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ABSTRACT

This study contains an analysis of admissions practices at the University of Virginia (UVA), originally reported in 1996 and updated for this report. It contains improved data from 1996 and additional data for 1999. Among the findings are that Whites and Asians admitted to the UVA have roughly the same verbal Scholastic Assessment Test (SAT) scores and high school ranks. Asian admittees on average have higher mathematics SAT scores compared to other groups. Hispanics admitted to UVA have slightly lower verbal SAT scores and high-school ranks, and somewhat lower mathematics scores, compared to Whites and Asians. Test scores and high school ranks for black admittees in general are much lower compared to other groups. UVA frequently rejects many White, Hispanic, and Asian applicants with higher test scores and high-school ranks than Black admittees. For all racial and ethnic groups, in-state applicants are admitted with lower test scores and high-school ranks than out-of-state applicants. On average, out-of-state Blacks are admitted with substantially lower test scores and high-school ranks than are in-state Hispanics, Asians, and Whites. The relative odds of admission to UVA show a strong preference given to Blacks over Whites, and to a lesser extent, Hispanics over Whites. For 1996, the relative odds of admission to UVA, controlling for test scores and high-school ranks, show a strong degree of preference given to Blacks over Whites (33 to 1) in 1996. For 1999 admissions data, the relative odds of admission, controlling for test scores and high-school ranks and also for legacy and in-state resident status, show an even stronger degree of preference for Blacks. A technical appendix contains the coefficients from the logistic regression of UVA admissions on several independent variables. (Contains 10 figures.) (SLD)

Preferences at the University of Virginia

Racial and Ethnic Preferences in Undergraduate Admissions, 1996 and 1999

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EMBARGOED UNTIL
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Prepared for the
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Executive Summary

- Whites and Asians admitted to the University of Virginia (UVA) have roughly the same verbal SAT scores and high-school ranks. Asian admittees on average have higher math SAT scores compared to all other groups. On average, Hispanics admitted to UVA have slightly lower verbal scores and high-school ranks, and somewhat lower math scores, compared to whites and Asians. Test scores and high-school ranks for black admittees in general are much lower compared to the other groups. The gaps among racial and ethnic groups are smallest for high-school ranks.
- UVA frequently rejects many white, Hispanic, and Asian applicants with higher test scores and high-school ranks compared to black admittees.
- For all racial and ethnic groups, in-state applicants are admitted with lower test scores and high-school ranks compared to their out-of-state counterparts.
- On average, out-of-state blacks are admitted with substantially lower test scores and high-school ranks than are in-state Hispanics, Asians, and whites.
- There were many in-state Asian, Hispanic, and white applicants rejected by UVA despite better test scores and high-school ranks than the average out-of-state black admittee.
- The relative odds of admissions to UVA show a strong degree of preference given to blacks over whites and, to a lesser extent, Hispanics over whites. In 1996, the relative odds of admission to UVA, controlling for test scores and high-school ranks, show a strong degree of preference given to blacks over whites (33 to 1 in 1996). For 1999 admissions data, the relative odds of admission, controlling for test scores and high-school ranks and also for legacy and in-state resident status, show an even stronger degree of preference given to blacks over whites (111.11 to 1 in 1999). Controlling for all other factors in 1999, the relative odds of admission also favor in-state residents (15.76 to 1) and legacy applicants (4.32 to 1). The relative odds of admission for Hispanic over white applicants, controlling for residency and legacy status, and test scores and high-school rank, were 4.85 to 1 in 1999. All results summarized here are statistically significant.

Acknowledgments

We would again like to thank the Virginia Association of Scholars for helping obtain the data used in our original report this year on *Preferences in Virginia Higher Education*.

Introduction

This study represents further analysis of admission practices at the University of Virginia, originally reported in *Preferences in Virginia Higher Education*.¹ That study, issued in January 1999, presented evidence of racial and ethnic preferences in Virginia colleges and universities, including the University of Virginia (UVA). The report used data from the 1996 admissions process.

At the time, UVA officials asserted that our data did not always match theirs. This was of some interest to us, since we had obtained our data directly from UVA on computer disks (and, indeed, had paid for it). A further examination revealed that there were a number of cases that UVA somehow inadvertently dropped from the files we were given.

This report is partly concerned about remedying this problem and reporting accurate results. We obtained a new set of data that the University of Virginia stated was correct (of course, it is not responsible for the use we have made of the data).

In addition, we requested and were granted additional data from the University of Virginia for the year 1999. We wanted to update our findings, and we wanted to explore the possibility—again raised by UVA officials—that some of our conclusions about racial and ethnic disparities were actually the result of other preferences, specifically those for Virginia residents.

As we shall see, the new 1996 data result in only modest changes in our overall results for that year. Our conclusions are unchanged by the new 1996 information. The major contribution of this report involves the additional, 1999 data requested.

Originally we had hoped to obtain information on a number of additional variables that are relevant for admissions. These included in-state residence, legacy or alumni status, Virginia county of residence, number of AP (advanced placement) courses taken in high school, and athletic status. We were successful in obtaining the first two. But the University balked at our other questions because of confidentiality restrictions, the small number of individuals in question, or similar objections.

Despite this restriction, the data reported on here are the most complete and detailed ever given to the public.

¹ Center for Equal Opportunity, Washington, D.C., 1999.

Background

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. This system operates by establishing different standards of admission for individuals based on their racial or ethnic background, with some students held to a higher standard and others admitted based on 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 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 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. Court decisions have generally been hostile to such preferences. 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 most populous state. A similar ballot initiative in Washington State was approved by a large majority of the voters in 1998. Grassroots activists elsewhere are trying to place similar proposals on their own state ballots, and lawmakers—both in Congress and in state capitals—have drafted legislation modeled on the new California and Washington laws.

