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A political analysis of black enrollment in higher education

Maples, Rebeka Lucy, Ph.D.
The Ohio State University, 1993

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A POLITICAL ANALYSIS
OF BLACK ENROLLMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

Rebeka Lucy Maples, B.A., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University

1993

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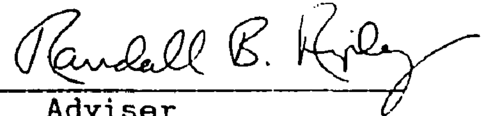

Adviser
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1993

This dissertation is dedicated
to my daughter Laura Howe,
and all women who excel
in the midst of adversity.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
DEDICATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
VITA	v
LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	xii
INTRODUCTION	1
Footnotes	11

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. THE LEGAL-POLITICAL HISTORY OF BLACK ENROLLMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION . .	13
Introduction	13
Education of Black America before 1896	15
<u>Plessy v. Ferguson</u> and the Development of Dual Education Systems	17
Challenging Dual Systems of Higher Education	23
Dismantling Dual Systems of Education	27
Enhancing or Eliminating Dual Education Systems?	31
Summary of Historical Background . .	33
Footnotes	36

II. AN OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH ON BLACK ENROLLMENT AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION . . 39

Introduction 39
Research on Black Enrollment in Higher Education 41
Defining the Phenomenon 41
Studying Black Enrollment 44
Research on Black Political Participation 53
Black Voter Participation Research . 53
The Literature on Black Political Representation 57
The Impact of Black State Legislators 63
Summary of the Literature 66
Footnotes 69

III. RESEARCH DESIGN FOR THE POLITICAL ANALYSIS OF BLACK ENROLLMENT 70

Introduction 70
Objectives and Hypotheses for the Study of Enrollment Data 71
Formation of Three New Datasets . . . 75
Limitations of these Data 81
Operationalization of these Variables 85
Status Reports for the Variables . . 91
Enrollment Status 91
Black Representation 93
Voter Status 94
Socio-Economic Status 95
Research Methodology for Analyzing NCES Data 96
Footnotes 101

IV. SOCIO-POLITICAL EXPLANATIONS OF BLACK ENROLLMENT 104

Introduction 104
Uncertainties with the Measurement of Black Representation on Specific Variables 105
Bivariate Explanations of Black Enrollment 115
Black Legislative Representation . . 117
Black Voter Turnout 119
Socio-Economic Influences 121
A Multivariate Explanation of Black Enrollment 124
Building a Structural Model for Estimating Enrollment . . . 132
In Support of the Political Variables 145
Footnotes 149

V. A CASE FOR POLITICAL EXPLANATIONS OF BLACK COLLEGE ENROLLMENT 152

Applications for the Findings to Political Science 153
Suggestions for Future Research in Political Science and Higher Education 164
Footnotes 171

APPENDICES

A. Frequency Distribution Lists of Variables 173

B. Additional Correlation Estimates of Variables 199

C. Additional Regression Estimates of Variables 204

BIBLIOGRAPHY 209

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		PAGE
1.	Enrollment levels in black land-grant colleges, 1920-1930	21
2.	List of variables with measurement explanation	87
3.	Socio-political models of black college enrollment	98
4.	Correlations of enrollment with independent variables, 1976-1988	117
5.	Standardized regression estimates for enrollment model, 1976-1988	126
6.	Standardized regression estimates for legislators model, 1976-1988	136
7.	Path analysis estimates for enrollment model, 1976-1988	147
8.	Unstandardized regression estimates for enrollment model, 1976-1988	150
9.	State abbreviation codes	174
10.	Percent distributions of enrollment, legislators, BEOs, & population size by state, 1976	175
11.	Percent distributions of enrollment, legislators, BEOs, & population size by state, 1982	177
12.	Percent distributions of enrollment, legislators, BEOs, & population size by state, 1988	179

TABLE		PAGE

13. Percent distributions of black turnout, registration, education, & income by state, 1976 181

14. Percent distributions of black turnout, registration, education, & income by state, 1982 183

15. Percent distributions of black turnout, registration, education, & income by state, 1988 185

16. Deficit distributions of black enrollment legislators, & BEOs by state, 1976 . . . 187

17. Deficit distributions of black enrollment legislators, & BEOs by state, 1982 . . . 189

18. Deficit distributions of black enrollment legislators, & BEOs by state, 1988 . . . 191

19. Ratio distributions of black enrollment, legislators, & BEOs by state, 1976 . . . 193

20. Ratio distributions of black enrollment, legislators, & BEOs by state, 1982 . . . 195

21. Ratio distributions of black enrollment, legislators, & BEOs by state, 1988 . . . 197

22. Correlation matrix for correlates of black enrollment, 1976 (deficit scores) . 200

23. Correlation matrix for correlates of black enrollment, 1976 (ratio scores) . . 200

24. Correlation matrix for correlates of black enrollment, 1982 (deficit scores) . 201

25. Correlation matrix for correlates of black enrollment, 1982 (ratio scores) . . 201

TABLE		PAGE
26.	Correlation matrix for correlates of black enrollment, 1988 (deficit scores) .	202
27.	Correlation matrix for correlates of black enrollment, 1988 (ratio scores) . .	202
28.	Correlations of enrollment & independent variables, 1976-1988 (deficit scores & population control)	203
29.	Correlations of enrollment & independent variables, 1976-1988 (ratio scores & population control)	203
30.	Standardized regression estimates for enrollment model with 4 variables, 1976-1988 (ratio scores)	205
31.	Standardized regression estimates for enrollment model with 4 variables, 1976-1988 (deficit scores & population control)	206
32.	Standardized regression estimates for enrollment model with 4 variables, 1976-1988 (ratio scores & population control)	206
33.	Standardized regression estimates for enrollment model with 6 variables, 1976-1988 (deficit scores)	207
34.	Standardized regression estimates for enrollment model with 6 variables, 1976-1988 (ratio scores)	207
35.	Standardized regression estimates for enrollment model with 6 variables, 1976-1988 (deficit scores & population control)	208
36.	Standardized regression estimates for enrollment model with 6 variables, 1976-1988 (ratio scores & population control)	208

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES PAGE

1. Diagram of factors influencing black college enrollment 74
2. Simple causal model for path analysis of enrollment 135
3. Simple causal model of enrollment, 1976 . 138
4. Simple causal model of enrollment, 1982 . 140
5. Simple causal model of enrollment, 1988 . 143

INTRODUCTION

The issues entailed in the debates about the inclusion or exclusion of minorities from mainstream American life in the United States are reflected in the myriad interpretations of power and participation. Parenti defines power as "a relationship between two groups whereby the second group is persuaded to do things in the interest of the first" (1978:6). Blackwell, on the other hand, describes power, "as the ability to control decision-making processes regarding access to a distribution of social, educational, economic, and political rewards offered within a social system" (1987:23). In his view, institutions, government, and people wield different manifestations of power that allow them to exclude or include others.

The social dynamics between power and democracy are key elements in American pluralism and the basis of demands for equal participation by different minority

groups. Pluralism, according to Parenti, fails to recognize different interest groups' exclusion from the social system (1978:29). The sharing of power and competition for resources assumptions within pluralism have not meant the democratization of power (Parenti, 1978:13). The historical experience of black Americans[1] in the U.S. provides political and educational examples of violations of American pluralism and democracy.

Further understanding of pluralism and power sharing is illuminated through the different debates about equal opportunity in higher education. The reference to equal opportunity entails a plethora of meanings, one of which is equal access. This was seen in the Plessy v. Ferguson (1896) case that required "separate-but-equal" facilities for black and white Americans, and which continued the denial of equal access to higher education for black Americans (Blackwell, 1991:215). The Board of Regents of the University of California v. Allan Bakke (1978) case ruled against a racial quota system for equal access in admissions to the University but, it affirmed the importance of race in determining admission (Blackwell, 1991:254). Both cases used "race-conscious legislation" to interpret the constitutionality of racially (and socially) constructed situations (Scott, 1984:178). The inclusion of black Americans to mainstream America has

been obtained via the equal opportunity arguments used against these (and other) cases. However, the point here is that equal opportunity (or access) cannot be understood separately from the other issues of pluralism and power sharing. The concepts and the realities overlap in the competition within political and economic systems for resources and benefits (Smith, Rice, and Jones, 1991:3). It is within this context that the research for this dissertation occurs. The argument is that understanding equal educational opportunity for black Americans cannot be explained separate from these historical legal-political influences.

In the late 1970s and 1980s, the last phases of the modern civil rights movement had begun to fade. Major changes in United States federal policies in the 1960s had contributed to increased opportunities for black Americans in higher education and in the electoral arena. The primary sources for these changes emerged from the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Titles IV and VI), the Higher Education Act of 1965 (Title IV), and the Voting Rights Act of 1965[2] (J.E. Fleming, 1976; L. Williams, 1987). Through these policies, the federal government tried to ensure that equal participation in American society (as a civil right) would be guaranteed by law.

As a result of this legislation, the interpretation of the enrollment of black Americans in higher education institutions (colleges and universities) is sometimes ambiguous. Often it is defined as "equal opportunity" (Abramowitz, 1976), and other times it is translated as "access, distribution, and persistence" (Morris, 1979), or proportional representation and equity (Brazziel and Brazziel, 1980). This vagueness in definition has been a source of controversy in higher education litigation, and even used as a means to stall or avoid compliance with desegregation court orders (Haynes, 1980). In this study, these discrepancies are circumvented by using a political perspective to explain black enrollment levels in U.S. colleges and universities. This introduction provides a justification for this approach, with an overview of relevant debates in higher education research.

Equal opportunity in higher education is the optimal goal of the civil rights legislation of the 1960s, according to Abramowitz (1976:5). The progress made toward fulfilling this goal can be credited to federal policies and actions of the 1970s and 1980s which facilitated black access to college. In spite of these advancements, other disparities continued through the same period, e.g., declining black family income levels and high black unemployment rates (Blackwell, 1991:257). The

lag between economic and social opportunities suggests to some researchers an imbalance in the ideals for equal participation (J.E. Fleming, 1976:2; Blackwell, 1991:257). For instance, the discrepancies in white and black family income levels of the 1980s, are similar to those reported in the early and late 1970s, although the current dollar values for both increased substantially (Blackwell, 1991:68-78).

In spite of the disparate economic status between black and white families, the gap in college access (i.e., enrollment) has gradually closed since the 1960s. One major reason for this is attributed to increases in the number of black high school graduates (Blackwell, 1991:232-33). This is an interesting phenomenon because high attrition rates of black students from high school is also cited as one of the prominent "barriers" to enrollment in higher education (Blackwell, 1991:230). The potential problem for researchers is that high school graduation rates and attrition (or dropout) rates represent different phenomena--factors that support and debilitate high school completion. According to Blackwell (1991:254-55), these types of issues exacerbate problems in research on black enrollment in higher education.

Another criticism of enrollment studies is that the estimates of black enrollment are contradictory and

unreliable (Abramowitz, 1976:9-18). This problem stems from different sources of data collection, and the lack of accurate documentation and specification of the data being reported (Abramowitz, 1976:18). With the recent (1986) decision by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) to centralize the collection of enrollment data, many of these problems should be alleviated. NCES reports descriptions of national enrollment trends but few analytical studies exist.

The primary interests of this study are to address these complications and examine political factors that are hypothesized to contribute to the fluctuations in black enrollment levels in higher education. Much of the prior research on black enrollment relies on socio-economic indicators to explain changes. One contention in this study is that the higher education studies do not provide a complete explanation of the socio-political dynamics affecting black enrollment. The research thesis advanced is that black political representation (black elected officials) and black voter participation (registration and turnout) are major factors in determining black enrollment in higher education institutions. This study incorporates standard socio-economic indicators (high school graduation rates and income) along with the political factors, to offer another perspective on the analysis of black college

enrollment. Black enrollment in higher education refers to fall enrollment levels of black students at two- and four-year public colleges and universities.

This dissertation performs several functions. First, it describes historical-political factors intertwined with the experience of black enrollment in higher education. The historical background describes the political environment under which black enrollment developed. Second, it offers a cross-sectional quantitative analysis of enrollment data from all 50 U.S. states at three time points (1976, 1982, and 1988). The historical connection emphasizes the argument that American educational systems developed out of a "politically insecure environment" for black Americans (Smith, Rice, and Jones, 1991:5). This argument asserts that a secure political-legal base was needed to support (or protect) the formation of educational systems and other opportunities for black Americans (DuBois, 1961; Carmichael and Hamilton, 1967).

The first two chapters of this study outline factors that have shaped the research on and experience of black college enrollment. Chapter I provides an historical overview of specific developments in American public education systems, with emphasis on the provisions for black education. This history traces legal-political

controversies that are unresolved in the contemporary debates about black enrollment in higher education, such as ongoing desegregation litigation (Jaschik, 1992:A16).

The historical literature about the inclusion (and exclusion) of black Americans in public education provides the background for linking enrollment with political issues. These studies recount the history of black public education from states' prohibition of education for black Americans, to federal segregation laws and, finally, the era of desegregation. This history is not separate from the political struggles for black Americans' legal-constitutional rights and political participation (e.g., electoral rights). The historical-legal denial of equal opportunity, more generally, is the key to understanding black enrollment patterns in public education institutions. The logic here is that the full realization of equal opportunity (or enrollment) in public education would require political initiatives (e.g., lobbying and civil disobedience), in order to change the social reality of separate education systems in the U.S.

Chapter II presents a brief review of the social science literature on black enrollment in higher education and black political participation research relevant to this study. Many of the analyses of enrollment in higher education deal with socio-economic determinants of the

numbers of black students on white/black campuses (Peterson, et al., 1978; J. Fleming, 1984), or desegregation policies (Stephan and Feagin, 1980). Some of the research on black political participation includes analyses of campaign strategies (Perry, 1990), and the election of black candidates, such as city council or school board members (Engstrom and McDonald, 1981; Karnig and Welch, 1980; Meier and England, 1984). The literature relevant to this study focuses mainly on black elected officials and black voting behavior (voter turnout and voter registration). The overall goal is to identify an empirical (and ultimately theoretical) gap in the research and explanations of black college enrollment due to the exclusion of these political indicators.

Chapters III and IV include analyses of post-secondary enrollment data from 1976, 1982, and 1988. Chapter III is a discussion of the research design and methodology for the analysis, encompassing data collection, operationalization of the variables, models for analysis, and limitations of the data. Chapter IV presents and interprets the results from the data manipulations set forth in Chapter III. The empirical explanations of these data stem from quantitative analyses. The socio-political relationships between the

variables are hypothesized to be the optimal descriptors of black enrollment in higher education.

Finally, the last chapter (Chapter V) contains summary remarks and some broader conclusions based on the results in Chapter IV. This includes suggestions for future research and for the application of quantitative analyses of black college enrollment in the higher education research. The overriding goal is to offer this research as outlining a viable area of study for political science and an innovative analytical approach for higher education researchers.

FOOTNOTES

[1]A preliminary note is added here to introduce the language used in this study. Cultural change is reflected in language through the adjectives used to describe people (Moore, 1988:269). For instance, in the English language negative and derogatory qualities are associated with the word "black," and positive images are equated with "white" (Moore, 1988:271). Although it is difficult to use these words to describe people without infering their symbolic meanings, the words black and white are used in this study to refer to African- and European-/Anglo-Americans, respectively. One major reason for this decision stems from the fact that these categorizations appear throughout the data and literature used for this research. So, language consistency was maintained. Ethnicity, though, is acknowledged as the preferred referent (i.e., African- or Anglo-American). Furthermore, in this study, the word "black" captures the racial (not ethnic) environment in which black politics and black enrollment in higher education have developed in the U.S.

[2]The Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title IV, provides federal assistance in the desegregation of public school

systems. Title VI, banned discrimination in federally assisted programs (J.E. Fleming, 1976:113).

The Higher Education Act of 1965, Title IV, provides federal financial assistance to qualified students attending higher education institutions, through Basic Educational Opportunity Grants, Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants, State Student Incentive Grants, Work-Study Programs, and Direct Student Loan Programs (Abrmowitz, 1976:244-46).

The Voting Rights Act of 1965, provides direct federal action to enable black voter registration and voting without reliance on prolonged court litigation required by previous legislation, e.g., the Voting Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, and 1964, (Commission on Civil Rights, 1968:11).

