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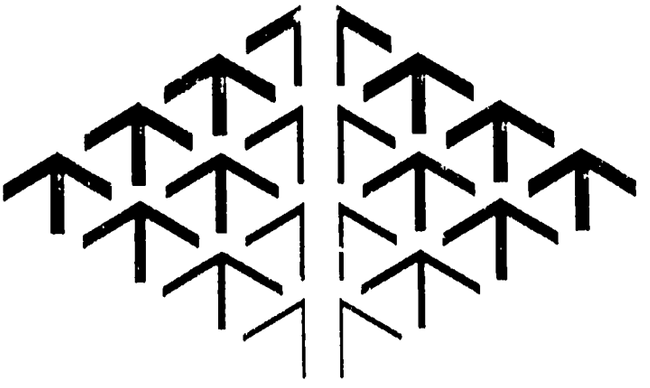
ABSTRACT

This paper examines the influence of race and ethnicity on who goes to college and who graduates, and discusses policy issues surrounding higher education access and outcomes. Based on case studies of 10 majority institutions in 8 states, the paper proposes a conceptual scheme for dealing with such issues as the appropriate balance between equality of educational opportunity and distributive justice, state goals with respect to this balance, the role of colleges and universities in state efforts to achieve such goals, estimation of progress toward attainment of these goals, and policy options to encourage all institutions to emphasize both quality and diversity. It also proposes a method for tracking higher education participation and achievement rates for states and for institutions. Finally, the paper reports the results of applying this method to data available from the United States Office of Education for the period 1980-84. Includes 12 references. (JDD)



MINORITY ACHIEVEMENT
COUNTING ON YOU

Serving More Diverse Students: A Contextual View

SERVING MORE DIVERSE STUDENTS:

A CONTEXTUAL VIEW

by

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This is the first of a series of papers prepared for the Education Commission of the States (ECS) National Commission on Minority Achievement in Higher Education. It draws upon an ongoing five-year study being conducted by the National Center for Postsecondary Governance and Finance with funding from the Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI) of the U.S. Department of Education (ED). The opinions expressed in the paper do not necessarily reflect the position of the OERI/ED and no official endorsement should be inferred.

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The Education Commission of the States is a nonprofit, nationwide interstate compact formed in 1965. The primary purpose of the commission is to help governors, state legislators, state education officials and others develop policies to improve the quality of education at all levels. Forty-eight states, the District of Columbia, American Samoa, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands are members. The ECS central offices are at 1860 Lincoln Street, Suite 300, Denver, Colorado 80295. The Washington office is in the Hall of the States, 444 North Capitol Street, Suite 248, Washington, D.C. 20001.

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Introduction

Much has been written about the influence of race and ethnicity on who goes to college and who graduates. By the year 2025, 40% of all 18-24-year-olds will be minority. Blacks, Hispanics and American Indians are less likely to go to college than Anglos and Asian Americans, and those who do are more likely to attend two-year institutions from which they less frequently transfer to pursue the baccalaureate. Lower college participation rates, especially in public four-year institutions, contribute to the stratification along racial and ethnic lines of poverty, unemployment, crime rates and other social ills.[1]

The incipient development of an underclass along racial and ethnic lines already threatens the economic well-being of major urban centers. Left unchecked, it has the potential for disrupting the social processes upon which U.S. society relies for continued well-being.

The problem is not exclusively or, perhaps even primarily, educational. To the extent that socioeconomic inequalities are defined as an educational problem, the roots are clearly in the public schools. Higher education is involved to the extent that it serves either as part of the problem or as part of the solution. Quite clearly, colleges and universities have served in the last quarter century both as promoters of upward mobility and as defenders of prevailing social privilege. In the 15 years following passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, minority participation in higher education increased nearly three times as fast as rates for Anglos. However, during the last decade, minority enrollments have not increased as rapidly as their high school graduation rates and absolute enrollments of Blacks and American Indians have declined.

Graduation rates never have kept pace with increases in enrollments in majority institutions. In some, Blacks, Hispanics and American Indians are only half as likely to graduate as their Anglo counterparts. Assessment procedures in a number of states disproportionately limit the advance of some minority groups to upper-division work. The graduates of historically Black institutions have difficulty meeting recently imposed state test requirements for certification.[2] For all of these reasons and others, minorities continue to be seriously underrepresented in positions requiring the baccalaureate degree.