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 California, Colorado, Michigan, Minnesota, North Carolina, Virginia, and Washington, and the U.S. Military Academy and the U.S. Naval Academy. Previous reports have shown that blacks and Hispanics receive large amounts of preference in the undergraduate admissions process at many schools studied.

Racial and Ethnic Differences in Admittee Qualifications

Applicants, Admittees, and Enrollees—1996

In 1996, 15,960 individuals applied for admission to the University of Virginia.² Of these, 5,283 (33 percent) were admitted and 2,683 enrolled. The overwhelming proportion of applicants, admittees, and enrollees was white.

UVA applicants, 1996

- 9 percent black
- 3 percent Hispanic
- 10 percent Asian
- 78 percent white

UVA admittees, 1996

- 15 percent black
- 3 percent Hispanic
- 10 percent Asian
- 72 percent white

UVA admission rates, 1996

- 56 percent of black applicants
- 29 percent of Hispanic applicants
- 35 percent of Asian applicants
- 30 percent of white applicants

UVA enrollees, 1996

- 13 percent black
- 3 percent Hispanic
- 10 percent Asian
- 75 percent white

Applicants, Admittees, and Enrollees—1999

In 1999, 15,521 individuals applied for admission to the University of Virginia.³ Of these, 5,184 (33 percent) were admitted and 2,752 enrolled. The overwhelming proportion of applicants, admittees, and enrollees was white.

UVA applicants, 1999

- 8 percent black
- 4 percent Hispanic
- 11 percent Asian
- 77 percent white

UVA admittees, 1999

- 12 percent black

² Foreign students and students listed as “Missing,” “Other,” “Native American,” and “Unknown” were dropped from the analyses.

³ *Ibid.*

- 4 percent Hispanic
- 12 percent Asian
- 72 percent white

UVA admission rates, 1999

- 48 percent of black applicants
- 34 percent of Hispanic applicants
- 37 percent of Asian applicants
- 31 percent of white applicants

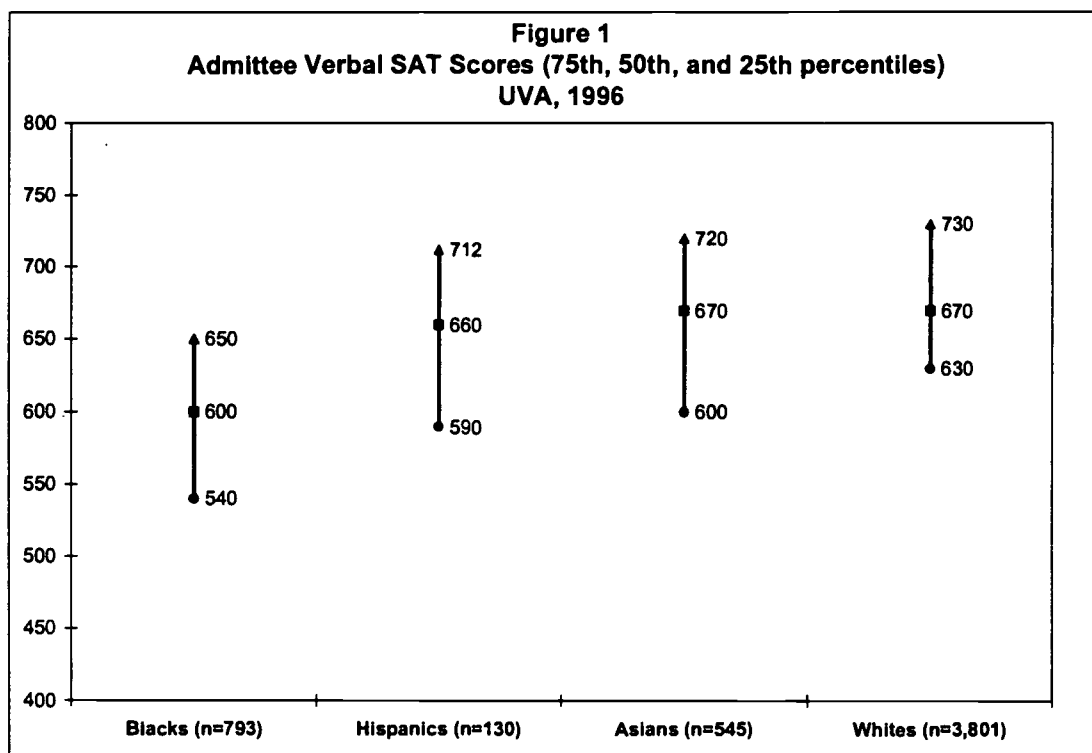
UVA enrollees, 1999

- 10 percent black
- 3 percent Hispanic
- 11 percent Asian
- 76 percent white

Differences in Verbal SAT Scores—1996 and 1999

Figure 1 shows the range of verbal SAT scores by racial and ethnic groups for those admitted in 1996.

White, Asian, and Hispanic scores are roughly the same, although white scores are higher at the 25th and 75th percentiles compared to Hispanics and Asians. In contrast, the scores of black admittees in 1996 are noticeably lower compared to Hispanic, Asian, and white admittees. The score for black



admittees in 1996 at the 75th percentile is lower than those at the 50th percentile for Hispanics, Asians, and whites. This means that at least 75 percent of blacks were admitted with lower verbal scores compared to 50 percent or more of Hispanic, Asian, and white admittees.

A remarkably similar pattern is found in 1999 (see Figure 2). White admittees have the highest scores at the 25th, 50th, and 75th percentiles. Asian and Hispanic scores at the same percentiles are slightly lower, while the scores of black admittees at these percentiles are much lower. The gap between the Hispanic and black median is 70 points; it is 80 points between Asians and blacks, and 90 points between whites and blacks. In 1999, as in 1996, the score for black admittees at the 75th percentile is lower than those at the median for Hispanics, Asians, and whites, meaning that at least 75 percent of blacks were admitted with

lower verbal scores compared to at least half the Hispanic, Asian, and white admittees.

