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The Harvard Journal of African American Public Policy is a student-run publication that facilitates informed public policy decision-making processes by providing innovative analyses of and solutions to the problems facing the African American community. We are currently accepting submissions for Volume XVIII to be published in spring 2012.

Manuscripts are accepted from all policy areas, academic disciplines, and related organizations. In addition to articles, the journal welcomes essays, lectures, speeches, community-based initiative profiles, symposia, position papers, interviews, and book reviews. The journal seeks innovative and solution-oriented strategies that address the relationship between policy making and the political, social, and economic environments affecting African Americans at local, state, and national levels in the United States. The deadline for submission is December 10, 2011.

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To be eligible for the editorial review:
- Articles must be original and unpublished.
- Articles should be 5 to 30 double-spaced pages.
- Articles should be formatted in any version of Microsoft Word.
- References and endnotes should be formatted according to the guidelines and author-date system of the Chicago Manual of Style. Footnotes are not accepted. All figures, tables, and charts should be submitted as entirely separate files.

IN ADDITION, ALL AUTHORS MUST OBSERVE THE FOLLOWING:
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CONTENTS

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EDITOR'S REMARKS

Every year, the *Harvard Journal of African American Public Policy* is proud to share submissions on a wide range of issues affecting the African American community and the African diaspora. This year, our editorial board is proud to present remarkable commentaries and articles from subject matter experts who chronicle some of the issues most pressing to the diaspora. We are also pleased to highlight a portion of the November 2010 dialogue between former U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and students from the Harvard University community. Our goal with this volume is to spark discussion among practitioners, policy makers, and academics on how to recognize issues that continuously impact Blacks and, most importantly, on how to bring about resolve.

We are proud to feature three articles that address policy areas of growing concern. Erica Taylor chronicles political cynicism and alienation that continues to adversely impact the Black vote while Julian Vasquez Heilig, Richard Reddick, Choquette Hamilton, and Laurel Dietz detail the educational obstacles Black men face in Texas. In addition, Krystle Norman gives insight into the struggle to promote the nuanced idea of racial democracy in Brazil. She gives a synopsis of the role Afro-Brazilians play in the country's democracy and also proposes viable policy recommendations to increase the political responsibility of Blacks in Brazil.

This year, the journal also includes an analysis by Shaun Harper and Kimberly Griffin of the access of Black males to higher education. Wendell Marsh explores the paradox of Black male privilege and gender bias within the Black community. Finally, Hayling Price, a community organizer in Washington, DC, discusses the impact of social and urban policy on community engagement.

The 2011 *Harvard Journal of African American Public Policy* is grateful to all the professionals and experts whose submissions have helped to make Volume XVII great. The journal staff, copy editors, and Harvard University administrative support have been invaluable. Lastly, it is our readers who give the journal its purpose. Our hope is that you share the policy ideas and use the policy recommendations for constructive discourse. In this way, we hope to make it increasingly less necessary for the citizens of the world to continually fight redundant battles for the right to coexist.

Again, thank you for your continued support of the *Harvard Journal of African American Public Policy*.

Tristan Allen, *Editor-in-Chief*
Harvard Journal of African American Public Policy

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Political Cynicism and the Black Vote

by Erica C. Taylor

Erica C. Taylor is a doctoral candidate at the Manship School of Mass Communication at Louisiana State University. Her research interests include public relations, new media studies, and African American issues. Her primary research interest is in crisis communication, and she is currently completing her dissertation titled "HBCU Crises and Best Practices in the Discourse of Renewal: A Crisis Communication Case Study of Three Institutions." This study examines the crisis communication practices of three Historically Black Colleges and Universities. Taylor's professional background is in higher education and freelance public relations and corporate communication.

ABSTRACT:

African American political behavior is an understudied dimension of the American electorate. In some ways, Black voting behavior and voting frequency parallel mainstream trends, but there are notable differences. These differences are due largely to socioeconomic factors and the troubled history of Blacks in America. The continued inequality among many aspects of Black society, as compared to mainstream society, causes many African Americans to be cynical of American politics and the political system. This article, which uses the terms African American and Black interchangeably, analyzes a regression model that suggests cynicism—and specifically political alienation—may positively affect African American voting behavior. In other words, where there are higher cynical attitudes among Black voters, there is also higher African American voter turnout. The results show a distinct need for innovative efforts to motivate the Black vote.

Voting frequency in America has declined over time, and numerous studies have examined the factors affecting voter turnout. These studies have outlined several variables impacting turnout including socioeconomic deterrents, apathy, and various psychological deterrents such as voter intimidation and the belief that one vote does not make a difference. The same studies define political participation by many components. Though these studies identify a lack of interest in political participation among Americans generally, within the overall decline in American voting frequency is a tendency for an even greater drop-off in African American or Black voter turnout (this article uses the terms African American and Black interchangeably). Historic race relations challenges in the United States along with current racial inequality are likely factors in creating low Black voter turnout.

Historically, tense race relations in the United States have adversely affected African American voter turnout. After the Civil War, relationships between Blacks and Whites were strained in ways that had direct political effects. W.E.B. Du Bois (2003, 42), author of *The Souls of Black Folk*, originally written in 1903, described the effects of societal ills on Black society as "1. [t]he disfranchisement of the

Negro, and 2. [t]he legal creation of distinct status of civil inferiority for the Negro." Du Bois believed Whites should grant equal rights to Blacks and accept a new and integrated society. For Blacks, he said, "black men of America have a duty to perform, a duty stern and delicate . . . by every civilized and peaceful method we must strive for the rights which the world accords to men, clinging unwaveringly to those great words which the sons of the Fathers would fain forget" (Du Bois 2003, 47). Du Bois wanted Blacks to demand what America's Founding Fathers deemed "unalienable" rights: "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" (Du Bois 1903, 47). Du Bois's reflections on Black political participation demonstrate his idealistic view of how African Americans should cooperatively be enthusiastic about taking part in the political process.

African Americans' forced fight for equality has been long, complicated, and stressed. Strained relationships with mainstream politics have molded Black political behaviors. The teachings of Du Bois—compressed with those of many other Black intellectuals, activists, pragmatics, and organizers—fueled the civil rights movement and the passing of laws that enhanced racial equality such as the Voting Rights Act. These accomplishments, though necessary, are not sufficient to deduce that full racial equality now exists in America. Some patterns still plague the American electorate. A key racial difference between the political activism of the 1960s and today is the trend in African American voting behavior. Specifically, where African American voters perceive there to be a continuous battle for equality they are driven to vote with greater frequency than in situations where African American

voters perceive equality to have been achieved.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND THEORY

Contrary to popular belief, Blacks vote proportionately with White Americans even though the Black population is more politically inactive overall by an absolute count. However, there are differences in which factors prompt the populations to exercise their vote. Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie (1987, 151) conducted a study titled "Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality." Their multidimensional, comprehensive research examined a large scope of American voter participation, among which was Black political participation. The authors found "blacks . . . participate less than whites, but not substantially less and they participate roughly equally with whites in the electoral process. . . . When they participate they can be quite active."

While Verba and Nie attribute low socioeconomic conditions as having an effect on Black voting behavior and political participation, several other studies examine the role of political cynicism and alienation on voter turnout. Robert E. Agger, Marshall N. Goldstein, and Stanley A. Pearl (1961, 493) surveyed a small town in Oregon in 1959 in order to measure cynicism. Their article, "Political Cynicism: Measurement and Meaning," defines cynicism in a political participation context as political potency, "a feeling that one does exercise some power in the complicated, mass democracy." They write further, "[i]t is assumed that those people who feel personally impotent tend to place their trust in politicians and the political process while those who feel potent would tend to place their trust in themselves to the derogation of politics and politicians." In other

words, citizens who do not feel they can personally impact the democratic process are more likely to vote in hopes that elected representatives make changes on their behalf and then that they as citizens can begin to change their environment.

Priscilla L. Southwell (2008, 131) further explores this topic in a study of combined data from the American National Election Study from 1964-2000. She writes, "attitudinal factors" such as cynicism "contribute as much to the explanation of the voting decision as do the standard demographic and contextual explanations of voter turnout." She describes political cynicism or "distrust" as a dimension of alienation, along with "powerlessness, or inefficacy" and "meaninglessness, or a perceived lack of government responsiveness" (Southwell 2008, 133). The results of a logistic regression show a significant effect, where p<.01, of meaninglessness, powerlessness, and cynicism on voting. However, when these variables were run together in the study's regression model, cynicism was the only dimension found to have a positive (.003) effect on voting (Southwell 2008, 136).

John S. Jackson (1973, 878) directly confronts African American cynicism in his "Alienation and Black Political Participation." He surveyed nearly 500 African American college students in the late 1960s under a hypothesis that Blacks and college students are typically highly cynical groups. The sample consisted mostly of students attending Historically Black Colleges but also included Blacks attending predominantly White colleges and Blacks not attending college. Jackson found a significant relationship (p<.001) between high cynicism and high political activity within this group.

Richard D. Shingles (1981, 77) defines Black consciousness as "the awareness among blacks of their shared status as an unjustly deprived and oppressed group." He also writes, "the primary reason black consciousness has such a dramatic effect on political participation is that it contributes to the combination of a sense of political efficacy and political mistrust which in turn induces political involvement." Using an ANOVA test of national survey data, Shingles (1981, 85) found a significant effect (p<.001) of what he calls "High-Initiative Conventional Policy Behavior," a correlation of internal political efficacy, political trust, and their joint effect.

In another related study, Priscilla L. Southwell and Kevin D. Pirch (2003, 913) found a significant (p≤.01) effect of cynicism and voter turnout among Black respondents only. They conducted a probit analysis of voter turnout based on 1996 and 2000 National Election Study data. In their research, cynicism is defined as "the belief that the government is not producing policies according to expectations" (Southwell and Pirch 2003, 911). The results reveal cynicism has a positive (.169) effect on African American voting behavior and has no significant effect on the full data set or on Whites only.

HYPOTHESIS

Recognizing cynicism's role in Black voting behavior and voting frequency becomes a key factor in American politics (Southwell and Pirch 2003, 913). Politicians have been accused of ignoring the needs of their Black constituents and in turn these constituents often feel they have little to no influence on the electoral process. This trend is illustrated through the lack of politician interest in fulfilling campaign promises made to

predominantly Black communities. The complexity of race relations in America and in American politics needs to be continually studied. African American public opinion is an important part of gauging the sentiments of the overall American electorate.

This article seizes the opportunity to measure cynicism in terms of voting behavior within the Black community, especially given the context of recent American politics. Specifically, this study tests the following hypothesis: Political alienation, as a dimension of political cynicism, has a positive effect on African American voting behavior.

METHODOLOGY

This study relies on data from the CBS News/Black Entertainment Television (BET) Monthly Poll conducted in July 2004 when George W. Bush was the U.S. president. The Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) collected data from African American respondents through a random-digit dialing national telephone survey. ICPSR (n.d., ii) described this poll as "part of a continuing series of monthly surveys that solicit public opinion on the presidency and on a range of other political and social issues."

In this study, an ordinary least squares linear regression model was developed from the CBS News/BET data to determine the effect of cynicism on African American voting behavior among registered voters. Only data from respondents who self-identified as registered voters was used. Registered voters were coded ("0" for "not registered" and "1" for "registered"). Respondents' self-reported voting frequency was used as the dependent variable. The dependent variable was recoded from "never (0)" to "always (4),"

with middle options of "seldom (1)," "part of the time (2)," and "nearly always (3)." Several demographic variables were used as independent variables along with a six-question component to measure cynicism similar to the components used by Jackson (1973) and Southwell (2008). The demographics from the data set were given dummy values to represent particular characteristics. Demographic categories included political philosophy (coded with "0," "1," or "2" dummy values for "conservative," "moderate," and "liberal," respectively); education (coded with "0-3" dummy values for "less than high school," "some college," "college graduate," and "postgraduate work or degree"); age group (coded with "0-3" dummy values for ages "18-29," "30-44," "45-64," and "over 64"); income (coded with "0-4" dummy values for "less than $15K," "$15-30K," "$30-50K," "$50-75K," and "over $75K"); marital status (coded with "0" or "1" dummy values for "have been married" and "never been married"); religion (coded with "0" or "1" dummy values for "Protestant" and "not Protestant"); and religious attendance (coded with "0-4" dummy values for "never," "a few times per year," "once or twice per month," "almost every week," and "every week").

Cynicism was determined by analyzing survey responses to the following paraphrased questions: Is the country on the right track or going in the wrong direction? (0=wrong direction, 1=right track); Do you believe George W. Bush was legitimately elected in 2000? (0=no, 1=yes); What are your feelings toward the George W. Bush administration? (0=angry, 1=dissatisfied but not angry, 2=satisfied but not enthusiastic, 3=enthusiastic); Do you approve of the job George W. Bush is doing? (0=no, 1=yes); Do you

Table 1 — Key Percentages for Dependent and Control Variables

Variable	Key Percentage
Voting Frequency	69.8% Always
Registered Voters	88% Registered

Table 2 — Key Percentages for Selected Independent Variables

Independent Variable	Key Percentages
Political Philosophy	27.2% Liberal, 20.9% Conservative
Education	31.7% High School Grad, 26% Some College
Age Group	41.8% Age 45-64
Income	54.9% $15,000-$50,000
Right Track/Wrong Direction	93.2% Wrong Direction
George W. Bush Legitimacy 2000	88.9% Bush Did Not Win Legit
Bush Administration	50.5% Dissatisfied, But Not Angry
George W. Bush Job Approval	88.5% Disapprove
Florida 2000	49% More Likely
Discount Black Vote	73.5% Probably So

Note: Italicized variables indicate cynicism components

feel that the voting fiasco in Florida in 2000 is likely to affect the Black vote? (0=less likely, 1=no difference, 2=more likely); Do you feel that there are some people who purposely try to discount and/or restrict the Black vote? (0=probably not, 1=probably so).

There are notable limitations of relying on the CBS News/BET Monthly Poll. Particularly, dependent variable bias is possible because voting frequency was self-identified and the percentage of respondents who identified as "always" voting is subsequently skewed. Additionally, measuring cynicism is not an exact science and the proffered measures of cynicism and alienation are derived from previous works that do not take into account the 2008 and 2010

national election activity. Finally, the notion of cynicism is highly subjective, even in the face of academic definitions. Nonetheless, this study is important because it provides insight into how to better understand the viewpoints of the Black voting base.

RESULTS

The regression model reveals a statistically significant effect of cynicism on African American voting frequency. Table 1 displays voting frequency and registered voter percentages. Table 2 displays key percentages found in respondent data for the independent variables. As seen in Table 3, the model supports the hypothesis that political cynicism positively affects African American voting behavior.

Table 3 — The Effect of Cynicism on Voting Frequency Among Blacks Linear Regression

	B	SE	β
Voting Freq. (Constant)	2.421	.239	
Demographics			
Political Philosophy	-.047	.045	-.037
Education	.092	.029	.128*
Age Group	.281	.037	.288*
Income	.072	.028	.104*
Marital Status	.074	.074	.038
Religion	.011	.079	.005
Religious Attendance	.043	.023	.067
Cynicism			
Right Track	.021	.163	.005
Bush Administration	.015	.048	.012
Bush Job Approval	.027	.120	.009
Alienation			
Bush Legit 2000	-.137	.113	-.047
Florida 2000	.225	.057	.139*
Discount Black Vote	.233	.070	.117*
N=708			
R²=2			
Adjusted R²=.185			
F=13.310*			
p‹.05.			

The data shows that most African Americans are politically cynical, which is consistent with previous literature. However, only two of the cynicism components (questions concerning Florida in the 2000 election and the discounted Black vote) loaded significantly with positive effects on voting frequency. Yet both of these components have a strong correlation (<.01) to the George W. Bush 2000 election legitimacy question. Collectively, these three components capture what previous literature classified as political alienation—one dimension of cynicism. The remaining cynicism components used in this model potentially capture "powerlessness" or "meaninglessness" according to the Southwell (2008) definitions. Therefore, this research not only supports the hypothesis but also affirms literature indicating political alienation determines voting preferences for African Americans and increases Black voting behavior.

DISCUSSION
The results of this study support a conclusion that there is a clear sense of cynicism among African Americans. The results also show a prevalent sense of

political alienation within that cynicism, which translates to some sense of helplessness within the Black community that it has little impact, if any, on American democracy. Because this alienation has been shown to have a positive effect on African American voting behavior, these cynical perspectives need to be considered when developing strategy to affect Black voting outcomes. Strategy respecting the tumultuous history of Blacks in America may be a good place to start because the hope for things greater, equal, and fair has motivated and mobilized the Black electorate previously to change its voting trends.

Starkly, the presidential election of 2008 and the midterm elections of 2010 have shown an interesting narrative. There has been a sharp increase in Black voter mobilization, enthusiasm, and participation followed by a return to the status quo described in literature. The Pew Research Center states, "the levels of participation by black, Hispanic and Asian eligible voters all increased from 2004 to 2008, reducing the voter participation gap between themselves and white eligible voters. This was particularly true for black eligible voters. Their voter turnout rate increased 4.9 percentage points, from 60.3% in 2004 to 65.3% in 2008, nearly matching the voter turnout rate of white eligible voters (66.1%). . . . Nearly all (95%) black voters cast their ballot for Democrat Barack Obama" (Lopez 2009). However, early reports from the 2010 elections show that Blacks were much less enthusiastic in most states.

The election of President Barack Obama is likely an outlier occurrence given the compounding literature showing the standard of cynicism among Black voters remains relatively consistent. Significant change may be possible; however, it

would require a permanent catalyst to be created to increase Black voter participation and overcome the previous trends from 2004. Perhaps more Black political candidates could offer Black voters greater options, possibly reducing the level of cynical thinking and alienated perspectives. Or, evolving study in this area could address a Black population of actual documented frequent and non-frequent voters to gather a more realistic determination and comparison of cynicism on voting behavior. Further, a generalized cynicism index could be developed to standardize study and measurement in this area. Finally, the effects of an African American president and his efforts and image among Blacks might be used to derive effects on cynicism.