Policy issues surrounding higher education access and outcomes are further complicated by differences within minority groups. Asian-Americans outperform all other groups. Yet many of them resent the characterization of "model minority" and correctly point to recent immigrant groups that exhibit many of the same problems experienced by some Blacks and Hispanics. In Florida, Cuban Hispanics have higher participation and graduation rates than Anglos. Black immigrants from Africa or the Caribbean and those whose parents graduated from college perform in ways similar to the majority population. The educational experiences of American Indians from the urban Northeast have little in common with their counterparts from rural Western reservations.

Policy Difficulties

State policy initiatives during the past quarter century reflect the difficulties in characterizing and understanding the influences on minority status. They also reflect the problems inherent in devising public policy that improves opportunities for some to the possible detriment of others. Researcher J. Hsia focused the dilemma in a 1987 paper.[3] Should public policy aim for equality of educational opportunity or for distributive justice? Equality of educational opportunity is a concept that links access to academic qualifications without making allowances for race or ethnicity. Distributive justice by contrast seeks proportional representation among minority groups.

Anglo and minority children with educated parents, those who reside in affluent school districts and minorities from high-performing groups are the principal beneficiaries of policies emphasizing equality of educational opportunity. Groups traditionally underrepresented in higher education benefit the most from policies based on distributive justice. Before 1965, meritocratic criteria largely determined access to most of higher education. The creation of open-door community colleges as the major access point for populations previously excluded or underserved was a major effort to give greater attention to distributive justice. The development of state and federal need-based financial aid programs also promoted values related to distributive justice because Blacks, Hispanics and American Indians were more likely to meet the eligibility criteria than Anglos or Asian Americans. Both of these strategies were distinguished by their "color-free" character, an important political consideration in gaining public support.

The policy of designating one set of public institutions to pursue distributive justice while maintaining a second relatively free to pursue equality of educational opportunity has produced system discontinuities; this now threatens public policy goals in states undergoing significant demographic change. The stable or declining minority enrollments of the 1980s, the troubled transfer function in the community colleges most frequently attended by minorities, the failure of graduation statistics to keep pace with minority enrollment increases and the continuing concentration of Blacks, Hispanics and American Indians in institutions with the fewest resources suggest that all institutions need to pursue both equality of educational opportunity and distributive justice.

Quality Versus Access

Complicating efforts to expand diversity in selective institutions is the implicit belief of many administrators and faculty members that an institution providing good access will have poor educational quality and that an institution that concerns itself with quality will restrict access.[4] Supporting this point of view have been decisions in many states to raise admission standards as an initiative for improving quality. The opposing perspective argues that the achievement of quality in a pluralistic society must include the full participation of diverse populations.[5] State policy officials, responding to this second viewpoint, have been increasingly concerned during the past several years with redefining quality to accommodate diversity.[6]

What is the appropriate balance between equality of educational opportunity and distributive justice? What kinds of goals should states establish with respect to each? What is the role of colleges and universities in state efforts to achieve such goals? How can progress

toward their attainment be reasonably estimated? What are the policy options that might encourage all institutions to emphasize both quality and diversity? This paper proposes a conceptual scheme for dealing with these and related questions based on case studies of 10 majority institutions in eight states.[7] It also proposes a method for tracking higher education participation and achievement rates for states and for institutions. Finally, the paper reports the results of applying this method to data available from the U.S. Office of Education for the period 1980-84.

Future papers will examine in greater detail the policies through which states influence their systems of higher education, the options for changing the impact of institutional environments on minority student achievement and differences among minority students. These policies produce opportunities and constraints for state and institutional policy.

The Evolution of Access and Quality

American history is characterized by cyclical swings between public action and private interests.[8] The emphasis on access that began in the early 1960s coincided with a public-action phase which by 1978 had shifted to an emphasis on private interests. The development of open-access institutions and the initiation of state and federal programs for need-based student financial aid served as the principal policy instruments of the democratizing period of public action. However, admission standards and assessment practices have assumed increasing importance in the 1980s, which have been more quality oriented and conservative.