Differences in Math SAT Scores—1996 and 1999

Group differences are larger for math SAT scores. Figure 3 shows the math SAT scores for admittees in 1996. In 1996, Asian admittees

had the highest math SAT scores. The Asian median exceeded the white median by 20 points, the Hispanic median by 40 points, and the black median by 120 points.

The gap between blacks compared to other groups is more substantial for math SAT scores compared to the verbal SATs. The white scores at the 25th percentile are the same as the black scores at the 75th percentile. This means that 75 percent of blacks admitted to UVA had math scores equal to or less than 75 percent of whites. The differences are even larger between blacks and Asians.

Similar gaps are found in the 1999 data (see Figure 4). Asian admittees have higher scores

compared to all other groups, and black admittees have the lowest scores. The median score of black admittees is substantially lower compared to Hispanics (60 points), whites (90 points), and Asians (110 points). The score

Figure 2
Admittee Verbal SAT Scores (75th, 50th, and 25th percentiles)
UVA, 1999

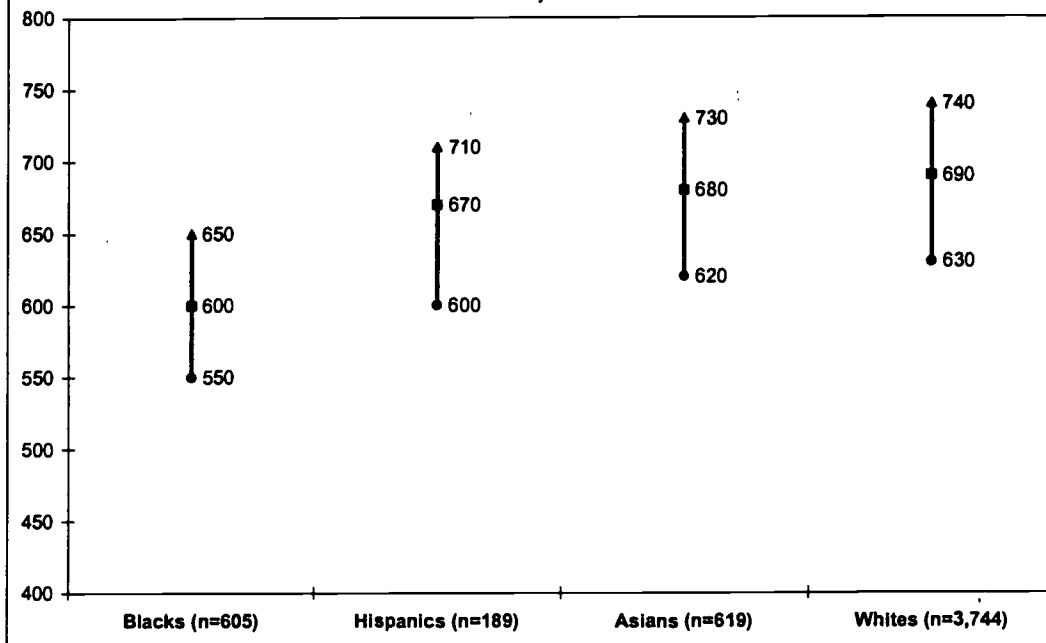
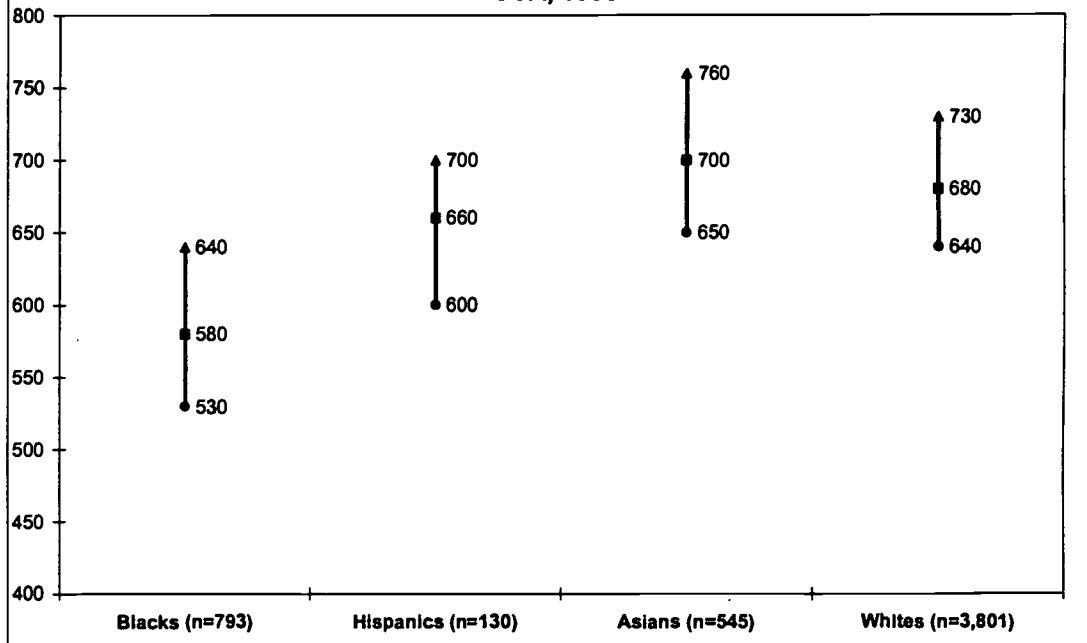