CHAPTER I

THE LEGAL-POLITICAL HISTORY
OF BLACK ENROLLMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Introduction

The history of black enrollment in higher education contains numerous stories of legal and political controversies. The chronology of these events provides the background for understanding how "dual education systems" developed in public higher education in the U.S., i.e., one system for whites and another for blacks. (Commission on Civil Rights, 1981). After the Civil War, the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments formally brought emancipated slaves into mainstream America. A brief era of Reconstruction (1865-1877) included efforts by the federal government to incorporate freed slaves into political, economic, and social arenas with the (white) majority in mainstream America. This involved some black Americans in voting and in elected offices after 1865

(L. Bennett, Jr., 1984:233-34). The Reconstruction era ended, though, in 1896 when legalized separation by race was endorsed with the "separate but equal" ruling of Plessy v. Ferguson. This case was used to uphold the separate development of black and white education systems. Finally, the subsequent decision in Brown v. Board of Education in 1954 mandated the dismantling of separate public education facilities.

This legacy of de jure and de facto segregation practices in public education often resulted in conflicting policies for the enrollment of black students. The formation and elimination of dual education systems reflects major policy shifts by the federal government in different eras (e.g., segregation and desegregation) toward state-supported higher education systems. As several Supreme Court decisions in higher education indicate, these changes often put states in opposition to federal rulings, e.g., Sipuel v. Board of Regents of University of Oklahoma, et al. (1948), Sweatt v. Painter (1950) in Texas and, more recently, U.S. v. Kirk Fordice (1991) in Mississippi. This historical record highlights an area where political and educational factors interact to influence policy making. The objective of this chapter is to provide an overview of this history in higher education.

Education of Black America before 1896

One assertion from the historical literature is that separate educational systems came as an extension of racial norms and laws established during slavery (J.E. Fleming, 1976; Myers, 1989; Blackwell, 1991). Legal restrictions or "compulsory ignorance laws" required the illiteracy of slaves (Weinberg, 1977). For instance, "An Act Prohibiting the Teaching of Slaves to Read" in 1830 was used to protect slaves from ideas that had "a tendency to excite dissatisfaction in their minds, and to produce insurrection and rebellion" (Rothenberg, 1988:191). These legal restrictions against education, although not completely effective, contributed later to the formation of separate education systems. Slaves found "hidden passages" for learning (before legal avenues were available), through "clandestine" or "secret schools," religious instruction, or with the help of white abolitionist teachers (J.E. Fleming, 1976:18). In some ways, black education in the U.S. began as a political act, since it was a violation of the law.

As many historical accounts indicate, at the time of the Emancipation Proclamation (1863) legal barriers were in place to prevent black enrollment in most American education systems (J.E. Fleming, 1976:41). For a brief period following the Civil War, known as Reconstruction

(1865-1877), freed slaves participated in politics, were elected to Congress, and in some states attended integrated schools (J.E. Fleming, 1976:40-51). However, state and federal political actions slowly usurped that social and political participation (Rothenberg, 1988:210-17). In many ways, the restrictions of black education paralleled those which appeared elsewhere in the political arena after 1865 (DuBois, 1972). Educational and social gains were only as secure as the influence of black people in the political arena (J.E. Fleming, 1976:68). After the removal of federal troops from the South with the Compromise of 1876, states began to rewrite their constitutions to exclude black voters, e.g., literacy tests and poll taxes were added to registration requirements. These devices eliminated thousands of black voters from the polls. For instance, in Louisiana black voter registration dropped from 130,335 in 1896 to 1,324 in 1904 (Smith, Rice, and Jones, 1991:29).

The Freedmen's Bureau,[1] established in 1865, aided in the access of freed black Americans to public education. The Bureau provided more help than any other federal program during Reconstruction to "displaced" (black and white) Americans (Blackwell, 1987:4; J.W. Davis, 1933:312). In terms of higher education, the origin of "black colleges" was initiated with financial

assistance from the Freedmen's Bureau. In its short history (1865-1872), the Bureau established 654 elementary schools, 74 high schools (or "normal" schools), and 61 industrial schools for the education of freed slaves (Davis, 1933:315).

The "normal school" was the first public higher education system for blacks after the Civil War (Commission on Civil Rights, 1981:3). These schools were originally established to prepare black teachers to work in the Negro schools of the South. According to Mayhew (1977:173), the normal school was not a college, but a place where graduates of elementary school were trained as elementary school teachers. Later, students were trained to be high school teachers as the public high school system expanded to include Negro high schools. These early types of schools and colleges were the foundation of what developed into "dual education systems" in the U.S. (Commission on Civil Rights, 1981).

Plessy v. Ferguson and the Development of Dual Education Systems

In 1896, segregation laws were endorsed with the "separate-but-equal" ruling of Plessy v. Ferguson (Blackwell, 1987:12-14). This decision legalized separation of the races in public transportation, but it became the legal mandate for separation in other contexts

as well, including public education. The overriding intention was to limit black participation in public education systems (J.E. Fleming, 1976:68; Rothenberg, 1988:224).

Historians concur that "separate-but-equal" actually meant separate-and-unequal (J.E. Fleming 1976:65-66; Blackwell, 1987:20). The separate or dual systems of education that developed from the Plessy case often relegated black schools to the use of inadequate facilities and resources (Commission on Civil Rights, 1981:4). For instance, black school teachers received half the salary (or less) of white teachers (J.E. Fleming, 1976:64). The disparate allocation of resources kept black schools and teachers in less-than-equal status.

There were numerous ways that separate-but-equal goals were never realized. One paradoxical situation arose in the early 1900s. Black citizens were forced, by law, to pay taxes to support the public schools in the districts in which they lived but they were also prevented, by law, from attending those same tax-supported schools (J.E. Fleming, 1976:48-49). Thus, black citizens paid taxes for schools they could not attend and collected "other funds" to support schools they could attend. J.E. Fleming (1976:70-72) claims that even when federal funds were allocated to black schools, they were often

redirected at the state level to other areas as "special" education monies.

The participation of black Americans in public higher education is traced to the provisions of the 1862 and 1890 Morrill Acts. The first Morrill Act brought the federal government into higher education with its establishment of "land-grant" universities (J.E. Fleming, 1976:50). The actual participation of freed slaves in higher education was established in 1890, when the second Morrill Act guaranteed financial support for the formation of black colleges (J.E. Fleming, 1976:70). Preer contends that the irony of this support is that it was not seen as the endorsement of separate-but-equal but, rather, the "advancement of educational access" (1982:127). While it prohibited funds to colleges that discriminated by race or color, it also funded the establishment of separate black colleges, further endorsing separation of the races.

Black colleges, though, were founded both prior to and after the Morrill Acts. The first "traditionally black institution"[2] (established for black enrollment) started in 1837 through Quaker affiliation in Pennsylvania--Cheyney State College (Pifer, 1973:6). Some other "historically black colleges" were established for predominately black enrollment but were also open to other students--Wilberforce University (1856) in Ohio; Lincoln

University (1854) in Pennsylvania; and Berea College (1855) in Kentucky (Blackwell, 1991:248; J.E. Fleming, 1976:38; Turner, 1985). Between 1854 and 1954, 123 colleges were established for black students (Blackwell, 1987:3); and today there are 117 historically or predominately black colleges and universities recognized by NAFEO (National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education, 1990).

As documented by J.W. Davis (1933:315), 17 "negro land-grant colleges" came into existence as a result of the second Morrill Act. He attributes the interest in black education in the late 1800s to several factors: the emancipation of slaves, the financial and organizational efforts of the Freedmen's Bureau, numerous religious and philanthropic agencies, the budget investment of Southern states ($110 million between 1870 and 1900), and support from individual donors (J.W. Davis, 1933:315-16).

The documents of higher education show that most of these early black colleges operated as elementary and secondary schools (J.W. Davis, 1933:326). In fact, Bowles and DeCosta state that none of the publicly supported black colleges offered college work until 1916 (1971:33). Weinberg contends, it was not until the early 1930s that students in black colleges were enrolled in actual college work (1977:281). A 1930 study of land-grant colleges

revealed that only 12 students were enrolled in college level work at the 17 black land-grant colleges in 1916 (Klein, 1930:859-63). That is, although higher numbers of students were enrolled at these institutions they were not involved in a college curriculum similar to white colleges. Black colleges still had to provide secondary educational training to many black students because it was not available elsewhere. To highlight these conditions, Davis (1933:326) summarizes the different types of student enrollment in land-grant colleges between 1920 and 1930.

TABLE 1

ENROLLMENT LEVELS IN
BLACK LAND-GRANT COLLEGES, 1920-1930

School Type	1920-21	1925-26	1930-31
College	1,224	2,392	5,679
Secondary	4,919	5,060	2,995
Summer School	3,683	6,529	8,263
Adult, Evening, & Extension	387	505	1,828
Total	10,213	14,486	18,765

Note.

From "The Negro Land-Grant College" by John W. Davis, July 1933, Journal of Negro Education, Volume 2, p. 326.

Table 1 shows the total black enrollment figures for the 17 black land-grant colleges from 1920 to 1930. The figures in this table indicate that major changes occurred between 1920 and 1930 in black colleges toward the education of black students. The first column in Table 1 illustrates that in 1920 only 1,224 black students were enrolled in college while in 1930, 5,679 were enrolled, almost four times as many students than in 1920. As more black high schools were made available, black colleges could assume less responsibility in providing secondary instruction. The summer and adult school programs which enrolled black students in above-high-school training also increased by 1930 (Davis, 1933:326). One enduring feature of these black colleges is that they remained "separate" elements of the education system until the 1970s. However, none of these public black colleges had graduate or professional schools prior to the 1930s (Commission on Civil Rights, 1981:4), which led to the eventual order to "dismantle the dual systems of higher education" in the 1970s (Commission on Civil Rights, 1981:20).

Although internal institutional factors may have contributed to the changes in enrollment between 1920 and 1930, external factors were also influential, e.g., increased expectations and job opportunities after World War I, and black migration from rural to urban areas (L.

Bennett, 1984). The agitation for equitable political participation and socio-economic opportunities did not subside after the Plessy decision in 1896. In fact, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) brought its first challenges to political discrimination as early as 1915 (Guinn and Beal v. U.S.) and 1917 (Buchanan v. Worley), according to Blackwell (1991). These cases addressed the issues of states' voting requirements for blacks and residential segregation (J.E. Fleming, 1985:85-86). Other political organizations, and community and church leaders (black and white) continued to pressure state and national politicians and policy makers throughout the period from 1896 to the 1960s (see Duster, 1970; Finch, 1981). The assertion is that these political factors contributed to the enrollment changes noted by J.W. Davis (1933) between 1920 and 1930.

Challenging Dual Systems of Higher Education

Since its creation in 1910, the NAACP has played a major role in the elimination of dual systems of higher education. The NAACP's Legal Defense Fund (LDF) began to challenge issues of racial discrimination before the Supreme Court as early as 1915 (J.E. Fleming, 1976:85). LDF later argued five "landmark" cases that challenged the

exclusion of blacks from graduate and professional schools, since there were no separate graduate or professional schools for black students to attend. These cases include: University of Maryland v. Murray (1935), Missouri ex rel Gaines v. Canada (1938), Sipuel v. Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma (1948), Sweatt v. Painter (Texas, 1950), and McLaurin v. Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma (1950). All five cases originated as efforts to promote black access to higher education and yet, ironically, their greatest impact was in educational policies for primary and secondary schools.

Two of the landmark cases took place in Oklahoma, one in 1948 (Sipuel v. Board of Regents), and the other in 1950 (McLaurin v. Board of Regents). The University of Oklahoma was targeted by the NAACP in these two cases to test the constitutionality of the separate-but-equal laws (Cross, 1975:vii).[3] In 1946, Ada Lois Sipuel was denied entrance to the traditionally white University of Oklahoma Law School because of her race. According to Dimond, Sipuel's denial highlighted several issues related to existing separate-but-equal laws: the underfinancing of black colleges, the reality of separate-but-equal facilities, and the constitutionality of separate-but-equal, in general (Dimond, 1982:114).

Through the Sipuel case, the NAACP brought educational inequities under national scrutiny.

After the court ruled in favor of Sipuel, Oklahoma state officials established a make-shift law school at its traditionally black college, Langston University. This "school of law" consisted of three office rooms in the state capitol building and three teachers (from the University of Oklahoma) who came to the state house several days a week to instruct Sipuel in several courses (Dimond, 1982:114). Not surprisingly, Sipuel refused to attend this "professional" school, since it had no scholarly reputation, academic facilities, or diverse faculty and student population (Cross, 1975:39). Three years later, after numerous additional court hearings, Sipuel was admitted to the Law School on the University's main campus.

In another case in 1950, a Federal District Court ordered George W. McLaurin admitted to the University of Oklahoma Graduate College (Cross, 1975:85). In order to comply with state separate-but-equal laws this time, McLaurin was assigned a chair in the hallway (outside the lecture hall) for attending class and a special seat in the library and cafeteria. After he filed additional complaints, the Supreme Court ruled that the University was again responsible for assuring equal,

nondiscriminatory education to all its students (Cross, 1975:86). The McLaurin case was influential for other challenges that were mounting against the dual school systems, not only in Oklahoma but around the country.

The 1950 Sweatt v. Painter case in Texas involved Herman M. Sweatt who had applied to the University of Texas Law School. This case was similar to the Sipuel case because after he was accepted, the University of Texas set up a "black law school" in four basement offices. The court later ruled that the make-shift law school did not even "approximate equality," and ordered Sweatt's admission to the main Law School at the University of Texas (Blackwell, 1991:251).

Several earlier cases also affected the segregated attendance patterns in higher education. The 1935 University of Maryland v. Murray case and the Missouri ex rel Gaines v. Canada case in 1938 both challenged the tradition of providing out-of-state tuition grants to black students so they would attend college in another state.[4] This policy was gradually formalized into Scholarship Acts as official state agreements with black students. States offered to pay out-of-state tuition fees for black students so they would not attend the traditionally white institutions in their home states (Turner, 1985:14).

In the Murray case, the court ruled that Donald Murray, a black student, must have the option of attending law school in his home state at the University of Maryland (Blackwell, 1991:250). This was a major breakthrough in challenging the out-of-state grant tradition. The 1938 Gaines case was similar. The state of Missouri was required to admit a black student, Lloyd Gaines, to the law school in his home state of Missouri. Although these cases were important challenges to the dual education systems, a precedent for other colleges to follow was still not established.

Dismantling Dual Systems of Education

The beginning of the end to dual education systems in the U.S. came with the Brown v. Board of Education cases in 1954 and 1955, in which separate-but-equal practices were ruled unconstitutional and separate education facilities were deemed "inherently unequal" (Commission on Civil Rights, 1981:7). After 1954, "the politics of massive resistance were epitomized by the events surrounding the desegregation" of separate school systems with riots, arrests, school closures, and federal troop intervention (Commission on Civil Rights, 1981:8). The Brown decision further exposed states' opposition to

federal decisions on policies of socio-political concerns in states.

The college enrollment statistics of two southern states reflect the resistance that remained in higher education institutions following the Brown ruling. The University of Mississippi enrolled (and expelled) one black student in 1956, and only two black students were enrolled at the University of Alabama in 1963 (Commission on Civil Rights, 1981:8). Furthermore, "64 percent of those institutions in the Deep South were still totally segregated" (Commission on Civil Rights, 1981:8). Additional political action and litigation was required to enroll black students in traditionally white higher education institutions, while black colleges struggled to accommodate the needs of the entire black college population. The Brown case paved the way in higher education for a case that followed in the 1970s (Adams v. Richardson, 1970; 1973).

Dual systems of higher education persisted in the U.S. until the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, according to J.E. Fleming (1976:107). The most direct impact of the Act is found in Title VI which addresses black enrollment in traditionally white higher education institutions (Commission on Civil Rights, 1981:8):

> No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, or be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

Title VI also authorized the Justice Department to file suit against school districts on behalf of black students (Bullock and Lamb, 1983:57). Between 1964 and 1969, the then Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) was given the task of monitoring and enforcing Title VI in educational institutions that received federal funding (Commission on Civil Rights, 1981:8).