The tension between access and quality has been a continuing part of the evolution of American higher education since the founding of Harvard by a group of Cambridge and Oxford-trained gentlemen who "stoutheartedly refused to yield an inch to pioneer prejudices or frontier values."[9] Each cycle has sparked arguments about who and what should be taught. Sides have formed for or against such perceived threats to quality as the inclusion of agriculture and the mechanical arts, the admission of female students and, in the most recent cycle, the accommodation of minorities both within institutions and in the curriculum. Researchers tracing patterns of student financial aid in relation to overall financing of higher education from 1947 to 1985 found similar alternating mandates for access and quality.[10] Other researchers placed the current cycle in sharper perspective, noting that the civil rights movement created a coalition of those who sought a fair process or equal educational opportunity with those concerned about fair outcomes or distributive justice.[11] Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited the distribution of federal funds to colleges and universities that discriminated on the basis of race, color or national origin. Progress toward fair outcomes was the legal test for compliance. A series of court decisions beginning with Adams v. Richardson in 1973 encouraged the pursuit of fair outcomes with greater determination and commitment, but overall the success of Title VI activities was disappointing to those who sought fair outcomes.[12]

Retreat From Fair Outcomes

By the early 1980s, the leading edge of a broad-scale retreat from concern with fair outcomes could be discerned in declining rates of minority participation and graduation and in the growing disparities between college costs and the availability of need-based financial assistance. The prospects for achieving fair outcomes with "color-free" strategies in a society where unequal treatment because of race, color or national origin had been the law of land for 10 times as long as equal opportunity seemed increasingly dim. Trends of the 1980s suggest that open-access institutions and need-based financial aid will not change outcomes sufficiently in the near term to avoid polarization and conflict along racial and ethnic lines.

State and institutional policy makers must balance the private interests of individuals and the public interests of society. The process should allow individuals to retain and enjoy educational benefits that may in part be a consequence of past advantages of race or

ethnicity. At the same time, public action should assure the fair outcomes essential to preserving cohesion and economic viability in a multicultural society.

In the late 1980s, the widening gap between fair process and fair outcomes foreshadows the beginning of a new cycle of public action focused on improving participation and graduation rates for citizens who in the past were the victims of legal discrimination. Policy makers must measure experience with quality and access initiatives and apply the results to the development of public policy if any new cycle is to produce results different from what has gone before.

During the previous public-action cycle, new institutions provided space and alternative educational programs for previously unserved populations. Need-based financial aid reduced economic barriers and encouraged institutions with enrollment-driven budgets to expand both the number and diversity of their students. These strategies were successful in some ways. Enrollments soared and discrepancies between minority and non-minority participation rates declined.

But there were unintended consequences as well. Institutions expanded too rapidly and got into financial difficulties when demographics changed. They began to emphasize enrollments rather than retention because it was more cost-effective to recruit new students than to retain the ones already there.

Selective institutions, freed from the necessity of accommodating more diverse populations by the creation of new institutions, sought to increase minority enrollments by recruiting "well-qualified" individuals. They paid little attention to changing institutional practices, partly because to do so might have been broadly interpreted as reducing standards.

Research has pointed out that the fair outcomes through fair process goals of the Great Society programs were unattainable for several reasons.[13] Not the least important of these was the refusal of target groups to behave in the ways expected by those who drafted the programs. Faced with a "perverse" clientele and growing sophistication in evaluation procedures, colleges and universities reacted in two ways depending on their missions. Open-access institutions created new programs with outcomes that could be attained without changing their clientele. This resulted in diminished attention to the traditional transfer function which depended for its success upon discernible changes in clientele.

Selective institutions looked for clientele that did not need changing. When the limitations of that approach became evident, they redefined the problem of providing access into a concern for maintaining quality, an objective used to explain declining minority enrollments.

The remedies available to selective research universities and open-door community colleges were not as applicable to the former teachers' colleges converted to comprehensive colleges and universities during the period of expansion. These institutions had no backlog of applicants to maintain enrollment levels like the research universities nor could they easily develop the programs that allowed community colleges to continue their growth with an increasingly underprepared clientele. The principal recourse for comprehensive institutions was to lower admission standards and improve retention. This pressured faculty members to negotiate course expectations to retain underprepared and nontraditional students, a process that preserved content at the expense of attention to literacy skills.[14]

By the late 1970s, reports of college graduates who could not write a coherent sentence and growing evidence of a massive quality problem in the public schools were spurring public policy makers into action on initiatives aimed at strengthening quality. Chief among these were tightened admission standards and the assessment movement.