Figure 3
Admittee Math SAT Scores (75th, 50th, and 25th percentiles)
UVA, 1996



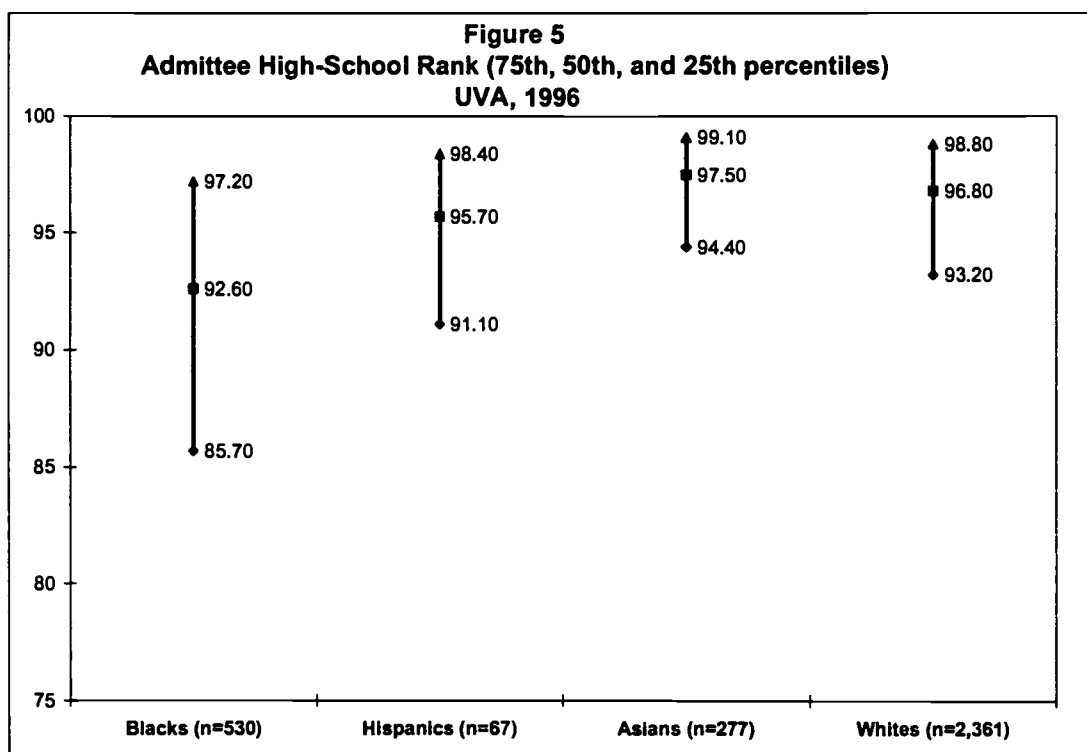
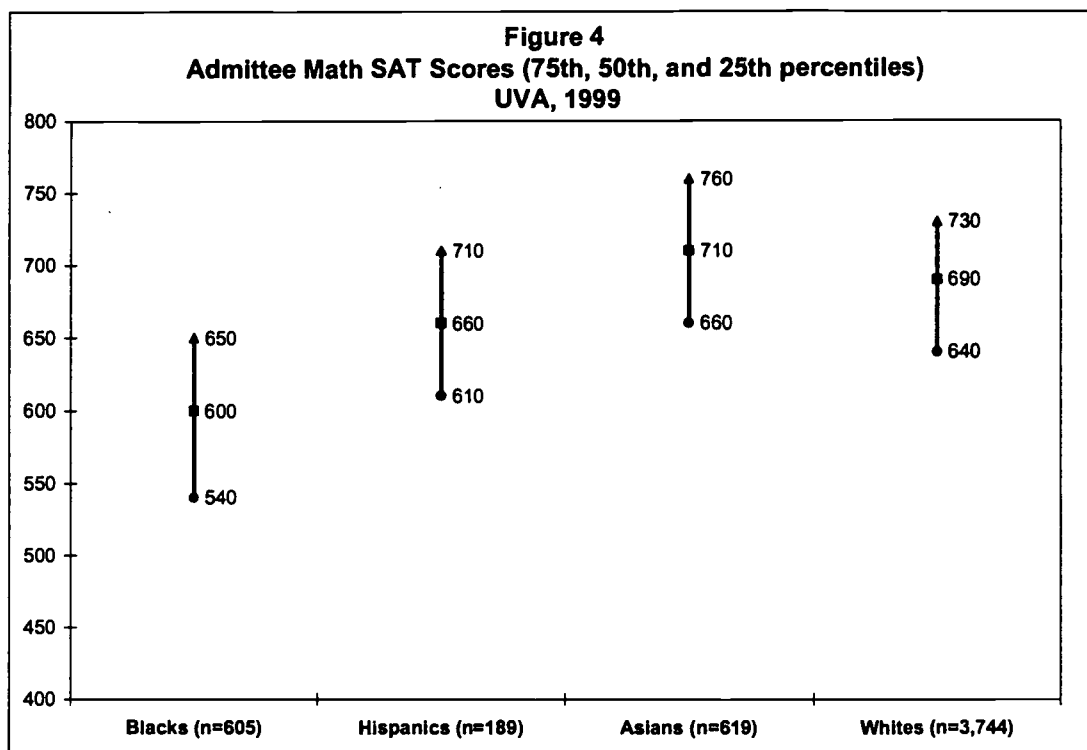
of black admittees at the 75th percentile is lower than the Hispanic median by 10 points. It is 10 points higher than white scores at the 25th percentile, and is 10 points lower than the Asian score at the 25th percentile, meaning that three of four Asian admittees have math scores greater than three of four black admittees.

Differences in High-School Rank—1996 and 1999

There are similar group differences in high-school rank, but the differences appear to be smaller than group differences in test scores. Large majorities of each group graduated in the top 10 percent of their high-school classes. As shown in Figure 5, in 1996 Asian admittees had the highest average class rank (97.50), followed by whites (96.80), Hispanics (95.70), and blacks (92.60).

In 1999, Asian and white median high-school ranks were roughly the same (97.50 and 97.30, respectively). The Hispanic median high-school rank was only slightly lower (96.20),

followed by the median high-school rank of black admittees (91.85). For 1996 and 1999, at the top quartile (that is, the 75th percentile), black, Hispanic, white, and Asians admittees differ little. (See Figure 6.)