What becomes clear is that cynicism in the Black community cannot continue to be the key motivating factor in voting if African Americans truly wish to have their voices heard in national politics. This study is critical in Black political awareness and in the decision to establish a Black political identity moving forward. Something must be done about a distinct portion of the American electorate that continuously feels excluded from national political processes. As the American electorate continues to change, continued and more robust studies will undoubtedly be welcomed.

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Actuating Equity:
Historical and Contemporary Analyses of African American Access to Selective Higher Education from Sweatt to the Top 10 Percent Law

by Julian Vasquez Heilig, Richard J. Reddick, Choquette Hamilton, and Laurel Dietz

Julian Vasquez Heilig is an award-winning researcher and teacher. He obtained his Ph.D. in education administration and policy analysis and a master's in sociology from Stanford University. He also holds a master's of higher education and a bachelor's in history and psychology from the University of Michigan. He is currently Assistant Professor of Educational Policy and Planning and African and African Diaspora Studies (by courtesy) at the University of Texas at Austin. Vasquez Heilig's current research interests include issues of access, diversity, and equity in higher education. For more information on his research visit http://julianvasquezheilig.info.

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Laurel Dietz is a doctoral student in educational policy and planning at the University of Texas at Austin. Dietz received her B.S. degree in mathematics and French education at North Dakota State University and M.A. degree in foreign language education at the University of Texas at Austin. She is an experienced secondary mathematics and ELL teacher who has taught both in the United States and abroad. Her research interests are teacher preparation quality indicators including the mentoring of beginning and pre-service teachers and how rhetoric influences teacher preparation policy.

ABSTRACT:
The University of Texas at Austin (UT-Austin) opened its doors on September 15, 1883, under the premise that admission be equally accessible

regardless of gender or religion (University of Texas 1975). Yet, the incipient notion of equality at UT-Austin was limited as race could preclude entry. Jim Crow stipulated White students attended White schools and Black students attended Black schools—whether they be K-12 or institutions of higher education (State Department of Education 1935). *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) had legalized segregation as long as there were "separate but equal" institutions and facilities for Blacks. Since there were separate Black universities in Texas such as Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College (later called Prairie View A&M) and Texas State University for Negroes (later called Texas Southern University), racial segregation at UT-Austin was legal (Shabazz 2004).

Before the 1950s, Blacks in Texas could not legally attend selective traditionally White institutions of higher education, including the University of Texas at Austin (UT-Austin), because of the "separate but equal" doctrine (State Department of Education 1935). This changed when the U.S. Supreme Court desegregated graduate and professional schools in the landmark court case of *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950). *Sweatt* also set an important precedent for *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), which effectively overturned *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) and the "separate but equal" doctrine in all public schools. Although these cases ended de jure segregation for Black students, access to higher education in Texas, and elsewhere, remained a challenge due to the social and cultural contextual barriers that resulted from long-standing systemic and legal discrimination.

The Lone Star State has struggled to increase racial and ethnic diversity within its traditionally White flagship institutions since *Sweatt*. The University of Texas at Austin attempted to address the persisting underrepresentation of students of color on campus through several programs, including minority recruitment in the 1960s, diversity recruitment plans negotiated by the U.S. Justice Department in the late 1970s, and the implementation of affirmative action in the 1980s. However, all of these proved to be false starts, and then, in 1996, *Hopwood v. Texas* brought such targeted efforts to a halt. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the 5th Circuit decided in *Hopwood* that admissions practices considering race at the UT-Austin School of Law were unconstitutional. In 1997, then Texas Attorney General Dan Morales issued an opinion on the *Hopwood* case and applied its ruling to all areas in higher education including admissions, financial aid, and scholarships.

In response to the Texas attorney general's interpretation of *Hopwood,* Texas House Bill 588 was filed in 1997 by Irma Rangel (D-Kingsville) and passed during the 75th Legislature. The bill, created by a coalition of lawmakers, faculty members, and community activists, called for the automatic admission to any public university in Texas of any student that graduated in the top 10 percent of his or her class. The original intent was to promote geographic, regional, and racial diversity by capitalizing on residential and secondary school segregation in the state. In theory, HB 588 would be a race-neutral admissions practice that would provide greater access to selective higher education to all qualified students in Texas.

However, the question remains as to whether the Top Ten Percent Plan (TTPP) created greater diversity relative to past efforts. As a result, the purpose of this

article is to understand the historical and contemporary access of Black students to selective higher education in Texas. In this analysis we use the state's flagship institution: the University of Texas at Austin.

We begin with a literature review that examines the evolution of selective admissions, legislative enactments, and judicial decisions from Jim Crow to the TTPP. We follow this with the first estimate of historical Black enrollment at UT-Austin. Using this unique data, we conduct a representation analysis of the proportion of Blacks enrolled at UT-Austin relative to statewide population estimates at seven points in time over the past seventy years. The second part of our analysis examines whether the TTPP has increased Black enrollment at UT-Austin. We then analyze cross-sectional data to understand Black TTPP students' college choice, persistence, and graduation rates. We conclude with a discussion factoring in contextual and historical events that have thwarted efforts to increase Black participation at UT-Austin.

Considering the continuing challenge of the underrepresentation of Blacks at selective postsecondary institutions in the United States and a shift away from thinking of racial grouping for pursuing claims against the state, a historical analysis aligned with contemporary data to contextualize key events and policies is important to illuminate the continuing struggle for equity in admissions for Blacks. As a result, this article seeks to address the following questions: Has the underrepresentation of Blacks in selective higher education in Texas improved relative to their statewide population since the civil rights era? Have Black applications and enrollment increased in

selective higher education in the midst of the TTPP? Have TTPP Black students chosen to enroll in selective institutions of higher education? Are there differences in TTPP Black persistence and graduation by institutional selectivity?

HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH

Access, Opportunity, and Adjudication: 1952-1969

The literature review begins in the 1950s and details the role of legal enactments in the context of the desegregation era and the impact of those enactments on Texas's K-12 public schools and the UT-Austin. Specifically, we consider how pervasive and hostile attitudes toward desegregation influenced the speed with which students of color had access to all levels of education in Texas. We then transition to the impact of the civil rights movement on access and opportunity.

In 1946, Heman Marion Sweatt, a Black veteran, applied for, and was denied admission to, the UT-Austin School of Law. Sweatt filed suit against UT-Austin in Texas's 126th District Court alleging that this denial was an infringement of his rights under the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. At the time, there were no separate Black law schools in Texas (Lavergne 2010). After six months, Judge Roy C. Archer of the 126th District Court decided that if the UT-Austin Board of Regents created a separate first-class university law school then the UT-Austin School of Law would not be required to accept Blacks (Duren and Iscoe 1979, 3). Sweatt appealed to the U.S. 3rd Court of Appeals, which sent the case back to retrial.

The *Sweatt* case is dissimilar from the *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada* (1938),

University v. Murray (1936), *Sipuel v. Board of Regents* (1948), and *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents* (1950) Southern higher education desegregation cases as the state of Texas sought to create a "separate but equal" law school to head off integration at UT-Austin. During the appeal, the Texas Legislature approved the establishment of the Texas State University for Negroes (TSUN, later called Texas Southern University or TSU) in Houston. This new university was created to offer general and professional programs equivalent to those offered at UT-Austin for Blacks. On March 10, 1947, the school opened, but Sweatt did not attend due to TSUN's inferior quality and the NAACP's desire to integrate White institutions (Lavergne 2010). After the Texas Supreme Court refused Sweatt's motion for a rehearing of his case, the NAACP filed the case at the U.S. Supreme Court. The nation's highest court ruled on June 5, 1950, that the educational opportunity for Black and White law students was not "substantially" equal to meet the equal protection clause under the Fourteenth Amendment, thus, the UT-Austin School of Law was required to admit Sweatt.

Despite *Sweatt*, the official end of the Jim Crow era arrived after the U.S. Supreme Court decision of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), which held that the *Plessy v. Ferguson* doctrine of "separate but equal" was unconstitutional. Following *Brown v. Board of Education* (1955), the second *Brown* decision, the U.S. Supreme Court gave the responsibility for integrating public schools to local officials under the scrutiny of the federal courts; in addition, these courts needed to ensure that local officials were making a "prompt and reasonable start" with "all deliberate speed" (Ogletree 2004).

However, this notion of "all deliberate speed" became "all deliberate slowness" in its implementation in Texas. Then Governor Allan Shivers saw the *Brown* decision as a federal invasion into states' rights on the doctrine of "separate but equal" and, as such, did not believe that the schools in Texas needed to change to reflect the *Brown* decision (Lavergne 2010).

Then Attorney General John Ben Shepperd, reacting to a Texas high court decision to permit the use of state funds for integrated schools, stated that though the case settled the law for the state, the time frame for integration would be a community-by-community decision (Wilson and Segall 2001). This "slowness" permeated into postsecondary institutions in Texas as well; although there was to be eventual integration at all levels of the schooling system in Texas, the speed of integration was to be determined by educational institutions and not the federal government (i.e., the U.S. Supreme Court).

In September 1954, four months after *Brown*, it was UT-Austin's policy, according to then President Logan Wilson, to accept Black graduate students only when the particular programs were not offered in the state's Black institutions (Duren and Iscoe 1979). In fact, one year after the *Sweatt* decision, Texas Southern University (TSU), the new name for the Texas State University for Negroes, in concert with UT-Austin, was to provide bachelor's and master's degree programs in arts, sciences, education, and business and develop professional degree programs in pharmacy and law for Blacks. UT-Austin would not be in competition for Black graduate students at TSU nor Prairie View A&M (originally called Prairie View State Normal and Industrial

College). In other words, UT-Austin's School of Law would accept Black students due to *Sweatt*, but it would not admit Black students into other graduate programs that either TSU or Prairie View A&M offered (Shabazz 2004).

Black undergraduates were also excluded from undergraduate admissions at UT-Austin since they could find their majors in other postsecondary institutions (Duren and Iscoe 1979). This changed in July 1955 when the university's Board of Regents decided that the institution would completely integrate by September 1956. Again, UT-Austin became a progenitor of access as the first higher education institution in the South to decide to allow Blacks as undergraduate students. The regents' decision came only a few months before Autherine Juanita Lucy enrolled at the University of Alabama as well as a few months before the U.S. Supreme Court voided portions of Texas's Constitution concerning segregation (Clark 1993). Integration had become inevitable.

There were a variety of structural factors (i.e., legal environment, aptitude testing, segregation) working in concert to limit the enrollment of Blacks at UT-Austin. As a result, the integration of public education institutions after *Sweatt* and later *Brown* was a slow process. The U.S. Supreme Court spurred integration but did not achieve full implementation as Texas public school districts and postsecondary institutions pursued integration on an incremental basis. For example, in Austin, Texas, by the spring of 1964, only 14 percent of Black students were attending White schools in the Austin Independent School District (Wilson and Segall 2001).

In response to civil rights legislation and legal pressures to enact programs to increase the enrollment of historically underrepresented minority students, UT-Austin began two admissions programs: the Provisional Admissions Program (PAP) and the Program for Education Opportunity (PEO) (Duren and Iscoe 1979; Goldstone 2006). First, in 1962, the Board of Regents approved a plan to create PAP. This program was designed to admit students who had not met admissions requirements, including underrepresented minorities. The program allowed participants to enroll during the summer session to demonstrate their ability to perform well in a university setting. If the student could show that he or she could do satisfactory work in specific courses the student could then qualify for admission to the university in the fall (Duren and Iscoe 1979). Critics of PAP pointed out that the program appeared to be aimed toward middle-class students rather than disadvantaged minorities, as students accepted into the program typically did not receive additional financial aid assistance from the university. In addition, due to the intensity of taking twelve credit hours in the summer, the university administrators did not encourage PAP students to work. Therefore, low-income students did not have the financial resources to pay for summer classes. As a result, the reach of the program was limited for Black and Latina/o students (Goldstone 2006).

Noting the failure of PAP, the university sought to create more access for Black and Latina/o students by creating the Program for Educational Opportunity during the 1968-1969 academic year. PEO's goals were to help "educationally, culturally, and financially disadvantaged

students" who, based on recommendations and interviews, could be successful at the postsecondary level but were not able to demonstrate this aptitude on entrance examinations (Goldstone 2006, 147). Moreover, this program sought to compensate for inadequately funded and poor-quality K-12 schooling that many Black and Mexican American students were receiving in Texas that had not adequately prepared them for success on standardized tests such as the ACT and SAT (Goldstone 2006).

During its first year, 1968-1969, there were twelve Black and thirteen Latina/o students who attended UT-Austin under this program. Twelve of these students successfully returned to the university the following academic year. However, despite this limited success and a recommendation from the Faculty Council to expand the program, in May 1969, PEO was terminated by the Board of Regents. The board declared that funds appropriated by the state legislature and other local institutional monies should not be used for direct recruitment of students who would not have been admitted to the university otherwise (Goldstone 2006). Then Board of Regents Chair Frank C. Erwin stated in front of the Texas State Legislature, "We are turning down thousands of applicants from Irish, Scotch, Yugoslav . . . and other descents" because they did not meet the university's admissions standards but "at the same time deliberately admit Afro-Americans and Mexican Americans who fail to meet these same standards" (Morrison 1969 as cited in Goldstone 2006, 148).

Admissions Tests and the Backlash: 1970-1997

During the 1970s and leading into the early 1980s, UT-Austin sought to remedy the small pool of eligible Black and Latina/o applicants by allowing admissions of Latina/os and Blacks with lower test scores to graduate and undergraduate schools. Whites across the nation began to question whether their rights were being violated by these practices and sought to limit affirmative action mechanisms in the courts. Several U.S. Supreme Court cases changed how universities were able to admit and allocate resources based upon race. There are three major U.S. Supreme Court cases that had a significant impact on the use of race in the admissions process at the undergraduate and graduate levels at UT-Austin: Regents of the *University of California v. Bakke* (1978), *Hopwood v. Texas* (1996), and *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003). These cases emphasized "strict scrutiny" as states were required by federal courts to show that the racial classifications in law "served a compelling and legitimate state interest" (Howard 1997, 33).

In 1973, Allan Bakke, a White male applicant, was refused admission to the University of California Davis Medical School. In *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, he claimed that the medical school had denied him equal protection under the Fourteenth Amendment because sixteen seats were reserved for economically disadvantaged minority students. The U.S. Supreme Court decided that Bakke should be allowed into the medical school but that "although race or ethnicity should not demand inclusion or exclusion, minority racial or ethnic status could constitute a 'plus' in an applicant's file" (Bickel 1998, 10).

While *Bakke* was under review at the U.S. Supreme Court, the U.S. Office for Civil Rights (OCR) began a civil rights review

of Texas higher education in February 1978. The OCR eventually found that Texas had not eliminated vestiges of de jure segregation (Moses 2001). After thirty months of negotiations, several court orders, and discussions with two state administrations, the State of Texas agreed to develop a voluntary higher education desegregation plan (Moses 2001). A period of foot-dragging ensued, and by 1983, facing a forty-five-day ultimatum from the *Adams v. Richardson* court to develop a desegregation plan, then Texas Attorney General Mark White encouraged state leaders to adopt a voluntary plan of action to diversify Texas higher education to "forestall" a direct federal order to desegregate Texas colleges and universities (Hopwood v. Texas 1996). The state responded by creating the Texas Educational Opportunity Plan (TEOP), also known as the Texas Plan (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board 1988).

In all, there were three Texas Plans: the first in 1983, the second in 1989, and a final iteration in 1994 (Scott and Kibler 1998). Each was designed to strategically address the lack of diversity at Texas's traditionally White postsecondary institutions. Over the course of five years, the goal of the first Texas Plan was to enroll an additional 2,432 Black and 3,190 Latina/o undergraduates, 240 Blacks and 463 Latina/os in graduate programs, and 100 more Latina/os and Blacks in professional studies at traditionally White Texas public universities (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board 1983). However, by 1986 UT-Austin and its peer universities realized that they were not meeting their goals. For instance, in the 1984-1985 academic year, at UT-Austin, there were only about 100 more Black undergraduates than in 1977-1978. For Latina/os, the increase was only thirteen students during the same time frame (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board 1986). Gerald Wright, Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board's Director of Equal Opportunity Planning, argued that minority students were not enrolling into postsecondary institutions because their access was "limited by a conjunction of social, financial, and political barriers" (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board 1986, 6).

From Hopwood to 10 Percent: 1997-Present

Nearly fifty years after the landmark *Sweatt* case, Cheryl J. Hopwood and Stephanie C. Haynes, two White females, applied to the UT-Austin School of Law. When they were rejected, they filed a lawsuit in U.S. District Court stating that they were denied their constitutional guarantee of equal protection under the law when "less qualified" minorities were admitted. Both claimed that although they had met the school requirements for admittance, the law school had "preferential" admissions policies for Black and Latina/o applicants (Goldstone 2006). Haynes was dismissed from the suit on February 11, 1993, and ultimately, Douglas Carvell, Kenneth Elliott, and David Rogers, three White males, joined the existing lawsuit as plaintiffs alleging claims similar to those of Hopwood (Kauffman and Gonzalez 1997).

The U.S. Court of Appeals for the 5th Circuit ruled in *Hopwood* that any consideration of race or ethnic background by the UT-Austin Law School to achieve a diverse student body did not apply under the Fourteenth Amendment. In addition, "the use of race . . . simply cannot be a state interest compelling enough to meet the steep standard of

strict scrutiny" (Hopwood 1996, 49). This ruling had major implications for all affirmative action policies at postsecondary institutions in the 5th Circuit. Then Texas Attorney General Dan Morales instructed all public Texas colleges and universities to function on a "race-neutral" basis in regard to all their procedures and policies such as recruitment, retention, financial aid, and tutoring.