Unintended Consequences

The quality initiatives of the current private-interest cycle have produced unintended consequences for access, just as the access initiatives of the earlier public-action cycle affected quality in unintended ways. What lessons are suggested? One is the necessity of considering both quality and diversity when developing any policy to change either. A second involves the importance of encouraging all institutions, regardless of mission, to accept responsibility both for expanding diversity and strengthening achievement. A third involves the need to improve student-institutional fit by changing institutional environments as well as programs. Because the development of new institutions is an unlikely scenario in most states, making existing institutions more responsive to diversity has gained in importance. Attempts to change individuals need to begin earlier and involve much greater interinstitutional cooperation. While the emphasis on removing economic barriers through need-based student financial aid will remain a key component of any effort to improve equity outcomes, the major gains from this strategy probably already have been recorded.

A Framework for Understanding Access and Quality Issues

State governments and the systems of higher education they support are linked in multiple ways. Institutions bear no greater share of the responsibility for current processes and outcomes than state governments. And they cannot reasonably be expected to achieve different outcomes in the absence of appropriate changes in state policy.

A policy decision to emphasize fair outcomes leads inevitably to the need to influence institutional practice. Colleges and universities are widely noted for their resistance to change and for the vigor with which they seek to preserve institutional autonomy. They respond most favorably to financial incentives that permit them to assume new responsibilities without relinquishing anything they are currently doing.

For this reason, categorical grants have been widely used to encourage greater attention to fair outcomes through the establishment of discretionary educational opportunity programs. Such programs have been more successful in improving participation than graduation rates because they typically have been implemented outside the academic mainstream.

In selective institutions, the development of special programs with limited enrollments has allowed those that view greater student diversity as a threat to quality to go unchallenged. It also has contributed to the patronizing and debilitating view of some faculty members that all minority students are underprepared and therefore cannot be expected to do high-quality work. In open-access institutions, special educational opportunity programs subordinate achievement to participation and rationalize limited outcomes.

Understanding Success

The experiences of 10 traditionally Anglo public colleges and universities with extensive experience in graduating Black, Hispanic or Native American students suggest a systematic way of looking at the process through which institutions respond to changing priorities in state government.[15] Researchers began by examining institutions for model interventions and committed leadership. But faculty and staff at some of the institutions were surprised to learn they were doing better than other institutions and were unable to identify special practices that might account for their success. In other successful institutions, the leadership was ambivalent about minority initiatives and concerned about the adverse impact that too much success with a diverse clientele would have on their institutions' reputations.

The search for patterns that might explain success in graduating minority students revealed considerable diversity across the institutions. Some appeared to be successful because they attracted well-prepared minority students who overcame, with fairly limited assistance, gaps in academic preparation and feelings of marginality and cultural isolation. In others, a multicultural environment and extensive support services helped very diverse students achieve respectable graduation rates. In a few, strong state and system interventions seemed to explain outcomes better than institutional practices or administrative commitment.

Overall, multiple factors were required to explain institutional success with Black, Hispanic and American Indian students. The institutions paid attention to the expectations of governors, legislators and other state policy leaders. Coordinating and governing boards, acting on state priorities, offered incentives and evaluated outcomes. Quality initiatives in the form of new assessment policies or changes in admissions requirements were offset by strategies to preserve diversity. Institutional practices for working with minority students became more purposeful and less reactionary. Increasingly, specific interventions were part of systematic efforts to change outcomes rather than fragmented responses to unique problems.

Figure 1 portrays the influences that contributed to the participation and graduation rates in these 10 colleges and universities. The more selective institutions typically established increased diversity as a priority only after pressures from the political environments on which they depended for their resources. They did, however, expect that high proportions of those they admitted would achieve degrees, without regard to race or ethnicity. A Black graduate from the University of California at Los Angeles said, "Because UCLA is a school with a reputation ... they want to see you graduate -- not necessarily because they like you."

By contrast, less-selective institutions often exhibited a historic commitment to access. Temple University, for example, was committed to serving the urban poor and working class of all races and ethnicities long before it became one of Pennsylvania's state universities. But often the emphasis on providing opportunities for participation was not matched by a corresponding concern with helping more diverse learners achieve.