Rejectees vs. Admittees

1996. UVA

rejected 1,023 Asians, 639 blacks, 1,023 Hispanics, and 8,689 whites. Of these, 177 Asians, 29 Hispanics, and 1,703 whites were rejected despite their higher high-school ranks compared to the median high-school rank of black admittees. 470 Asian, 118 Hispanic, and

4,923 white rejectees had higher math and verbal scores compared to the median verbal and math SAT scores of black admittees. Finally, UVA rejected 108 Asians, 16 Hispanics, and 1,257 whites despite their higher test scores *and* high-school ranks compared to the average black admittee.

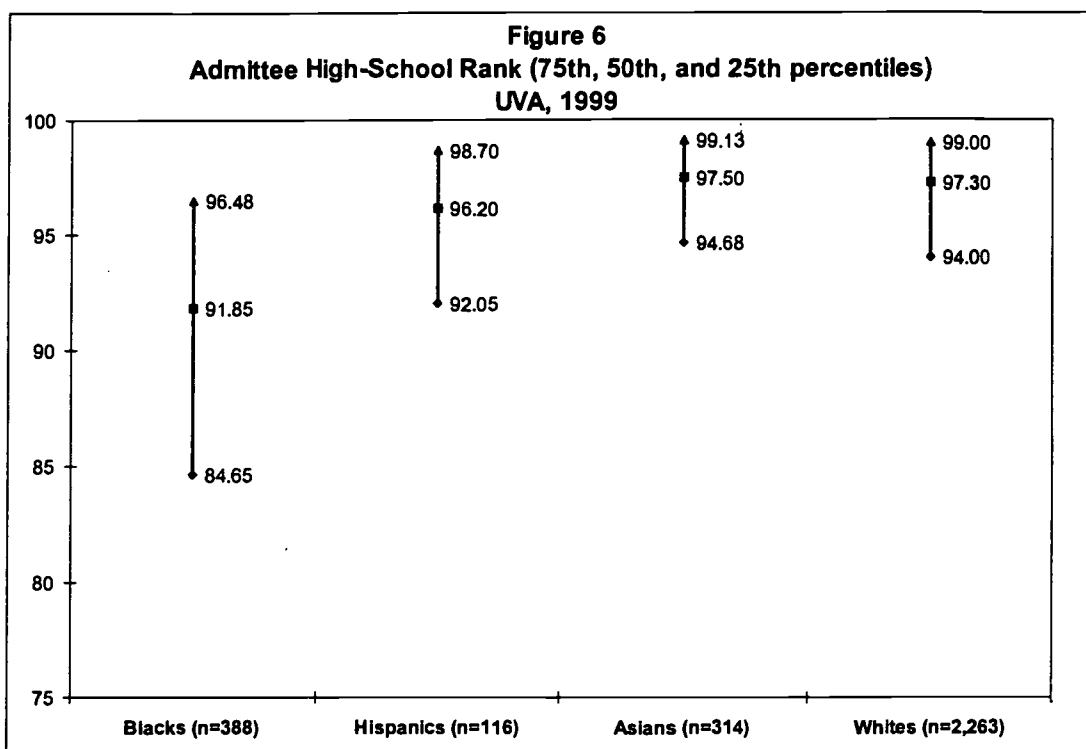
UVA rejected 9 blacks, 154 Asians, and 1,652 whites with math and verbal scores greater than the median scores of Hispanic admittees. Five blacks, 106 Asians, and 1,035 whites were rejected despite high-school ranks greater than the median high-school rank of Hispanic admittees. UVA rejected 29 Asians and 348 whites but no blacks with test scores *and* class ranks higher than that of the average Hispanic admittee.

UVA rejected 4 blacks, 13 Hispanics, and 851 whites with math and verbal scores greater than the median scores of Asian admittees. Two blacks, 8 Hispanics, and 578 whites were rejected despite high-school ranks greater than the median high-school rank of Asian admittees. UVA rejected no blacks, no Hispanics, but 124 whites with test scores *and* class ranks higher than that of the average Asian admittee.

1999. UVA rejected 1,073 Asians, 661 blacks, 370 Hispanics, and 8,233 whites. 178 Asians, 44 Hispanics, and 1,715 whites were rejected despite high-school ranks greater than the median high-school rank of black admittees, while 494 Asians, 128 Hispanics, and 4,591 whites were rejected despite having higher test scores. In addition, UVA rejected 107 Asians, 25 Hispanics, and 1,209 whites with higher test scores *and* class ranks compared to the average black admittee.

UVA rejected 6 blacks, 78 Asians, and 879 whites with high-school ranks greater than that of the median high-school rank of Hispanic admittees. Seven blacks, 180 Asians, and 1,649 whites were rejected despite better verbal and math scores. UVA rejected no blacks, 23 Asians, and 266 whites with higher test scores *and* high-school ranks compared to the average Hispanic admittee.

Three blacks, 9 Hispanics, and 579 whites were rejected with high-school ranks higher than that of the median rank of Asian admittees. One black, 19 Hispanic, and 695 white rejectees had better test scores compared to the median verbal and math scores of Asian admittees. UVA rejected no blacks and no Hispanics but 74 whites with high-school ranks *and* test scores higher than the medians for Asian admittees.



