanic, white, and Asian admittees have a high school rank at the 97th percentile or better. Black admittees have a high school rank that is only slightly lower (93rd percentile).



Rejectees vs. Admittees

The University of Virginia rejected 1,062 Asians, 655 blacks, 334

Hispanics, and 9,030 whites. 426 Asians, 102 Hispanics, and 4,412 whites who were rejected had higher verbal and math scores compared to the median verbal and math scores of black admittees. 174 Asians, 29 Hispanics, and 1,684 whites were rejected despite having higher high school percentiles compared to the median percentile of black admittees.

96 Asians, 15 Hispanics, and 1,129 whites were rejected by UVA despite having higher verbal and math scores and higher high school percentiles compared to the average black admittee.

Six-Year Graduation Rates

- 84 percent of blacks
- 92 percent of Hispanics

- 94 percent of Asians
- 93 percent of whites

Large majorities of all groups graduate within six years. Hispanics, Asians, and whites graduate at roughly the same rate. Blacks, however, graduate at a somewhat lower rate compared to Hispanics, Asians, and whites.

Virginia Commonwealth University

Applicants, Admittees, and Enrollees

In 1996, 4,728 individuals applied for admission to Virginia Commonwealth University (VCU). Of these, 3,858 were admitted and 1,891 enrolled. The majority of applicants, admittees, and enrollees was white.

VCU applicants

- 30 percent black
- 3 percent Hispanic
- 11 percent Asian
- 56 percent white

VCU admittees

- 25 percent black
- 3 percent Hispanic
- 12 percent Asian
- 60 percent white

VCU admission rates

- 69 percent of black applicants
- 84 percent of Hispanic applicants
- 89 percent of Asian applicants
- 87 percent of white applicants