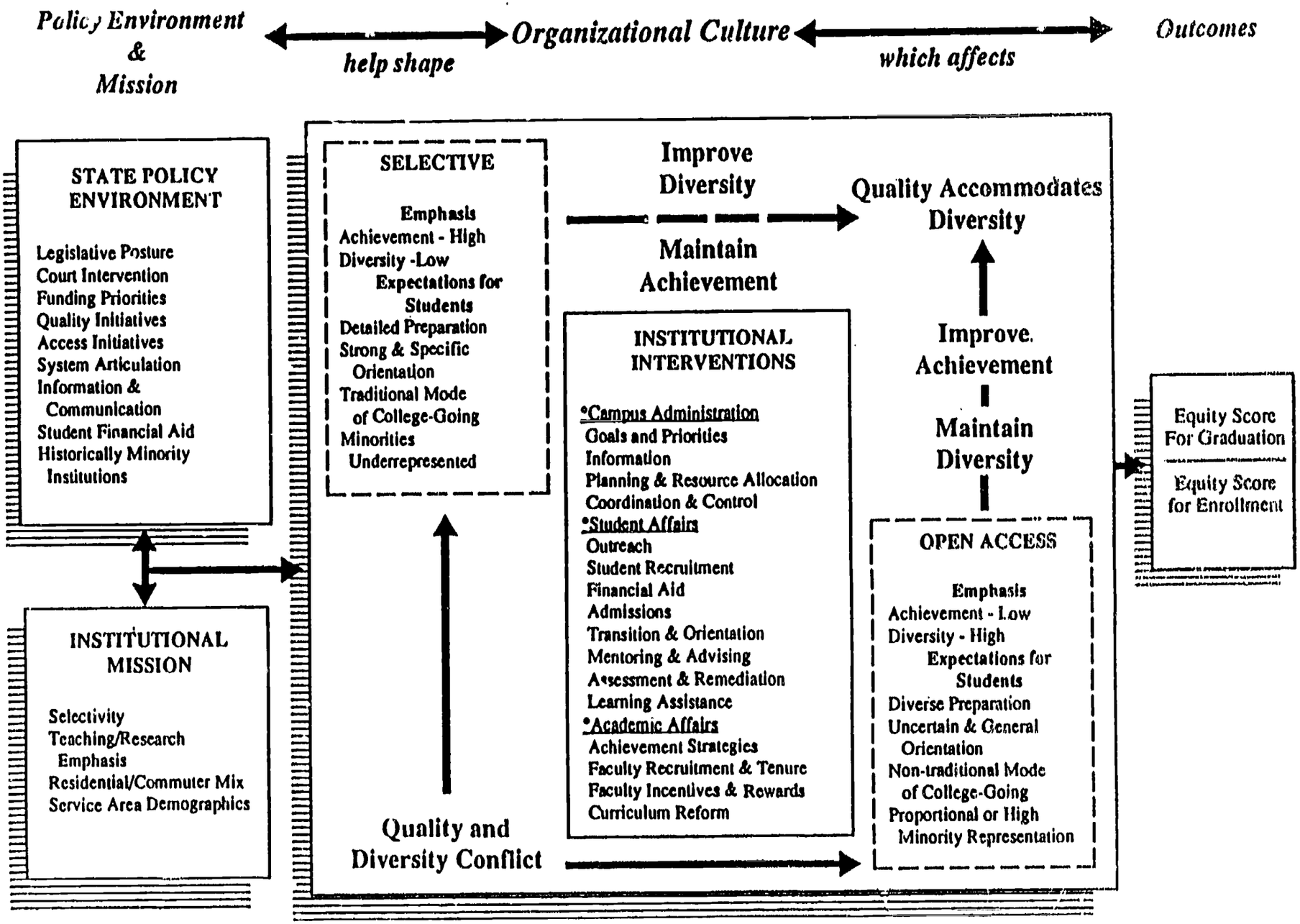
Emphasizing either access or achievement but not both produced two distinctive patterns among the institutions studied. Those with an emphasis on achievement showed good graduation rates for the limited numbers of minority students they enrolled. Those that emphasized access had excellent participation, but sometimes graduated Black students at rates up to 50% below those for Anglos.

Multicultural institutions enrolling large numbers of Hispanic students -- Florida International University (FIU), the University of New Mexico and the University of Texas at El Paso -- demonstrated the best overall balance between diversity and achievement. Students found their environments the most comfortable, and such institutions were the most likely to have comprehensive academic strategies for helping their more diversely prepared clientele succeed. In the cases of Florida International and the University of New Mexico, institutional outcomes were clearly helped by high-performing Hispanic populations. The advantages of the FIU environment were not as helpful to Blacks who tended to achieve at levels similar to those reported for other institutions in the Florida system.