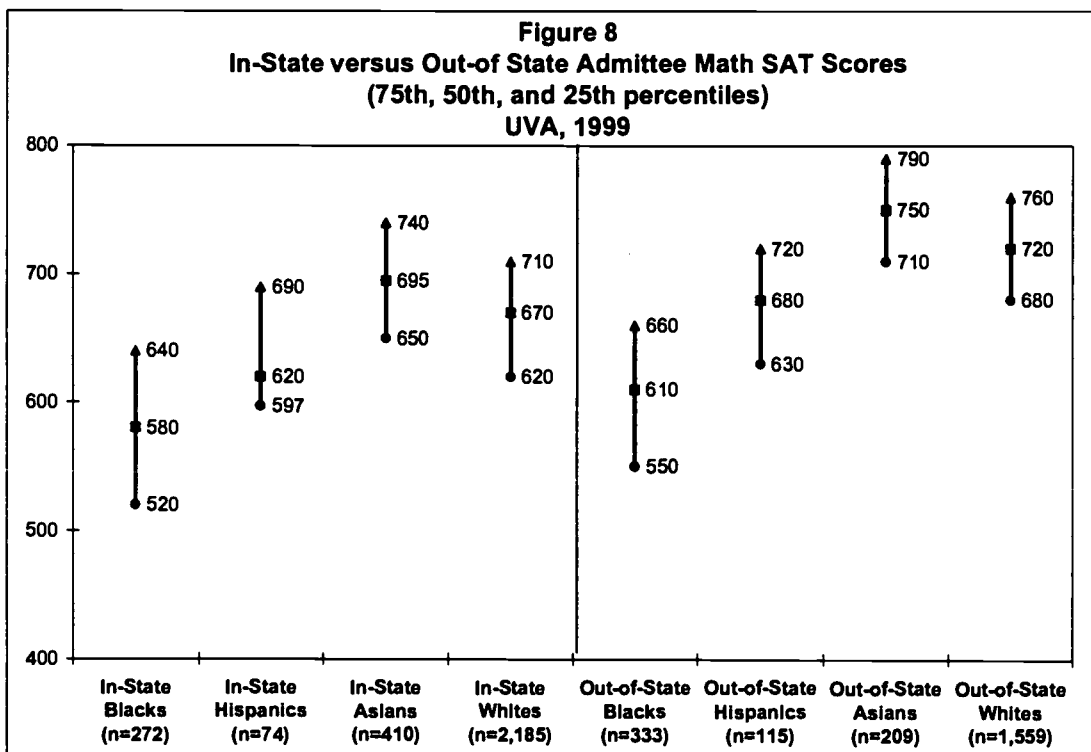
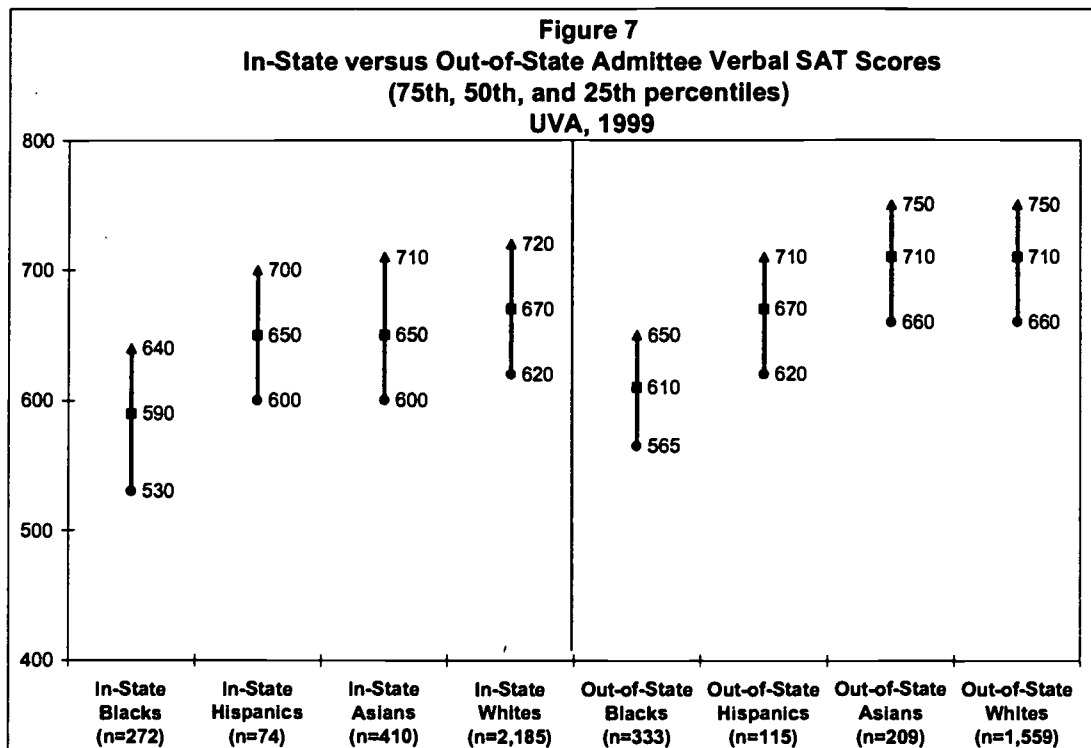
In-State versus Out-of-State

Are differences among groups partly a function of admission preferences given to in-state applicants?

That is, if a significant proportion of blacks were in-state residents, and in-state residents receive admission preferences, perhaps this would account for the disparities in admittee scores and high-school ranks. Perhaps the rejectees with higher test scores and high-school ranks come more disproportionately from out-of-state applicants rather than from whites and Asians.