As a result of the Civil Rights Act, another lawsuit (Adams v. Richardson) was filed in 1970 by the NAACP on behalf of black students against HEW and its Office of Civil Rights (Commission on Civil Rights, 1981:9). The Adams case required HEW "to commence compliance proceedings" against states found to be in violation of Title VI. Ten states were ordered to submit a plan to "dismantle their dual education systems" (Commission on Civil Rights, 1981:9). This case and subsequent Adams suits were filed aginst the Secretaries of HEW (now separated into the Departments of Education, and Health and Human Services), e.g., Adams v. Richardson (1973), Adams v. Weinberger (1975), Adams v. Califano (1977), Adams v. Cavazos (1990). The original ten states cited in the case included: Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana,

Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, and Virginia (Commission on Civil Rights, 1981:8-9). By 1978, nine additional states were named that had at least one traditionally black public college: Alabama, Delaware, Kentucky, Missouri, Ohio, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and West Virginia. Seventeen of these states were also the original land-grant states affected by the second Morrill Act (1890).

Variations in the interpretation of the Adams decree reflected states' discretion on defining compliance. Furthermore, the language used in the decree shows the difficulty states (and researchers) have encountered in interpreting words such as "equal educational opportunity," "access," and even "desegregation." In some ways, the compliance guidelines set up by HEW (after the court order) did not clarify the purpose of Adams but muddled it, and may also explain why the case was still in court in the 1990s.

In 1987, U.S. District Court Judge John H. Pratt dismissed the Adams case, ruling that the Department of Education had not shown that the dismantling plans would bring changes in public colleges (Jaschick, July 5, 1990:22). However, in 1989 the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia reversed Pratt's decision, ruling that LDF could continue the case. Additional hearings

were ordered to determine what measures could be used for monitoring state colleges. As recent as 1990, the Court of Appeals reversed its previous decision and dismissed the case, ruling that LDF could not sue the federal government to force states to dismantle their dual systems of higher education (Jaschick, July 5, 1990:22). The court's judgment states, "suits should be filed directly against the states or colleges," not the Department of Education or federal government (Jaschik, July 5, 1990:1). Once again, states and the federal government are in opposition over educational policies.

Enhancing or Eliminating Dual Education Systems?

The case of U.S. v. Kirk Fordice (1991), Governor of Mississippi, was decided by the Supreme Court in 1992. The court's decision here addresses many of the unresolved problems in the Adams case. It ruled that "states must do more than merely eliminate laws barring black students from predominately white colleges and show 'good faith' to desegregate" (Jaschik, 1992:A16). The court also applied more specific language than in prior rulings: "states must demonstrate they have removed the vestiges of past segregation" (Jaschik, 1992:A16). Justice Byron R. White wrote,

> ...even after a state dismantles its segregative admissions policy, there may still be state action that is traceable to the state's prior de jure segregation and that continues to foster segregation (Jaschik, 1992:A16).

Although this case only affects the higher education system of Mississippi, analysts claim that the other 18 Adams' states are following it closely for the implications it may have for them (Jaschik, 1992:A17).

Some experts argue that the Education Department should use U.S. v. Fordice to reopen the closed Adams case in states where dual education systems persist (Jaschik, 1992:A17). Others argue that the ruling could actually hurt black colleges because of a proposal to eliminate or merge black colleges with other state colleges (Jaschik and Mercer, 1992:A21). Justice Clarence Thomas, in his comments about the case asserts the importance of maintaining black colleges, "it would be ironic, to say the least, if the institutions that sustained blacks during segregation were themselves destroyed in an effort to combat its vestiges" (Jaschik, July 8, 1992:A16).

The merger of two traditionally white and black campuses in Mississippi is opposed on both sides. Black colleges argue for the "enhancement" of their curriculum, facilities, and faculty, not their elimination; and white colleges argue they barely function with the current size of their student body. Administrators from the white

campuses claim they could not handle all the students from another college, white or black (Jaschik, July 8, 1992:A16). One barrier in this case is Governor Fordice himself who said he would call out the National Guard if the Supreme Court ordered a state tax increase to improve black colleges (Jaschik, July 8, 1992:A18). Supporters of black colleges argue that the black community needs to organize and become "politically astute" as the restructuring of state education systems becomes more of a political issue (Jaschik, July 8, 1992:A18).

This case illustrates the confusion that still remains in interpreting the "desegregation" rulings to "dismantle the dual education systems." The early "segregation" language appears in the Fordice case to describe the appearance of separate/dual education systems. This suggests that in 1992 the terminology and guidelines to enhance black access to and enrollment in higher education institutions is still being defined. Not surprisingly, this confusion is also reflected in the higher education literature and research.

Summary of Historical Background

This historical background outlines specific legal-political action that shaped the environment for black enrollment in higher education. The issues

addressed in 1970 with the first Adams case are still unresolved in the 1992 Fordice case. Dual enrollment patterns persist in higher education. The prevailing indication from these historical analyses is that desegregation efforts were the major impetus for changes in black college enrollment levels, before and after the 1960s. Prior to the 1970s, dual higher education patterns had persisted in the U.S. similar to those since the Civil War. The reliance by the NAACP on the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments in court litigation provided constitutional protection to ensure that avenues of equal education opportunities were made available to black Americans. This further illustrates the legal-political channels and traditions of political participation through which black Americans worked to acquire equitable status.

The 1954 Brown case set a precedent for desegregation in higher education institutions. The 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1970 Adams case helped initiate changes in the established dual enrollment patterns. The argument for the protection of black educational opportunities through political avenues is still relevant in the 1990s, as seen in the discussions about the Fordice (1991) case (Jaschik, July 8, 1992:A18). The relevance of the legal-political history to this analysis is that political variables have been conspicuously absent from

the research on black enrollment in higher education. The focus in this study is on overall enrollment figures of black students in each state not institutional patterns of enrollment or even dual systems of enrollment. The objective is to determine whether there is an empirical link between political factors and black enrollment levels.

The following review of literature in higher education and political science illustrates the exclusion of political variables from this area of research. The intention of the historical review is to provide a context for this study of black enrollment levels. A broader goal is to bridge an analytical gap in the explanations of black college enrollment. The research and literature of both political science and higher education address the inequities between black and white opportunities. One aim for this study is to link contributions from each area in order to provide a more complete understanding of black enrollment in higher education institutions in the U.S.

FOOTNOTES

[1]The Freedmen's Bureau was established to integrate freed slaves and "displaced" whites after the Civil War (1865) into mainstream society (Blackwell, 1991:164), but many factors undermined those efforts. For instance, "Jim Crow" laws or "Black Codes" were revisions of the prior Slave Codes, rewritten with the word "Slave" changed to "Negro" (Rothenberg, 1988:210-17). The political participation that some blacks had experienced during Reconstruction was gradually denied (Rothenberg, 1988:210). Thus, by the 1890s, "separate modes" of public higher education and electoral participation, i.e., voting and holding political office, were legally sanctioned by most states (J.E. Fleming, 1976:50-51), effectively banning public education and political participation for most black Americans.

[2]The terms "historically," "traditionally," and "predominantly" black (or white) colleges are used interchangeably in much of the higher education literature. Traditionally and predominantly black

colleges usually refer to colleges located in large urban areas with majority black populations. In these cases, the tradition of a large black enrollment is due to the location of the school (Institute for the Study of Educational Policy, 1978:68). Those schools that were founded specifically to train and educate black students are usually referred to as historically black colleges (National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education, 1990:1). The distinction between type of institution is not necessary for this study. References to black (and white) colleges encompass all the historical/traditional types of colleges.

[3]Following the 1896 Plessy case and other state legislation, Oklahoma prohibited black students from attending its traditionally white state schools (Cross, 1975:29). It was a misdemeanor to admit, instruct, or attend classes composed of different races, although many of these schools were actually racially mixed prior to 1896 (Cross, 1975:32). Similar legal action transpired in other states as well. Berea College in Kentucky, with a 60 percent black student body in 1870, was forced to segregate in 1904. Day's Law forbade admission of black and white students in the same institution (Turner, 1985:14).

[4] In order to comply with separate-but-equal doctrines, out-of-state tuition grants were commonly offered by states for black students to attend college in another state (Jones, 1955:108-9). However, these grants rarely covered any significant portion of out-of-state expenses incurred by students (P. Franklin, 1980:49). In most cases, students wished to remain near their homes to cut down on their expenses.

CHAPTER II

AN OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH ON BLACK ENROLLMENT AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Introduction

The social science literature on black enrollment in higher education and black political participation both cover a wide array of issues. Higher education research on black enrollment includes topics such as financial assistance to attend college (Upton and Pruitt, 1985), as well as race and equity questions on college campuses (J. Fleming, 1984). Analyses of black political participation range from issues such as voter behavior (L. Williams, 1987) to the campaign strategies used by black elected officials (Perry, 1990b; Winn, 1990). This chapter provides a review of studies that focus on black enrollment in higher education and political factors that may influence that enrollment--black elected officials and black voter participation.

Many of the studies of black educational opportunities describe the status of black Americans in higher education. Some include theoretical discussions of terminology, such as equal educational opportunity (Abramowitz, 1976), equal access (Morris, 1979), and equity (Blackwell, 1982). Many are demographic descriptions of the socio-economic conditions influencing enrollment (Institute for the Study of Educational Policy, 1978), and others explore empirical dimensions in the relationships between enrollment and socio-economic phenomenon (Blackwell, 1982; Brazziel and Brazziel, 1980).

Research on black political participation in the U.S. provides historical links to educational developments in higher education (Stewart and Bullock, 1981; Meier and England, 1984; Bobo and Gilliam, 1990). One connection for this extends back to the legal-political strategies employed to unravel "separate-but-equal" laws. These laws permeated American socio-political realities until the 1964 Civil Rights Act (J.E. Fleming, 1976). The political participation literature gives an overview of the analyses from which the political variables for this study were selected.

The goal of this chapter is to discuss the research and literature in these areas, with a twofold purpose: first, to show the context in which this dissertation fits

and, second, to demonstrate a void in higher education research on black enrollment. The final step is central to the overall goal of this dissertation, i.e., to produce a political explanation of black enrollment.

Research on Black Enrollment in Higher Education

Defining the Phenomenon

The multiplicity of discussions and analyses of black access to or enrollment in higher education leads to complexity and confusion in deciphering the definitions and terms used in the research. One recurrent phrase is "equal education opportunity." This and other terms, such as open access, equity, parity, and affirmative action, vary widely in their interpretations. Enrollment is often referred to as "participation," as if there is consensus on the meaning. Since participation is not a unitary concept, no single theoretical framework can encompass it because it is used in so many different ways. To avoid ambiguity in this study, the term enrollment is defined as college attendance.

A few descriptive studies demonstrate some of these difficulties. Abramowitz (1976:19) defines equal educational opportunity as the embodiment of three

interrelated concepts: "access, distribution, and persistence." From her perspective, access is essential because it means the opportunity to enroll; distribution is also critical because it requires the element of "choice," i.e., the chance to attend different types of institutions; and persistence refers to a "fair chance" to complete a program once the student is enrolled (1976:19). These three terms are used in other studies to encompass different aspects of equal educational opportunity and to describe the status of black Americans in higher education (Morris, 1979; Institute for the Study of Educational Policy, 1978).

In her study, Abramowitz looks at some conventional views on the meaning of equality and defines access as "availability" to attend college, based on age or high school credentials (1976:34). Morris (1979) argues this approach is misleading. He uses "parity" measures (or proportional representation of enrollment to population) to expand the meaning of access (Morris, 1979:34). In addition, he emphasizes that the selection of schools for black students is an integral part of access, since finances and social status confound the viable options. Thus, different dimensions in the enrollment process are reflected in the actual enrollment figures.

The _distribution_ of enrollment refers to black attendance in a variety of institutions and different academic disciplines (Abramowitz, 1976:47). The rationale behind this term stems from the historical separation of students into dual education systems and the restriction of black students to specific fields of study, especially education (Abramowitz, 1976:61; J.W. Davis, 1933:327). Morris attributes the variations in enrollment distribution to three general factors: systemic, institutional, and programmatic differences (1979:95). As with access, distribution is constrained by financial and social status and reflected in the statewide enrollment figures.

The issues of _persistence_ relate to other higher education research on attrition and retention. These include factors associated with retaining students in college and reasons that lead to dropping out of college. In his findings on some of the reasons for "interruption patterns" in college enrollment, Morris claims that "stopping out" of college is actually a more accurate description of black attrition patterns (1979:151). The student tends to return and earn the degree at some time in the future. The discussion of these terms is useful for understanding some of the nuances in analyzing enrollment data. For the purposes of this study, these

various aspects of enrollment (access, distribution, and persistence) are not distinguished. The purpose is to capture some of these dimensions entailed in the enrollment process by using only one variable of fall enrollment figures for each of the three study years (1976, 1982, and 1988). This is aimed at providing a general cross-sectional view with state enrollment figures at three time points.

Studying Black Enrollment

The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) and the Commission on Civil Rights publish numerous documents and reports (quarterly and annually) on the status of black students in higher education.[1] One general objective of these descriptive reports is to assess black enrollment levels in higher education and to identify some trends (decreases or increases) in enrollment rates. The result is a large body of literature that describes fluctuations in enrollment and graduation levels from a "census perspective" or as a consequence of national socio-economic patterns (Meier and England, 1984). Some of the most commonly used explanatory variables from this latter literature include: family income, occupation, unemployment rates, and poverty levels. According to Blackwell (1985:16),

these variables are useful in the analysis of national data because they provide some of the characteristics or distinguishing features of the black population.

A common argument is that income is the major determinant of whether college-age black students attend college (Blackwell, 1982:29; Brazziel and Brazziel, 1980:46). The explanations for this usually cite the widening gap between black and white income levels (Scott, 1984), and the disproportionate representation of black families in lower income categories (Blackwell, 1991). Not surprisingly, Abramowitz (1976:98) found that increased income for black families reduced the differences between black and white enrollment in higher education by 61 percent. In 1980, the median income level of black families was $13,989 (for white families it was $24,176), (Bureau of the Census, 1980). This ($10,187) gap illuminates part of the financial dilemma inferred from SES (socio-economic status) indicators of enrollment. The income variable is used in this study as a reflection of these supposed economic barriers to college attendance.

Criticisms, though, are also found in the literature about reliance on economic variables to determine college enrollment. Farley's analysis (1984) offers differing views of the income gap between blacks and whites. His

claim is that economics in the black community is polarized between the black middle class and the "underclass" (Farley, 1984:9-10). The use of income as a variable in explaining this discrepancy relates to problems of measurement (Farley, 1984:56), i.e., the choice between "constant" or "current" dollars, and "rate of change" from year to year. Farley contends, many analysts do not clarify these distinct measurements (1984:56) which tends to inflate the differences between white and black income levels.

High school graduation rates are also linked to college enrollment levels in higher education research (Blackwell, 1987). For the purposes of this study, the contention is that increased high school graduation rates provide a larger pool of potential college students. Since college representation is greater for the white population than black, Prestage argues this will be reflected in differential policy decisions in higher education (1982:102). One redress, then, is to enhance the college-age cohort by increasing the number of black high school graduates, thus, increasing the population that can attend college. This suggests that the theoretical and political problems implied in Prestage's argument (differential policy) could be dispeled by a simple empirical solution (addition). The application of

such a solution, however, entails influencing the policy process in ways that eliminate educational (and political) discrepancies. Increasing the high school graduation population may be one part of a complex answer.

Other studies of black enrollment in higher education include comparisons of the Adams (1970) states. These studies look at the status of enrollment across states (Brazziel and Brazziel, 1980) or at case studies of specific states (Prestage, 1982; Upton and Pruitt, 1985). For instance, Brazziel and Brazziel (1980:28) rank order the 19 states cited in the Adams case by using a "parity index." This is a ratio or proportional score, derived from black enrollment and population percentages of each state. Although Brazziel and Brazziel's (1980) study lacks interpretive development of the measurements, regression analysis is used to determine the salient factors affecting black enrollment in higher education. The results indicate that high black enrollment rates are a function of several main factors: type and size of the state, black family income, presence of black colleges, number of white regional state colleges, and black percent of the population (1980:46-47). The demographics of the state and its population are the determining factors for college enrollment in most of these studies.

Blackwell (1982) also uses enrollment data to describe the status of blacks in higher education. The variables include age, sex, income, and years of schooling variables in a comparison of black and white enrollment figures of the Adams states in the 1970s (1982:29) In order to account for increasing numbers of non-traditional students, i.e., older or returning students, Blackwell expands the traditional student age cohort (18-24 years) to 34 years (1982:29). Morris contends black students easily fall into the non-traditional category of college students because of the interruption (or stopping out) patterns in college attendance (Morris, 1979:151).