In reaction to the *Hopwood* court decision and to encourage minority representation at UT-Austin and Texas A&M University, in 1996 the state legislature passed House Bill 588 (the Top Ten Percent Plan), which was then signed into law by Texas Governor George W. Bush. Under this statute, a Texas student who graduated in the top 10 percent of his or her class received automatic admission to any state college or university. As with any new policy, there were arguments on both sides of the issue. Proponents of this plan argued that this law would increase the number of minority students at Texas A&M University and UT-Austin, the two public flagship campuses; opponents contended that the program would only work if secondary schools remained segregated and the state avoided dealing with this issue. Others argued that accepting all top 10 percent students would lower the quality of education at these universities since the plan needed to accept students from "weaker" schools (Goldstone 2006).

In 2003, race as a criterion amongst many in the admissions process was reaffirmed by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Grutter v. Bollinger,* as the court ruled constitutional the University of Michigan Law School's "narrowly tailored" use of race in admissions since it was not prohibited by the Equal Protection Clause (Grutter v. Bollinger 2003, 320). As a result of

Grutter, once top 10 percent admissions are completed, UT-Austin is able to consider race and ethnicity in the admissions process under the category of "other factors." In theory, the combination of the TTPP and affirmative action should have increased Black enrollment relative to past efforts.

METHODOLOGY

In order to gain an understanding of how Black undergraduate enrollment at UT-Austin changed in response to the selective higher education admissions policy and civil rights history considered in this article, we conducted an analysis of UT-Austin Cactus yearbooks. We then examined contemporary data to descriptively consider recent enrollment trends in Texas higher education since the *Hopwood* era to understand the impact of the legislatively mandated TTPP admissions policy.

Historical Black Enrollment

Early in the research process, discussions with the UT-Austin Admissions and Registrar's Office revealed that the university did not gather data by race until the 1970s. To facilitate the estimation of historical Black enrollment, a novel data-gathering process using the UT-Austin Cactus yearbook was utilized. The Cactus yearbook has served as the "pictorial record of change" at the UT-Austin since 1894.

To estimate Black enrollment, the researchers studied yearbook portraits. Visual assessment of photos as a research method is utilized across disciplines. John Collier Jr. and Malcolm Collier demonstrated that for many decades visual anthropologists have been concerned with "visual observations and the insights that can be gained through the use of

camera records" (1999, 1). Social psychologists have utilized phenotype analysis to understand attitude and social cognition for many decades (Livingston and Brewer 2002). Notably, we believe this article is the first to use phenotype analysis to estimate and analyze the historical enrollment of Black students.

A structured research process was used to develop longitudinal data estimating Black enrollment at UT-Austin. Each page of the Cactus student section was ordered by class and contained the student name, hometown, and student photograph. To organize the data collection, we considered the portrait together with surnames and hometown, and then counts by race/ethnicity and gender were determined page by page. To check the authenticity of the work and moderate validity threats, several research team members conducted checks by independently examining photos for coding consistency. A limitation of the work is that the counting method is not infallible, but it is perhaps the best approach available to estimate historical enrollment of Blacks.

The historical admissions data-gathering process was conducted in fifteen-year increments tracking backward from *Hopwood* (yearbooks from 1997, 1982, 1967, 1952, 1937). The researchers also conducted an additional yearbook count beyond the five fifteen-year time frames to understand the impact of the TTPP on Black enrollment in 2001, five years after *Hopwood*. Of note, we concluded the yearbook counts in 2001, as there was an important change in yearbook policy (University of Texas 2001b). Typically there were 14,000 to 15,000 pictures in the Cactus yearbooks. However, near the start of the decade, the free sittings were transferred to orientation and were no longer a midyear tradition. This change

dramatically reduced the number of students choosing to take yearbook photos, which limits the reliability of yearbook-derived data in recent years.

Contemporary Black Enrollment

We used institutional data from UT-Austin's Office of Information Management and Analysis and Office of Admissions to examine overall Black enrollment since 1996's *Hopwood*. To understand the enrollment of Black TTPP students across the state, we utilized data from the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board (THECB), the state agency responsible for planning for improvement of higher education in the state of Texas. The THECB data includes more than fifty public universities and colleges. The breadth of the data makes it possible to consider TTPP Black students' higher education outcomes. We conduct descriptive analysis of cross-sectional TTPP Black students' college choice, persistence, and completion.

FINDINGS

Blacks first matriculated into graduate programs at UT-Austin in the early 1950s. Undergraduate admissions came a few years later in 1956 (Shabazz 2004). As enrollment of undergraduate Blacks was not allowed until 1956, there were no Black undergraduate students attending the university in the 1937 and 1952 counts (see Table 1).

In 1967, arguably near the height of the civil rights movement, Table 1 shows that less than 1 percent of the student population was Black (.4 percent each for male and female). The first UT-Austin collected admissions data by race available is for fall 1972, when there were 326 Blacks out of a student population of 39,900 or .8 percent (University of Texas 1976).

Table 1 — Estimates of UT-Austin Black Enrollment and Underrepresentation

Year	Black Male	Black Female	Black Total	Census Black		Percentage
1937	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	14.4%	14.4%	75.3
1952	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	12.7%	12.7%	5.9
1967	0.4%	0.4%	0.8%	12.5%	11.7%	8.4
1982	0.9%	1.8%	2.7%	12.0%	9.3%	10.4
1997	1.3%	2.1%	3.4%	11.5%	8.1%	100.0
2001	1.2%	2.5%	3.7%	11.5%	7.8%	

Enrollment data from University of Texas 1937, 1952, 1967, 1982, 1997, 2001b. Census data from Gibson and Jung (2002).

Therefore, despite civil rights legislation and a friendlier legal environment, UT-Austin continued to have an extremely low enrollment of Black students. Relative to the 1970 Census, Blacks were underrepresented by about 12 percent (see Table 1).

By 1982, civil rights directives—in particular Title VI and affirmative action enforced by the *Adams* court—sought to provide wider access for students of color, though societal barriers affecting prospective entrants such as inequitable K-12 education remained. Furthermore, despite the noble intentions of the belated Texas Plans and other outreach programs, UT-Austin had not met its promised goals for diversity. As shown in Table 1, a review of the 1982 Cactus revealed that 2.7 percent (.9 percent male and 1.8 percent female) of the student population at the university was Black. Notably, this was the first year in the analysis where the estimated proportion of Black females enrolled exceeded males. We estimate that Black male enrollment was half of female enrollment. Nearly fifteen years after the civil rights movement, Blacks remained underrepresented compared to their

statewide population in the 1980 Census by about 9 percent.

By 1997, the backlash against affirmative action had increased to a crescendo. The *Bakke* decision in 1978 followed by *Hopwood* in 1996 spurred on the opposition. The year after Hopwood, the yearbook analysis suggests Blacks were 3.4 percent (1.3 percent male and 2.1 percent female) of the total student population at UT-Austin (see Table 1). The yearbook counts are similar to matriculation data released by UT-Austin showing Black enrollment at 3.5 percent (University of Texas 1998). As shown in Table 1, considering the 2000 Census, Blacks were about 8 percent below their statewide population.

It is interesting to note that during the first year of the implementation of the Top Ten Percent Law (1998-1999), the university data on enrollment proportions was 3.5 percent for Blacks (University of Texas 2001a). In 2001, several years after the implementation of the TTPP, the yearbook count estimates the proportion of Blacks at 3.7 percent of the student body. Since 1996, the yearbook analysis illustrates that Blacks

Table 2 — Top 10 Percent College Choice, Texas Public Universities (Freshman Entering 2000-2003)

Year and University Type	White	Black	Latina/o
1999-2000			
Top-Tier University	58.0%	29.6%	40.6%
Other Texas University	42.0%	70.4%	59.4%
Grand Total	100%	100%	100%
2000-2001			
Top-Tier University	61.6%	31.1%	41.8%
Other Texas University	38.4%	68.9%	58.2%
Grand Total	100%	100%	100%
2001-2002			
Top-Tier University	58.7%	28.6%	38.8%
Other Texas University	41.3%	71.4%	61.2%
Grand Total	100%	100%	100%
2002-2003			
Top-Tier University	60.9%	29.0%	40.5%
Other Texas University	39.1%	71.0%	59.5%
Grand Total	100%	100%	100%
1999-2003			
Top-Tier University	59.8%	29.5%	40.3%
Other Texas University	40.2%	70.5%	59.7%
Grand Total	100%	100%	100%

appear to show a modest increase in enrollment at UT-Austin. However, Blacks remained vastly underrepresented relative to their statewide population (see Table 1).

Top Ten Percent Plan

Ten years of institutional data shows that Black and Latina/o student enrollment has increased in the midst of the Top Ten Percent Plan. In 2008, Black students made up 5.6 percent of all incoming freshman and Latina/os made up 19.9 percent, representing an increase of 2.9 and 7.3 percentage points from 1997, respectively (see Figure 1).

We will now turn to contemporary THECB data on enrollment in Texas public institutions of higher education to

Figure 1 — Percentage of First-Time Enrolled Applicants by Race at UT-Austin (Source: Office of Information Management and Analysis, final enrollment analysis for fall 2008.)
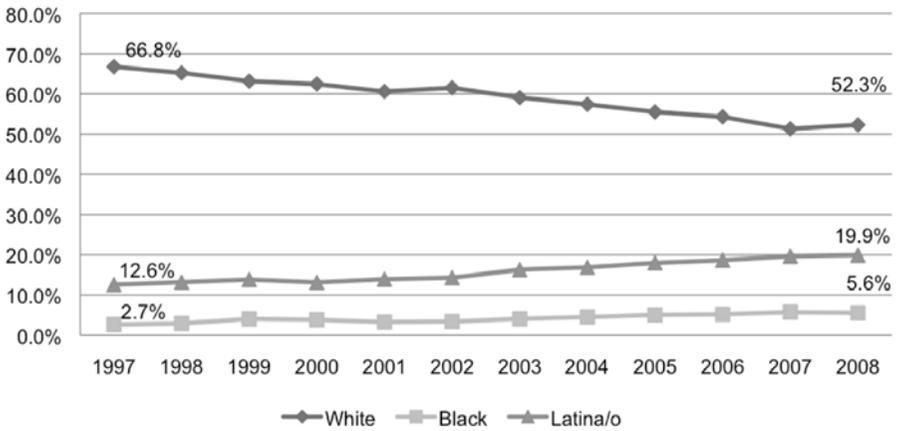
further examine TTPP Black students enrolled in all public institutions in the state of Texas.

We begin by comparing the cross-sectional college choice patterns of historically underrepresented minority students to White students in Texas (see Table 2). Across all time periods, Whites show the largest percentage of TTPP students choosing UT-Austin or Texas A&M, which are the top-tier universities represented in Table 2, over all other Texas universities. Of eligible TTPP students, about 40 percent of Latina/os students and 30 percent of Blacks choose the two flagship universities. As a result, 70 percent of eligible Black and 60 percent of eligible Latina/o students turned down the opportunity to attend the most selective institutions of higher education in Texas despite their preferential admission. This is an important issue that will require further qualitative research to understand why this disparity is occurring. What we do know is that TTPP Black public higher education enrollment increased 28 percent for

midsized public institutions in Texas enrolling between 10,000 and 30,000 students and 77 percent for smaller institutions with less than 10,000 students between 2000 and 2006 (analyses not shown).

Table 3 shows that TTPP students who attended top-tier universities in Texas tend to have higher persistence rates compared to all other institutions in Texas, an average of about 10 percent between years and race. This aligns with the literature that shows Black persistence is impacted by demographic factors and institutional selectivity (Alon and Tienda 2005; Reason 2009). Notably, while the overall gap remains relatively stable for Whites and Latina/os, the gap between Black students attending flagships and attending all other institutions expanded from 7.5 percent to 12 percent from 2000 to 2008. This suggests that as more TTPP Black students enrolled in less selective public higher education institutions in Texas, their persistence steadily declined.

The historical graduation gap also exists between TTPP Black and White students.

Table 3 — Top 10 Percent College One-Year Persistence, Texas Public University Selectivity (2000-2008)

Year	University Type	White	Black	Latina/o
2000-2001	Top-Tier University	94.9%	93.3%	93.9%
	Other Texas University	86.3%	85.8%	86.2%
2001-2002	Top-Tier University	95.8%	95.0%	91.9%
	Other Texas University	87.9%	85.2%	84.1%
2002-2003	Top-Tier University	95.0%	93.2%	92.0%
	Other Texas University	86.0%	84.9%	86.8%
2003-2004	Top-Tier University	94.8%	92.9%	92.1%
	Other Texas University	87.0%	87.8%	85.8%
2004-2005	Top-Tier University	96.1%	93.8%	93.8%
	Other Texas University	86.2%	83.1%	82.9%
2005-2006	Top-Tier University	95.9%	93.8%	93.0%
	Other Texas University	86.5%	82.9%	84.6%
2006-2007	Top-Tier University	95.5%	92.5%	92.6%
	Other Texas University	86.6%	80.0%	84.8%
2007-2008	Top-Tier University	95.7%	93.7%	92.4%
	Other Texas University	86.5%	81.6%	83.2%

The gap for the four cohorts averages to about 11 percent for TTPP students at the top-tier institutions of higher education (see Table 4). At about 16 percent, the average gap of the four cohorts is even larger between White and Black TTPP students attending non-flagship institutions of higher education. While the graduation rates are nearly the same for Black and Latina/o TTPP students at UT-Austin and Texas A&M (an average gap of about a tenth of a percent), on average, more Latina/os than Blacks graduate from less-selective institutions (gap averages about 5 percent). The overall gap within groups for cohorts entering between 1999 and 2003 is also quite substantial by institutional selectivity: 17 percent for Whites and Latina/os and about 22 percent for Blacks. Considering that 70 percent of Black TTPP students do not attend Texas's flagship universities, this large graduation rate gap has a disproportionate impact.

Table 4 — Top 10 Percent Six-Year Cohort Graduation Rate at Texas Public Universities (Freshman Entering 2000-2003)

Year and University Type	White	Black	Latina/o
1999-2000			
Top-Tier University	87.7%	77.8%	77.9%
Other Texas University	69.4%	52.3%	57.6%
2000-2001			
Top-Tier University	87.3%	80.3%	74.6%
Other Texas University	72.2%	52.0%	59.3%
2001-2002			
Top-Tier University	86.5%	72.0%	77.8%
Other Texas University	68.6%	57.2%	59.6%
2002-2003			
Top-Tier University	87.4%	75.2%	75.4%
Other Texas University	70.5%	56.7%	60.5%
1999-2003			
Top-Tier University	87.2%	76.2%	76.4%
Other Texas University	70.1%	54.7%	59.4%

DISCUSSION

The question of why integration at UT-Austin has struggled from the *Sweatt* period to the current day is mired in de jure, de facto, and societal factors. First, the dismantling of Plessy in Texas took place in a context of what historian Amilcar Shabazz (2004) termed "massive resistance": procedural and legal foot-dragging until as late as the mid-1960s. Even when legal victories had been secured in federal courts, UT-Austin's responses tended to follow the letter, but not the spirit, of the law. The initial TSUN Law School (the "Basement College") was certainly separate but far from equal (Goldstone 2006; Shabazz

2004). Although by 1956, 104 Black undergraduate and graduate students were accepted at UT-Austin, "unwritten policies" termed them second-class citizens (Duren and Iscoe 1979). Certain instances at the university became social factors that greatly affected the reputation of UT-Austin, especially in Black communities. For example, opera superstar Barbara Smith Conrad was denied the opportunity to perform as the lead in a campus production in 1956 (Hames 2010), and UT-Austin had the dubious distinction of being the last all-White national championship football team in 1969 (Royal and Wheat 2005). With a strong state network of Historically Black

Colleges and Universities free from such historical baggage (Willie et al. 2005), many TTPP Black students opted to attend these institutions. The experiences of many early UT-Austin Black students can be summarized in the words of alumnus John Hargis: "lonely and unpleasant" (as quoted in Goldstone 2006, 46).

While these events might seem distant to some, it is apparent that these wounds have yet to heal in the Black community. Historian Dwonna Goldstone noted that "many observers believe that UT-Austin and Texas A&M have not adequately addressed the negative racial climate that still exists on both campuses" (2006, 153). She further discussed the experiences of a student that struggled to make the decision to attend UT-Austin:

> When it came time to select a college, [the student's] family and friends warned him not to go to UT "because, quite frankly, the environment of UT is known for racism among black people. Hopwood, and other recent incidents in the past, have put African Americans in a certain mindset about UT. A lot of older people told me not to come here." (as quoted in Goldstone 2006, 153)

Incendiary comments like UT-Austin law professor Lino Graglia's 1997 statement that "Blacks and Mexican-Americans are not academically competitive with Whites" because they grow up in cultures that "seem not to encourage achievement" (as quoted in Goldstone 2006, 153) echo racist beliefs of yesteryear.

It is always risky to attempt to predict what the future holds; however, recent events give rise to the possibility that historic rifts are starting to heal. The rise in African American enrollment in the midst of the TTPP, the establishment of an administrative Division of Diversity and Community Engagement, and the recent founding of the Department of African and African Diaspora Studies, which promises to enhance scholarship and research integral to the Black community, are considerable achievements for UT-Austin. Campus iconography of the present day includes statues of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., congresswoman Barbara Jordan, and NFL Hall-of-Famer Earl Campbell. And in a redemptive effort, the pioneering Black UT students (known as "The Precursors") have returned to share their experiences with the campus and local community. Today, the voice of the university in public relations spots—formerly news icon Walter Cronkite—is Barbara Smith Conrad, the same woman at the center of the opera controversy of 1956.

Has UT-Austin come full circle? Will Black TTPP students continue to choose non-flagship universities? Will the reduction of the TTPP to the top 8 percent for the freshman class of 2011 reduce the enrollment of Blacks at UT-Austin? Researchers and policy analysts will need to closely monitor how these efforts, along with an increasingly conservative social and political climate, constricting state budgets, and declining appropriations, affect Black recruitment, enrollment, retention, and graduation rates. It is still an open question as to whether UT-Austin will live up to its Texas constitutional billing as a "university of the first class" for all its citizens.