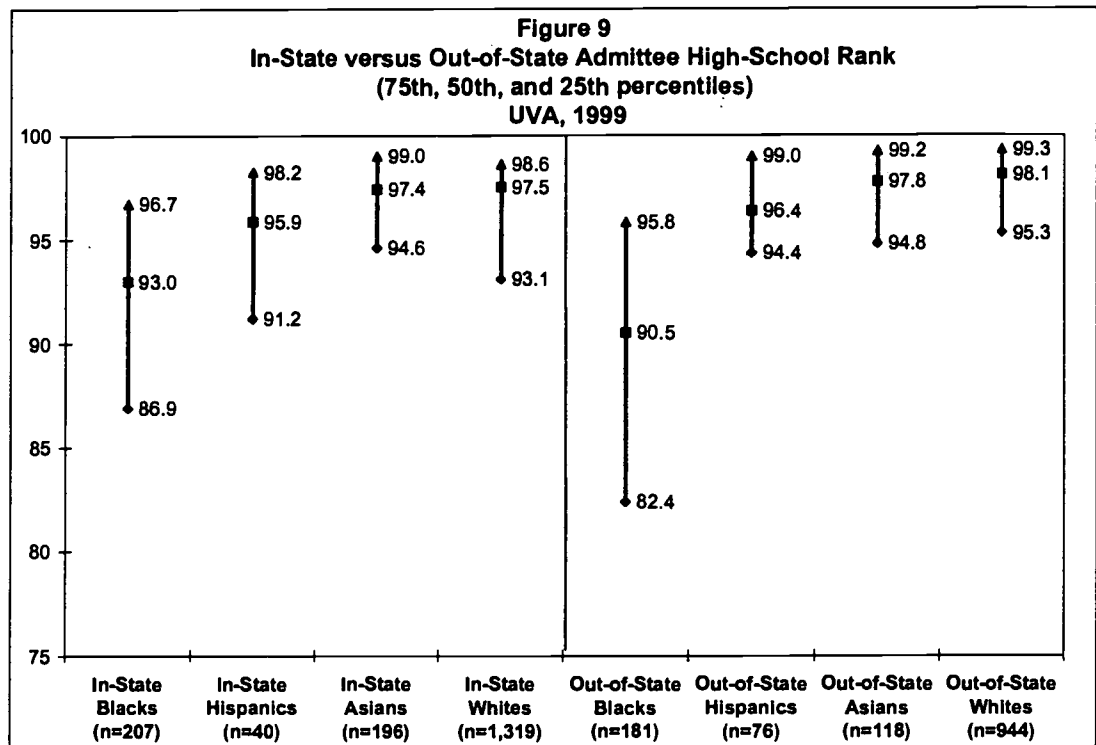
This is a plausible consideration because state schools routinely reject out-of-state applicants in favor of in-state ones.

Figures 7, 8, and 9 display the differences in test scores and high-school ranks, comparing in-state and out-of-state admittees in 1999. In general, in-state blacks, in-state Hispanics, in-state Asians, and in-state whites are admitted with lower test scores and high-school ranks compared to their out-of-state counterparts. Thus, UVA does indeed give a degree of preference to in-state applicants.



But out-of-state blacks are admitted with substantially lower test scores and high-school ranks compared to in-state Hispanics, Asians, and whites. This pattern shows that race is given far greater weight in admissions decisions than Virginia residency.⁴

The disparities in qualifications between out-of-state blacks and in-state Asians, Hispanics, and whites is also reflected in the number of in-state applicants rejected in 1999 with better qualifications compared to the average black out-of-state admittee. In 1999, there were 696 in-state whites, 23 in-state Hispanics, and 107



in-state Asians with higher verbal and math scores compared to the median verbal and math scores of black out-of-state admittees, while there were 40 in-state Asians, 7 in-state Hispanics, and 232 in-state whites with higher high-school ranks. Finally, UVA rejected 5 in-state Asians, 3 in-state Hispanics, and 44 in-state whites with higher verbal and math scores *and* high-school ranks compared to the median test scores and high-school rank of black out-of-state admittees.

The differences between in-state rejectees and out-of-state Hispanic admittees is much smaller. All in-state applicants with better test scores *and* high-school ranks compared to the median test scores and high-school rank of Hispanic out-of-state admittees were admitted to UVA. But 1 in-state black, 29 in-state Asians, and 150 in-state whites were rejected despite having higher test scores compared to the average out-of-state Hispanic admittee, while 3 in-state blacks, 6 in-state Asians, and 35 in-state whites were rejected with higher high-school ranks compared to the average Hispanic out-of-state admittee.

Further statistical analysis in the next section will demonstrate the relative weight given to race and ethnicity over other factors in the admissions process at UVA.

Logistic Regression Analysis and the Relative Odds of Admission

Admitting students based on racial and ethnic preferences results in a school accepting minorities with lower test scores and grades compared to white students at the same school. Admissions officers essentially reach down into the applicant pool and pull up certain students. This practice results in at least some whites

⁴ Out-of-state Hispanics are admitted with roughly the same scores and high-school ranks as in-state Asians and whites. This suggests that the gaps between Hispanics versus Asians and whites found in the previous section is, in large part, due to being an in-state resident, but is also somewhat due to ethnic preferences in favor of Hispanics. If the gap between Hispanics versus Asians and whites were strictly a function of Hispanic admittees being in-state residents, then out-of-state Hispanic admittees would have higher scores and better high-school ranks compared to in-state Asians and whites, *and* would have basically the same scores and high-school ranks as their Asian and white out-of-state counterparts. These *out-of-state* Hispanic admittees, however, have roughly the same credentials as *in-state* Asians and whites.

with better credentials than minority admittees being rejected from the same school, despite their superior qualifications.⁵

A useful way to assess the degree of preference in admissions is to develop statistical models that predict the probability of admission at a school for members of the different ethnic and racial groups, holding constant their qualifications. This is done by computing prediction (logistic regression) equations for the admissions decision by race and ethnicity, and including test scores and high-school class rank as statistical control variables.