Public institutions respond to pressures for greater diversity according to their mission, selectivity and proximity to minority population centers. Comprehensive teaching-oriented institutions, especially those in multicultural settings, have priorities and enrollment pressures that enhance their readiness for working with students who need help in learning. Selective research universities search for well-prepared minority students whom they expect to succeed with little assistance beyond the standard learning format available to all students. Part of their investment in this approach is philosophical -- university students

FIGURE 1

A Model of Institutional Adaptation to Student Diversity



should be well prepared and self-directing. Part is practical -- improvements in the learning environment come at the expense of resources otherwise directed to research. Less-selective research universities with a long-standing commitment to diversity may be more selective in some majors and accept differential attrition rates to preserve acceptable academic standards.

State policy makers use mission definition, admission standards, assessment practices, planning and resource allocation and incentives to encourage institutions to change their priorities and outcomes. In many of the study states, chief executives, legislative resolutions and incentive funding sent the clear message that improved minority participation and achievement were among the criteria by which institutional effectiveness would be judged. Executive and legislative concerns for fairer outcomes received the most attention in states where coordinating and/or governing boards reinforced them by setting priorities, monitoring outcomes and tying resource allocation to the adequacy of institutional planning.

While the institutions studied tried to eliminate problems of underpreparation and uncertain objectives before students showed up on campus, they also worked to change their organizational cultures to help more diversely prepared students meet institutional expectations. All of the institutional interventions listed in the model were addressed over time by one or more of the universities. The ones that did so most consistently and systematically received continuing encouragement and support from state policy leaders.

Institutional environment is determined by the sum of the interactions an individual has with other members of the academic community. Where minority students are perceived as a threat to quality, they are likely to be victimized by low expectations and racist behavior from fellow students and faculty members. Environments are most supportive in institutions that value cultural diversity as a strength, and the success of minority students is closely tied to the success of the institution. Where Black, Hispanic or American Indian students remain marginally represented, institutions must buffer them from hostility through such strategies as cultural centers and personal counseling.

It is the students' perspectives that determine whether an institutional environment is hostile or supportive. Faculty, however, determine the way students experience the academic environment. In institutions where all students commute, the academic environment may be the only part of the institution that most experience. Because Blacks, Hispanics and American Indians are poorly represented among the faculty of most majority institutions, there are few role models and little understanding of the issues and problems students from these cultures face. Many of the interventions universities develop are designed to offset the negative experiences students have with faculty members. This dimension of the university environment may well be the most difficult to change.

Defining and Assessing State Outcomes

Any policy approach that seeks a better balance between fair process and fair outcomes presumes there is a way to assess current status and to keep track of improvements. Obviously, proportional representation and comparable achievement must remain the goals of fair outcomes; any alternative would imply that race and ethnicity are legitimate determinants of educational opportunity and achievement. However, many of the variables that contribute to current differences are not under the control of institutions of higher education or the state agencies that oversee them. While it is tempting to blame lower levels of the educational system or elsewhere in society, colleges and universities must attend to the things they do control.

Two indicators are needed to do this. The first is an estimate of the differences between majority and minority enrollment and graduation rates that can be explained by the variables over which colleges and universities exercise some control. This would help policy leaders estimate the improvements they could make through environmental changes.

The second indicator is a method for tracking progress in achieving enrollment and graduation objectives across states and institutions. This would provide trend information to help policy leaders set attainable goals, assess progress and determine the need for corrective actions.

The National Center for Postsecondary Governance and Finance Research Center at Arizona State University has been working to develop such indicators during the past four years. One hundred forty-three institutions in 10 states are testing a model derived from the concepts in Figure 1.[16] This test should help researchers estimate the variance in graduation rates and enrollments of Blacks and Hispanics that can be attributed to system influences, mission characteristics, institutional interventions and management strategies. Results will be available by May 1990.

The research center also has been working on indicators to track progress across states and institutions using data collected by the National Center for Education Statistics. Since 1966, most colleges and universities have periodically provided race and ethnicity data on enrollments and graduates, first through the Higher Education General Information Survey (HEGIS) and more recently through the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS).

Comparing scores across states is like comparing golf scores without information about a player's handicap. Florida, for example, is home to a high-performing Cuban Hispanic population whose educational attainments exceed those of their Anglo counterparts. California's population includes many Hispanics who lack the preparation and orientation of their Cuban Hispanic counterparts. Given the same level of effort, the two states may achieve significantly different outcomes. Most Southern states rely heavily on historically Black institutions to achieve very respectable participation and graduation rates, an alternative that is not available in most Northern states. State equity scores are most useful in tracking progress over time within the same state. Comparisons across states should be interpreted with caution.