Blackwell compares black enrollment figures in Adams and non-Adams states and finds similar conditions, i.e., both enrollment levels are low (1982:65). He notes that by the end of the 1970s, 50 percent of blacks in higher education were in two-year colleges because of lower tuition rates and open admission policies (Blackwell, 1982:65). Other research reveals that dropout rates at these (two-year) colleges are higher and students are less likely to graduate (Institute for the Study of Educational Policy, 1980:17). This highlights another problem encountered in the enrollment research -- inadequate identification of the data. An example of this is found in disceptive measurement reports that combine statistics

of both two- and four-year colleges, full- and part-time students, or public and private institutions without clarifying the sample population of the study. One study may report low enrollments and another may show increased enrollment rates, but they are describing different attributes of the data. The findings may be misleading without appropriate clarification of the data used for the study.

In a more scientific approach, Blackwell (1987) presents a detailed analysis of the status of black student enrollment in graduate and professional schools. With survey data from 743 institutions, he uses 13 variables to determine the best correlates and predictors of black graduate and professional enrollment from 1970 to 1979 and 1984-85. In his study, enrollment is defined as "access" on three different levels: "weak or limited access" is a small number of students; "approximate access" refers to black student enrollment that is over one-half proportionate to the black population; and "equal access" indicates black student enrollment is the same or greater than the proportion of blacks in the population (Blackwell, 1987:45). A similar distinction could be made with the data in this study, by distinguishing states as over- or under-represented in terms of black enrollment (see Appendix A for frequency lists of measurements).

In his analysis of graduate and professional institutions, Blackwell (1987) uses "litigation status" as a political variable affecting black enrollment. However, litigation status was one of the weakest correlations (Pearson r = -.01) in his study (Blackwell, 1987:52). The data findings show that the highest correlation (r = .83) occurs between total black enrollment and the presence of black faculty on college campuses (Blackwell, 1987:52). In other words, increased numbers of black faculty serve as a facilitator of black student enrollment. Few of the higher education studies use any political variables. Blackwell's (1987) "litigation" variable is the nearest political indicator of enrollment found in this literature review.

In an analysis of the status of black Americans in higher education, Morris contends the two components most likely to advance equal education opportunity are federal policies and leadership at higher education institutions (1979:266). He works with a large amount of descriptive data to determine some of the factors that affect equal opportunity in higher education. The variables include: enrollment figures (1975-77), financial aid packages, admissions practices, and institutional structure. His findings suggest that there are no clear national policies with regard to equal educational opportunity (Morris,

1979:1). This sentiment is reflected throughout the higher education literature (Prestage, 1982; Dimond, 1982; Preer, 1982). Without specific statements or definitions of intentions, interpretations of these data remain vague and confused. Where one study addresses equal education access for individual students, another analyzes the issue of equal opportunity for the entire minority population (Dimond, 1982:136). The discrepancies stem from unspecified assumptions about theoretical constructs and conceptualizations of a definite target population--black students enrolled in college. The claim that federal policy or institutional leadership will advance enrollment has little application when enrollment is still being defined.

In public policy research on higher education, the themes of equal education opportunity overlap with equal political participation. In this regard, Wolman and Thomas found an "absence of black access and participation" in federal equal opportunity policy making (1977:96). In fact, they found that black leaders were not even consulted on decision making about federal housing or education policies and, furthermore, white policy makers did not know how to involve blacks in the process (Wolman and Thomas, 1977:100). From their findings, they suggest reassessment of some of the ideal

assumptions about equal participation in the political arena (Wolman and Thomas, 1977:101-2). In this dissertation research, the assertion is that the political variables are plausible indicators of enrollment in higher education, not determinants of equal participation (or equal opportunity). Enrollment is a result of electoral representation (or political participation) in the policy-making process which produces specific education policies, as Wolman and Thomas' (1977) study reveals.

The higher education literature highlights the omission of political variables from research on black enrollment. However, one study of the Adams states includes suggestions for political variables. In her study, Prestage provides a "political taxonomy" based on the "compliance plans" of six of the Adams states (1982:71-103). She examines the states for their "success" in development of a plan to dismantle their dual systems of higher education. The more relevant aspect of her essay to this dissertation comes from her recommended list of political variables for the analysis of black enrollment (Prestage, 1982:102). One of these is the "number of boards of governance involved in negotiations" or policy making that affects institutions of higher education. The percent of blacks on different education boards or agencies is included in this analysis, within

the operationalization of the variable for black elected officials (on state and local levels).

In addition, Prestage claims the "role of governor and other political elites" may have a positive impact on the outcome of higher education negotiations (1982:102). For instance, public statements by elected officials about certain issues may affect the outcome of policy decisions. The "status of black political participation in the state," especially in the state legislature, is offered as a strong positive influence on black enrollment levels (1982:102-3). This variable is further investigated in the next section on black political participation literature.

Research on Black Political Participation

Black Voter Participation Research

Themes from research on black political behavior derive from several early studies on voting behavior (Rossi, 1959; Lazarsfeld, et al., 1948; Berelson, 1954), according to Walton (1985:78). These studies explain black voter participation with theories of party affiliation and group or individual characteristics by comparisons to majority (white) voters. As Walton notes, the research on black voting behavior continues to

concentrate on outdated SES (socio-economic status) explanations, in order to generalize about the black voter (1985:81). One general thesis from many of these studies is that black voting behavior is an earlier image or stage of white voting. The "structural or systemic barriers" to voting are obfuscated by general considerations, such as obstacles in state laws or different traditions to voter registration and turnout (Wolfinger and Rosenstone, 1980). For some researchers (Walton, 1985; L. Williams, 1987:102), the deterrents to voting are dissimilar for black and white voters and, thus, they continue to make it more difficult for blacks to cast an effective vote.

In a study of recent trends in black politics since the 1965 Voting Rights Act, Henderson cites two modes of black political participation: the "electoral" mode which includes campaigning, party work, and elections; and a "nonelectoral" mode which refers to interest group activity and leadership or organizational-type work (1987:6). These nonelectoral avenues are important in understanding the different traditions of political participation that emerged for black and white Americans. L. Nelson (1978:43) claims blacks participated in the 1864 presidential election by speaking out against slavery, while white males participated at the polls. Both are

political expressions but entail different avenues of participation.

In terms of electoral avenues, H.A. Wilson suggests that "electoral politics has replaced protest politics" (1990:151). This suggestion is reiterated in another argument that claims increased black voter activity shows the "maturation of black politics" over time (Ardrey and Nelson, 1990:148). The indication here is that black voting behavior has "matured" to a level closer or equal to majority voting. If this is the case, then black registration and turnout should be reasonable indicators of influence on policy making which affect higher education enrollment. Other literature discussed here confirms the argument that black political participation is influential in policy making.

In E.N. Williams' view, the two most common forms of political participation are voting and holding public office (1989:73). His argument suggests that electoral (voting) activities and political representation (elected officials) are the main avenues of impact on the policy process for benefits to the black population. His argument supports both political representation and voting as viable indicators of influence on higher education policies.

H.A. Wilson divides the study of black electoral behavior into four categories or models: case study, intra-state, expenditure, and policy-specific models (1990:152). Each of his models includes a concentration of research on a particular aspect of black electoral results: mayoral campaigns, comparison of cities within a state on black political participation or representation, urban expenditures in the black community, and analysis of a particular policy area, respectively. The literature of these four areas indicates that black political participation makes a difference in benefits for black communities, specifically in public and educational services, as well as minority contracting (H.A. Wilson, 1990:155). In another study, Keech (1972) finds a causal relationship between the black vote and the "outcome of public policy." That is, voter activism has a positive impact on policy outcomes. These findings corroborate to suggest a relationship between political variables and educational opportunities (i.e., enrollment in higher education institutions).

Like black enrollment research, literature on black voting has increased as more race specific data has become available. Cavanagh (1984) notes that the increased election of blacks to public office shows the black vote makes a difference in election outcomes. The irony is

that while voting is actually the "least active" means of political participation (Wolfinger and Rosenstone, 1980), it is the <u>only</u> form of political participation for most Americans (black and white). This further suggests that voting (and registering to vote) are the only political variables reflective of (mass) political participation. Wolfinger and Rosenstone (1980) argue that registration is often more difficult than voting, due to various state regulations that impede the process. Historically these impediments were greater for the black electorate (Walton, 1985:126), which might make the black voter variables less important in the overall aresenal of political participation avenues for the black population. The recent collection of voter data (registration and turnout) by race and state provides opportunity to examine these and other queries for ways in which black voter participation may enhance (or deter) equal opportunities in higher education (L. Williams, 1987:100).

The Literature on Black Political Representation

As a result of increased electoral politics after the 1965 Voting Rights Act, the number of black elected officials (BEOs) increased substantially (Walton, 1985:126; L. Williams, 1987:111). In 1964, there were 103 BEOs (George, 1990:158) and by 1988 there were 6,549

(Joint Center for Political Studies, 1989). While the increase is significant, the same data also indicate that blacks held fewer than 1.5 percent of all elected offices in the U.S. in 1988 (Joint Center for Political Studies, 1989:ix). This study offers the hypothesis that BEO influence can be observed in policy making that directly affects the black population. The more BEOs there are, the more likely that policies favorable to black interests will be created. The category of black elected officials includes a wide range of black representatives in elected positions from state legislatures to local school boards. Relevant literature on some of these black elected officials is discussed here.

In this study, black mayors are subsumed under the category of BEOs. Numerous studies on black mayoral activities dominate the research on black political representatives. One reason for this interest may be due to the increase in their number -- from 48 in 1970 to 286 in 1983 (H.A. Wilson, 1990:151). Although there are mixed interpretations of their impact, many studies contend black mayors produce positive results for the black population in their cities (Nelson and Meranto, 1977; Perry, 1990). Nelson and Meranto found that in Gary and Cleveland both mayors Hatcher and Stokes, respectively, secured successful results for the black community by

expanding housing, employment, and small business opportunities for blacks (1977:152). Woody (1982) found that in four large cities with black mayors, the numbers of blacks in the municipal work force increased. Nelson and Meranto (1977) had found similar results, but Levine's study of Gary and Cleveland reported that "despite all the employment programs sponsored by the federal government, many of Gary's Blacks remained uneducated, unemployed, underemployed, undernourished, and poorly housed" (1974:81). In yet another study, Karnig and Welch (1980) report that cities with black mayors invest more in education and social welfare than other areas. For the purposes of this study, the influence of black mayors is included with the influences of other black elected officials, represented by one indicator (BEOs).

More recent discussions of the theoretical explanations of black and white differences in socio-political participation (Bobo and Gilliam, 1990:378), argue that the traditional socio-economic, psychosocial ("group consciousness"), and structural theories of black political participation are conceptually weak. One of the criticisms, by Bobo and Gilliam (1990), is that these theories explain minority participation with the same factors used to explain majority group participation (one is an earlier image of the other).

These theories lack applicability to the reality of black political behavior, according to Bobo and Gilliam (1990:378), because they do not account for black "political empowerment: the extent to which a group has achieved significant representation and influence in political decision making." The hypothesis is that where blacks have more political representation, they will have more "socio-political involvement" (1990:379).

One weakness in Bobo and Gilliam's (1990) study is in their indicator of "black empowerment," i.e., whether a large city has a black mayor. This narrows the meaning of empowerment and suggests that blacks living in black-mayor cities receive more benefits than those who live in other cities. Their criteria for socio-political participation include voter turnout, campaigning, and community activity (Bobo and Gilliam, 1990:380). Their contention is that political knowledge enhances political action in the "empowered" areas after elections (1990:387). However, in spite of changes in black political empowerment, black representation on various other levels in black-mayor cities was found to be far below the black proportion of the population. According to Bobo and Gilliam, this shows that black political participation remains "incomplete and unfulfilled" (1990:388). Their measurement of empowerment seems somewhat stretched when other forms of black

representation in cities are considered, e.g., black police chiefs, school superintendents, and city council members. In fact, Bobo and Gilliam note that major black electoral gains have also occurred at other levels, such as state legislatures, city councils, and school boards (1990:379). So, mayoral representatives alone may not be the best indicator of "empowerment."

In another study, Eisenger (1982) concludes that very little research has been conducted on the impact of black electoral politics for the delivery of public services. In his study, black electoral politics refers to "black electoral representation," and public services is represented by "public sector jobs." The general hypothesis is that the distribution of public sector jobs is determined by, or is a function of, black electoral representation in municipal offices (both elected and appointed positions). In spite of problems of sampling and data collection techniques, tentative conclusions are drawn to connect black employment opportunities, in some select cities with the presence of a black mayor (1982:380-92). His study provides some justification for political/electoral variables as indicators of public service benefits, such as enrollment at public colleges and universities.

With an increase in the number of BEOs, the number of blacks elected to "education" positions has also increased (Joint Center for Political Studies, 1989). One linkage to higher education here occurs through the influences that local elected officials exert on local school policies. The assumption is that the number of high school graduates (or dropouts) affects the pool of students available to attend college. Local education officials (especially school board members) are in positions to affect policies in their school districts that influence graduation (or dropout) rates. In this regard, education officials can influence the enrollment levels in high school directly, and enrollment in college indirectly.

Prestage argues that education BEOs are one of the most important political variables in the study of higher education participation (1982:102). This hypothesis is tested by Meier and England in their study of black representation and education policy (1984:392-403). They use the percentage of blacks on urban school boards as one of several independent variables. Other variables include:

> black resources variables--the black population percentage in the district, the median family income for blacks, the median black education level, and a measure of black political resources (Meier and England, 1984:398).

The "black political resources" variable is developed into a score derived from several indicators including the number of black state senators, black state representatives, and black judicial officials (Meier and England, 1984:398). The results of their analysis show that black representation on school boards does affect education policies for equity.

The key finding by Meier and England (relevant to black college enrollment) is that more equitable educational policies occur when black members are on school boards of large inner city school districts (1984:401). In more empirical terms, their study shows school districts with black school board members reported more black students going to college (1984:398). This is strong support for using black political representation as an indicator of black college enrollment. It also reinforces arguments made from early theories about black political participation as the most important avenue for enhancing participation in other public arenas, such as education (DuBois, 1972; Robeson, 1958:92; King, 1968:122-25).

The Impact of Black State Legislators

The role of black state legislators in affecting policy changes in higher education is a recent area of

exploration in social science research (Walton, 1985). Prestage (1982:102) argues that black state legislators are a "potential factor" in increasing black enrollment in higher education. For instance, the increase in the actual number of black legislators should change the racial composition of various legislative committees (Bositis, 1992). Walton argues, though, that "blacks are appointed to minor and moderate committees limiting their legislative clout" (1985:206). The suggestion here is that black legislative representation on key committees may influence state legislatures in ways that benefit the black population. Exploration of these topics is sometimes convoluted. Walton claims heavy focus in the research on problems related to the measurement of black representation distracts from the full array of issues and factors surrounding black legislative behavior (1985:212).

Another perspective on where black legislative behavior might influence enrollment patterns is found in "patterns of bill sponsorship" in state legislatures (Walton, 1985:213). In a study of black legislators in California, Sokolow (1971) found that they sponsor bills that support a number of social concerns, not just "civil rights" issues. For instance, three of the subject areas of the bills introduced by black legislators (business regulation, welfare-health, and education) comprised over

60 percent of all bills introduced (Sokolow, 1971:25). The claim is that black legislative activity benefits black legislators' constituencies and not just their own advancement in the political system. For this study, the particular form of legislative influence is reflected in changes in black college enrollment levels.

Elected officials form numerous informal groups for social and ideological reasons (Walton, 1985:186). In the case of black legislators, the reasons may center around race related issues, e.g., Congressional Black Caucus. Many black caucuses are organized at the state level around political and decision-making policies affecting legislators and their constituencies (Walton, 1985:186). In higher education, policies to enhance black enrollment have been implemented as a direct result of black political caucus activities in several states. This was reported in Oklahoma in 1985. A special committee initiated by the Black Caucus was created to conduct hearings about the enrollment and graduation of black students in higher education (Oklahoma House of Representatives, 1985).

According to Green (1982:25), members of minority caucuses can utilize their influence to amend or shape bills in ways beneficial to minority constituents. Although limited study has been conducted on black

legislative caucuses (Walton, 1985:167), the underlying point here is that there is evidence to indicate black legislators make an impact by their actions on committees and also by their presence as minority persons in state legislatures. As more black legislators are elected, the political clout of these caucuses is expected to become more influential (Walton, 1985:186) and may serve as a conduit through which legislators can enhance black enrollment in higher education.