This procedure has been followed in all our previous reports. In addition, for the 1999 data, we also considered residency (in-state versus out-of-state) and whether the applicant was a legacy or not.⁶

Computing logistic regression equations allows us to derive the odds of admission for each minority group relative to that of whites.⁷ The odds ratio is somewhat like a correlation coefficient, except instead of varying from 1.0 to -1.0, it varies between infinity and zero. An odds ratio of 1 means that the odds of admission 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

Figure 10
Relative Odds of Admission, Controlling for Other Variables

	<i>Black to White</i>	<i>Hispanic to White</i>	<i>Asian to White</i>
UVA, 1996	33.15*	1.70*	1.19
UVA, 1999	111.11*	4.85*	1.22
*Statistically significant at $p < .05$.			

group. An odds ratio of less than 1 means 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 high-school rank in 1996, and controlling for test scores, high-school rank, residency, and legacy status in 1999.⁸

1996. For the 1996 data, the black-to-white and Hispanic-to-white odds ratios are statistically significant. The Asian-to-white odds ratio is not.

If racial or ethnic preference favoring a particular group over whites is expressed as an odds-ratio that is statistically significant, black applicants have the best odds against whites, given the same test scores and high-school rank. Given the same test scores and high-school rank, a black applicant had more than 33 times the odds of a white applicant of being admitted to UVA in 1996. In contrast, a Hispanic applicant with the same test scores and class rank as a white applicant has 1.7 times the odds of admissions as the white applicant. Since the Asian-to-white odds ratio is not statistically significant and is roughly equal to 1, Asian

⁵ Our report earlier this year likewise noted that UVA's six-year graduation rates indicate that racial preferences at the university have a negative effect on the black students who supposedly benefit from them. See pp. 10, 28-29.

⁶ "Legacy" means an applicant is the son or daughter of an alumnus/a.

⁷ Relative odds ratios are commonly found in academic studies where the odds of an event occurring is reported for one group as compared to another. For example, regarding children taking aspirin, when the media report that children taking aspirin were 42.7 times more likely to get Reyes syndrome compared to those that did not, the media were reporting the relative odds—or what epidemiologists sometimes call relative risk—of getting Reyes syndrome among children who take aspirin versus those who do not. For a more complete discussion of odds ratios, see David E. Lilienfeld and Paul D. Stolley, *Foundations of Epidemiology*, Third Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 226-228, 316-317. Regarding logistic regression, see Alan Agresti, *Introduction to Categorical Data Analysis* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1996).

⁸ All variables, values, significance levels, and odds ratios for 1996 and 1999 data are found in the technical appendix to this study.

applicants with the same scores as whites had approximately the same relative odds of getting in to UVA in 1996.

1999. The 1999 data contained the additional variables we used to test alternative explanations of the disparities in qualifications between minority and white admittees: an applicant's in-state versus out-of-state residency status and the applicant's legacy status.

A complete logistic regression analysis showed that residency status increased an applicant's odds of getting into UVA, controlling for race, test scores, and high-school rank. An in-state resident in 1999 had 15.8 times the odds of being admitted to UVA compared to a nonresident with the same qualifications and the same race.

The legacy applicant also had a statistically significant advantage in admissions. That is, the relative odds of a legacy applicant being admitted to UVA, controlling for all other variables, is 4.3 times that of nonlegacy applicants (see technical appendix).

Race, however, is a far more powerful determinant of admissions to UVA in 1999. The relative odds ratio of black-to-white applicants—controlling for test scores, high-school rank, legacy status, and residency—is 111 to 1. That is, a black applicant has over a hundred times better chance of admissions compared to an equally qualified white candidate. The Hispanic candidate, controlling for all other variables, has a 4.85 to 1 odds ratio. The relative odds ratios indicate that the out-of-state black applicant has a greater probability of admissions compared to a white in-state applicant with equal qualifications.

The predictive equation for the 1999 data suggests that racial preference overwhelmingly dominates the admissions process if the applicant is black. Residency status (with a relative odds ratio of 15.8 to 1) and legacy status (with a relative odds ratio of 4.3 to 1) give applicants an advantage in the admission process at UVA, but nowhere near the preference accorded black applicants (with relative odds ratio of 111 to 1). In-state residency gives an applicant a greater advantage, however, compared to being Hispanic (with a relative odds ratio of 4.85 to 1), given the same test scores and high-school ranks.

Conclusion

Our previous finding that UVA has a powerful admissions preference for blacks remain unchanged. This strong effect is consistently in evidence for both 1996 and for 1999. In 1999, this preference is sustained even when controlling for the effects of both residency status and legacy status.

We stress again the relative size of the race effect that we find. While legacy status and residency status are indeed relevant to admissions, the black/white effect is nearly 10 times that of residency and nearly 30 times that of legacy status. Of all nonacademic factors, race is by far the heaviest thumb on the scales.

TECHINICAL APPENDIX
COEFFICIENTS FROM THE LOGISTIC REGRESSION OF
UVA ADMISSIONS ON SEVERAL INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

1996

<i>Independent Variable</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>ExpB</i> (<i>Relative Odds Ratio</i>)
Black	3.5011	33.1509 ¹
Asian	0.1720	1.1877
Hispanic	0.5311	1.7009 ²
SAT Math	0.0048	1.0048 ¹
SAT Verbal	0.0046	1.0046 ¹
High-School Rank	0.1158	1.1228 ¹
Constant	-17.4488 ¹	

1999

<i>Independent Variable</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>ExpB</i> (<i>Relative Odds Ratio</i>)
Black	4.7105	111.1085 ¹
Asian	0.1957	1.1262
Hispanic	1.5783	4.8469 ¹
SAT Math	0.0103	1.0103 ¹
SAT Verbal	0.0078	1.0078 ¹
High-School Rank	0.1660	1.1806 ¹
Legacy*	1.4630	4.3187 ¹
Residency**	2.7574	15.7581 ¹
Gender	-0.0241	0.9762
Constant	-29.0393 ¹	

* Son or daughter of UVA graduate.

** In-state versus out-of-state residents.

¹Statistically significant at $p \leq .0001$.

²Statistically significant at $p \leq .01$.



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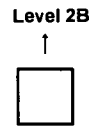
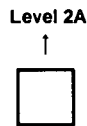
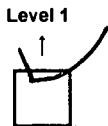
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