The information in Table 1 was developed using data from HEGIS and the U.S. Census for the period, 1980-84.[17] A Black Equity Score for Enrollment (BESE) was calculated for each state by dividing the proportion of Black students in public four-year institutions in 1984 by the proportion of Blacks in the 18- to 24-year-old population of high school graduates for the same year. A score of 100 indicates "proportional representation," that is, that in 1984 Blacks were as well or better represented among four-year college students than they were among the cohort of 18-24-year-old high school graduates.

A Black Equity Score for Graduation (BESG) was calculated by dividing the proportion of Blacks who graduated from public four-year colleges in a state in 1984 by the proportion present in the undergraduate student bodies of the same institutions four years earlier. A score of 100 indicates "comparable achievement," or that Blacks were as well or better represented among graduating seniors in 1984 than they were among undergraduate students in the same institutions four years earlier.

Similar calculations were done for Hispanics and are shown in Table 2. Scores are not shown for states where data were missing for 10% or more of the institutions. In some cases (noted by an asterisk), enrollment information was deleted from the calculation when an institution failed to report graduation data.

The tables will provide trend data when they have been verified and information added for 1980 and 1988. But even in preliminary form they raise interesting questions. In 1984, Black equity graduation scores ranged from 41 to 89 in states where 5% or more of the undergraduate enrollment in public institutions were Black. Black equity enrollment scores in the same states extended from 50 to 98 (excluding the District of Columbia). These scores indicate that in some states Blacks graduate at half the rate of Anglo students, while in other states the graduation rates for Blacks approach those for Anglos. Some of the states had high graduation scores but low enrollment scores. Others displayed the opposite pattern. A few had relatively low or high scores in both areas.

The results for Hispanics ranged from 35 to 100 for equity enrollment scores in states where they constituted more than 2% of the enrollments in public higher education institutions in 1984. The comparable equity graduation scores extended from 67 to 100. The enrollment rates for Hispanics thus range from about one-third of those for Anglos to near parity. Graduation rates show less variation than for Blacks, underscoring other observations that while Hispanics are less likely to enroll than Blacks, they are more likely to graduate.

While some of these differences can be explained by the populations served or by the presence of historically Black institutions, it is likely that other influences were at work as well. Why did some states have better access than achievement or vice versa? How can participation rates (achievement) be improved without affecting access (participation) adversely? Which of the influences at work are amenable to state policy manipulation? Which would produce the most positive results for the lowest cost? These questions can only be answered by collaborative research and development efforts that bring together policy makers and researchers from different states with similar problems.

TABLE 1

STATE SUMMARY OF BLACK EQUITY SCORES
FOR ENROLLMENT AND GRADUATION[1]
PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES

STATE	BESE80	BESG80	BESE84	BESG84	PBENR84
AL	88	81	68	65	18.2
AK[2]	44	86	86	67	3.2
AZ	54	78	68	61	1.9
AR	95	80	78	64	15.1
CA	75	65	100	50	5.2
CO	81	80	70	40	2.6
CT[3]	54	71	34	66	3.4
DE	72	73	52	72	10.0
DC[4]	100	--	100	95	76.4
FL	79	70	51	63	9.0
GA	68	59	74	63	18.6
HI[2]	09	100	51	99	0.9
ID	100	65	100	59	0.9
IL	83	62	83	55	11.3
IN	89	59	58	54	5.6
IA	100	60	89	60	2.1
KS	61	61	100	65	4.1
KY	82	63	83	65	6.7
LA	84	78	85	72	23.4
ME[25]	100	84	--	100	0.9
MD	92	67	80	66	18.6
MA	74	94	82	44	2.8
MI	73	60	76	60	8.0
MN[2]	99	53	62	63	1.4
MS	96	72	98	73	30.7
MO	59	68	50	66	5.7
MT[2]	60	48	100	71	0.4
NB	81	67	74	45	2.4
NV	47	95	43	61	3.9
NH[5]	25	61	--	100	0.4
NJ	87	80	75	69	9.9
NM	75	72	94	68	2.4
NY[2]	100	56	31	62	4.2
NC	86	83	78	74	19.5
ND[2]	44	100	100	99	0.3
OH[3]	85	53	71	41	6.6
OK	80	63	76	71	6.8
OR	84	47	100	72	1.5
PA	100	67	80	54	8.3
RI	82	89	100	56	2.4
SC	52	94	51	89	16.5
SD[2]	36	100	43	23	0.1
TN	85	84	73	69	14.5
TX	66	59	59	59	8.3

TABLE 1 (continued)

STATE	BESE80	BESG80	BESE84	BESG84	PBENR84
UT	100	71	70	58	0.8
VT[2]	100	61	51	58	0.5
VA	88	61	86	57	15.2
WA	66	70	64	61	2.5
WV	100	70	100	66	4.6
WI	85	46	59	44	2.4
WY[5]	74	41	--	32	0.8

[1]Institutions with missing data for any one of the equity scores were omitted from calculations of all state aggregate scores.