VCU enrollees

- 27 percent black
- 3 percent Hispanic
- 10 percent Asian
- 60 percent white

Differences in Verbal SAT Scores

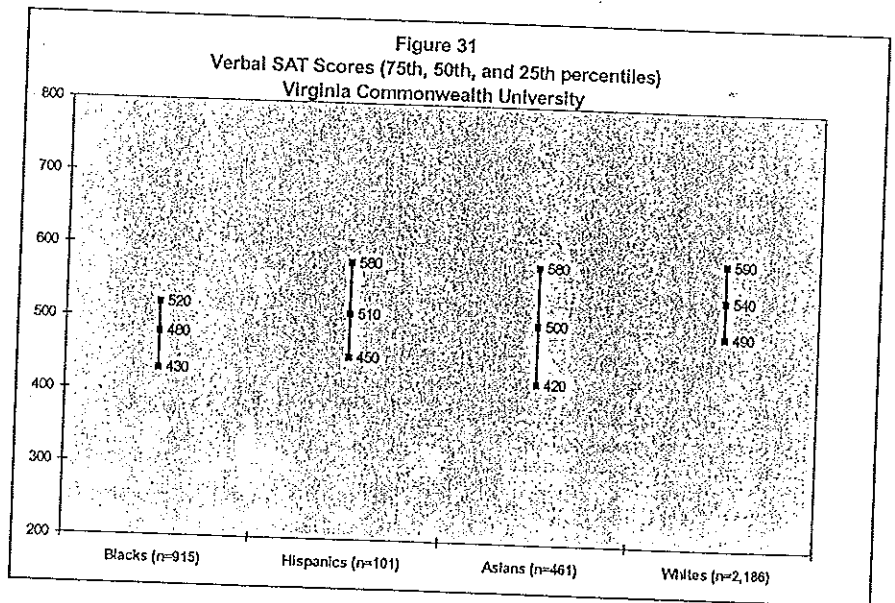
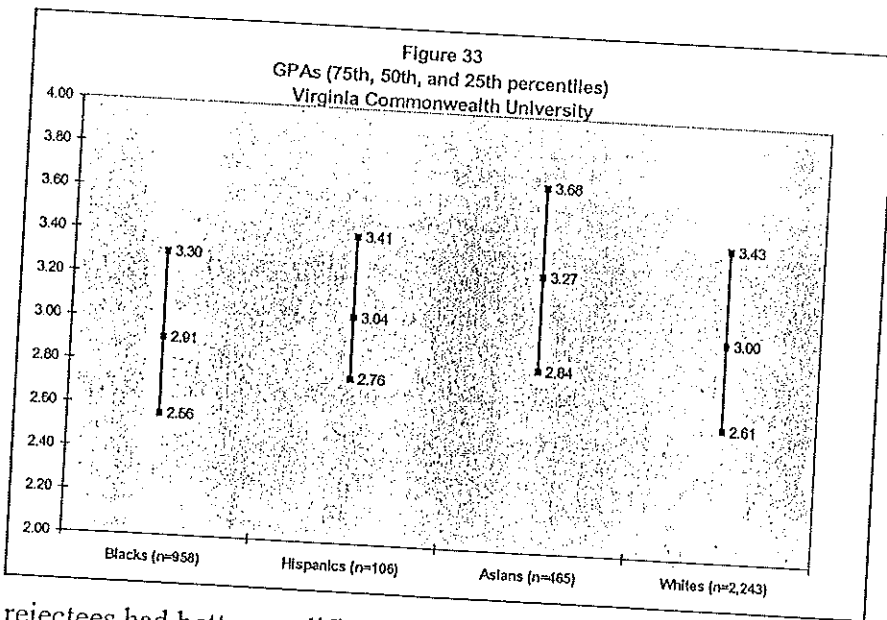
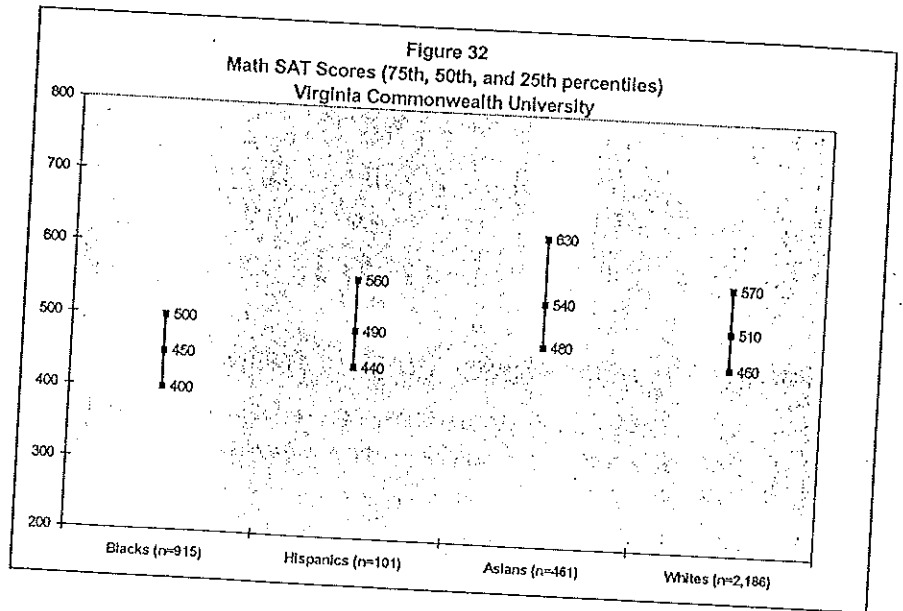


Figure 31 shows the range of verbal SAT scores by racial and ethnic group at VCU. Most black admittees have lower verbal scores compared to a majority of whites, Asians, and Hispanics. The black score at the 75th percentile is 20 points lower than the median white score, meaning that more than 75 percent of all black admittees have lower verbal scores compared to the average white admittee. It is only 10 points higher than the median Hispanic score, and 20 points higher than the median Asian score.

Differences in Math SAT Scores

There are also substantial group differences in math SAT scores at VCU. A large majority of black students admitted to VCU have much lower math SAT scores compared to Hispanics, Asians, and whites. Three out of four blacks are admitted with scores at least 40 points lower than the average Asian admittee and at least 10 points lower than the average white admittee. The black admittee score at the 75th percentile is only 10 points higher than the Hispanic median. The black median score is slightly lower than white scores at the 25th percentile, and is only 10 points higher than Hispanic scores at the 25th percentile.



Differences in GPAs

There are, however, only small group differences in high school GPAs. The median GPA for black admittees is only about one-tenth of a grade point lower than the median GPA of Hispanics and whites, and just a little over three-tenths of a grade point lower than that of the average Asian admittee. Similarly small differences are found at the 25th and 75th percentiles across groups.