Summary of the Literature

These studies of black enrollment in higher education and black political participation are important for a political analysis of black college enrollment in several ways. They illustrate the issues and problems that have been studied in both areas (political and educational), and they reveal the areas that receive little attention. During the research for this study, several deficiencies became apparent in the study of black college enrollment. One area is the lack of political indicators in the study of a system which was historically created as a result of political and legal decisions. Another void is found in the lack of attention by political scientists to this area of research.

Enrollment in higher education is a public service delivery area obtained through the "authoritative allocation of resources" to the black community. Based on Easton's (1953) analysis of politics, political factors should impact the distribution of those (educational) resources. The use of political indicators in the analysis of a public sector area (i.e., black college enrollment) provides an application for Parenti's (1978:6) and Blackwell's (1987:23) arguments about access to the distribution of these social "rewards."

The following research design for this study is grounded in the extensive research by Blackwell (1987) of black enrollment in graduate and professional schools. In his study, he presents the coefficient estimates from correlations and regression analyses to emphasize the need for "mainstreaming" (i.e., enrolling and graduating) black students. With Blackwell's research model and Prestage's (1982) "political taxonomy," the research design outlined in Chapter III proposes a novel approach to the study of black college enrollment. Both political and socio-economic indicators are used to analyze black enrollment levels. The techniques for statistical manipulations of these data are similar to those in other studies (Blackwell, 1987; Brazziel and Brazziel, 1980), however, the uniqueness of this model falls with the

inclusion of political variables. This research design provides another perspective for analyzing black enrollment using traditional variables from both political science and higher education research. Linking these two areas (higher education and political science) together for research of a socio-political concern, advances the analytical database on college enrollment and expands the parameters for research in both fields.

FOOTNOTES

[1]The collection of data on minorities is a relatively new aspect of social science research (Commission on Civil Rights, 1981:1). The primary sources of collection did not begin to systematically differentiate the data by race until 1968 when states were required to report higher education enrollment and graduation figures. The Office for Civil Rights stratified these statistics by race in its annual survey of institutions of higher education until 1974. Then, NCES (National Center for Education Statistics) began the data collection for the Department of Education on a biennial basis in its Higher Education General Information Survey (HEGIS). In 1986, the data collection became an annual effort in the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) survey (Schantz and Brown, 1990:1). The enrollment data for this study were obtained from NCES.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN FOR THE POLITICAL ANALYSIS OF BLACK ENROLLMENT

Introduction

The research and political history of black enrollment in higher education indicate political, social, and economic factors interact to affect higher education policy decisions, actions, and outcomes. These environmental forces are relevant to the research on black college enrollment and are embedded in this research design. The purpose of this chapter is to describe the steps used in conducting this research, including conceptualization of the research problem, data collection and limitations, operationalization of the variables, and the quantitative methodology and models used for data analysis. The combination of the different components outlined here make this a unique approach for the analysis

of black enrollment data from higher education institutions.

Objectives and Hypotheses for the Study of Enrollment Data

One purpose of this study is to provide a quantitative description of black enrollment data from 1976 to 1988. Although there are numerous analytical interpretations of this time period in higher education research (J.E. Fleming, 1976; Blackwell, 1991; Morris, 1979: Brazziel and Brazziel, 1980), none of these studies offers a political analysis. This dissertation research, then, broadens the focus of higher education research by offering political explanations for enrollment patterns.

The objective of this analysis is to understand politicial influences that affect enrollment. This provides further analysis of the dismantling of dual education systems in the U.S. during three years -- 1976, 1982, and 1988. The extent to which the dual systems are eliminated should be reflected in changes in black enrollment figures from public institutions of higher education. Even though there are macroscopic changes that may move policy making from one historical epoch to the next, this analysis takes a microscopic view of a thirteen-year period in that history. The contention is, by including additional (political) factors that affect

the enrollment process more influences are accounted for in the final results.

In order to address the issue of black enrollment in higher education, four hypotheses are proposed for analysis. These guide the research and offer several new ways to explain black college enrollment.

(1) Black Political Representation:
The greater the proportion of black political representation (state legislators and BEOs) in a state, the greater the level of black enrollment in higher education in the state.

(2) Black Voter Participation:
The greater the proportion of black voter participation (turnout and registration) in a state, the greater the level of black enrollment in higher education in the state.

(3) Education:
The greater the black education level (rate of black high school graduation) in a state, the greater the level of black enrollment in higher education in the state.

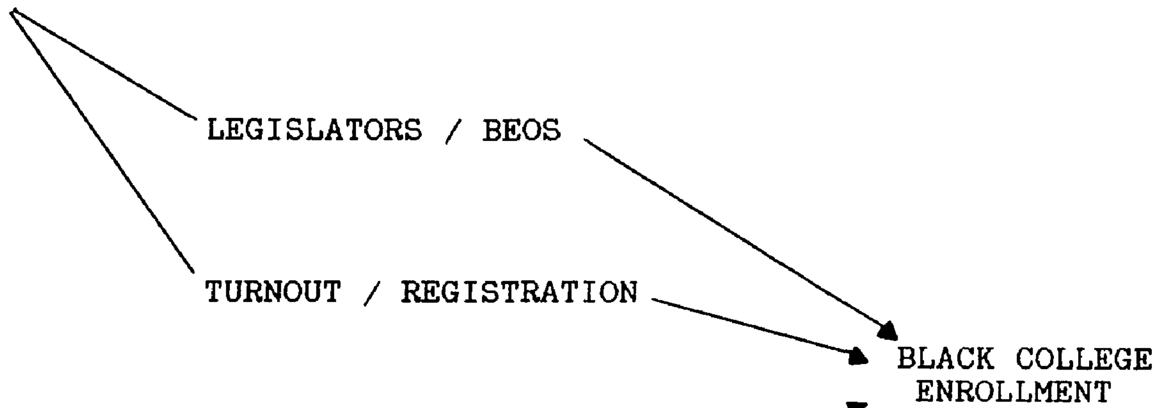
(4) Income:

The greater the black income level (median family income) in a state, the greater the level of black enrollment in higher education in the state.

In order to conceptualize the research problem, the arrow diagram in Figure 1 presents the variables described in the hypotheses. The relationships between the variables are depicted here to show the expectations of the independent variables for explaining changes in the dependent variable.

[Independent Variables] > > > > [Dependent Variable]

POLITICAL FACTORS:



SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS:

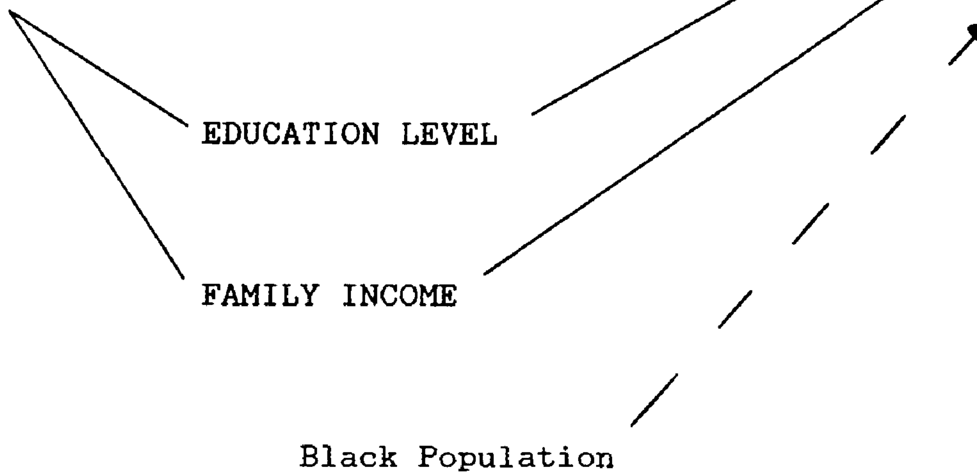


Figure 1. Diagram of Factors Influencing Black College Enrollment.

The diagram in Figure 1 shows the influences proposed in the hypotheses. Although reciprocal influences may occur between variables, the relationships that are scrutinized in this study are one-directional (indicated by the arrows). The dependent variable is a function of the independent variables. Black population is illustrated with a dotted arrow, since the size of a state's black population is not directly represented as a variable, but it is used as the population parameter for each variable. The socio-economic variables (education and income) should validate prior findings in the research. The political variables (legislators, BEOs, turnout, and registration) are expected to add new insights to the explanations of black college enrollment, and to provide new areas of application for political variables. The four hypotheses are the focal points for this research. They provide the basis for the subsequent conclusions and speculations about black enrollment in higher education and the influences of black political participation on that process.

Formation of Three New Datasets

The time parameters of this study limit these data to three specific years--1976, 1982, and 1988. The aim is to provide a cross-sectional picture of black enrollment

in each year based on data from the 50 U.S. states. The actual choice of these three years was determined by several factors. First, the availability of data on all the variables for each year was a major consideration. Next, the time span between the years influenced their selection. This developed from the assumption that year-to-year change was not the major interest, nor was one point in time. The desire to compare several different years of interactions between the same variables prevailed. Thus, 1976 provides a mid-1970s focus for beginning the analysis. Data for two additional years are included at six-year intervals and depict the status of black enrollment in the early and late 1980s. In this regard, the three years allow the opportunity to ascertain some recent trends in black enrollment levels.

Data for this dissertation came from secondary sources. This approach was used since these data are compiled annually by race and, in most years, by state. The variables were chosen as the best political and socio-economic indicators of black enrollment in higher education during this time frame (1976-1988).

The following discussion of each variable illustrates that data for each variable were collected at the state level, and aggregate figures were obtained from different sources for all 50 states for the three study

years--1976, 1982, and 1988. Data for each year were, then, entered into separate datasets, constructed with variable setups and states formatted as cases, i.e., the 50 states correspond to the 50 cases in each dataset. The compilation of the data in this manner allows for easy access and manipulation with various statistical programs.

Higher education enrollment data are collected and distributed by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) of the U.S. Department of Education in its "Fall Enrollment Survey" (see NCES, 1976, 1982, and 1988).[1] NCES compiles these data in various forms (published reports, documents, and computer tapes). After numerous telephone conversations with NCES[2] and The Ohio State University[3] data consultants, the decision was made to obtain these data from NCES computer tapes.

The NCES enrollment data were derived from two HEGIS (Higher Education General Information Survey) data tapes (NCES, 1976 and 1982) and one IPEDS (Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System) tape (NCES, 1988). The data are entered on the tapes by NCES for each higher education institution in the country and are constructed with logical record length format. The 1976 master file includes data for 3,068 institutions; the 1982 data include 3,327 institutions; and the 1988 data include a total of 6,412 institutions. Since the 1988 data include

less than two-year programs, those institutions were eliminated from the datasets for this study, leaving a total of 5,359 institutions. The 1988 increase in the number of institutions stems from the NCES switch to an expanded IPEDS format and institutional coverage. These institutional-level data were collapsed into 50 cases to correspond to the 50 states, by using summary statements of enrollment figures by race from each institution in each state. All three tapes also include data from private institutions, but the population parameters for this study were confined to only public higher education systems (two- and four-year).

The data for the political variables in the three datasets come from two sources: the <u>National Roster of Black Elected Officials</u> published by the Joint Center for Political Studies (JCPS); and numerous U.S. Bureau of the Census documents. JCPS began its collection of these data in 1970 and recently expanded its focus to include economic research (see Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 1992). JCPS (1989:7) defines "elected officials" as "persons elected by popular vote to public office in a government capacity." Elected offices are determined by the Constitution, state law, or special provisions. In its data, those persons referred to as "black elected officials" (BEOs) are those elected to

public office but not political party positions in the states (JCPS, 1989:7).

For this study, only two categories of JCPS data are included: black elected officials and black state legislators. The data for BEOs are published annually by state for elected offices at various levels: federal, state, regional, county, and municipal. The data are presented in tables with the number of BEOs in each category by state, along with total number of elected officials in each state. These include mayors, judges, police chiefs, sheriffs, local school and college board members, city and county officials, and members of other elected positions. The data for this study are aggregated for all BEOs (minus black state legislators) onto one variable for each state; and black state senators and representatives are aggregated on another variable as black state legislators. The data for the two variables were obtained for the three study years--1976, 1982, and 1988--and these figures were entered in the three datasets by state.

Data for the other two political variables--voter registration and voter turnout--are collected by the U.S. Census Bureau (see documents listed with tables in Appendix A). The Bureau compiles voting and registration statistics at different time frequencies and in numerous

formats (data tapes and documents). These data are displayed in tables by percentages of the black population that were registered and that voted in the fall elections of each year. The figures are compiled by Census divisions in 1976, by Census regions and select states in 1982; and by Census divisions and select states in 1988. In some cases, the figures are detailed by age, race, and sex for each state in summary tables. The regular tabulation of these data allows relative ease in transferring the information from the publications to user data programs.

The specific publications for the needs of this research were located by telephone with Census Bureau consultants[4] and with librarians at The Ohio State University Libraries Reference Department. The estimates for voter registration and turnout for the three years (1976, 1982, and 1988) were obtained and entered in the three datasets for each state by race.

The data for the two socio-economic variables in this analysis also are derived from U.S. Census sources. These are statistics for high school graduations rates and family income levels. These data for high school graduation rates are illustrated in tables with percentages of the black population that graduated from high school. In 1976 the figures are compiled by states

with regional figures used for missing states; 1982 figures are regional and select states figures; and 1988 figures shows state values with regional figures used for missing states. The income figures are presented in tables by median dollars of black family income levels for each state. The 1976 income figures are state values with division figures used for missing states; and the 1982 and 1988 figures are estimated from 1980 state statistics by annual rate of change estimates (see tables in Appendix A).

The Census Bureau compiles these data at different time frequencies in various surveys and formats (data tapes and publications) throughout the year. The data are reported in tables by state, race, and other selected characteristics. For this research, the data were obtained from several documents--"Congressional District Profiles" and the "Current Population Reports" of population demographics (see Appendix A). Again, the documents for 1976, 1982, and 1988 were located through consultation with the Census Bureau and The Ohio State University Libraries Reference Department. These figures were entered into the three datasets, by state and race.

Limitations of these Data

The advantages of secondary data analysis of archival records, such as time and money, were motivating

forces in choosing a mode of observation for this study. Although the advantages of secondary analysis outweigh its limitations (Kiecolt and Nathan, 1985:12), the purpose here is to acknowledge as clearly as possible some of the potential shortcomings associated with these data. One disadvantage of using secondary analysis is seen as the "inhibition of creativity" (Kiecolt and Nathan, 1985:14). The use of the same datasets over time narrows the extent of insight that the variables can produce with further analysis. This is not seen as a major problem in this study because new datasets have been created, thus, allowing a great deal of flexibility and new investigation of already existing data.

There are negative aspects to secondary analysis in terms of validity (Kiecolt and Nathan, 1985). For instance, the researcher often does not know if the data is appropriate for the focus of another study. The potential problem in this study is that the data are combined into one dataset from various sources. Since the focus is to provide a general demographic picture of each state, and the variables are standardized by population, validity is not considered a major obstacle to the analysis. Several quantitative techniques are used to investigate the hypotheses while the operationalization of the variables remains constant.

In addition, questions of sampling bias or errors associated with gathering data from different sources may introduce weaknesses into the analyses (Haynes, 1980:331). One compensation here has been to use aggregate state-wide figures for each variable and to expand the population for analysis to include the black voting-age population (18 years and over) in each state. This provides wider parameters to what the variables measure (compared to other studies, e.g., Blackwell, 1987 and 1991; and Brazziel and Brazziel, 1980), and captures a broader spectrum of scoio-political processes at work in enhancing (or restricting) black enrollment levels.

In addition, these enrollment results are not equated with graduation outcomes (see NCES, 1976b, 1982b, and 1988b). Some of the same problems associated with enrollment, though, may also affect graduation rates. These limitations do not restrict the usefulness of these data, but rather the findings expand the database of information and analyses that are available on black enrollment in higher education.

In reference to specific weaknesses in these data, the Census statistics for high school graduates in 1982 and 1988 were derived from 1980 estimates, since published figures were not available by state. The new estimates were determined by using the "average annual percent

change" rate for 1980 and projecting the 1982 and 1988 estimates for each state. (For details on data sources, see data listings in Appendix A.)