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Identity and Public Policy:
Redefining the Concept of Racial Democracy in Brazil

by Krystle Norman

Krystle Norman is a recent graduate of the University of Maryland, College Park, where she received her master's degree in public policy. In 2008, she received her bachelor's degree from the University of Maryland in Spanish language and literature and a certificate in African American studies. Her research interests include conflict areas, social policy, identity issues, human rights, foreign policy, and parallels between communities within the African diaspora.

ABSTRACT:

In Brazil, the notion that raced-based inequalities have crippled the social, economic, and political progress of Afro-Brazilians is one that is quickly denied by those who are committed to Gilberto Freyre's concept of racial democracy. However, when disparities between "White" and "Black" Brazilians are noted, it is difficult to attribute them solely to class and not race. By analyzing important concepts coined by two distinguished sociologists, W.E.B. Du Bois and Gilberto Freyre, this article explores the way in which identity affects the ability of public policy to address inequalities in Brazil. From that dialogue, this article develops a normative view of racial democracy and puts forth recommendations that will help facilitate its expansion.

While physically the presence of Afro-Latinos throughout the Latin American diaspora cannot be denied, access to resources, equal protection under the law, and political representation continue to be restricted and, in some countries, justified by law (Cottrol 2007). Essentially, the continuing struggle of Afro-Latinos to obtain these basic rights can be seen as a major pitfall of society, but more generally, it illustrates the degree to which inequality in Latin America still persists today. Since the census is used to determine the allocation of federal funding, provide social services, and guide the creation of infrastructure projects, it serves as a means to not only address inequalities but also understand the implications of identity on public policy. Simply stated, recognition of identity is critical to effective policy making, especially within the context of a country as racially diverse as Brazil.

HISTORY OF AFRO-LATINOS

While many Americans have learned about the history of slavery and racial inequality that lies at the very core of the African American struggle in the United States, the experience of Afro-Latinos and their plight for racial equality has not received nearly as much attention (Cottrol 2007). Considering the fact that Latin America is home to the largest population of Africans living outside of Africa itself (Andrews 2004), it is a tragedy that their struggle has been seemingly overlooked.

The lineage of African ancestry in Latin America was created from the millions of West African slaves who were traded as

property and survived the Middle Passage, the journey from Africa across the Atlantic (Andrews 2004). In the early sixteenth century, European traders were responsible for the first large influx of slaves into the hemisphere. These Africans went to the island of Hispaniola, which now is comprised of the Dominican Republic and Haiti. Over the subsequent 400-year period, it is estimated that about twelve million slaves would come to the hemisphere and be subjected to a life of hard labor, discrimination, and exploitation (Postma 2003). Brazil's role in the history of slavery in the Western hemisphere is undeniable, especially when scholars estimate that almost half of African slaves were sent to Brazil, as compared to the 6 percent that would eventually end up in the United States (Russell-Wood 1982). As George Reid Andrews writes, "During the period of slavery, ten times as many Africans came to Spanish and Portuguese America (5.7 million) as to the United States (560,000)" (2004, 3). For many years, the African slaves were overworked, killed, and then replaced to sustain the vicious cycle of slavery. As the development of Central and South America and the Caribbean became more reliant on the revenues generated from harvesting cash crops, West African slaves continued to be in high demand (Andrews 2004).

It was not until the abolitionist movement gained momentum that the international community began to pay attention to the suffering caused by intergenerational slavery and exploitation. However, while most Latin American countries decided to abolish the institution of slavery upon independence in the early 1800s, slavery in Brazil would remain robust until 1888 (Andrews 2004). In spite of the triumphs of the abolitionist movement, the ramifications of slavery continue to reverberate throughout Latin America today, demonstrated by the injustices in regards to access to health care, education, resources, and employment (Ribando 2005).

PLIGHT OF AFRO-BRAZILIANS

Recent studies have shown that there is a "strong and persistent correlation" between socioeconomic disparities and the extent to which someone is classified as or self-identifies as Afro-Latino (Ribando 2005, 5). For the purposes of this article, individuals that have any African ancestry will be referred to as Afro-Brazilian or Black, while those individuals who do not have any African ancestry will be referred to as White Brazilians. Black or Afro-Brazilian will also be used as an umbrella term that broadly encompasses those Brazilians who are not White, including people of mixed race and those whose phenotypes would suggest their African ancestry (even if they do not self-identify as such).

In broad-based surveys conducted by organizations such as the Inter-American Development Bank, investigators found that Afro-Latinos constitute a disproportionate amount of the poor given their overall population in Latin America. They make up almost 40 percent of the region's poor, yet only constitute a third of Latin America's total population (Ribando 2005). With regards to Brazil, a household survey conducted in 1999 found that Afro-Latinos constitute 45 percent of the population, yet they represent about 65 percent of both the poor and extremely poor citizens (Htun 2004; Ribando 2005). To continue, Black Brazilians can expect to earn about half of the income of their White counterparts on average and are more likely to be victimized by police

brutality and human rights abuses (Telles 2009). Additionally, Afro-Brazilians are more likely than Whites of the same income to live in areas of concentrated poverty (Telles 2004). In a more direct comparison with their White counterparts, more than half of Afro-Brazilians lack housing with adequate sanitation, while only 28 percent of White Brazilians are confronted with this issue (Htun 2004; Ribando 2005). With regards to education, a twenty-five-year-old Afro-Brazilian has, on average, 2.3 years less schooling as compared to Whites, and the illiteracy rate for Afro-Brazilians is almost three times that of their White counterparts (Htun 2004; Ribando 2005). The media also serves as another medium through which racial discrimination and stereotypes are perpetuated. Although Afro-Brazilians constitute roughly 45 percent of the population in Brazil, television shows and advertisements employ majority White actors and models, reinforcing the idea that White Brazilians are the standard for beauty and success in Brazil (Telles 2009).

IDENTITY ISSUES IN BRAZIL

Afro-Latinos have struggled to mitigate the tensions that have emerged surrounding their mixed racial heritage. For instance, in the early 1900s Latin America's response to European pressures to "civilize" was to suppress and/or hide its African heritage, encourage White migration into the region, undergo a "modern European-style" transformation of its urban landscapes, and promote European values and culture in order to "Europeanize Latin American societies" (Andrews 2004, 119).

This strong desire for all the societal gains that were thought to accompany "blanqueamiento" (a term used to describe the Whitening of a region through the settlement of large groups of Europeans) ultimately exacerbated the rate at which Afro-Latinos were marginalized (Cottrol 2007). Psychological remnants from the slavery paradigm continued to perpetuate the problematic notion that, among other things, lighter skin was synonymous with economic and social mobility. This ideology was reinforced when European settlement was encouraged and the White elite began to solidify its influence over the political, economic, and social sectors of society (Andrews 2004). As stated by Robert Cottrol, "If the national ethos dictated that the nation was white, it was all the more prudent, particularly for those of mixed ancestry, not to declare an African heritage. Thus mestizaje [racial mixing] and blanqueamiento [Whitening] both contributed to the pronounced unwillingness of many Afro-Latinos to identify as such, even when phenotype made such identification and the resulting discrimination inescapable" (2007, 4).

Since the combination of Europeans, Native Americans, Spaniards, and Africans created such a hugely multiethnic citizenry in Latin America, this grouping made it all the more difficult to rigidly define class and political status (Andrews 2004). According to Andrews, the Afro-Latino population experienced both "Whitening" and "Blackening" phases because it lacked an appreciation and understanding for its own racial identity (2004, 10). Due to societal pressures, Afro-Latinos were forced to create an identity that was both acceptable to themselves and the larger European diaspora. As a result, social status and economic privilege were determined by one's light skin color and closeness to a European phenotype.

Society would systematically devalue Blackness, which encouraged individuals to disassociate with their African ancestry, even when their phenotype would suggest otherwise (Cottrol 2007). In this way, Brazil was able to maintain a "rigid, racial hierarchy" that reinforced the supremacy of White Brazilians (Telles 2004, 230).

IMPLICATIONS OF IDENTITY ON PUBLIC POLICY

With the difficulties presented by self-classification and identity, disparities between White and Black Brazilians have been documented, yet still underestimated (Cottrol 2007). Accordingly, there have been efforts by the Brazilian government to try to address the multitude of identities that have emerged due to the lack of a rigid, nationally accepted racial classification system. Findings from a census compiled in 1991 found that there were more than one-hundred different categories that individuals used to define their racial identity (Reichmann 1999). Some of the categories used to describe varying degrees of African, European, and Indian ancestry among Brazilians included "negro, preto, pardo, moreno, mulato, trigueño, zambo" (Cottrol 2007, 3). Furthermore, citizens were not only asked how they classified themselves, but they were also surveyed on how and why they would classify other people in their community. It was evident from this census that information gathered about racial classifications was heavily influenced by the makeup of an individual's community, the extent to which individuals were exposed to other communities with dissimilar racial demographics, as well as their understanding of their own heritage. In fact, the propensity of the government to discourage its citizens from grouping themselves has been long criticized (Htun 2004).

Simply stated, identity is critical to policy, and this is particularly evident when examining how identity issues in Brazil have affected the census. In an effort to formulate and implement targeted public policies to try to address the needs of the Afro-Brazilian population, in the next census conducted in 1995 the Brazilian government decreased the number of categories used in the racial classification portion of the survey (Ribando 2005). As a result, former Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso helped usher in a series of affirmative action and antidiscrimination legislation, which has been characterized by many as a "positive byproduct of this census reform" (Ribando 2005, 6).

Specifically, in the past two decades Brazil has implemented more antidiscrimination legislation and signed international protocols against institutional racism. In 2001, Brazil pushed to implement affirmative action measures both in government employment and in the university admissions process. Furthermore, former Brazilian President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva integrated an all-time-high number of Afro-Brazilian ministers; the establishment of the Secretariat for Racial Equality also helped legitimize Brazil's commitment to addressing racial inequality (Dzidzienyo and Oboler 2005). Ultimately, the issue of racial identity has a significant impact on the government's ability to address racial inequalities that persist in Brazil.

DIALOGUE ABOUT IDENTITY ISSUES

The works of two distinguished sociologists, W.E.B. Du Bois and Gilberto Freyre, can be examined as a way to understand the construction of contemporary identities throughout the African diaspora. Through an examination of

their works' impact on the discussion on identity, concepts critical to my normative view of racial democracy will be revealed.

W.E.B. Du Bois, a distinguished African American sociologist, coined the concept of double consciousness in *The Souls of Black Folk,* which was originally written in 1903. As Du Bois affirmed in this seminal work examining the sociological under-pinnings of the African American experience, "The problem of the twenti-eth century is the problem of the color line — the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and islands of the sea" (2005, 17). From this quote, one can understand Du Bois's keen recognition of the impact of race on societal relations. On the other hand, Gilberto Freyre, a noted Brazilian sociologist, was first associated with the notion of "racial democracy" in *The Masters and the Slaves*, although he never explicitly employed the phrase in this work. In this book, he argued that a series a special circumstances allowed Brazil to transcend the need to create rigid, racial categories that would lead to tense race relations; miscegenation among Whites, Africans, and the indigenous peoples, close relations between masters and slaves during colonialism, and a strong, yet complex, national identity facilitated the creation of a superior race (Freyre 1933). While Freyre seemingly is credited with coining the term "racial democracy," Arthur Ramos, Roger Bastide, and Charles Wagley are also given credit for popularizing the term throughout the Western hemisphere (Souza and Sinder 2005).

Double Consciousness

Du Bois's description of double con-sciousness put forth a profound analysis of African American culture and identity and affirmed that both a reconciliation of dueling identities and perseverance despite all odds is the "history of the American Negro" (2005, 8). Double consciousness speaks to the duality of identity and refers to the condition of Black consciousness after emancipation: as an awareness of one's self-identity coupled with the awareness of seeing one's identity through the eyes of others (Du Bois 2005). While these two identi-ties may be very different, the alternative view of oneself essentially becomes an inescapable part of identity. The concept of double consciousness emerged as a way to understand the influence of stereotypes perpetuated by Whites and their effects on the Black experience and identity, the internal conflict of being both African and American, and the prevalence of racism and discrimination that ignored, persecuted, and ostracized African Americans from mainstream society. Du Bois states, "It is a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity" (2005, 7).

While the need to grapple with these two consciousnesses may have been a burden for African Americans initially, it served as a coping mechanism for those who felt caught between two worlds. In describing the hopes and desires of African Americans, Du Bois explains, "He [African Americans] would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world" (2005, 8). Accordingly, Brazil's effort towards Whitening society has affected the way

Brazilians view themselves and the way that others view them. In that sense, Du Bois would reaffirm that Afro-Brazilians should not Whiten themselves because they have a unique "message" to contribute to society.

Undoubtedly, there is a strong parallel in the way that race and racism has affected both the Afro-Brazilian and the African American psyches. In the same way that African Americans grapple with the duality of their identity, I will incorporate this concept into my normative vision for democracy in order to help Afro-Brazilians grapple with the duality of their identity. However, the danger of double consciousness becomes evident when individuals consciously conform or alter their identity to cater to the expectations of another person or group. Ultimately, the inclusion of this concept will help reconcile the need for both an identity from the "other" (which would be the census racial categories) and the identity of "self" (which would preserve one's individual freedom to choose his or her identity).

Racial Democracy

In its most commonly accepted definition, the term racial democracy has been used to describe the tranquility of race relations between "the Black and White" within Brazil. Racism in Brazil was argued to be nonexistent, which helped the country become the poster child for efforts to move past slavery and toward racial reconciliation. Essentially, Freyre perpetuated the theory, which would soon become known as the "official ideology," that Brazil was "above race" (Simpson 1993, 33). In other words, this ideology affirmed that the construct of race did not exist, which therefore negated the possibility that both racially

based prejudice and discrimination existed (Simpson 1993; Souza and Sinder 2005). Scholars have also characterized Freyre's notion of racial democracy as dogma seeking to create the perception of a "color-blind" or "raceless" Brazilian society (Kingstone and Power 1999, 249; Janoski et al. 2005, 194). This concept gained popularity during the 1930s and early 1940s during the time that other multicultural countries were experiencing heightened racial tensions. Brazilians would use Freyre's notion of Brazil's racial democracy to criticize those countries like the United States that struggled with race-based discrimination and inequality. By the 1990s, the prevalence of Freyre's concept of racial democracy was diminishing from the public paradigm as Brazil became more democratic. In addition, a dynamic Black consciousness movement that maintained a small following received national attention in Brazil for heavily criticizing Freyre's popular idea of racial democracy, which finally caused the issue of race to be brought back into the national dialogue (Telles 2004).

Freyre's concept of racial democracy would significantly impact how Brazil addressed inequalities between White and Black Brazilians. On the one hand, some have applauded Brazil's efforts in manifesting a strong sense of pride among its nationals by adopting the notion of racial democracy as the official ideology. As a result, all Brazilians were thought to be considered equal (no one group was superior to another), therefore the prevailing idea became that no group should receive special treatment through policies such as affirmative action. However, other scholars have found Freyre's idea extremely problematic (Hanchard 1994). By

denying the possibility of race as a factor in a discussion of inequality, many issues subsequently manifested. Even though the government has made more of an effort to implement policies to address inequalities over the past twenty years, it is evident that disparities still remain. Furthermore, Michael George Hanchard concludes that exclusion of race from the public discourse has diminished the overall effectiveness of targeted policies that seek to correct for social and economic inequalities (1994). In other words, while progress has been made, it remains to be seen whether Brazil can truly overcome the socioeconomic and psychological impacts that the concept of racial democracy have caused. In addition, Freyre's notion of racial democracy could have a negative impact on the extent to which cultural studies are taught both in the school system and within the Brazilian home (Hanchard 1994). Since accepting Freyre's concept of racial democracy has caused some Afro-Brazilians to ignore their African heritage, this sense of denial continues to prevent them from identifying within the broader struggle of those belonging to the Pan-African community (Dzidzienyo and Oboler 2005).

In a broad-based survey of White Brazilian attitudes, researchers found that while 89 percent believed that racial prejudice existed, only five percent said that it existed in significant ways. In addition, 43 percent said Blacks were only good at sports, and 47 percent believed the old saying that a "good Black is one that has a White soul" (Persons 2003, 43). In this way, the myth of racial democracy has not been entirely refuted, which is why I believe it should be reinterpreted. Below I discuss how I arrived at my vision of racial democracy as well as some of its features before moving

into my recommendations for successful implementation.

NORMATIVE VIEW OF RACIAL DEMOCRACY

After reviewing the concepts coined by both Freyre and Du Bois as well as their impact on the dialogue about identity, I have created a normative version of racial democracy that incorporates Du Bois's concept of double consciousness and allows public policies to address disparities while letting individuals maintain the freedom to choose their own identity.

Racial democracy should be defined as a democratic polity that acknowledges the importance of a diverse citizenry; educates its citizens about the value of heightened cultural understanding; empowers those who have been historically marginalized with respect to access to resources and mobility through a strengthening of their political voice and presence in the deliberative decision-making process; and is willing to sacrifice time and resources in order to remain committed to addressing issues of inequality. Before coming to a conclusion on my normative vision of racial democracy, I had to understand the implications of two different extremes. One extreme would be a complete removal of the concept of race from the public discourse. This extreme would parallel Freyre's notion of having a "raceless" Brazilian society. The other extreme would be to allow the government to establish strict racial categories without public input. However, I realized that neither extreme would be ideal for my vision of racial democracy. Individuals' identities are far too complex for either extreme to fit into my theory on what a racial democracy should be. Arguably, either one of these extremes could reinforce inequalities that

persist in society or suppress the fact that other aspects of an individual's identity are more salient than ethnicity, such as gender and class.