Rejectees vs. Admittees

VCU rejected 58 Asians, 448 blacks, 21 Hispanics, and 343 whites. Very few whites had better verbal and math scores compared to the median scores of black admittees. 4 Asian, 1 Hispanic, and 22 white rejectees had better GPAs compared to the median GPA of black admittees. Combining qualifications, only 19 whites, 1 Asian, and 1 Hispanic were rejected by VCU despite having higher GPAs, verbal scores, and math scores compared to the average black admittee. In contrast, 10 blacks were rejected by VCU despite having better grades compared to the average white admittee, and 7 blacks were rejected despite having better test scores. No black rejectee, however, had better grades and test scores compared to the average white admittee.

Graduation Rates

- 37 percent of blacks
- 37 percent of Hispanics
- 53 percent of Asians
- 47 percent of whites

There are also differences in graduation rates among ethnic groups. Asians have the highest graduation rates. Less than a majority of whites, blacks, and Hispanics graduate from VCU in six years or less.

Virginia Military Institute

Applicants, Admittees, and Enrollees

In 1996, 877 individuals applied for admission to Virginia Military Institute (VMI). Of these, 702 were admitted and 362 enrolled. The overwhelming proportion of applicants, admittees, and enrollees was white.

VMI applicants

- 6 percent black
- 2 percent Hispanic
- 3 percent Asian
- 88 percent white

VMI admittees

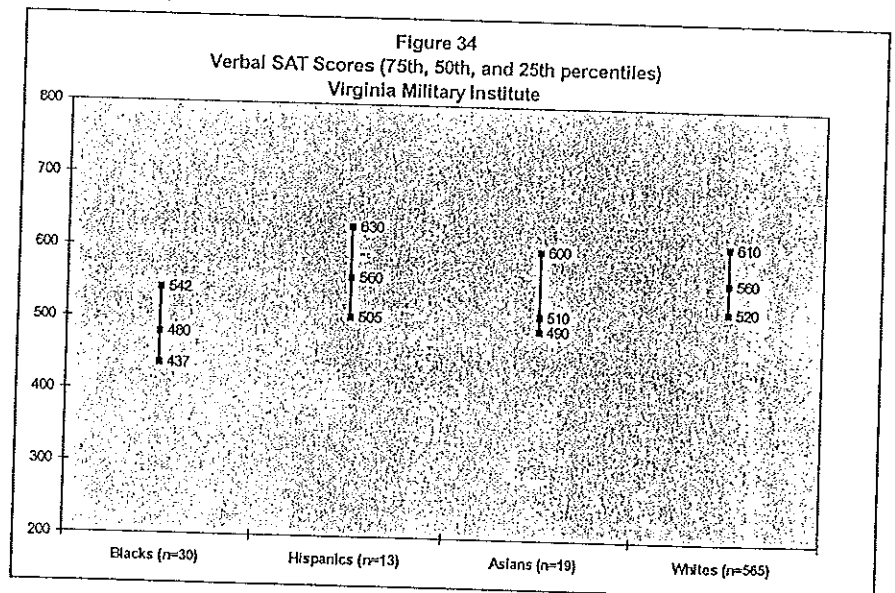
- 5 percent black
- 2 percent Hispanic
- 3 percent Asian
- 90 percent white

VMI admission rates

- 64 percent of black applicants
- 62 percent of Hispanic applicants
- 43 percent of Asian applicants
- 82 percent of white applicants