Other limitations of these data can be seen in the statistics for high school graduation, income, and voting levels which, in some years, are not available in published format by state (see Appendix A). The estimates for these variables were obtained from summary tables of Census categories for regions, divisions, select states, or states (when available). These data are derived by the Census Bureau from similar collection methodologies and procedures for estimation and projection of figures. The imprecision that may occur in the analyses is attributed to the latter measurement problems and not the selection of these estimates. The concerns of objectivity and margin of error suggest care to avoid overinterpretation of the results. Overall, no data source provides the range of data needed to assess the status of black enrollment (Morris, 1979:25). The difficulty of matching (primary or secondary) data from different sources for reliable statistical analyses are problems in the research on black college enrollment.

However, these weaknesses are not deemed insurmountable for this study. Quantitative methods are applied to expand the research and to explore political

determinants of black college enrollment. Thus, this study provides a quantitative description and explanation of black college enrollment using these data. Precautions were utilized through different methods of analysis and measurements of variables to provide multiple opportunities to verify the results and to avoid extrapolating more than the data report. The objective is to propose other relationships which may interact with the dependent variable, in order to suggest further investigation of the current explanations about black enrollment in higher education. According to Baum (1988:905), "even imperfect methods for measurement of policy changes can facilitate analysis of the processes and determinants of change." This is one method for analyzing changes in black enrollment with socio-political variables. It is a step toward examining political influences on the enrollment process in higher education.

Operationalization of these Variables

The variables used in this study are listed in Table 2. This table shows each variable and how it is measured. Three variables--registration, turnout, and education--are percentages of the black population in each state. Three additional variables--enrollment,

legislators, and BEOs--are represented by a "deficit" figure, derived by subtracting the percent of the black population from the original percent for each variable. Finally, income is the median dollar amount for black family income levels.

The "deficit" measurement was developed to account for the size of the black population on those variables not calculated as a percent of the black population. For instance, the percent black enrollment data are based on the percent of total student enrollment figures in each state. The percent black legislators is the percent of all legislators, and the percent BEOs is percent of total elected officials in each state. The percent deficit calculations are illustrated in the measurement base column for these three variables in Table 2. A high (positive) deficit score on these variables indicates that black enrollment is greater than the black population percentage. A low (negative) score indicates black enrollment levels are less than the black population percentage in the state. Thus, a positive score shows overrepresentation and a negative score shows underrepresentation (in proportion to the population size). A zero demonstrates equitable representation between population size and the variable (see Appendix A for frequency distributions of deficit variables).

TABLE 2

LIST OF VARIABLES WITH MEASUREMENT EXPLANATION

Variable	Measurement Base
Dependent Variable	
Black Enrollment	% black enrollment -% black population % deficit
Independent Variables	
Black Legislators (and BEOs)	% black state legislators -% black population % deficit
Black Voter Turnout (and Registration)	% black population
Black Education (High School Graduation)	% black population
Black Family Income	median dollars

The dependent variable for this study is represented by the enrollment figures for black students at two- and four-year public institutions in the U.S. for all 50 states. The figures are aggregated at the state level and calculated as a percent of the total student population at these public institutions in each state.

The associate (two-year) and baccalaureate (four-year) degree institutions are combined for the

purposes of this study. The combination of these figures will have a significant impact on the enrollment size for some states, since numerous studies indicate disproportionate attendance of black students at two-year colleges (Abramowitz, 1976:152; Chandler, 1983). Enrollment in higher education is the focus of this study (and not type of enrollment), therefore, the inclusion of both figures is considered germane to the analysis.

In addition, only public institutions are included in these enrollment data. The decision to exclude private institutions is based on the premise that public institutions are affected directly by state and federal public policies, while private institutions are not usually dependent on the public domain. The political variables are expected to have greater influence on enrollment levels at state-supported colleges.

As indicated in Table 2, there are four political variables: black legislators, BEOs, black voter turnout and black voter registration. The variables represent direct (political representation) and indirect (voter participation) influences on decision making and policies affecting higher education (see Figure 1). All four political variables are discussed here but only two (legislators and turnout) are used in the final analyses (explained and presented in Chapter IV). Results and

frequencies for the two excluded variables (BEOs and registration) are presented in the Appendices. As indicated in Table 2, the data for voters (turnout and registration) are based on the percentage of the total black voting-age population (18 years and older) of each state. These data are the percent who registered and voted in November elections of 1976, 1982, and 1988.

These four political variables show black political participation on three different levels. At the state level, black influence on policy making is channeled through black legislators by their presence on committees and in hearings for higher education policy decisions. The assumption is that their presence has a greater effect on policies for and about the black population than if there were no black officials in attendance (Prestage, 1982; E.N. Williams, 1989). On the local level political influence is demonstrated by black representatives in elected offices (BEOs), also serving in specific education positions, e.g., college and local school boards. These officials have the potential to influence (state and local) educational policies which, in turn, enhance black enrollment in higher education. They are in positions to influence the outcome of public policy (Smith, Rice, and Jones, 1991:67). BEOs participate at different levels of educational decision making which should be reflected in

policy changes that favor or encourage increases in black enrollment levels in higher education. Finally, on the individual level, black political influence is utilized via the ballot, i.e., through voting (turnout) or the threat of voting (registration). Thus, these political variables (elected representatives and voter participation) reflect different levels of black political influence.

The diagram in Figure 1 suggests that socio-economic factors also influence black college enrollment. Although there are myriad examples of socio-economic activities interacting to affect educational enrollment (directly or indirectly), specific education and income factors have been selected for this study.

The education variable is measured by the percent of black high school graduates from each state out of the total black voting-age population (18 years and older) of the state. Figures are included for the years 1976, 1982, and 1988. The income variable is used as a measure of the economic status of black families in each state. It is represented by the median income levels of the black family (in current U.S. dollars) for 1976, 1982, and 1988. These demographic variables account for socio-economic variations across states as reflected in Census reports.

Status Reports for the Variables

Enrollment Status. These data represent black enrollment figures from 50 states. The focus of the analysis is to examine data for these variables across the states, not state-by-state. Several of the extreme cases are presented here as a brief survey of the range and central tendency values for the variables (see Appendix A for frequency listings by state).

In 1976, the mean black enrollment percentage across states was 7.6 percent of total college enrollment (see Appendix A). This was a small but significant increase (less than one percent) over the 1970 figure, when it was 6.9 percent (Office for Civil Rights, 1970:116). By the late 1980s, the mean black enrollment levels were 7.1 percent in 1982 and 7.0 percent in 1988 (see Appendix A; also, Jaschik, 1988:A19).

In terms of deficit (or proportional) representation, however, the difference between the mean enrollment and mean population figures indicates a slight negative increase in the "deficit" score between the two percentages for these same three years (see Appendix A). That is, the difference between enrollment in 1976 (7.62 percent) and population (7.84 percent) was -.23 percent; in 1982 the difference was -1.27 percent (7.10 percent minus 8.37 percent); and in 1988 it was -1.64 percent

(7.02 percent minus 8.66 percent). This widening gap between enrollment and population from 1976 to 1988 may indicate decreased black enrollment levels in college. Emphasis on the disparities across the three years is done with hesitation, due to the expanded survey format by NCES in 1988 (see NCES, 1988). Although, the Department of Education reports black enrollment levels increased in 1991, suggesting an upward trend should be found in the NCES data after 1988 (Evangelauf, 1993:A30).

The NCES data reveal that black public enrollment percentages by state for all three years of this study range from .23 to 29.6 in 1976; from .24 to 28.9 in 1982; and from .30 to 26.6 percent in 1988 (see Appendix A). The low enrollment levels (i.e., less than one percent) are not surprising when compared to the black population percentages in those same states. For instance, the lowest enrollment level in 1988 (.30 percent) was reported in Maine and the black population for that state was only .34 percent for the same year. Also the highest percentage of black students enrolled in 1988 was reported in Mississippi (26.6 percent) and the black population of that state was 31.4 percent (see Appendix A). Thus, the gap between the two latter figures is larger (-4.8 percentage points) than between the first two enrollment figures (-.04 percentage points). Underrepresenation is

greater in Mississippi than Maine even though Mississippi has a greater percentage of blacks in its population in college. In other words, proportional representation is state-specific and applies to individual state environments. Thus, the deficit scores provide a method of representing each state's enrollment level in terms of that state's population level (and not based on a national or regional mean).

Black Representation. The two political representation variables--black state legislators and BEOs--reflect more significant changes over the three years than the other variables. First, the total number of black elected officials (BEOs) increased from 3,498 in 1976, to 4,537 in 1982, and 6,148 in 1988 (see Appendix A). This reflects almost a 75 percent increase in the presence of BEOs in the U.S. from 1976 to 1988.

Breaking this figure down into different categories shows that the total number of BEOs in education positions increased from 986 in 1976, to 1,249 in 1982, and 1,533 in 1988 (Joint Center for Political Studies, 1977, 1983, and 1989). This is a 55 percent increase in the presence of BEOs on college and local school boards, as school superintendents and in other state education agencies and officies from 1976 to 1988. This breakdown further illustrates the numer of black state legislators increased

from 276 in 1976, to 324 in 1982, and 401 in 1988 (see Appendix A). This reflects a 45 percent increase in the number of black legislators. Although individual states vary on increases and decreases from year to year, the overall indication is a substantial increase in black political representation. The expectation is that these increases should reflect increases in black enrollment levels for the same years (1976, 1982, and 1988).

Voter Status. These data of the black electorate--voter registration and turnout--confirm other reports of increased rates of black voter participation in the 1980s (Gurin, Hatchett, and Jackson, 1989). The increase from 1976 to 1988, though, is only slight in these data (see Appendix A). In 1976, the mean registration rate across states for blacks was 56.3 percent, and turnout was 47.6 percent. In 1982, the mean registration rate increased for blacks on the national level (to 61.6 percent) but turnout (46.5 percent) decreased slightly. By 1988, these figures increased to 62.3 percent and 50.9 percent, respectively. These two variables provide data for individual political participation, another political dimension which is expected to influence black enrollment in higher education. The mean scores for black voter registration and turnout coincide with other national reports for these

same years (see Bureau of the Census, Table No. 435, 1992): 48.7 in 1976, 43.0 in 1982, and 51.5 percent in 1988 for turnout; and 58.5 in 1976, 59.1 in 1982, and 64.5 percent in 1988 for registration.

Socio-Economic Status. These data show the mean level of graduation from high school for blacks increased from 46.8 percent in 1976, to 57.0 in 1982, and 67.4 percent in 1988 (see Appendix A). This is a 20.6 point increase over the 13-year period (1976-1988), which suggests considerable expansion of the pool of potential college students. These mean scores coincide with the 1991 mean for black high school completion rates of 66.7 percent (see Bureau of the Census, Table No. 221, 1992).

Finally, from these data, the mean national income level for black families in these three years increased from $9,569 in 1976, to $13,289 in 1982, and to $18,471 in 1988 (see Appendix A). Although income levels more than doubled from 1976 to 1988, the national Census reports indicate that black families were disproportionately in the lowest income levels for all three years (Bureau of the Census, 1991). This is illustrated in contrast to the median income levels for white families for these same years--$15,537 in 1976; $24,603 in 1982; and $33,915 in 1988 (see Bureau of the Census, Table No. 703, 1992). The contention for this study is that family income levels

impact the college enrollment possibilities for black students. The black income levels from these data are comparable to the national income reports for these same years (see Bureau of the Census, Table No. 703, 1992): $9,242 in 1976, $13,598 in 1982, and $19,329 in 1988.

Research Methodology for Analyzing NCES Data

The research methods used in this project are based on the manipulation of the three datasets constructed from the secondary data described in the previous section. After the data collection, these datasets were prepared and manipulated with data files using the SPSS-X computer operating system for statistical data analysis. The procedures used for explaining the relationships between the variables include bivariate and multivariate analyses.

To determine the strength of the relationships between the variables, the correlation coefficient, Pearson r, is used as a summary statistic of the linear relationships between the dependent (enrollment) variable and each of the independent variables. The correlations are compared to each other by the degree of linearity expressed in each relationship for the three study years. The bivariate estimates of the variables for each year are presented in tables with the analyses in Chapter IV.

Finally, multiple regression procedures are used to assert a causal relationship between the variables or determine how well these independent variables predict the dependent variable. The objective here is to indicate how much of the total variation in the dependent variable can be explained by the independent variables acting together. A formal model is proposed as a hypothesis statement to test the explanatory power of the independent variables in relationship to the dependent variable. The standardized regression coefficients (beta weights) are presented in tables (in Chapter IV) with the results for each year to compare the relative importance of each independent variable in predicting the dependent variable.

The framework for the regression analyses is structured after the conceptual diagram in Figure 1. The regression models used for these analyses are specific applications of this conceptualization with the variables defined in formal equations. The theoretical models of these equations are presented in Table 3. Each model is proposed as an explanation for variations in black enrollment.

TABLE 3

SOCIO-POLITICAL MODELS OF
BLACK COLLEGE ENROLLMENT

MODEL A:

Enrollment = Education + Income
+ Registration + Turnout
+ BEOs + Legislators

MODEL B:

Enrollment = Education + Income
+ Turnout + Legislators

One revealing feature from the literature about black enrollment in higher education is that social and political environments are treated as separate entities (see Blackwell, 1987 and 1991; Brazziel and Brazziel, 1985; Morris, 1979; Abramowitz, 1978). The underlying premise for the models in Table 3 is that social phenomena cannot be understood in isolation from political realities of states. Thus, both models are socio-political statements. That is, socio-economic status (education and income) and political participation (legislators/BEOs and turnout/registration) are empirically linked to factors affecting higher education. Model A uses all six independent variables to estimate their effects on the dependent variable. Two variables (registration and BEOs) are omitted from Model B for several reasons: 1) an

assumption of high correlation between turnout and registration (Wolfinger and Rosenstone, 1980); and, 2) an expectation that legislators would have a greater impact on enrollment than other BEOs (Prestage, 1982).

In addition to the simple regression models proposed in Table 3, another causal model is proposed to analyze the relationships in Model B. Path analysis procedures are used to capture the total (direct and indirect) effects of these socio-political indicators on enrollment levels. The direct effects of the hypothesized relationships are presented in Models A and B and the indirect effects are proposed in another model:

MODEL C:

Legislators = Education + Income + Turnout

Model B is the main model for the analyses in Chapter IV, and Model C provides additional support for the socio-political hypotheses about changes in black enrollment. These theoretical conceptualizations of black enrollment are innovative steps in the higher education research even without the quantitative analyses that follow. These socio-political models provide a new approach to the study of black enrollment in higher

education. The inclusion of political variables opens up enrollment data to new levels of interpretation, and provides new possibilities for explanations of black enrollment in higher education institutions in the U.S.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Conversations with Anne Vaughn at the Office of Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Education, were useful in learning of the lack of enrollment data by race and state prior to the mid-1970s and the data sources since that time. Further information on racial/ethnic trends in enrollment data for the 1960s can be obtained from the Office for Civil Rights, 400 Maryland Avenue, SW, Washington, D.C. 20202.

[2]Conversations with Jack Dusatko, computer consultant for enrollment data at the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) were helpful in learning descriptions of the type and form of the data available from NCES. The cost of printouts and tables from NCES, for the purposes of this study, far exceeded the cost of obtaining the data on computer tapes. I am grateful to Mr. Dusatko for the time and detail he afforded me during our long conversations in April and May of 1991. As a result, three data tapes (NCES, 1976, 1982, and 1988) were ordered by the Polimetrics Laboratory of the Political Science Department at The Ohio State University. The

tapes are available through the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR), P.O. Box 1248, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106 (ICPSR numbers 9528, 8292, and 7650) or from NCES, U.S. Department of Education, 555 New Jersey Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20208.

In addition, Nancy B. Schantz at the Postsecondary Education Statistics Division of NCES provided details on source information and publications available from NCES. As a major author of survey reports for NCES (see Schantz and Brown, 1990), her expertise and knowledge of the enrollment statistics were useful throughout the research for this dissertation. Her time and consideration in returning my many phone calls (June-September, 1991) were valuable resources in organizing this project.

[3]James Ludwig, computer and data program consultant, at the Polimetrics Laboratory of the Political Science Department at The Ohio State University, was a source of inspiration and information throughout the data collection and analyses for this dissertation. With his expertise, the three NCES data tapes were collapsed into case format by state so that the institutional data were aggregated at the state level. These data were transferred into three datasets. Mr. Ludwig also provided data entry programs for compiling the data from the Bureau of the Census and

Joint Center for Political Studies. After I completed the data entry, Mr. Ludwig merged these data with the NCES datasets which could then be manipulated with SPSS-X statistical operations. The many hours Jim Ludwig used restructuring these data for my use were crucial to the feasibility of this project. His consistent belief that the data were useable and a valuable resource to the Polimetrics Data Archive was a major impetus to undertake this research project.