Double consciousness (keeping the individual's identity as the primary and the government category as the secondary) should be understood as an important feature of my vision of racial democracy. The "other view" of one's identity (Du Bois 2005), which causes the emergence of the secondary consciousness, should be acknowledged as a way of understanding the role of racial classifications in creating targeted policies to address racial inequality. However, it should not be accepted if an individual feels that his or her primary identity is more salient. My vision of racial democracy would give the government a focus for addressing inequalities while preserving individual freedom to embrace one's complex identity, which may not identify ethnicity as the most salient element. It would also allow for the implementation of policies to alleviate inequalities while strengthening the national identity by recognizing a plurality of individuals with complex identities. Afro-Brazilians should be free to define their complex identity as they see fit and weigh their ethnicity in relation to other parts of their identity. Ultimately, the secondary identity (unlike how it was defined by Du Bois for African Americans) would be seen as a positive rather than a negative construct. It would be the acknowledgement (not acceptance) of this secondary identity, utilized in the racial classification system, that would seek to address racial inequalities.

The goals of racial democracy should be to reduce concentrated poverty; increase political access while establishing and sustaining mechanisms within the democratic structure to revisit issues that affect historically marginalized groups in a way that reconciles racial tensions; strengthen national identity; and build coalitions across geographic and ethnic boundaries. As defined here, racial democracy would not mean the exercise of color-blindness or clinging to a superiority complex that excludes a nation from scrutiny. Rather, it would mean recognizing the differences of others as various threads in the rich fabric of society. The acceptance of such a robust form of racial democracy is essential as it serves as the underpinning for the basis of sustainable reform. Ultimately, by incorporating the concept of double consciousness into my vision of racial democracy, I will be able to stress the ability for individuals to identify or to be classified as a larger group to help public policy address inequality while still allowing individuals to maintain the cultural freedom to define themselves as something different.

To promote racial democracy, the government should maintain its system of providing a fewer number of racial classification categories on census questionnaires. This will allow the government to continue to focus its policies. Undoubtedly, the fact that Afro-Brazilians self-identified in more than one-hundred different categories speaks to the complexity of identity in Brazil. I believe that using the most popular racial categories that describe those citizens of African descent combines the opportunity for Afro-Brazilians to self-identify racially with the need for the government to target its policies by decreasing the number of options available on the census. For the purpose of the census, an Afro-Brazilian should be defined as anyone who has any known African ancestry in his or her family

(both immediate and extended), even if his or her phenotype suggests otherwise.

However, some Afro-Brazilians may choose to deny their African heritage in an effort to protect their families from stereotypes, ostracism, and discrimination. These individuals would likely choose the "other" option on census questionnaires and/or write in an alternate response. Here is where self-identification becomes critical to the success of the census. Ultimately, without buy-in from Afro-Brazilians to support the inclusion of census classification, their lack of responsiveness or cooperation will undermine the ability of the census to capture pertinent social, economic, and political information that will help in more effectively addressing the inequalities that disproportionately affect Afro-Brazilians.

I am compelled to think that an adoption of my vision of racial democracy would strengthen the broader coalition of non-White minorities in Brazil as a whole. As minority groups, they must focus on the commonalities in their struggles, unify their efforts toward equality, and confront social injustices with the notion that the pursuit of the empowerment of small groups will also empower the efforts of the collective. In addition, with a profound understanding of the complex historical roots and multifaceted culture, my normative theory would allow for the construction of identities, which not only allows for more targeted social action but also reinforces a commitment to an individual's cultural liberty. Public policies that address inequalities would be able to more effectively target injustices that exist. I would also expect that the recognition of racial divisions and the emphasis of commonalities across groups would not only strengthen racial coalitions but also strengthen the national identity. No matter how the current status of Afro-Brazilians is analyzed, the disparities call for a restructuring of the national identity that not only recognizes the nuances in cultural identities but also seeks to correct for historical inequities. Additionally, bridging groups through the merging of racial categories will help develop a rich pluralism and will bring people together. In realizing its responsibility to reconcile the desire for solidarity with the recognition of a robust, diverse citizenry, Brazil will find that my normative theory on racial democracy has the balance between diversity and solidarity that will prove to be the most appropriate.

OPTIONS FOR STRENGTHENING RACIAL DEMOCRACY IN BRAZIL

Change the Public Paradigm about Race

The public paradigm is very important to the effectiveness of the call to action to the masses to address the issue of race in Brazil. Paradigm shifts can be socialized through public education, oral tradition, and public campaigns. They should emphasize the need for my vision of racial democracy and promote the concept of double consciousness as a way to reconcile the need for racial categories with individuals' cultural liberties to choose (or not choose) their own identity (Sen 2004). Apart from legal reforms, what is necessary and arguably most important is a drastic paradigm shift away from the notions about a "raceless" Brazil. Since it will most likely take some time to come to a national consensus about the most appropriate approach to addressing race, we can expect that changing the public paradigm will require

patience, time, and persistence. In the end, reforms coupled with a shift toward my normative theory of racial democracy will create the foundation needed for Brazil to combat racial inequalities with sustainable success.

Increase the Political Involvement of Afro-Brazilians

Unequal access to education is one of the main catalysts that has created a lack of politically competitive Afro-Brazilians. Cloves Luiz Pereira Oliveira confirms that, overall, "Afro-Brazilian candidates were drafted from the working class, whereas Whites came from the upper-middle and middle-class" (1999, 173). As a result, disparities in education levels not only prevented more Afro-Brazilians from becoming political candidates but also impacted their ability to compete with wealthier and more educated candidates in the political arena (Oliveira 1999). For example, Salvador is the third-largest city in Brazil, a former colonial capital, and the center of Afro-Brazilian culture, yet it has never had a democratically elected Black mayor (even though Afro-Brazilians constitute more than 85 percent of the population there). Edvaldo Brito, the only Afro-Brazilian to have served as the mayor of Salvador, was appointed by Brazil's former military dictatorship (Duffy 2009). On a national level, "in 2003, Brazil, a country with 45% of its population claiming some African ancestry, 27 congressmen of a total of 594 self-identified as Afro-Brazilian" (Ribando 2005, 10). This statistic shows that how even though more congressmen had a phenotype that reflected their African ancestry, for fear of being negatively characterized they openly denied their ancestry. Accordingly, this denial has only further impacted an already disempowered Afro-Brazilian community.

Therefore, an increase in political involvement for Afro-Brazilians will generate new perspectives that may not have previously been explored, help more equally distribute resources, and assist in the crafting of policies that address the needs of Afro-Brazilians, which will bring race-based initiatives and public policies to the forefront of the public agenda.

Encourage Diversity Initiatives Coupled with Antidiscrimination Legislation

Institutions should feel compelled to hire or elect officials so that their staff represents the diverse citizenry of Brazil. As seen in many of Brazil's soccer teams, diversity can be achieved without strict affirmative action policies, especially for jobs (such as in sports) that are heavily based on performance and talent. Especially with regard to recruitment for universities, as well as private- and public-sector jobs, I believe that implementing antidiscrimination laws coupled with more diversity outreach efforts would be the most appropriate. However, if it seems that the need for diversity initiatives is being taken seriously, the government could incentivize institutions to adopt such initiatives. I would prefer this option to affirmative action policies, because I feel that diversity should not be forced; it should be encouraged. However, this option is extremely contingent on the realization of the first option. If Brazilians were to understand the importance of addressing racial inequality, they would feel more compelled to incorporate diversity initiatives and outreach into their recruitment practices. By example, government should start to more heavily recruit from communities of color because it could provide the momentum that other sectors need in order to do the same.

Implement Affirmative Action Policies

Implementing affirmative action policies to increase diversity in both government and universities could also be an option for achieving a normative view of racial democracy. Brazil has made the creation of affirmative action policies in university admissions one of the major focal points of its efforts to address social inequality. As of 2008, almost fifty different universities had adopted affirmative action policies (Telles 2009). While the implementation of quotas or other affirmative action policies may have increased the presence of Afro-Brazilians with respect to universities, I do not think they would be fair and/or easily accepted in other areas such as in sports or in government. Especially among supporters of meritocracy and universalism, affirmative action policies are seen to be very controversial (Telles 2009). If Afro-Brazilians obtain positions on sports teams or in government through affirmative action policies, those individuals may be seen as undeserving or unqualified. This may increase racial hostility toward Afro-Brazilians from the rest of society, which may disagree with the special treatment that affirmative action would afford certain individuals.

POTENTIAL STARTING POINT

In an excerpt from Freyre's first speech in Salvador da Bahia, Brazil, in 1943 to the students attending the Bahia Medical School, he described their state of "democracy":

> Here [in Bahia] one finds, in an atmosphere that is sweeter than any other in Brazil, the results of ethnic democracy, inseparable from social democracy. And without social democracy, without ethnic democracy, without economic democracy, without socio-psychological democracy—the democracy whose types combine freely in new expressions, accepted, favored, and stimulated by the organization of society and creation—what can mere political democracy be, if not a hoax? (Souza and Sinder 2005, 123)

I thought that in that place that Freyre described as "sweeter than any other" I would find a thriving Black middle class with a unique appreciation for African heritage and culture, and heightened political and social activism. However, after conducting ethnographic research in Salvador, I found a small, politically uninvolved Black middle class, an evident commodification of African culture to serve tourist interests, and a White Brazilian minority elite with concentrated political power and wealth. I also realized the importance of my own sense of double consciousness and how it helped me understand how society viewed me, without letting that negatively impact the freedom I had to define my own identity. Both recognition of race and an implementation of policies would expand racial democracy and strengthen the national identity while preserving the pluralism of complex identities. Ultimately, because of Salvador's unique demographics and history, I feel that this city could serve as a starting point for the adoption of my vision for normative racial democracy.

CONCLUSION

Despite attempts to eliminate racism from the public discourse, it is alive and flourishing in Brazil, and the current status of Afro-Brazilians can be seen as a by-product of its legacy. As prominent development ethicist Amartya Sen stated, "A country does not have to be judged to be fit for democracy, rather it has to

become fit through democracy" (1999, 4). Accordingly, Brazil can become more fit through racial democracy, as it has been defined in this article. Even though the persistence of inequalities between "White" and "Black" Brazilians can be attributed to a number of factors, changing the public paradigm and strengthening the political voice of the Afro-Brazilian are two of the most instrumental ways that racial democracy can be achieved.

Harriet Tubman once said, "If I could have convinced more slaves that they were slaves, I could have freed thousands more" (Daniels 2004, 36). Accordingly, if Freyre had been able to convince Brazilians that race did exist through his concept of racial democracy, perhaps Afro-Brazilians could have made a stronger effort to address racial inequalities earlier, and these inequalities would not exist at the rate that they do today. While Brazil will never be able to completely transcend the notion of race, ignoring it in the name of solidarity will only continue to impact all of its diverse citizenry, not just Afro-Brazilians. Ultimately, the inclusion of double consciousness in my normative vision of racial democracy will not only help the government implement targeted social policies but also preserve individual freedoms so that Afro-Brazilians can achieve true *igualdade*—equality.

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Opportunity Beyond Affirmative Action:

How Low-Income and Working-Class Black Male Achievers Access Highly Selective, High-Cost Colleges and Universities

by Shaun R. Harper and Kimberly A. Griffin

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ABSTRACT:

Published research on college access, particularly at highly selective and high-cost private postsecondary institutions, focuses primarily on barriers for underrepresented student populations. Higher-education scholars and policy makers have been especially concerned in recent years about stagnant (and, in some instances, declining) rates of enrollment among Black male undergraduates. This article presents findings from two-to-three-hour individual interviews with Black undergraduate men who grew up in low-income and working-class families and later enrolled in one of eighteen predominantly White private postsecondary institutions. We describe the policies and programs that enabled these men to successfully navigate their way to and through these colleges and universities, and we then offer implications for higher-education policy.

TEXT:

In *Beating the Odds: How the Poor Get to College*, Arthur Levine and Jana Niddifer (1996) describe the complex lives and educational journeys of twenty-four low-income students who gained admission to a range of postsecondary institutions, including elite universities. Few qualitative studies of undergraduates from similar socioeconomic circumstances have since been published, thus much remains to be known about such students and which programs, policies, and institutional practices enable them to access[1] particular sectors of postsecondary education. Emphasis most often is placed on exploring barriers rather than *facilitators* of college opportunity for lower-income and minoritized[2] populations (St. John et al. 2011). This has been especially prevalent over the past decade in published research and public discourse concerning the participation of Black male students in American higher education.

One of the authors of this article, Shaun R. Harper (2006), found that Black men comprised only 4.3 percent of all students enrolled at institutions of higher education in 2002—the exact same as in 1976.

The most significant gains in degree attainment during this time period were at community colleges. More recently, Harper (2011) reported that between 1994 and 2008, an increase of one Black male undergraduate was accompanied by an increase of five White male students. The overwhelming majority of Black men attend less selective regional state institutions, community and technical colleges, and Historically Black Colleges and Universities.

Myriad socioeconomic factors help explain, at least in part, the low rates at which Black male students enroll in highly selective colleges and universities. For example, in comparison to their White counterparts, fewer Black families can afford to live in neighborhoods with high property values and well-resourced neighborhood schools (Massey and Denton 1993; Massey et al. 2010). The continuation of residential segregation in the United States concentrates Black students in public K-12 schools that have fewer resources, lower per-student expenditures, fewer advanced placement courses, and less experienced teachers than the suburban schools many White students attend (Frankenburg and Lee 2002; McDonough 1998; Orfield 2001). This leads to measurable differences in the quality of Black students' educational experiences, leaving many insufficiently prepared to engage in competitive college admissions processes (Chang 2000; Griffin and Allen 2006; Solórzano and Ornelas 2004; St. John 2003).

One of the authors of this article, Kimberly A. Griffin et al. (2010), found that over a thirty-three-year period, Black male undergraduates increasingly came from affluent families. Comparatively, lower-income students are less likely to apply to college generally (Fitzgerald and Delaney 2002; McDonough 1997; McDonough 1998) and to enroll at elite colleges specifically (Bowen and Bok 1998; Hurtado et al. 1997). William Bowen et al. (2005, 135) found that while socioeconomic status (SES) had little influence on whether students were admitted to or performed well at highly selective institutions, it shaped the process that prepared them to engage in the application process; thus, they observed, "the odds of getting into this highly competitive pool in the first place depend enormously on who you are and how you grew up."

Parents' levels of educational attainment and financial resources have been closely linked to admissions behaviors and access trends (Bowen et al. 2005; Fitzgerald and Delaney 2002). Black students are less likely than their White and Asian American peers to have college-educated parents (College Board 1999). Parents with higher levels of formal education are often better positioned to provide key information and assistance that improve their children's college preparation and competitiveness, such as hiring private tutors and college counselors, ensuring their children take college preparatory classes, and arranging college visits (McDonough et al. 1997; Rowan-Kenyon et al. 2008). Don Hossler et al. (1999) found that parental education levels also had strong effects on the formation and actualization of college aspirations. Among ninth-graders in their study, 86 percent of students whose parents had a bachelor's degree or higher intended to enroll in college after high school; comparatively, 59 percent of students whose parents neither graduated from high school nor attended college had plans to enroll.

Hossler et al. (1999, 106) also found significant relationships between the types of postsecondary institutions students chose (technical schools, community colleges, and four-year institutions) and their parents' income levels. Accordingly, "about 19 percent of the students whose parents' income was below $15,000 attended a four-year school, whereas more than 58 percent of the students whose parents' income was more than $45,000 attended a four-year school." Similarly, Hurtado et al. (1997) found that only 25 percent of students from the highest income group in their sample had not applied to college by the end of twelfth grade, compared to more than half of their counterparts whose parents earned less than $14,999. Specifically concerning Blacks, those in the lowest income category applied to significantly fewer colleges and universities than did their more affluent same-race peers.

The ability to pay and financial aid are major determinants of whether and where students choose to pursue postsecondary education (McPherson and Schapiro 1998; Perna 1998; Perna 2006). A study by Laura W. Perna and Marvin A. Titus (2004) suggests that financial aid awarded by institutions may influence students' choices of particular four-year colleges and universities. In their sample, high school graduates from the lowest socioeconomic quartile who were awarded financial aid were more likely to enroll in private (and presumably higher-cost) institutions than public colleges and universities within their state. Notwithstanding its well-documented role in college access, some scholars (e.g., Breneman and Merisotis 2002; Perna 2000) have argued that financial aid on its own is insufficient in increasing access

and retention rates among lower-income undergraduates. Terrell L. Strayhorn's (2008) study focuses on their retention once enrolled, but there appear to be no published studies that explicitly examine how lower-income Black male students finance or navigate their way to postsecondary institutions, elite or otherwise.

As policy makers, researchers, and the American public continually consider ways to expand college opportunity for low-income and minoritized students, one particular policy issue is recurrently debated. Bowen and Bok (1998, 10) contend that affirmative action has "led to striking gains in the representation of [minoritized persons] in the most lucrative and influential occupations." In spite of this, numerous scholars (e.g., Allen 2005; Fischer and Massey 2007; Harper et al. 2009; Ibarra 2001; Schmidt 2007; St. John et al. 2001; Tierney 1996; Trent 1991; Yosso et al. 2004) have written about the contested use of race-sensitive college admissions practices. Reportedly, opposition is especially pronounced at selective institutions that have garnered reputations for conferring upon their graduates comparatively higher levels of career and financial success (Bowen and Bok 1998; Bowen et al. 2005; Katchadourian and Boli 1994; Massey et al. 2003; Stevens 2007). Hence, in many ways, disagreements over affirmative action are about who deserves access not only to these institutions but to positions amongst our nation's socioeconomic elite as well.

One by-product of resistance to the continuation of affirmative action in higher education is that minoritized students are often presumed to have been otherwise unqualified for admission. That is, many of their White peers and professors maintain that were it not for affirma-

tive action, those students would not have been afforded undue access to an elite institution (Solórzano et al. 2000). Even high-achieving minoritized students are not immune to these stereotypes (Charles et al. 2009; Fries-Britt 1998; Fries-Britt and Griffin 2007; Fries-Britt and Turner 2001; Strayhorn 2009).