VMI enrollees

- 6 percent black
- 1 percent Hispanic
- 2 percent Asian
- 91 percent white

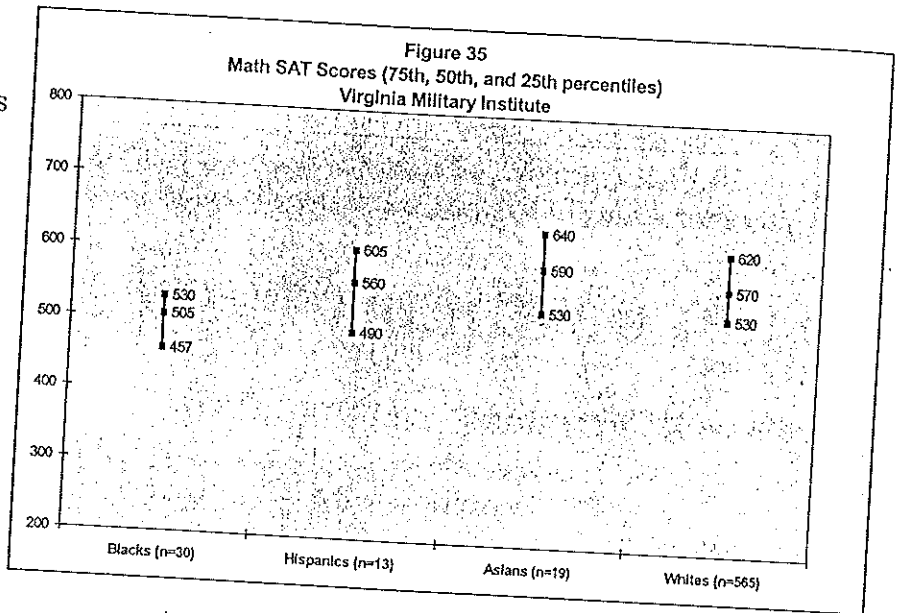


Differences in Verbal SAT Scores

Figure 34 shows the range of verbal SAT scores by racial and ethnic group for VMI admittees. White and Hispanic verbal scores are roughly the same. Asians and blacks admitted to VMI have lower verbal scores compared to whites and Hispanics. The median score for black admittees is lower than the Hispanic and white scores at the 25th percentile. This means that more than half the blacks admitted to VMI are accepted despite having lower scores than more than 75 percent of Hispanics and whites admitted to VMI. The median Asian verbal score is only slightly better than the Hispanic score at the 25th percentile, and 10 points lower than the white score at the 25th percentile.

Differences in Math SAT Scores

Asian admittees perform better on the math SATs compared to other groups. They have the highest median math scores, followed closely by whites and Hispanics. Black median math scores are 55 points lower than the median Hispanic score, 65 points lower than the median white score, and 85 points lower than the median Asian score. Black math scores at the 75th percentile are the same as Asian and white scores at the 25th percentile. This means that 75 percent of black admittees have math scores equal to or lower than 75 percent of Asians and whites admitted to VMI.



Differences in High School Quartiles

Data from VMI regarding high school grades indicated the quartile in which the applicant graduated. 55 percent of white admittees, 60 percent of Hispanic admittees, and 50 percent of black admittees graduated in the top quartile of their high school classes. In contrast, only 37 percent of Asian admittees graduated in the top quartile.⁹

Rejectees vs. Admittees¹⁰

VMI rejected 9 Asians, 19 blacks, 8 Hispanics, and 139 whites. 2 Asians, 1 Hispanic, and 20 whites were rejected by VMI despite having higher verbal and math scores compared to the median test scores of the average black admittee. 6 whites were rejected despite being in the top quartile of their high school classes.¹¹

Six-Year Graduation Rates

- 53 percent of blacks
- 85 percent of Hispanics
- 57 percent of Asians
- 66 percent of whites

At VMI, a majority of all groups graduate in six years. Hispanics have the highest graduation rate by far of all groups, followed by whites, then Asians, and finally blacks. The gap between blacks and Asians on one

⁹ 34 percent of white admittees graduated in the second quartile, while 12 percent graduated in the third quartile. 40 percent of Hispanic admittees graduated in the third quartile of their high school classes, while 25 percent of Asians graduated in the second quartile and 37 percent graduated in the third quartile. 42 percent of black admittees graduated in the second quartile, while only 8 percent graduated in the third quartile. No admittees graduated in the bottom quartile of their high school classes.

¹⁰ The numbers are based on the assumption that all applicants submitted SAT scores.
¹¹ The average black admittee graduated in the top quartile. Because test scores and quartile data were submitted by VMI as separate files, we cannot calculate the number of white rejectees who were in the top quartile *and* who had higher test scores compared to the average black admittee.

hand and whites and Hispanics on the other is consistent with higher white and Hispanic composite test scores and generally better high school quartile rank.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

Applicants, Admittees, and Enrollees

In 1996, 15,981 individuals applied for admission to Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (Virginia Tech). Of these, 13,000 were admitted and 4,995 enrolled. The overwhelming proportion of applicants, admittees, and enrollees was white.