[2]Twenty-five percent or more of institutions in this state had missing data for at least one equity score.

[3]Ten to twenty-four percent of institutions in this state had missing data for at least one equity score.

[4]BESG80 could not be calculated for the one public institution in the District of Columbia because it did not exist in 1976.

[5]BESE84 for this state could not be calculated because of weaknesses in available data.

TABLE 2
STATE SUMMARY OF HISPANIC EQUITY SCORES
FOR ENROLLMENT AND GRADUATION[1]
PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES

STATE	HESE80	HESG80	HESE84	HESG84	PHENR84
AL[2]	56	100	100	100	0.5
AK[2]	27	49	97	100	1.4
AZ	34	100	35	97	6.2
AR[3]	38	58	100	100	0.5
CA	53	87	56	71	8.2
CO	56	54	65	67	5.5
CT[3]	46	87	68	97	1.5
DE[2]	38	100	32	100	0.7
DC[4]	27	--	100	100	1.8
FL	65	100	81	100	8.2
GA[2]	46	100	55	100	0.9
HI[2]	30	80	33	84	1.1
ID[2]	75	100	43	74	1.7
IL	42	95	51	82	2.0
IN	69	96	100	91	1.4
IA	61	100	100	100	0.8
KS	54	84	54	91	1.7
KY[2]	52	100	61	100	0.4
LA[3]	45	100	68	100	1.4
ME[2]	19	79	100	92	0.2
MD	71	100	100	100	1.5
MA[3]	57	100	65	79	1.2
MI	59	85	95	97	1.1
MN[2]	67	60	100	51	0.5
MS[2]	30	100	100	100	0.4
MO[3]	46	89	53	100	0.6
MT	28	100	81	100	0.6
NB[2]	48	98	48	100	1.0
NV	36	100	65	100	3.3
NH[2]	100	84	96	52	0.3
NJ	83	85	100	86	5.9
NM	62	84	89	82	26.5
NY[2]	93	69	22	70	1.6
NC[2]	30	100	39	100	0.6
ND[2]	28	51	03	66	0.2
OH[3]	100	100	100	100	0.7
OK[2]	48	100	38	80	1.1
OR	49	100	59	86	1.4
PA[2]	81	25	82	54	0.7
RI	59	100	78	84	1.3
SC[2]	34	100	100	100	0.5
SD[2,5]	16	100	--	86	0.1
TN[3]	37	100	68	100	0.4
TX	71	92	72	82	12.1

TABLE 2 (continued)

STATE	HESE80	HESG80	HESE84	HESG84	PHENR84
UT	53	81	02	67	1.6
VT[2]	44	100	51	100	0.5
VA[3]	38	100	90	100	0.9
WA	43	76	100	84	1.4
WV[2]	43	100	100	100	0.4
WI[2]	71	87	100	63	0.9
WY	29	66	33	100	1.5

[1]Institutions with missing data for any one of the equity scores were omitted from calculations of all state aggregate scores.

[2]Twenty-five percent or more of institutions in this state had missing data for at least one equity score.

[3]Ten to twenty-four percent of institutions in this state had missing data for at least one equity score.

[4]HESG80 could not be calculated for the one public institution in the District of Columbia because it did not exist in 1976.

[5]HESE84 for this state could not be calculated because of weaknesses in available data.

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14. The process of negotiating standards is described in depth in Literacy in the Open Access College (Jossey-Bass, 1983).

15. R.C. Richardson and E.F. Skinner, 1989.

16. The participating states are California, Florida, Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New Mexico, Ohio, South Carolina, Tennessee and Texas.

17. The information provided in Tables 1 and 2 is tentative, illustrating the methodology being developed rather than outcomes for the periods considered. The HEGIS data base is flawed by missing and inaccurate information which will be verified during the study.