[4]Jerry T. Jennings, data consultant at the Bureau of the Census, provided useful information about obtaining Current Population Survey data. Mr. Jennings explained the content and usefulness of data tapes vs. published reports and made helpful recommendations for the sources and reports which would be applicable to this dissertaion. His assistance and consideration in returning my numerous telephone calls were useful in the early stages of the data collection for the Census variables. For survey information to Census users of summarized tabulations, he can be reached at the Population Division, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. 20233.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIO-POLITICAL EXPLANATIONS OF BLACK ENROLLMENT

Introduction

This chapter presents findings of the data analyses outlined in Chapter III. The interpretations build on prior research and literature about black enrollment in higher education. The main objective is to present a cross-sectional view of relationships between the variables at three time points--1976, 1982, and 1988. The analytical approach employed for the analyses is a quantitative description of the data and an empirical explanation of the statistical relationships between the variables.

The outline of the discussion in this chapter is structured to examine the findings produced from several analytical procedures (bivariate correlations and multivariate regression, including path analysis). The

bivariate coefficients establish the strength of the linear relationship between the dependent variable (Enrollment) and each of the four independent variables (Legislators, Turnout, Education, and Income). This provides the basis for determining confirmation (or disconfirmation) of the hypothesized relationships (proposed in Chapter III). Regression and path analyses are used as empirical tests of the propositions in Models B and C (in Chapter III). The dependent variable (Enrollment) is proposed as a function of four explanatory variables (Legislators, Turnout, Education, and Income). This analysis begins with a brief discussion of some difficulties encountered in the process of analyzing these data.

Uncertainties with the Measurement of Black Representation on Specific Variables

After the actual data collection, several measurement problems inhibited these analyses, which centered around the operationalization of three variables -- Enrollment, black elected officials (BEOs), and black Legislators. These problems are encountered elsewhere in research on the impact of the electoral structure of cities on black representation on city councils and local school boards (Karnig and Welch, 1982; Engstrom and McDonald, 1981; MacManus, 1978; Meier and England, 1984).

The problem stems from how to operationalize black representation and, according to Karnig and Welch, these operationalizations cause serious inconsistencies in the literature (1982:111). The electoral structure of cities (e.g., at-large vs. district elections) and minimum black population criteria (for electing black representatives) complicate the research processs (Karnig and Welch, 1982:101). In these studies, cities with varying population sizes are analyzed using measurement techniques to reflect black representation in proportion (or corresponding) to the black population size of the city (Karnig and Welch, 1982; MacManus, 1978; Engstrom and McDonald, 1981; Meier and England, 1984). One underlying consideration for this is that a minimum percent black population is considered necessary to elect a black representative at any level, state or local (Engstrom and McDonald, 1981:345).

The structure of this measurement problem can be seen in two different measurements used in the studies of black representation on city councils. Most of these investigations use a "ratio" measure to describe "black representational equity" (Karnig and Welch, 1982:101). For example, black percent on city council is divided by black percent in the population:

$$\frac{\text{Percent black on city council}}{\text{Percent black in city population}}$$

This ratio measure has several appealing qualities: it has a value of zero when there are no black representatives, and it is 1.0 when the numerator and denominator are the same. Thus, ratios of less than 1.0 denote underrepresentation, and those greater than 1.0 denote overrepresentation (see Appendix A for ratio measure distributions of these data).

An alternative to the ratio measure is a "deficit" or "subtractive" measure. This measure is described by MacManus (1978:156) as the "equity of minority representation" which can be "operationalized as the differential between the minority proportion of the city's total population and proportion of minority city council members." This is illustrated by the following substraction calculation in which percent black in the population is subtracted from percent black on city council:

Percent black on city council
- <u>Percent black in city population</u>
(deficit value)

For this operationalization, a negative sign indicates underrepresentation of black representatives, a zero

indicates equitable representation, and a positive sign indicates overrepresentation (see Appendix A for deficit measure distributions of these data).

In spite of their "descriptive representational" qualities (Pitkin, 1967:60-91), there are objections to both these measures (ratio and deficit). The ratio measure, according to Engstrom and McDonald (1981:345), scores every case without black representation as zero, no matter what the size of the black population. The deficit measure avoids this particular problem by assigning a negative value to cases with zero representation. It gives a zero value to cases with equal representation on both variables (see subtractive calculation for deficit example). This yields another type of problem, according to Engstrom and McDonald (1981:345). The upper and lower range of each deficit score is limited by the size of the black population percentage. For instance, a 1.0 percent black population state can have a deficit score no lower than -1.0 nor higher than +99.0; and a 25 percent black population state can have a low deficit score of -25 but no higher than +75.

As a result of the constraints imposed by population size, Engstrom and McDonald claim the deficit measure "will produce quantitative equivalencies in cases that many analysts may feel to be qualitatively quite

different" (1981:345). The ratio measure assigns zero to cases that are also empirically dissimilar. That is, both the 1.0 and 25 percent black population states with no black legislators would receive a ratio score of zero. In reference to the deficit measures, a state with 1.0 percent black population and zero black elected officials would have a deficit score of -1.0, and a state with 25 percent black population and 24 percent black elected officials would also have a deficit score of -1.0. However, for the purposes of this study, the "qualitatively" different environments which may prohibit equal access and political participation, e.g., disenfranchisement techniques such as district gerrymandering and state registration laws (L. Williams, 1987:102), are not the focus. The goal is to make comparisons of general conditions across states on these variables. Thus, states may be proportional equivalents, in spite of their diversities (political and demographic), and not distort the findings. The questions that these two measurements generate distract from the general objectives of this study, to provide a political explanation for black enrollment. The next question, then, is which set of measurement problems is tolerable?

The deficit measure was chosen as the best measurement of three of the seven variables listed in

Table 2 (Chapter III)--Enrollment, Legislators, and BEOs). This decision was made in order to depict the differential qualities of these variables in relationship to the size of the black population in each state. However, high correlations between Enrollment and each of the other two variables (Legislators and BEOs), although desirable, made these findings suspect. (See Appendix B for correlation matrices and comparisons of all seven variables with deficit and ratio measures.)

The subsequent decision was to use the ratio measure to operationalize the three variables. The original aim was to analyze the data and represent the results from both measurements (see Appendix B for correlation results). Indeed, Karnig and Welch (1982) use this approach in their study and compare the findings from both deficit and ratio measurements for black representation on city councils.

After examining the findings from both measures for this study, the potentially inflated results from the deficit measure and extremely different ratio-measure results suggested another concern -- size of the black population in each state. This is similar to the problem of minimum black population needed to elect a black representative in the city council studies (Engstrom and McDonald, 1981; MacManus, 1978; Karnig and Welch, 1982).

Perhaps, states with very low black population percentages distorted these results. To circumvent this problem a control for size of the black population was applied to the variables for both measurment operations. The threshold percentage was set at one (1.0) percent, that is, a state required at least 1.0 percent black population to be included in the analyses. There are no clear guidelines on making the determination for the minimum level black population needed but, according to Engstrom and McDonald (1981:345), "most have adopted a fixed percentage, requiring the black population to be at least 5, 10, or 15 percent of the total population," in cities. Although not applied in their study, Karnig and Welch recommend a population control to resolve some of the measurement concerns in the black representation on city council studies (1982:113).

With the application of the population control using deficit measures, 12 states were dropped from the analyses in 1976 (N=38), and nine states were dropped in 1982 (N=41) and 1988 (N=41). Using the ratio measures and the population control, 13 states dropped from the analyses in 1976 (N=37), 12 dropped in 1982 (N=38), and 10 dropped in 1988 (N=40). After using these two measurements and controlling for population, the original deficit measure (without the population control) was chosen as the best

operationalization of these data. The robustness of the results through various statistical manipulations (with the population control) confirmed this decision (see Appendices B and C for bivariate and multivariate results using both measures and control operations). Correlations using ratio measures produced, in most cases, extremely different r values than the deficit variables did. Although this may not be sufficient reason to reject the ratio measurement, when population controls were used the deficit values remained comparatively consistent across time with the original (no control) deficit values. The ratio values with the population control, however, were quite inconsistent (and somewhat uninterpretable) when compared to their original (no control) ratio values. The ratio measures displayed more sensitivity (or distortion) when exposed to additional tests (population controls). The stability of the deficit measures outweighed their weaknesses. These complexities with the ratio measures decided their rejection.

As indicated in other research on black representation (Karnig and Welch, 1982; Engstrom and McDonald, 1981), definitive results may not be attainable for one measurement over the other. With this recognition, heavy reliance has been placed on the control procedure as the decisive factor for which measurement to

use in this study. Thus, the interpretations and findings presented in this chapter are based on deficit measures (but results from ratio measures and control operations are found in Appendices B and C). Although these analyses focus on across-state interpretations, data for each state can be easily extrapolated from the frequency tables (in Appendix A) for specific state-by-state analyses.

Other problem areas with these data relate to possible spurious or reciprocal relationships between the variables. In spuriousness, a relationship between two variables may be explained by another variable. As a result, the analyses become ambiguous because questions arise about what is influencing (or is influenced by) what in the coefficient estimates. One strong candidate for spuriousness in this study could be the size of the black population in each state. A separate independent variable for population is not used in the analyses but each variable is calculated to account for population size. Table 2 in Chapter III illustrates this computation with discussion of the operationalization of the variables.

The notion of reciprocal relationships between variables is related to whether the independent variables are antecedent to the dependent variable. For this analysis, the assumption is that the dependent variable is a function of the independent variables and, thus, the

independent variables (temporally) preceed the dependent variable. While relationships between the variables are inferred as conditions of causation, the actual argument is these are sufficient conditions for the independent variables to account for or explain variations in the dependent variable. The major assertion is that the political variables, in addition to the socio-economic indicators, help explain changes in the enrollment variable.

A few other limitations in these data analyses relate to assumptions of linear regression (Schroeder, Sjoquist, Stephan, 1986:66), which require the correct specification of the models, accurate measurement of the variables, non-autocorrelation, random sampling, and homeoskedastic error terms. Although these problems limit and confound regression analysis, precautions in the data collection, variable specifications, and methodology were employed to avoid violations of the least squares assumptions. The inferences that can logically be made from these data results are only intended to apply to the population of these data and, thus, are not generalizable to other minority populations or theoretical models. For instance, their relevancy does not extend to other minorities, such as Japanese- or Mexican-Americans.

One final note: this research began with six independent variables but two (Registration and BEOs) were dropped from the final analyses. Further explanations for this decision are found in the following discussions of the bivariate and multivariate relationships. As illustrated in the correlation matrices (see Appendix B) for each year using the deficit measures, the major reason for excluding the two variables is based on the high intercorrelation between several sets of independent variables (Registration and Turnout, and BEOs and Legislators). Even though all six independent variables may be "causally" important to an explanation of black college enrollment, the results could be highly confounded or biased with collinearity (or multicollinearity) problems if they were all retained in the regression analyses.

Bivariate Explanations of Black Enrollment

The first step in the analysis is to examine the bivariate relationships between the independent and dependent variables. The figures in Table 4 show the correlation coefficients (Pearson r) between each independent variable and Enrollment. The columns in the table represent the three data years (1976, 1982, and

1988). These relationships show support for acknowledging the previous findings in the higher education research for socio-economic influences on black college enrollment. In addition, it can be argued that there are other (political) factors influencing black college enrollment levels in the U.S., which these prior studies have overlooked. These arguments are further illustrated by examining the coefficients in Table 4. The following general guidelines are used for interpreting the strength of the correlation coefficients: $r = .01$ to $.30$ indicates a "weak" relationship; $r = .31$ to $.70$ indicates a "moderate" relationship; and $r = .71$ to $.99$ indicates a "strong" relationship.

TABLE 4

CORRELATIONS OF ENROLLMENT
WITH INDEPENDENT VARIABLES, 1976-1988

Variables	1976	1982	1988
Legislators	.59**	.76**	.79**
Turnout	.14	.42**	.04
Education	.34*	.53**	.52**
Income	.35*	.25	.18

Notes.

* $p < .05$, one-tailed.
** $p < .005$, one-tailed.

Black Legislative Representation

Looking at the coefficients in Table 4, each relationship supports the hypothesis for the independent variable, in at least one of the study years. In all three years, the correlations for black Legislators range from moderate to strong -- increasing from .59 in 1976, to .76 in 1982, and .79 in 1988. These results are also similar to the correlations for BEOs, .63, .76, and .85, respectively (see Appendix B for correlation matrices with deficit measures). The indication from these coefficients

is that black representation (Legislators and BEOs) does impact directly on the enrollment process of black students in college. The ways this may occur, however, could vary widely from state to state.

Support for the relationship between Legislators (and BEOs) and Enrollment, is found in the link that has been illustrated between black legislators and legislative "activity" (Pitkin, 1967:209). A deficiency in the black representation literature, according to Meier and England (1984:393), is the lack of research on the impact (or action) of black representatives, and the prevalence of research on descriptive representation (characteristics of individuals or the policymaking bodies). The argument is that studies of black representatives have focused on a "passive" definition of black representatives rather than an "active" role (see Karnig, 1976; Robinson and Dye, 1978; Eisenger, 1982; Hutchins and Sigelman, 1981). The findings in this study show that passive (or descriptive) definitions of black legislators can be directly linked to active participation, in terms of actual sociopolitical outcomes, e.g., college enrollment. This claim is based on the correlation between the proportional descriptor of black legislators (the deficit figure) and the impact (or action) which resulted from "legislative activity" to enhance black enrollment.

Black Voter Turnout

Although the correlation between black Legislators and Enrollment confirms the hypothesis for black legislative representation in all three study years, the black voter Turnout variable has the strongest (moderate) support in 1982. Table 4 illustrates this by weak coefficients in 1976 (.14) and 1988 (.04), and a moderate correlation in 1982 (.42). The correlation between Turnout and Legislators in 1982 may help explain these findings (see Appendix B, correlation matrix for deficit measures, 1982). The correlations for these two independent variables are minimal in 1976 (.09) and 1988 (.08) but it increases to .48 in 1982. This suggests several things. The influence of black voter turnout may be more meaningful in an off-year election, when voting may be more "costly" (Erikson, 1981:275). That is, with the high stimulus (from the media) to register in a presidential election, voting is highly predictable (Erikson, 1981:274). Erikson (1981:273-4) argues that voting appears to have other (state or local) "costs and benefits" in non-presidential election years. Thus, turnout becomes even more indicative of state and local interests in the off-year election and, perhaps, of political sophistication (Erikson, 1981:266) or "maturation" (Ardrey and Nelson, 1990) as well. The 1982

correlation, between Turnout and Enrollment, is supportive of the claim that high black voter turnout at the polls does produce higher levels of black enrollment in higher education institutions.

These analyses were also conducted using a variable for black voter Registration (see Appendix B). Not surprisingly, the correlations between black Enrollment and voter Registration are somewhat similar to those for Turnout and Enrollment. In 1976 the coefficient is .04, in 1982 it is .24, and in 1988 it drops to -.17. Although the values are generally lower than those for Turnout, similarities between the estimates conform to research expectations on turnout and registration (Rosenstone and Wolfinger, 1976; Erikson, 1981). The decision to use only one of the voter variables in these analyses, stems from the strong correlations found between the two variables (Turnout and Registration) for each year: .97 in 1976, .77 in 1982, and .94 in 1988 (see correlation matrices for deficit measures, Appendix B).

To corroborate these findings, Madison (1983) and Walton (1985) indicate that the strength of black voter turnout is underinterpreted. That is, the implications of black voter turnout in state and local elections are underestimated. Madison (1983:30) notes that in 1980 black voter turnout had increased 18 percent, while in

1982 it rose by 5.8 percent from the previous off-year election. In addition, Walton reports (1985:114) that, in 1982, state and congressional elections had higher turnout rates than previously reported, i.e., during presidential election years. The application for these studies here is in understanding the differential in the correlation coefficients for the Turnout variable from 1976 to 1988. The relationship between Turnout and Enrollment may be indirectly influenced by the relationship between Turnout and Legislators (in 1982). That is, the Turnout variable affects (or is represented in) Legislators which in turn affects (or is represented in) Enrollment. Furthermore, this may suggest that the strength and inferences of black political participation are not fully accounted for by these relationships separately (Henderson, 1987).