Virginia Tech applicants

- 11 percent black
- 3 percent Hispanic
- 7 percent Asian
- 80 percent white

Virginia Tech admittees

- 8 percent black
- 3 percent Hispanic
- 7 percent Asian
- 83 percent white

Virginia Tech admission rates

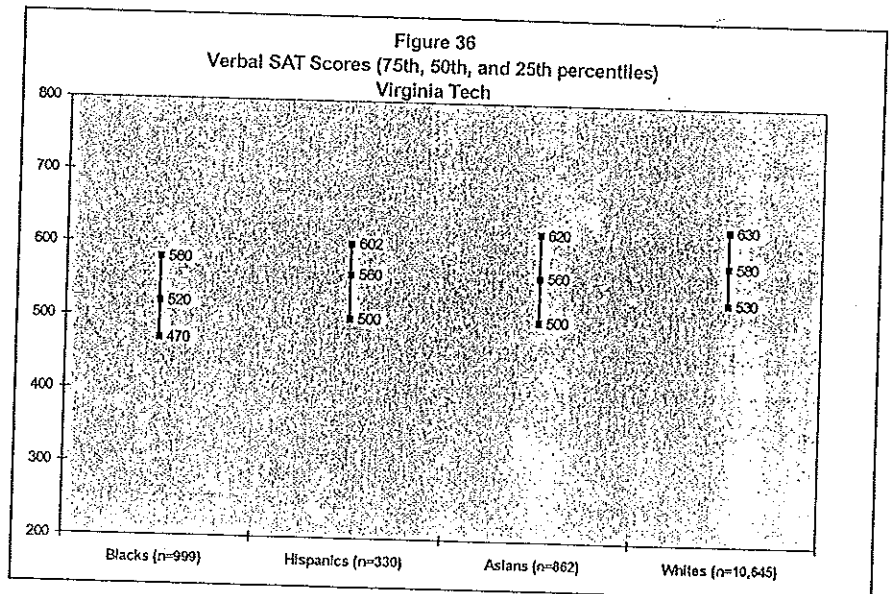
- 60 percent of black applicants
- 73 percent of Hispanic applicants
- 80 percent of Asian applicants
- 85 percent of white applicants

Virginia Tech enrollees

- 4 percent black
- 2 percent Hispanic
- 6 percent Asian
- 88 percent white

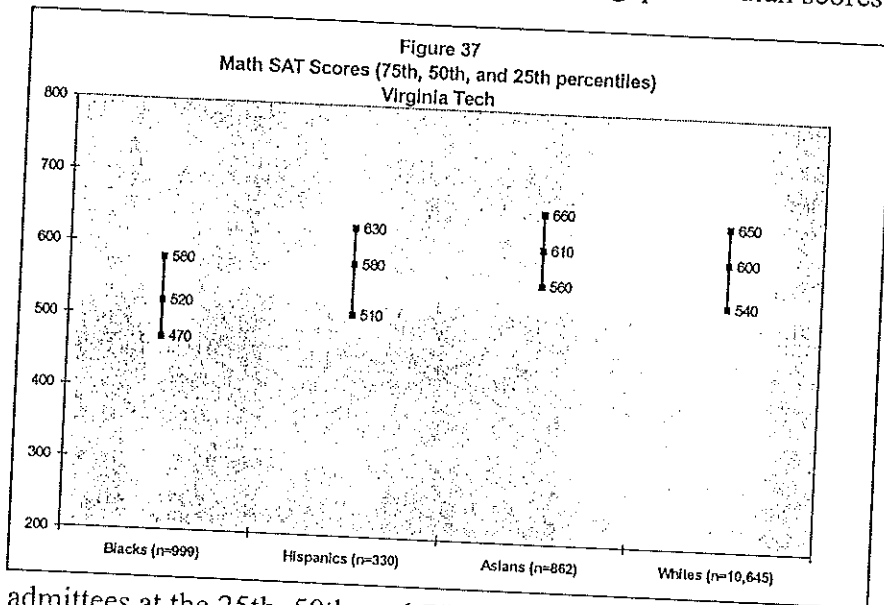
Differences in Verbal SAT Scores

Figure 36 shows the range of verbal SAT scores at Virginia Tech. White scores are somewhat higher than Asian and Hispanic scores. Differences are larger when comparing these groups to black admittees. The median verbal score for black admittees is 40 points lower than the Hispanic and Asian median. It is lower than the white score at the 25th percentile, meaning that more than 75 percent of whites who were admitted had higher verbal scores compared to the average black admittee.