Moreover, Sharon L. Fries-Britt (1997) and Harper (2009) posit that this is one of the most widely held misconceptions about Black male collegians, especially those from urban communities and lower-income backgrounds. Ironically, little is known about how Black male students with the fewest financial resources actually get to highly selective four-year colleges and universities. Understanding more about the policies, programs, and institutional practices that enable them to access elite and expensive institutions could be instructive for policy makers and others who endeavor to close racial and gender gaps in postsecondary participation. In this study, we look at the experiences of students who could be perceivably among the least likely to enroll in high-cost colleges and universities. Much of the literature on Black male collegians focuses on their underachievement and what they lack in terms of college preparatory resources, social and cultural capital, and school agents who support their achievement (Brown, forthcoming; Cohen and Nee 2000; Gordon et al. 1994; Harper 2009). Hence, an anti-deficit reframing of Black men's college access—understanding enablers rather than barriers to their matriculation at elite, high-cost, private institutions—was the fundamental aim of this study.

METHODS

Data Source and Research Design

This article is based on findings from the National Black Male College Achievement Study (NBMCAS), the largest-ever empirical research study of Black undergraduate men.[3] Data was collected from 219 students at forty-two colleges and universities in twenty states across the country. Six different institution types were represented in the national study: public research universities, highly selective private research universities, historically Black private colleges and universities, historically Black public universities, liberal arts colleges, and comprehensive state universities (see Table 1).

This study was guided by the phenomenology approach to qualitative inquiry, which focuses on understanding and describing the "lived experiences" of people who have encountered a similar phenomenon or been exposed to a common set of conditions (Creswell 2007; Patton 2002). A phenomenological account gets inside the experiences of a person or group of people and describes what participants have experienced, how they have experienced it, and their sense making regarding various effects relative to the phenomenon (Moustakas 1994). The researcher and readers of a phenomenological study should be able to say, "I understand better what it is like for someone to experience that" (Polkinghorne 1989, 46). In this study, the phenomenon is being a Black male achiever from a lower-income or working-class background who attended an expensive predominantly White private postsecondary institution. Given the deficit orientation of most research on college access for lower-income students

Table 1 — National Black Male College Achievement Study Participating Institutions

Institution Type	College/University
Public Research Universities	University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Indiana University University of Michigan Michigan State University The Ohio State University Purdue University
Highly Selective Private Research Universities[1]	Brown University Columbia University Harvard University University of Pennsylvania Princeton University Stanford University
Historically Black Private Colleges and Universities	Clark Atlanta University Fisk University Hampton University Howard University Morehouse College Tuskegee University
Historically Black Public Universities	Albany State University Cheyney University of Pennsylvania Florida A&M University Norfolk State University North Carolina Central University Tennessee State University
Liberal Arts Colleges[1]	Amherst College Claremont McKenna College DePauw University Haverford College Lafayette College Occidental College Pomona College Saint John's University (MN) Swarthmore College Vassar College Wabash College Williams College
Comprehensive State Universities	California State Polytechnic University, Pomona California State University, Long Beach City University of New York, Brooklyn College Lock Haven University Towson University Valdosta State University

[1] Only low-income and working-class participants from these institutions were included in analyses for this article.

and repetitive examinations of stagnant postsecondary participation rates among Black male collegians, a better understanding of how Black males successfully navigated their way to highly selective institutions was one aim of the NBMCAS.

Sites

This article is based on a subset of participating institutions in the NBMCAS, specifically the eighteen highly selective predominantly White private colleges and universities—twelve elite liberal arts colleges, five Ivy League institutions, and Stanford University. Table 2 presents Black male undergraduate enrollment rates as well as tuition fees of the participating colleges and universities. As shown, with the exception of Claremont McKenna College, the representation of Black males in the undergraduate student population increased at each institution between 1998 and 2008. The liberal arts colleges enrolled, on average, thirty-six Black men in 1998 and fifty-two in 2008. An average of 182 Black men attended the private research universities in 1998, compared to 248 a decade later.

During the 2008-2009 academic school term, the average annual cost of attendance and on-campus residency at the participating institutions was $48,674. At more than half (61.1 percent), a bachelor's degree for a student who matriculates and lives on campus four or more years exceeds $200,000. Across the participating colleges and universities, an average of 13.5 percent of all undergraduates received Pell Grants, which are federal financial aid awards given to America's neediest college students. Lastly, it is noteworthy that Saint John's University and Wabash College are both single-sex institutions.

Sampling and Data Collection

Criterion sampling methods were used in this study (Patton 2002). Administrators (e.g., presidents, provosts, and deans of students) nominated and senior student leaders (e.g., student government association presidents) helped identify who they considered to be the best participants, specifically Black male undergraduates who met the following criteria: earned cumulative grade point averages (GPAs) above 3.0; established lengthy records of leadership and engagement in multiple student organizations; developed meaningful relationships with campus administrators and faculty outside the classroom; participated in enriching educational experiences (e.g., study abroad programs, internships, service learning, and summer research programs); and earned numerous merit-based scholarships and honors in recognition of their college achievements.

Each Black male achiever participated in a two-to-three-hour face-to-face individual interview on his campus; when necessary, follow-up interviews were conducted via telephone. A semistructured interview technique was used, which simultaneously permitted data collection and participant reflection (Holstein and Gubrium 1995). Although standard questions and interview protocol were used, discussions often became conversational, thus allowing participants to reflect on their educational experiences. Some interview questions pertained directly to students' socioeconomic backgrounds and navigational journeys to and through their respective postsecondary institutions. Prior to the interview, each participant completed a demographic questionnaire that included several questions about his academic experiences (before and during college),

Table 2 — Black Male Undergraduate Enrollments and Tuition/Fees at Participating Institutions

	Fall 1998 Undergraduates %	Fall 2008 Undergraduates %	Fall 2008 Tuition/Fees2 $
Amherst College	3.0	4.4	50,230
Brown University	2.6	2.9	50,560
Claremont McKenna College	2.2	1.9	50,990
Columbia University	2.8	4.0	51,406
DePauw University	2.4	2.6	42,175
Harvard University	3.3	3.6	50,250
Haverford College	1.1	3.8	51,637
Lafayette College	2.3	3.1	49,188
Occidental College	1.9	2.8	50,409
Pomona College	1.6	3.4	49,745
Princeton University	3.0	3.3	49,830
Saint John's University (MN)	0.4	1.4	37,616
Stanford University	3.6	5.0	51,760
Swarthmore College	3.3	3.4	50,381
University of Pennsylvania	1.9	3.0	51,299
Vassar College	1.4	1.5	51,370
Wabash College	5.0	5.9	37,750
Williams College	3.4	3.9	49,530

² On-campus residency including room, board, and institutional estimates for books and supplies.

family structure and SES, leadership and out-of-class experiences, and postcollege educational and career aspirations.

Participants

Across the eighteen sites, forty-two participants reported that they were from low-income and working-class backgrounds. In addition to choosing from among four economic options (low-income, working-class, middle-class, and affluent) on the aforementioned preinterview questionnaire, other proxies for determining SES included mothers' and fathers' educational attainment, family structure (single parent, two parents, etc.), number of residents in one's household most immediately prior to college enrollment, and parents' current positions of employment. Participant demographics for the subsample are provided in Table 3. As indicated, more than 70 percent were from families in which neither parent had attained a bachelor's degree.

Table 3 — Participant Demographics

Socioeconomic Status	N	%
Low-Income	16	38.1
Working-Class	26	61.9
Class Standing		
First-Year Students	2	4.8
Sophomores	16	38.1
Juniors	8	19.0
Seniors	16	38.1
Family Structure		
Single Parent	19	45.2
Two Parents	21	50.0
Caregiver	2	4.8
	Mother	**Father**
Parents' Education Level	**%**	**%**
No College	40.5	50.0
Some College	35.7	21.4
Bachelor's Degree	16.7	16.7
Master's Degree	7.1	11.9

Data Analysis

Several techniques prescribed by Clark Moustakas (1994) were used to analyze the data collected from interviews with the men in the subsample. We first bracketed our thoughts and assumptions as we read each line of the participants' transcripts; the margins of the transcripts were marked with reflective comments regarding our presumptions and initial reactions. After bracketing, the transcripts were sorted and key phases were linearly arranged under tentative headings in the NVivo qualitative data analysis software program. This process resulted in the identification of invariant constituents (Moustakas 1994), which were subthemes that consistently emerged across participant interviews. The invariant constitu-

ents were helpful for identifying programs, policies, and practices that enabled college access; these were later clustered into three thematic categories, which we present below. As an additional step, we used Harper's (2007) trajectory analysis method to understand what each participant experienced along his navigational journey to and through his respective college or university. Relevant stories from the participants' trajectory summaries were used to corroborate the three thematic categories.

FINDINGS

No participant was knowingly given preferential treatment or awarded points for his race in the college admissions process; however, thirty-nine of the

Table 4 — Most Common Access Enablers

Type	Example	Web Site
Specialty high school contexts and independent school access initiatives for urban youth	Prep for Prep	www.prepforprep.org
Collaborative college access and talent identification programs for urban youth	The Posse Foundation	www.possefoundation.org
Institution-based no-loans and zero-contribution initiatives	Stanford University	www.stanford.edu/dept/finaid

forty-two participants reported having been accused by White peers of being unfairly admitted to their respective institution via affirmative action policies and practices. The pervasiveness of this stereotype begs the question: how did these men gain access to elite and expensive private colleges and universities? Table 4 shows the three major programmatic and policy initiatives that participants recurrently reported in the interviews. Although a variety of initiatives were mentioned, these three were discussed most often and described most extensively by participants. In this section, we present illustrative examples from our interviews of how Black male undergraduates in our study were affected by these efforts to increase college access for lower-income students.

Prepped for the Elite

Participants across all eighteen campuses in the NBMCAS described a range of precollege programs to which they were introduced as middle and high school students. However, the majority of low-income and working-class students at highly selective private institutions, especially those who grew up in urban communities, attributed their college readiness and access to unique K–12 schooling environments. Few attended "regular" public schools in their home neighborhoods; instead, many were afforded access to magnet schools that emphasized particular academic specialties (science, technology, performing arts, etc.) and promoted a strong college-going culture. In most instances, these K-12 schools had competitive admissions processes. Other achievers like Bali, a senior[4] at Brown University, spoke of initiatives that provided opportunities for lower-income urban youth to attend high-tuition private high schools that enrolled few minoritized students.

Bali grew up in New York and was the first person in his family to attend a four-year postsecondary institution. Unfortunately, the shaping of college-going expectations did not occur at home, in part because his parents were absent for much of his upbringing. Bali was raised primarily by his grandmother. His aunt found out about Prep for Prep, a program whose mission is to identify and nurture students from socially disadvantaged backgrounds who would benefit from attending independent schools in New York City and private boarding schools throughout the Northeast. Participation in this program enabled Bali to leave his resource-deprived public school to attend Phillips Academy Andover, the same boarding school from

which the sons of U.S. Presidents John F. Kennedy and George H. W. Bush graduated, Bali noted in his interview. Prep for Prep made it possible for a teen with a perceivably bleak future to experience a school with a long-standing legacy of preparing its students for admission to elite postsecondary institutions. In addition to having a guidance counselor at Andover, the program also assigned him a counselor who aided in his college choice process. Bali ultimately applied to Harvard, Yale, Stanford, Cornell, and seventeen other institutions, mostly elite privates. "I never would have even known I could have applied to those schools were it not for Prep for Prep," he said.

Leslie, another participant who began Prep for Prep when he was thirteen years old, offered the following:

> I honestly feel if I had stayed in public school, I wouldn't be at Princeton today. I'd probably be at some unranked college—not that those are bad schools, I just think the opportunity of being able to go to Deerfield Academy and go through Prep for Prep gave me chances I wouldn't have had in public schools.

Prep for Prep counselors helped shape Leslie's postsecondary choice set and paid for his college visits. Penn, Princeton, Georgetown, Harvard, Yale, and Wesleyan were among the eleven universities to which he applied. He felt his guidance counselor at Deerfield was "responsible for getting everyone into college," whereas his Prep for Prep counselor was "responsible for getting me into the best college" [participant's emphases noted]. Like Leslie and Bali, others from the private research universities and liberal arts colleges believed their access to elite private high schools via initiatives like

Prep for Prep and targeted scholarships for low-income urban youth afforded them exposure to resources and "college knowledge" they otherwise would not have received. Consequently, they were prepared to engage in competitive college admissions processes. Corey, a Swarthmore student, contended: "You don't go to these Ivy League–caliber high schools and then not go to college."

Postsecondary Possibilities for My Posse and Me

Although only one-quarter of the liberal arts colleges in the sample had established formal partnerships with the Posse Foundation, the Posse Scholars program was discussed in deeply meaningful ways among several Black male achievers on those campuses. For example, every participant from DePauw University (including Wagner, below) was a Posse Scholar from New York City. Each received a scholarship from the foundation combined with other forms of institutional aid to cover the cost of his attendance. In addition to providing financial assistance, Posse also prepared these and other urban students for successful transitions to postsecondary institutions where they would be minoritized; Posse unmasked and celebrated their talents prior to college entry; and the foundation sent them to institutions in "cohorts" with others from similar socioeconomic backgrounds.

Consider the following interview exchange with a student named Wagner:

> Wagner: The factor that ultimately made me decide to come to this college was that I won a $100,000 full-tuition scholarship. So once I got that, I said, "Hey, why not? They provided the money in giving me a chance to get this

so-called wonderful education—why not at least give it a try?"

Interviewer: Are you saying that were it not for Posse [Foundation], you may not have come to DePauw?

Wagner: If it weren't for Posse, I never would have thought about going to a private college. In my family there was no money; I didn't want to pay loans. My parents told me I'd be paying for my own education, so I applied to SUNY [State University of New York] and CUNY [City University of New York] schools. I definitely would not have applied to a place as expensive as DePauw. Never.

Brandon characterized the program as his "savior"; reportedly, it changed his life. He predicted that at least thirty-five of the fifty-two Black undergraduate men enrolled at DePauw during the time of his interview were Posse Scholars. Accordingly, it was the primary point of access for most low-income and working-class Black male students. Despite Posse's role in creating access for diverse populations, Kareem clarified that "Posse by no way is affirmative action for minorities; there is a rigorous and competitive selection process." Although he maintained a 3.3 GPA and an extensive record of high school leadership experiences, Kareem's guidance counselor attempted to limit his postsecondary options to community colleges. He reflected on the following:

When I went to her [the guidance counselor], she told me to only apply for community colleges. To me, applying to community college would have been a failure after I had worked so hard. One day I told her that I'm not applying. I told her I want to apply to better schools and asked, "How can you help me?" She persisted and insisted that I apply to community colleges. It got to the point where I had to rip the application up and threw it at her. I'm not going to apply. After that we didn't have any more talks about college. It wasn't until I got the Posse scholarship that she tried calling me in to show me off to other parents. But yet two weeks prior, she couldn't help me out with finding any colleges.

While he was adamant in his refusal to apply to community colleges, Kareem was fairly certain that he would not have ended up at DePauw had it been left to his guidance counselor and if he had not received the assistance from Posse. Jerrell had a different experience with his counselor; she introduced him to the Posse Scholars program and supported his interest in applying. Despite spending the majority of his childhood in the Vanderveer housing projects in Brooklyn, Jerrell always knew he wanted to attend college; however, he never imagined enrolling in an expensive private university in rural Indiana. Like the four from DePauw, other Posse Scholars in the sample spoke similarly about the program's profound effects on their college access experiences.

No Money, No Problem

Two Harvard participants, Bryan and Tariq, shared a variety of common characteristics: both maintained 3.6 cumulative GPAs, were extremely active on campus and held leadership positions in multiple student organizations, and aspired to attend law school upon completion of their bachelor's degrees. Perhaps more interesting are the circumstances from which they emerged. Both attended predominantly Black public schools, one in Detroit and the other in

Baltimore. Although one was raised by two parents and the other in a single-parent home, poverty was a shared reality of their upbringing. Despite these odds, both students were not only offered admission to one of the most highly regarded universities in the world but also were awarded the financial aid that ultimately made their matriculation possible. Were it not for the university's policy that students whose parents earn below a certain income threshold may attend at no cost, both Tariq and Bryan believe extensive student loan debt would have been required to finance their Ivy League education.

A reporter from the New York Times wrote a feature story about Anthony Jack one week after his graduation from Amherst College (Rimer 2007). Therein she explained how Tony and other undergraduates from low-income backgrounds were able to access elite private postsecondary institutions with tuition and fees that exceeded $40,000 annually. In his interview with the NBMCAS, Tony indicated that the financial aid package was the biggest factor in his choosing Amherst over the flagship public research university in his home state of Florida. He also praised the college's president for a perceivably authentic expression of commitment to college opportunity for lower-income students.

Other participants had similar reports and reactions to aid efforts on their respective campuses. For example, four men from low-income and working-class backgrounds at Stanford each talked about the importance of the university's income-threshold aid initiative: students whose parents earn below $60,000 are not expected to contribute anything toward their educational expenses. A student,

Michael, said, "That is the only way I was able to come here from South Central Los Angeles." Another achiever commended the introduction of his university's no-loans initiative:

> I am so thankful for it. If I had to pay over $200,000 to come to Penn, I would not have been able to come. For real, I would have gone to a public university in Maryland, where I probably still would have had to take out loans, just not as many. The University of Pennsylvania generously made a way for me to afford to be here but not making me take out loans in an amount that is probably quadruple the value of my mom's home.

Across the institutions, initiatives such as these were mentioned most often among participants as the most significant enablers of college access.

DISCUSSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

In 2003, U.S. Supreme Court justices ruled narrowly in favor of the continued use of particular forms of affirmative action in college admissions (Gratz v. Bollinger 2003; Grutter v. Bollinger 2003). However, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor said: "We expect that 25 years from now, the use of racial preferences will no longer be necessary to further the interest approved today" (Schmidt 2007, 223). In other words, she forecasted an end to affirmative action by 2028. If there were no policy or race-sensitive practice to ensure their participation, how would future generations of Black men and other minoritized students access elite institutions of higher education? The findings of this study suggest that some high achievers whose parents earn below particular income levels will make their

way to these colleges and universities via initiatives targeted specifically at lower-income students, including Whites. Participants attributed their college access not to affirmative action but to efforts like Prep for Prep, the Posse Scholars program, and two particular forms of institution-based financial aid. These initiatives influenced access at all levels, from readiness to college choice to financing high tuition costs to persistence from freshman through senior year.

Without at least one of these resources, lower-income students at the eighteen liberal arts colleges and highly selective private research universities in the NBMCAS unanimously reported that they would not have matriculated at those institutions. In some ways, this simultaneously confirms and extends findings offered in Hossler et al.'s (1999) study. These men indicated they would have chosen other perceivably less prestigious institutions based on what they and their parents could afford. They believed several other Black men from their families, high schools, and home communities would have enrolled in college had they too been afforded access to the same preparation, partnership, and financial resources. The present study also makes known how the participants were able to transcend socioeconomic barriers that typically limit enrollment at expensive private institutions. Consistent with Black students in another study (Perna 2000), the Black male achievers were reluctant (in most cases, unwilling) to accrue large amounts of student loan debt. Simply being admitted to Harvard or one of the other seventeen institutions on its own was deemed insufficient—the financial resources were a necessity for them to enroll in college.

Given that Black students and their parents (especially those from lower-income backgrounds) often possess comparatively little understanding of college costs and financial aid options (Perna 2006), it is important that information about college opportunity initiatives such as those identified by participants in this study be made more widely known. It is noteworthy that all the men in Prep for Prep and Posse were from urban areas, which is sensible given the foci of those two programs. Federal grants could help create similar initiatives for low-income and working-class students in rural communities, especially in Southern states where postsecondary participation gaps between Black men and others are most pronounced (Harper 2006; Harper 2011; Perna et al. 2006). Two related shortcomings of programs such as these are cost and capacity; that is, they can only accommodate relatively small cohorts of students given the extensive financial investment and partnership parameters with a limited number of participating institutions. State policy makers should make funds available for partnerships between high schools and public postsecondary institutions that strengthen college readiness in ways similar to the Prep for Prep and Posse models. One aspect of this necessitates increases and improvements in public school guidance counseling resources. Much can be learned from how Prep for Prep counselors aid in students' college search and choice processes. Perhaps these approaches could be incorporated into state licensure and recertification standards for guidance counseling professionals.

Although this study is focused on private colleges and universities with large endowments, much about their

investments in lower-income students could be instructive for federal and state policy makers. For example, income-threshold initiatives could help increase access to elite public institutions (meaning state flagships and research universities). For sure, this proposal is in direct opposition to others currently calling for decreases in federal Pell Grants and reduced state support for public postsecondary institutions. A substantial number of participants in this study were able to attend their respective colleges and universities because their families earned annual incomes below certain amounts. As Peter Schmidt (2007) notes, one major problem with these institution-level aid initiatives is that too few minoritized students are beneficiaries. More should be done in public policy to eliminate the burden of cost and reduce loan debt for lower-income persons and populations that historically have been underrepresented at the most elite and expensive state universities. This study suggests that doing so would be an important policy response to the long-standing stagnation of Black men's postsecondary enrollments.

LIMITATIONS

This study has at least two limitations. First, because the NBMCAS was not entirely focused on how participants financed their college education, interview data was not corroborated with actual financial aid records; in other words, this article is based on students' self-reports of efforts and initiatives that enabled them to enroll at high-cost institutions. However, without seeing the itemized details of their aid packages, we had no way of determining how Pell Grants, the Federal Work Study Program, and other traditional forms of need-based aid were combined with institutional

investments to make college attendance possible for these students. And second, while a broader set of policy implications was offered in the previous section, the transferability of findings from this study are limited to institutions that host the Posse Scholars program or have enough resources to fund zero-contribution/income-threshold initiatives and enact no-loans policies.

CONCLUSION

As written in Harper et al. (2009, 405):

> Many academic programs and admissions policies that were [supposedly] designed to increase college access for African Americans have received great opposition and been criticized for giving these individuals an unfair advantage over White students. Unsurprisingly, once these programs were halted, there were dramatic decreases in the number of students . . . the programs were originally intended to serve.

Despite the Supreme Court's ruling for continued use of particular forms of affirmative action in the University of Michigan Law School case (Grutter v. Bollinger 2003), numerous scholars (e.g., Allen 2005; Fischer and Massey 2007; Schmidt 2007) predict that critics will continually endeavor to permanently dismantle affirmative action policy and race-sensitive college admissions practices. Thus, to increase access to the public good of higher education, policy makers must become more aware of other initiatives that enable underrepresented students to afford college and then must invest in those efforts at levels that permit larger numbers of lower-income persons to enroll and succeed. Like Schmidt (2007), our concern is that too few

students benefit from institution-level aid initiatives presently offered at elite high-cost institutions. More needs to be done to replicate and increase the capacity of efforts such as those that enabled opportunity beyond affirmative action among Black men in our study.

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ENDNOTES

[1] In this article, "access" refers to college admission as well as the financial assistance necessary to matriculate and persist through baccalaureate degree attainment.

[2] "Minoritized" is used instead of "minority" throughout this article to signify the social construction of underrepresentation and subordination in U.S. social institutions, including colleges and universities. Persons are not born into a minority status nor are they minoritized in every social context (e.g., their families, social fraternities, and churches). Instead, they are rendered minorities in particular situations and institutional environments that sustain an overrepresentation of White persons.

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[4] Each participant in this sample has graduated from his respective college or university. Class years used in this article reflect their status at the time interviews were conducted. With the participants' permission, their real names are used.

Acknowledging Black Male Privilege

by Wendell Marsh

Wendell Marsh is a DC-based freelance journalist specializing in Africa and the Middle East. He returned to the United States in December 2010 after spending sixteen months in Egypt as a Fulbright Fellow where he studied Arabic. He studied English and French at Morehouse College. He can be found online at www.theafrabian. com.

It's a strange sensation to discover that you—a Black man in America, with all of the connotations that label brings with it—are privileged. This realization is as profound and disturbing as when you first discovered that you grew up in a system that places you in a caste without privilege.

As a child growing up in Georgia, racial inequality confronted me at an early age when a close friend's mother told me that she did not want me playing with her son as we had reached the age when people had to "stick to their own kind."

Besides race, my socioeconomic group also tended to remind me that I lacked privilege. More people in my family have police records than college degrees. If privilege means having the odds to succeed in your favor, I felt like I was running a race with shackles on my feet.

When I began to read the writings of Black intellectuals such as W.E.B. Du Bois and Frantz Fanon, I started to see what I was up against more clearly. With the help of philosophical and liberationist lenses, the alienation and double consciousness forced upon me by my position under a system of uneven privilege came into focus. By the time I enrolled in Morehouse College, I was ready to rebel against the superstructure, to demolish the tower of power and privilege that held me prisoner in its basement.

Despite my ability to identify every case in which I pulled the short straw of privilege, I would typically fail to acknowledge those moments when I was actually more privileged in relation to other people. I could concede that some others had it harder than me, that some others had to fight more for what they wanted. For instance, I was aware that a kid growing up in a Mogadishu, Somalia, slum was disadvantaged on a scale much bigger than my own. However, this was purely empirical knowledge; I could not appreciate the profoundness of these experiences of others, and I could not empathize.

Paradoxically, my first year at the male-centered cosmos of Morehouse College, an all-male historically Black institution, threw feminism in my face. At first, I didn't know how to deal with it. The "disgraceful machinations of the White man" were rightfully denounced in my eyes. This was a rallying point I could support without hesitation. However, the women from Spelman College, a Historically Black College for women across the street from Morehouse, were telling me that I oppressed them—that I, in my own dominated existence, dominated others.

Like an ambivalent postcolonial product, I was able to divorce who I was from an inherent system of inequality that I supported. I would say, "You Black feminists have got it all wrong. Black men aren't your oppressors. We are in the same boat as you. You all should be more productive by fighting the system of racial inequality." I feared that this new division that the womanist and "the feminist mystique" had wedged between Black women and Black men was another ploy by Whites to keep us divided and keep their power and privilege.

It did not occur to me that Black women were a part of an even larger group that required solidarity, a population that claims more than half of humanity: women.

In short, I could not empathize with feminism because it defied my carefully crafted self-image of being without privilege, a lack that had granted me a certain degree of immunity within the Black context.

A rash of sexual assaults surfaced at the Atlanta University Center during my second year. A group of Spelman students decided that they could not, in good conscience, let the accusations of serial sexual assault go unheard by the institutions of Spelman and Morehouse, the institutions whose very existence and relationship acts as a symbol for the Black woman and Black man. These women had no idea that, by speaking out, they would unearth a swell of anger and hurt among their peers, particularly their Morehouse brothers.

Verbally combative Morehouse students fell easily into a lazy groupthink, asking how dare the Spelman students protest on Morehouse's campus and affront its manhood. When the local newspaper printed a report that described the most talked about incident as a case of remorse and not rape, the males felt vindicated and the women felt silenced, as usual.

In a talk given at his alma mater in February 2010, R. L'Heureux Lewis, a Morehouse alumnus and an assistant professor of sociology and Black studies at the City College of New York, cited a similar experience in his freshman year that got him thinking about Black male privilege. For Lewis, Black male privilege is defined as a system of built-in and often overlooked systematic advantages that center the experiences and concerns of Black men while minimizing the power that Black males hold. Since then, the blogosphere, Twitter, and other forums have also considered the concept.

But perhaps an even better way of understanding Black male privilege is through the Black Male Privilege Checklist developed by Jewel Woods (2008), coauthor of the groundbreaking *Don't Blame It On Rio: The Real Deal Behind Why Men Go to Brazil for Sex.* Among the entries on his checklist are "I don't have to choose my race over my sex in political matters" and "I have the privilege of believing that before slavery gender relationships between black men and women were perfect."

But the Black male privilege concept is important for an even more popular topic in the media about Black people today: the marriage crisis. As Lewis explains in an NPR interview, Black women are forced into behaviors because they are competing for a perceived limited resource: Black men (Martin 2010). This sense of scarcity (high rates of imprisonment and the achievement gap) creates Black male privilege and is a twin result of White male privilege.

During my junior year, I headed to France where I lived in what the French like to call a *quartier* multicultural—a low-income area of town where groups of all ethnicities overcome racial differences only to succumb to economic inferiority. My block was firmly North and West African.

Everyday, I would see the *gars,* or home-boys, slanging hashish to make ends meet. These guys, my neighbors, are the ones that the media blames whenever there is a riot in Paris. Under French President Nicolas Sarkozy's xenophobic reign, some friends lived with the burden of proving their citizenship even though they were French by three generations. I was shocked by the great hypocrisy of French society. How could the same culture that produced such scathing critiques of inequality by its scholars produce such grave inequalities in its own streets?

Yet I never once questioned the same type of hypocrisies I supported at home by not addressing my privilege to, let's say, not worry about being sent to Mexico if I couldn't prove my citizenship on the spot.

With practically a day's notice, I flew to Morocco before starting my semester in Senegal. Conversations with curious Moroccans revealed that, for them, a trip to my home country of the United States would require months of visa applications and interviews, that is, assuming that they had the financial means. But American mobility is assured by the color of our passport and the content of our credit card.

Soon after, I was in Senegal, trying to tell a taxi driver about how much privilege I didn't have, how hard it was for us as he drove me away from one of Dakar's nicer nightclubs. He stared at me through his rearview mirror, eyeing me as he might a man who called the sky purple, the ridiculousness of my statements escaping my imbibed meditations.

It wasn't until I was able to recognize my privilege as an American with a global perspective that I was able to also see my privilege as Black man in a strictly American context.

I have learned that we cannot just condemn others for the privilege that they won with the birth lottery, because, no matter who we are, in some way we receive a bigger piece of the privilege pie than someone else. For many Black men, that slice is much bigger than we may want to think.

It is only by acknowledging this greater web of privilege and inequality that we can start to undo the chains of history. Blacks in America are uniquely qualified for this task because, with the experience of those without privilege and with the tools of the privileged, we can build a world where privilege disappears.

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A Seat at the Table:

Place-Based Urban Policy and Community Engagement

by Hayling Price

Hayling Price serves as Policy Director of the National Human Services Assembly, an association of the nation's leading national non-profits in the fields of health, human and community development, and human services. He received his bachelor's degree at the University of Pennsylvania, where he majored in urban studies with a focus on government and public policy. Price serves on the board of the Ase Academy, an African-centered cultural and academic enrichment program for secondary students. He is also a contributing writer to PolicyMic, an online platform that promotes high-quality political discussion among diverse young thinkers. His research interests include the politics of place-based community development and the nexus of social service and education in youth development initiatives.

TEXT:

Public participation has been defined as "the practice of consulting and involving members of the public in the agenda-setting, decision-making, and policy-forming activities of organizations or institutions responsible for policy development" (Rowe and Frewer 2004). While this civic engagement strategy has been employed in the United States to empower underrepresented communities in a variety of settings, this organizing approach has proven to be especially effective in enhancing the capacity for the public to communicate its priorities to policy makers (Putnam 1995). In urban revitalization initiatives, this strategy also plays a key role in local governance structures, which Robert J. Chaskin and Clark M. Peters identify as "formal mechanisms to engage citizens and to facilitate coordination and collaboration among service providers, community development practitioners, businesses, and local government" (1997). In the context of antipoverty initiatives, these structures leverage social capital in low-income neighborhoods and allow citizens to influence the policies that impact their well-being. In practice, this often entails the deployment of surveys and focus groups targeting neighborhood residents. It also involves the incorporation of these stakeholders into the long-term deliberative process that guides the community-based efforts.

While federal social programs often call for extensive needs assessments that require resident engagement, community involvement tends to decline after initial outreach activities. Primarily operating in minority communities, these antipoverty initiatives are hampered by lapses in communication that result in dissonance regarding the needs, priorities, and culture of low-income communities. Accordingly, outreach efforts accompanying such programs should be subject to thorough assessments of the terms and levels of citizen engagement. Citing the need for accountability, Gene Rowe and Lynn J. Frewer (2004) have suggested that rigorous scientific evaluation methods should be incorporated in these public participation exercises. Providing standard guidelines for public

participation would hold local officials accountable to stakeholders to a greater extent than federal authorities have traditionally required. As the Obama administration rolls out its comprehensive urban agenda, it is essential that federal policy makers and local leaders learn from past missteps and seize the opportunity to meaningfully incorporate residents in place-based work. By clearly defining the terms of resident engagement, strongly encouraging the extension of resident participation through program implementation, and measuring the extent and effectiveness of this engagement, policy makers can maximize the empowering and transformative potential of these policy interventions.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE URBAN AGENDA IN U.S. DOMESTIC POLICY

On the federal level, urban policy has come to address "the twin problems of poverty and racism and their progeny in U.S. cities," which generates geographically concentrated poverty (Persons 2004). This socioeconomic polarization has been proven to have "deleterious consequences for individuals and entire communities, generating spatial inequality and threatening the fiscal viability of central cities" (Zonta 2005). Accounting for the residential segregation that isolates low-income, inner-city populations, some policy makers have advocated for a place-based approach to urban policy in order to alleviate severe economic distress. Such a strategy is geared toward specific geographic areas, "focusing resources in targeted places and drawing on the compounding effect of well-coordinated action" (White House 2009).

Observers have noted that the Obama administration is the first executive branch to openly embrace a comprehensive strategy for urban revitalization since such reforms were institutionalized under former U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society platform, which included the War on Poverty (Lester 2009). While urban renewal and other early place-based initiatives emphasized infrastructure over human development, efforts informed by the Johnson administration's approach have understood the "ecological sensibility that recognizes that problems are multifaceted and require holistic solutions" (Ryan 2008). This work has taken on a broader context and come to encompass physical and social revitalization since Johnson's historic reforms were initiated in the 1960s. The Great Society agenda in the 1960s, including the Comprehensive Employment Training Act, Job Corps, Head Start, and Model Cities, shifted the paradigm of urban policy from place-centric to people-oriented. However, since the twilight of Johnson's Great Society policy platform, there remained a significant dearth of strategic federal investment in urban communities for decades. With decreased dependency on the votes of African Americans (who were the primary target population of these programs), political support for this agenda waned during the 1970s and 1980s (Persons 2004). The resulting divestment left inner cities without much-needed funding to leverage local capital or investment. While the federal government returned to making strategic investments directly in inner cities during the 1990s, it lacked a comprehensive approach to urban revitalization until President Barack Obama took office.

In an attempt to address the vexing cycle of intergenerational poverty, the Obama administration has developed a new,

multifaceted approach to these persistent issues. Though the newly created White House Office of Urban Affairs has not played an active role in shaping policy, it has catalyzed efforts to transcend institutional silos between federal agencies and initiate comprehensive interventions to be implemented on the local level. Influenced by the legacy of Great Society initiatives, the Obama administration has made a commitment to innovative place-based strategies that incorporate a variety of partners at all levels of government. While the renewed emphasis on the collaboration is encouraging for inner cities, a critical piece of this policy's development and implementation still rests on local actors. Acknowledging the importance of local governance that accompanies devolution, federal officials and local leaders must strengthen these initiatives by studying the mixed results of place-based efforts of past decades.