Differences in Math SAT Scores

Group differences are also evident when comparing math scores of admittees. Asian scores are slightly higher, while Hispanic scores are somewhat lower, compared to the scores of white admittees. The scores of black admittees are substantially lower. The gap in median scores between black and Hispanic admittees is



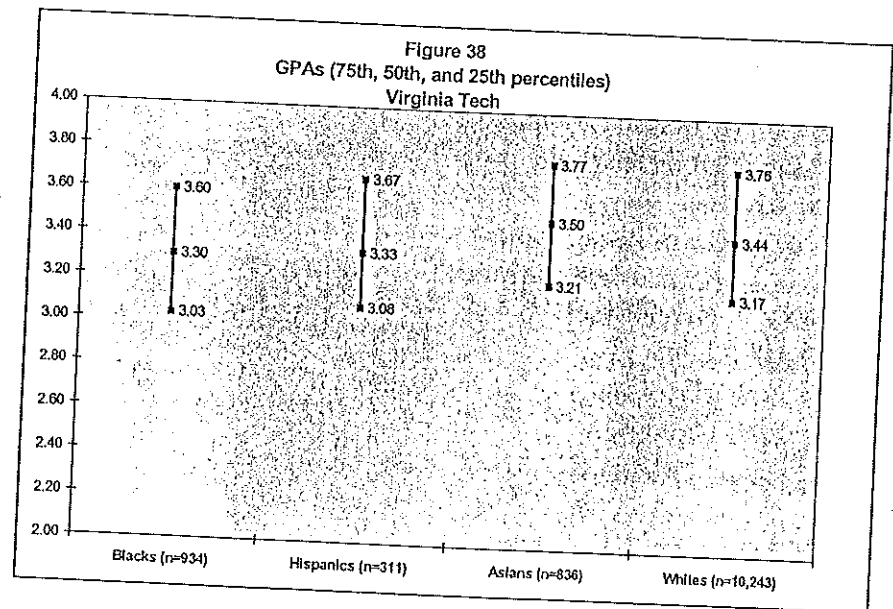
60 points. The gap is even larger comparing blacks to Asians and whites. The black score at the 75th percentile is the same as the Hispanic median, and is 20 points lower than the white median and 30 points lower than the Asian median. This means that more than 75 percent of blacks admitted to Virginia Tech have lower math scores compared to the average white and Asian admittees.

Differences in GPAs

The differences in GPAs are much smaller, although the GPAs of black admittees at the 25th, 50th, and 75th percentiles are slightly lower compared to the other groups. The largest difference is between the black and Asian median GPAs, which is still only two-tenths of a grade point.

Rejectees vs. Admittees

Virginia Tech rejected 217 Asians, 678 blacks, 125 Hispanics, and 1,961 whites. 40 Asians, 22 Hispanics, and 595 whites had verbal and math scores higher than the median verbal and math scores for black admittees, while 33 Asians, 10 Hispanics, and 78 whites had higher GPAs. Using all three criteria, however, only 19 whites (and no Asians or Hispanics) were rejected with better grades and test scores compared to the average black admittee.



Graduation Rates

- 48 percent of blacks
- 71 percent of Hispanics
- 69 percent of Asians
- 75 percent of whites

Blacks graduate at a much lower rate compared to the other three groups. Less than half of all black enrollees graduate in six years or less, compared to three-fourths of whites and seven in ten Hispanics and Asians.

Acknowledgments

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CENTER FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

The Center for Equal Opportunity (CEO) is a project of the Equal Opportunity Foundation, a non-profit research institution established under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code. CEO sponsors conferences, supports research, and publishes policy briefs and monographs on issues related to race, ethnicity, immigration, and public policy.

Linda Chavez, President