THE CONTEXT FOR PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN FEDERAL URBAN POLICY

Central to the Johnson administration's community revitalization strategy were the community action programs created by the president's Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). These initiatives were intended to serve as "a device that would draw federal, state and local programs together and meld them into an integrated assault upon the problems of poverty" (Wolman 1972). In cities nationwide, the community action agencies created at the time to implement this work represented some of the first federal investments in neighborhood-level stakeholder engagement. The OEO suggested that at least one-third of the members of these bodies be low-income community representatives and called for "maximum feasible participation" from

residents (Patterson 1981). While these parameters suggested the potential for promising outcomes, the unclear language around terms of engagement created power struggles between local officials and residents. These groups also lacked coherent vision from the outset, and community residents were largely disappointed with the limited results their efforts yielded. Although these early attempts at stakeholder engagement were largely considered unsuccessful, they set a precedent for subsequent urban policies generated at the federal level.

Pursuing what critical scholars have termed a "stealth urban policy," the Clinton administration's revitalization agenda consisted of ostensibly "'nonurban' program initiatives that were not perceived as directing benefits toward cities" (Persons 2004). The central piece of this agenda was the Empowerment Zone (EZ) program, initiated in 1994. This interagency initiative granted Social Services Block Grant funds and numerous tax incentives to selected areas in an effort to revitalize sluggish local economies (Wallace 2003). The program facilitated partnerships with local government, businesses, and communities that emphasized job creation and business development solutions to local issues. Like its predecessors in the Johnson administration, the program directly funded local initiatives and required citizen engagement in the planning process. In this sense, the EZ initiative was the first major federal policy since the Great Society era to explicitly include resident participation. Moreover, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) guidance indicated "residents must also play an active role in implementing and monitoring their plan for revitalization through governance

structures that provide them with a real voice in decision making" (2009). Accordingly, cities applying for the EZ designation were evaluated based on the level of community engagement in the planning phases of the project. While the extent of inclusion varied across project sites, HUD actively encouraged EZ cities to launch their programs with high levels of community participation. Consequently, local organizations held planning sessions with stakeholders that allowed those individuals to convey their needs, concerns, and programming suggestions to local government representatives (Gittell et al. 2001).

Despite these early achievements, a comprehensive study of community engagement across all urban EZ sites concluded that "although the federal government ensured a role for community groups during the strategy development process . . . they did not require that participation continue during implementation" (Gittell et al. 2001). In some instances, local politicians were accused of thwarting community participation efforts in attempts to preserve power. Moreover, mayors of all EZ cities seized control of program funding and reconstituted governance boards with appointees, consolidating influence through the channels that were intended to distribute power more equitably. Contemplating the role of stakeholders in EZs in 2008, Johnny Rivera, Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone board member, offered, "Obviously people in low-income areas want to see their areas developed, but as part of those dreams and hopes, they want to be part of it. . . . Are we ostracizing, alienating, marginalizing this group of people? Who represents this voice?" (Rivera 2008). He added, "People have a right to speak up to public policy

and say 'this is not in our interests'" (Rivera 2008). Although it was important for the Empowerment Zone legislation to allow for local flexibility, it ultimately missed an opportunity to transition initial civic planning into a sustainable governance structure. As one EZ participant noted in Chicago, "The general role of community participation was ill-defined at best," and this ambiguity allowed elected officials and business leaders to supplant civic voices upon program rollout (Gittell et al. 2001).

As federalism has evolved in response to changing needs in urban communities, policy makers are faced with the challenge of setting broad guidelines that hold local officials accountable for engagement while providing a degree of autonomy. By acknowledging this critical balance and heeding lessons learned from past efforts, federal place-based initiatives should maintain program flexibility while increasing the consistency of governance structures across sites. With its comprehensive Neighborhood Revitalization Initiative, the Obama White House should draw from these examples and provide for more clearly defined local governance structures that better reflect the communities they serve.

PLACED-BASED POLICY AND THE WHITE HOUSE NEIGHBORHOOD REVITALIZATION INITIATIVE

The latest phase of urban policy has seen a "democratic devolution revolution" in which "government serves as a powerful catalyst and largely provides the funds needed to create stable, ongoing, effective partnerships" (Benson et al. 2007). Leveraging partnerships with different tiers of government and other institutional partners, the interdisciplinary programs call for the convening of

numerous local actors. In all of these efforts, community outreach, input, and leadership will be critical for success. With the Obama administration making efforts to develop a coherent agenda across federal agencies, administrators will be guided by the White House's direction on place-based policy.

In a series of joint statements to the heads of all federal executive departments and agencies, a number of high-ranking White House officials announced the Obama administration's commitment to place-based work. These messages stressed that it would be important for agencies to coordinate with "state, local, and tribal governments, faith institutions, nonprofit organizations, businesses, and community members at-large as collaborators" (White House 2009). The messages also affirmed that the federal government would "continue applying place-based principles to existing policies, potential reforms, and promising innovations" (White House 2010). These "promising innovations" include an array of programs under the recently unveiled White House Neighborhood Revitalization Initiative. Building on the previous federal urban platforms, the agenda is rooted in the belief that "bridging gaps and reducing duplication will lead to a more efficient delivery of services" (Ryan 2008, 140). The initiative's key programs, all of which seek to engage local governments, include:

• **Choice Neighborhoods** — a HUD initiative that builds on the work of HOPE VI by transforming distressed public housing into mixed income development. This program would also offer support services to promote positive outcomes for families.

• **Promise Neighborhoods** — a Department of Education grant competition inspired by the work of the Harlem Children's Zone. It supports partnerships across education programs and social services that seek to provide comprehensive support to low-income children from birth through college to career.

• **Byrne Criminal Justice Innovation** — a Department of Justice initiative that aims to prevent violent crime, substance abuse, and gang activity in designated areas across the country. This would support partnerships between local law enforcement agencies and community-based organizations.

• **Community Health Centers** — a decades-old Health and Human Services (HHS) program that targets underserved communities nationwide.

• **Behavioral Health Services** — an HHS strategy for mental and addiction disorders that integrates a number of home and community-based interventions to provide wraparound services.

While federal guidance makes a generic suggestion to include community members in these efforts, there has not been a targeted or highly visible effort to emphasize public participation in this work. However, some local efforts engaged in this work can provide examples of how appropriate community engagement is manifested in practice. Informed by these early successes experienced in the planning phase, subsequent federal regulations can bolster opportunities for civic inclusion and ensure that this commitment is authentic and sustainable across project sites nationwide.

A PROMISING START FOR RESIDENT INCLUSION

One site that recently gained support from the White House Neighborhood Revitalization Initiative serves as a strong case in best practices for community engagement. In 2010 the Cesar Chavez Public Charter Schools for Public Policy was one of twenty-one applicants to receive a planning grant from the U.S. Department of Education for a Promise Neighborhood. The Washington, DC, school's $500,000 award is intended to fund one year of planning activity focused on creating a holistic youth development pipeline. Thus far the program has emphasized what researchers would classify as true public participation, which is characterized by "a high level of empowerment of the public and a direct input into the decision process" (Rowe and Frewer 2004). The program's documentation states, "Planning for the implementation of DCPNI [DC Promise Neighborhood Initiative] will emphasize the inclusion of key community and school partners and stakeholders" and "a strong resident voice and participation" (DC Promise Neighborhood Initiative n.d.). This inclusion was reflected in a diverse advisory board, which is made up of:

- An honorary chair
- The school CEO
- One resident from each of the six neighborhoods in the zone footprint
- Two representatives from DC government
- Three Advisory Neighborhood Council (ANC) commissioners representing neighborhoods in the zone footprint
- Three funders
- Four policy and continuum experts

- Three nonprofit agencies active in the community

In their feedback on the successful proposal, Department of Education evaluators noted that the DC effort "demonstrated an ability to attract a diverse perspective by the people serving on the Advisory Board and the engagement of the community" (U.S. Department of Education 2010a). The committee's overall response also indicated that inclusive governance remains a priority for the selection criteria of federal evaluators.

In addition to developing a sound decision-making strategy reflected in its proposal, the DCPNI has excelled at soliciting feedback and incorporating citizen concerns into its planning process. While these engagement efforts allay skepticism and encourage buy-in from residents, they also serve the practical purpose of equipping planners with nuanced understandings of community needs and assets. Still in the early stages, the program has engaged with research professionals and volunteer staff to solicit input from families in the community in a variety of ways. Relying on local institutions and informal networks, the program's leadership has taken a culturally competent approach to connecting with citizens that is neither patronizing nor excessively prescriptive. After reaching out to this population, the DPCNI advisory board has given residents an opportunity to serve alongside elected officials, policy experts, and funders in ten subject-specific Results Driven Work Groups. These groups, ranging in topic from student safety to college access, will continue to meet throughout the planning year "to develop a plan to implement, monitor and collect data on solutions" (DC Promise

Neighborhood Initiative n.d.). The program also hosts monthly community dinners that update residents while soliciting input and providing newcomers with an opportunity to get involved. Finally, DCPNI holds periodic workshops and focus groups that directly engage youth and their families throughout the planning year. These discussions have helped gauge the assets, challenges, and opportunities facing the community with respect to a proposed "cradle to college" pipeline of educational and social services.

By pursuing these extensive outreach and inclusion measures, this place-based initiative has earned the trust and goodwill of many local residents while providing them with an opportunity to authentically contribute to the planning process. While the leadership has taken proactive steps to remain inclusive, it remains to be seen if this high level of community participation will continue into the implementation phase.

In its Notice Inviting Applications, the Department of Education states that Promise Neighborhoods applicants must "build community support for and involvement in the development of the plan, which includes establishing outcomes for children in the neighborhood that are communicated and analyzed on an ongoing basis by leaders and members of the community" (U.S. Department of Education 2010b). However, if prior federal involvement is any indication, this requirement will not necessarily be emphasized or enforced in the later stages of the project. In order to craft sustainable solutions to the youth development crises they seek to address, federal officials must follow up with strong action supporting the sustained involvement of community residents. This theme should

pervade all relevant federal agencies pursuing place-based policy and give traditionally disempowered communities an opportunity to experience increased participation in the local governance process.

CONCLUSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Federal place-based urban policy must remain committed to local flexibility while addressing the need for consistency in governance. As the needs of different communities can vary greatly, effective policies under this umbrella should permit a considerable degree of local autonomy. However, as previous neighborhood-based efforts have been derailed by local politics that consolidated influence among the political elite, these policies must provide for long-term, meaningful public participation in unambiguous terms. This would combat the undemocratic practice of rendering key stakeholders "passive recipients of information from the regulators or governing bodies" charged with implementing policy (Rowe and Frewer 2004). By crafting more nuanced legislation that would require extensive and sustained public participation, federal policy makers can engender high standards of accountability for local governance and oversight. With these considerations in mind, I offer the following suggestions to inform the development of antipoverty neighborhood-based policy:

• **Continue to** encourage **engagement with community residents on completing needs assessments, developing localized solutions, and creating governance strategies.** Informed by the best practices of past efforts, leaders of geographically focused revitalization initiatives should remain committed to seeking participation from zone residents. This entails

strategic outreach extending beyond advisory board members that targets the neighborhood at-large. Through visioning sessions and focus groups, key informants from throughout the community should be able to supplement the work of professional researchers and evaluators with nuanced insight into existing assets and unique challenges facing the community. These individuals should also be empowered to help shape the strategies created to address issues they help identify. Finally, they must play a role in determining how the governance structure of the program is organized so that they can sustain participation upon program rollout.

• **Require the** formation **of diverse advisory boards with clearly defined roles for all stakeholders in program planning and implementation.** Place-based policies should provide for sustainable feedback and oversight mechanisms that allow residents of target areas to voice concerns during and beyond the planning phases. This would promote transparency and extend authority to a governing body made up of residents with decision-making power. While federal agencies have generally encouraged this work in the past and continue to do so, lack of explicit guidelines and systematic enforcement has prevented citizens from maintaining a strong influence in local governance. Without overstepping the federal role in neighborhood engagement, policies should ensure that sufficient neighborhood representation is sustained throughout the duration of these efforts. Policy can shield these initiatives from exogenous interests and co-optation by explicitly delineating and protecting the roles of residents and community leaders. While leaders of some community-based policy implementation efforts have empowered

community residents by choice, current regulations do not require the necessary degree of inclusion that many exceptional practitioners have promoted. Recognizing that local politics can supersede community interests in the absence of transparency and oversight, appropriate guidelines should allow for procedural checks and balances between residents, community organizations, local government, and any other interest groups represented in governing coalitions.

• **Develop a** method **for evaluating public participation that holds local officials accountable for maintaining inclusive governance practices.** The task of evaluating participation efforts separately from project outcomes presents a serious challenge, as governance procedures offer little quantitative data that can fuel assessment. However, policy can address this concern by creating a baseline set of requirements for engagement and requiring independent evaluators to measure local success in this area. Potential benchmarks include the percentage of residents included in governing bodies, the resident participation rate in needs assessments, and the frequency of stakeholder meetings during project rollout. Standardization of these methods will allow cross-site comparison and promote the proliferation of best practices.

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U.S. Foreign Policy in Africa:

A Public Address by Condoleezza Rice

Compiled by Natasha Sunderji

From 2005 to 2009, Condoleezza Rice served as the sixty-sixth U.S. Secretary of State. Rice was former President George W. Bush's National Security Advisor from 2001 until 2005, making her the first woman to serve in that position. Before joining the Bush administration, she was a professor of political science at Stanford University where she served as provost from 1993 to 1999. In March 2009, Rice returned to

Stanford University as a political science professor and the Thomas and Barbara Stephenson Senior Fellow on Public Policy at the Hoover Institution. In September 2010, Rice became a faculty member of the Stanford Graduate School of Business and a director of its Global Center for Business and the Economy.

Natasha Sunderji is a master in public policy candidate at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. Her interest in public policy focuses on health care delivery and management in the nonprofit sector, an interest she has pursued with consultancies in Canada, East Africa, and Geneva. She has a BASc in biomedical engineering from the University of Toronto.

Condoleezza Rice spoke at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University on November 30, 2010.

AUDIENCE

What's the benefit to the United States of having responsible sovereign states in Africa?

RICE

The benefit of responsible sovereignty first and foremost is to Africans because those are countries that can deliver on food for their people, can deliver on education for their people, and can deliver on health for their people. So that's the first and most important goal.

But the international system, not just the United States, is built on the expectation that you will be able to govern and you will be able to control your borders, for instance. Now we know that that's imperfect in many places. But some places are worse than others, such as Somalia. We almost had a war in December of 2007 because Somalia was unable to deal with its borders, and Ethiopia saw the threat from what was happening with

the collapse of Somalia. So the international system is very much dependent on responsible sovereigns. That's in addition to it being good for the people.

AUDIENCE

Given that Somalia has been a failed state for more than twenty years, what is the future of the United States' relationship with this country, and what can Somalis do?

RICE

In order to have any chance to help a failed state heal, you have to have a plausible indigenous governing body. And it's why, whether it's Afghanistan or the Balkans or Liberia, people look first to some sort of transitional government. The problem in Somalia is that it has been extremely difficult to get this done. I went to Addis Ababa to a summit to try and bring a Somali government in and give it regional support. One thing you can do to substitute for the strength of a government is to give it regional support. But of course then you get into problems with Ethiopia because the region is not very stable. I still think that the best bet for Somalia is to continue to try and work towards some kind of transitional government that can slowly build authority. There is some concern with such a weak government in, for instance, training security forces, but I see no other option than to train security forces for a government like that, or you will have mercenaries, or you will have regional powers constantly poking in. And finally as much as Ethiopia is a problematic state, you've got to work with Ethiopia to try and bring some stability in that region. It's really too early to even talk about economic development for Somalia because there's no government to work with so I think those efforts are probably

the ones that are going to need to continue. And perhaps Somalis can come together around that.

There have been talks from time to time that perhaps Somali land should subside or whatever but I see that as more trouble. I think that you have to build a central government there.

AUDIENCE

On January 9, 2011, Sudan will hold a referendum.1 How do we know that we will not see an increase in the tension between northern and southern Sudan given the violence that has erupted in the region after similar political events?

RICE

It was certainly thought that the referendum of 2011 had the prospect of violence and for a rather chaotic outcome. Nonetheless it was believed, and I believe rightly, that without that prospect of a referendum and a decision on southern Sudan's future, it was not going to be possible to get a comprehensive peace agreement [CPA] that would allow the killing to stop and allow people to start to develop. Of course the mechanism that was put in place was to build a unified government for that intervening period, which was to try and deal with some of the more difficult issues that were not frankly dealt with during the negotiations themselves. For example, the distribution of oil revenue, there was a basic formula, but precisely how it was going to be done was left to further negotiations, particularly in some of the most sensitive oil-rich areas. So there was a lot of work to do between 2005 and 2011. And I do have to say that I think that the problem in Darfur didn't set aside what was being done in the CPA, but it certainly turned the attention of the world and the governments away from moving that CPA

forward. Now we have very little time to make those arrangements work. I know that the Obama administration and particularly Susan Rice at the UN is very much active in trying to move those issues forward, but there is no doubt that we lost a lot of time between 2005 and 2011 in trying to tie down all of those aspects that were left unresolved in the negotiations that ended in 2005. I have to say too that I think that the southern Sudanese leadership has recovered from the death of John Garang [leader of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement who died in a plane crash less than a month after becoming vice president of Sudan in 2005], but it took awhile. Now I think there's good leadership there that's doing its best, but time is running out.

AUDIENCE
How do we prevent Africa from being treated as a uniform continent?

RICE
One thing that we tried to do with, for instance, the Millennium Challenge, was to differentiate in Africa by whether or not a country and its leadership was governing wisely and whether it was investing in its people. So Ghana got a $450 million grant from the United States—not true of countries that did not have that profile. You're right that you have to deal with African countries on their own merits; you also have to deal with them on their own circumstances. But regionalization is happening all over the world, not just in Africa. It's true that the Organization of the American States is trying to have a more regional approach in Latin America. The European Union has taken regionalization to its most highly articulated level. So I don't think there's anything wrong with Africa trying to act in unity through the African

Union. But you're right that anyone trying to address Africa in terms of policy needs to be very aware of the different histories, the different people, and the different circumstances.

ENDNOTE
[1] Results since the time of this discussion show that southern Sudan voted overwhelmingly for independence in the January election.

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