Socio-Economic Influences

Socio-economic influences on black Enrollment are also presented in Table 4 with the correlations from two SES (socio-economic status) indicators: Education (black high school graduation rates) and black family Income levels. Both variables--Education and Income--show weak to moderate relationships with black Enrollment across the three years.

Looking at the coefficients for Education, the strongest correlations are found in 1982 (.53) and 1988

(.52). Although moderate, these relatiionships are somewhat higher than those found in 1976 (.34). However, all three years are sufficient confirmation for the education hypothesis that black high school graduation rates affect black enrollment levels in college. Furthermore, these findings confirm previous higher education research which relies heavily on SES indicators to explain black enrollment levels (Blackwell, 1985; Morris, 1979; Brazziel and Brazziel, 1980; R. Wilson, 1982).

Comparing the correlations for Enrollment and Education with those of Enrollment and Legislators in Table 4, it can be seen that the effects of legislative representation on enrollment levels outweigh those of education factors each year. This suggests that, perhaps, the reliance on only SES indicators in the analyses of black college enrollment inflates the importance of the (SES) variables. The introduction of the political variables to this area of research opens up the discussion to other processes which may affect black college enrollment levels.

The results for the Income variable in Table 4 show the correlation coefficients weakened progressively, from .35 in 1976, to .25 in 1982, and .18 in 1988. These relationships offer moderate to weak support for the

hypothesis that higher black family income levels produce higher black college enrollment levels. The weakening strength of the relationship across time suggests that income is not a prominent factor influencing (or hindering) college aspirations for black students. This may be indicative of increased efforts by universities and states to attract black (and minority) students through comprehensive financial aid packages or other financial incentives (Upton and Pruitt, 1985).

The declining importance of income in this study (from 1976 to 1988) suggests other economic factors may play a stronger role than income levels in college enrollment. Blackwell (1991:257) notes that the majority of black college students come from low income families. This would explain the weak influence of Income on Enrollment in 1988 (.18). The gap between white and black family income levels had increased progressively from $5,968 in 1976, to $11,314 in 1982, and $13,914 in 1988 (see Bureau of the Census, 1991). Blackwell (1987:52) uses financial aid, instead of an income variable, as an indicator of black graduate and professional enrollment. He finds moderate increases in the correlations between financial aid and enrollment ($r = .21$ in 1971, .33 in 1975, and .37 in 1979). From his results, an inclining importance of financial aid argument (from 1971 to 1979)

could be made in response to the suggestion that economics is insignificant in black college enrollment.

A Multivariate Explanation of Black Enrollment

Next the analyses include a test of the relationships between the independent and dependent variables with multiple regression analysis. After numerous operations (using the two omitted variables and both measurement options), a regression model was chosen that includes four independent variables (Turnout, Legislators, Education, and Income) and one dependent variable (Enrollment). By putting all the variables in one model, they are analyzed for their joint predictive joint power, i.e, their ability to explain enrollment changes. Different aspects of the black community in each state are represented by the four independent variables, in order to include diverse elements which may affect the presence of black students on college campuses.

The formal specification of these relationships (conceptualized by Model B in Chapter III) are represented in the following formula:

$$E = b_0 + b_1L + b_2T + b_3H + b_4I + e \qquad (1)$$

Enrollment (E) in this equation is the dependent variable and is depicted as a function of the independent variables. Thus, on the one hand, this is a causal model, whereby the independent (or exogenous) variables predict or "cause" the dependent (or endogenous) variable. On the other hand, it is a statement of a functional relationship which describes how one (dependent) variable is explained by or is a function of the other (independent) variables. The model is proposed as a test of the feasibility of these relationships. In equation (1), E represents black Enrollment; L, black state Legislators; T, black voter Turnout; H, black high school graduation rates (Education); I, black family Income; and b_0 and e represent the intercept and error terms, respectively.

In order to analyze the explanatory power of the model (1), the results of multiple regression analyses are presented in Table 5. The beta weights, multiple R, and adjusted R^2 coefficients are shown by year for each variable in the model.[1] For these analyses, all variables are entered into the calculations and compete with each other in terms of their ability to explain the variance in the dependent variable. (See Appendix C for regression estimates of all variables with deficit and ratio measures, with and without population controls.)

TABLE 5

STANDARDIZED REGRESSION ESTIMATES
FOR ENROLLMENT MODEL, 1976-1988

Variables	1976	1982	1988
Legislators	.53	.77	.78
Turnout	.10	.05	-.02
Education	.04	.02	.11
Income	.05	-.10	-.15
Multiple R	.60	.77	.81
Adjusted R^2	.30	.56	.62
N=50			
F-ratio	6.21	16.51	20.85

The results in Table 5 show that change in the dependent variable is explained primarily by the Legislators variable in all three years. In 1976, black Legislators account for a moderate portion of the variance in Enrollment (beta = .53), but in 1982 and 1988 those values increase to suggest even stronger explanatory power (.77 in 1982, and .78 in 1988). Using this enrollment model with the population control (and deficit measures) the results are similar (see Appendix C). With the population control, the regression estimates for Legislators do not vary by more than .03 for the three

years (.53, .75, and .75, respectively). The statement here is that one variable accounts for most of the explained variance in the dependent variable, since the remaining three variables show minimal coefficient estimates. The hypothesis for using Legislators in this model is confirmed for all three years. The hypothesis for the enrollment model (1) is also confirmed, but with the force of only one political variable.

The results for black voter Turnout and its influence on variations in black Enrollment levels are dismal. Looking at Table 5, it can be seen that the beta coefficients decrease from a weak .10 in 1976, to an even weaker value (.05) in 1982 and, finally, to a negative value (-.02) in 1988. Similar results occurred when the population control was applied (see Appendix C). The regression estimates for Turnout decreased from .11, to .08, and .05 in the three years, respectively. The encouraging results in Table 4 from the Turnout correlation in 1982 (.42) did not develop into significant contributions in the multivariate relationships between the variables. Thus, the hypothesis that voting behavior as expressed at the polls influences black presence on college campuses cannot be supported with this model. One problem in the results for the Turnout variable may be related to the indirect effects reflected by Turnout

through the election of black Legislators. Black voter activity may already be represented, indirectly, through the election of black legislators.

Electoral turnout may not represent the appropriate measurement for black political influence on decision making in higher education. One argument from other research is that political participation in the black community is best reflected in broader measures of "sociopolitical involvement" (Bobo and Gilliam, 1990:380; Verba and Nie, 1972), e.g., campaigning, communal activity, and organizational membership. Examination of these data with other socio-political indicators may provide further insight into the full array of political factors influencing Enrollment.

The socio-economic variables (Education and Income), do not perform any better than Turnout in terms of explaining variation in Enrollment, as illustrated in Table 5. The beta estimates for the Education variable, in fact, show minimal change from 1976 (.04) to 1982 (.02) and 1988 (.11). Similar values are produced by the Income variable which decrease progressively from .05 in 1976 to negative signs in 1982 (-.10) and 1988 (-.15). These latter two coefficients suggest that Income actually has a inverse impact on Enrollment than what the model proposes, i.e., as one increases the other decreases. These

findings are particularly interesting because of the prevalence of socio-economic indicators throughout the higher education literature as determinants (or known descriptors) of black college attendance. The Education and Income estimates reflect similar patterns of change across the three years when population controls are applied (see Appendix C). Additional research is needed to explore other combinations of socio-political indicators which may impact Enrollment levels.

The results from the enrollment model (1) give strong support for the Legislators variable and suggest that black legislative representation outweighs black voter strength and socio-economic factors in accounting for fluctuations in black enrollment levels in higher education. Theoretically, this is not surprising. Legislators' influence has been found to have varying effects on higher education policies in several states (see Oklahoma, 1985; Green, 1982; Pruitt, 1983). The black political caucus in Oklahoma, for instance, initiated efforts that led to state congressional hearings on black student enrollment in higher education. These efforts resulted in policy initiatives to increase black enrollment levels. Similar legislative action occurred in New York and Florida, suggesting legislative representation is an optimal variable for the study of

black enrollment in higher education (Pruitt, 1983; Prestage, 1982). However, these examples may only apply to specific cases and not across states.

As Table 5 indicates, the adjusted R^2 values increase each year from a weak value of .30 in 1976, to a moderate .56 in 1982, and to an even stronger moderate value of .62 in 1988. In other words, by using this model these variables explain 30 percent of the variation in the dependent variable in 1976, 56 percent in 1982, and 62 percent in 1988. The enrollment proposition in equation (1) is supported as an explanation of changes in the Enrollment variable in varying degrees across time. Looking at the model as a whole, three variables contribute minimally to the explanatory power (R^2), none exceed a .11 beta coefficient estimate. In all three years, the model relies on one variable to explain the variance in Enrollment, weakening its use as an optimal predictor model of Enrollment. Tests with other political or socio-economic variables may disclose additional interactions which discount the logical SES explanations of black college enrollment.

As a test of the significance of the multiple R coefficients in Table 5, Fisher's F-distributions are used, where F is the ratio of variance explained (R^2) to the unexplained variance. The difference between the two

variance estimates provides a statistical test (or an analysis of the variance) of the probability of the relationship between these variables within this sample population occuring by chance. Using critial values of F (Elifson, Runyon, and Haber, 1982:481) and degrees of freedom (4/45), a value of 2.58 is required for significance at the .05 level, and 3.78 for the .01 level. Since the computed F value for each year in Table 5 is much larger (F = 6.21 in 1976, 16.51 in 1982, and 20.85 in 1988), the conclusion is made that the multiple correlation (R) for the enrollment model (1) is significant at the .01 level in each of these three years.

The strength exhibited by the Legislators variable to explain Enrollment is exciting but, it cannot be concluded from this that political variables are the most important variables. However, it can be stated that in combination with the other independent variables, the contribution of the Legislators variable to the explained variance in Enrollment is larger than that of the others. The weakness of the other three variables, in the presence of Legislators, is noteworthy. Although the (R^2) findings are empirically supportive of this model, confirmation of the enrollment model (1) hypothesis is made with caution. The most significant conclusion from Table 5 is, the

traditional socio-economic arguments about black college enrollment have been sufficiently challenged.

Using these data, the ratio measurement produced highly erratic (and conflicting) beta coefficients with contradictory linear relationships, i.e., negative signs, with and without population controls (see Appendix C). Using the enrollment model (1) with these four independent variables and ratio measures, the total explanatory power (R^2) did not exceed .20 with or without population controls in any year. It was also found that by adding the two additional political variables (black voter Registration and BEOs) to the enrollment model[2] contradictory results were produced between Registration and Turnout, and BEOs and Legislators, using both measurements (deficit and ratio) and population controls (see Appendix C). This suggested some type of disturbance or violation of assumptions, e.g., multicollinearity could be affecting the results. This further confirmed the decision to drop two political variables (Registration and BEOs) from the model, leaving the four independent variables in model (1).

Building a Structural Model for Estimating Enrollment

The socio-political model proposed in this study for estimating enrollment has involved a single equation for

the regression analyses. The formal equation (1) presents one dependent variable and four independent or explanatory variables. The interpretation used for this model in each of the three study years is that the standardized regression coefficients (betas) estimate the _direct_ effects of each independent variable with the values for the other variables held constant (see Table 5). According to Hanushek and Jackson (1977) this approach systematically matches the methodology of a study with the statistical analysis. The problem in doing this is that the theory (or model) and reality may be quite different.

Simple regression models do not allow for complications. For example, it is likely that changes in one independent variable result in changes in another independent variable _and_ the dependent variable. This argument occurs in this study for the Turnout variable. It is argued (in the previous section) that Turnout impacts Enrollment indirectly through the election of Legislators. This is suggested by the moderate correlation coefficient value between Turnout and Legislators (.48) in 1982 (see Appendix B). The claim here is that to understand the _total_ effects on Enrollment the _direct_ effects (from the independent variables) and the _indirect_ effects (from the changes brought about by the independent variables on each other) should be

incorporated into the analyses. The indirect effects of the independent variables may reinforce (or diminish) the direct effects proposed in the simple regression model. Thus, a more complex model may be needed to represent and estimate the direct and indirect effects produced by the independent variables.

For a final analysis of these data, a multiequation (or structural) model is proposed to analyze the underlying relationships between the exogenous (independent) variables of the original regression equation (1). One additional equation is presented to conceptualize the purpose behind a structural model for estimating Enrollment changes. This equation uses the exogenous variables in equation (1):

$$L = b_0 + b_1T + b_2H + b_3I = e \qquad (3)$$

The explanation for this equation is that L (Legislators) is a function of (or is explained by) T (Turnout), H (Education), and I (Income), with b_0 and e representing the intercept and error terms, respectively. In order to visualize the relationships hypothesized from these two equations (1 and 3), the diagram in Figure 2 illustrates them in a simple causal model. This model is analyzed with path analysis procedures to estimate changes in the

endogenous variable (Enrollment) for each of the three study years.

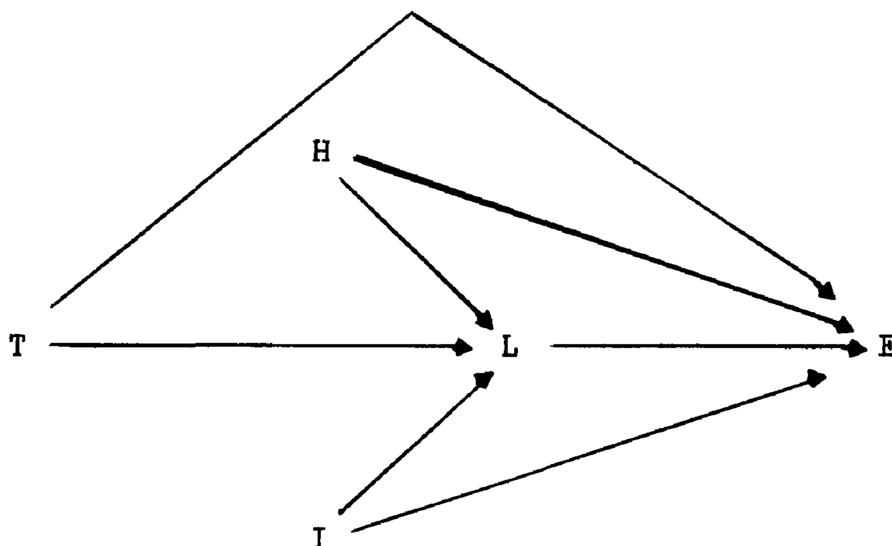


Figure 2. Simple Causal Model for Path Analysis of Enrollment.

In Figure 2, the original enrollment model (1) is depicted by the arrows (or paths) between points LE (Legislators and Enrollment), TE (Turnout and Enrollment), HE (Education and Enrollment), and IE (Income and Enrollment). The equation (3) for explaining (or predicting) Legislators is illustrated by the paths between points TL (Turnout and Legislators), HL (Education and Legislators), and IL (Income and Legislators). Since the purpose of this causal model is to provide further

clarification of the regression model for Enrollment, references to the variables in the following discussion use the prior letter specifications. The interpretations from the path analysis procedure are based on the beta coefficient estimates for the two equations (1 and 3) in each of the three study years.

TABLE 6

STANDARDIZED REGRESSION ESTIMATES
FOR LEGISLATORS MODEL, 1976-1988

Variable	1976	1982	1988
Turnout	.24	.23	.04
Education	.50	.51	.53
Income	.31	.17	.17
Adjusted R^2	.44	.51	.34
N = 50			

Table 6 shows the standardized regression coefficients for the Legislators model proposed in equation (3). These coefficients show the highest values occur between Education and Legislators, with moderate relationships in all three years (.50 in 1976, .51 in 1982, and .53 in 1988). Income has a weak moderate relationship in 1976 (.31), and weaker relationships in 1982 (.17) and 1988 (.17). For Turnout, the relationships

are weak in all three years (.24 in 1976, .23 in 1982, and .04 in 1988). The latter estimates are somewhat different than expected, based on the bivariate correlation results for these two variables for the same years (.09, .48, and .08, respectively). The beta values for 1976 and 1982 are similar suggesting more black state sentators and representatives may have been running for election in those years than ran in 1988. However, there are stronger speculations that can be made about these relationships based on the following path analyses.

The next step in this discussion is to use the beta values in Tables 5 and 6 as the path coefficients in the following path analysis procedures. These values are used to estimate the direct and indirect effects for the combined total effects of these four independent variables (L, T, H, and I) on the dependent variable (E).

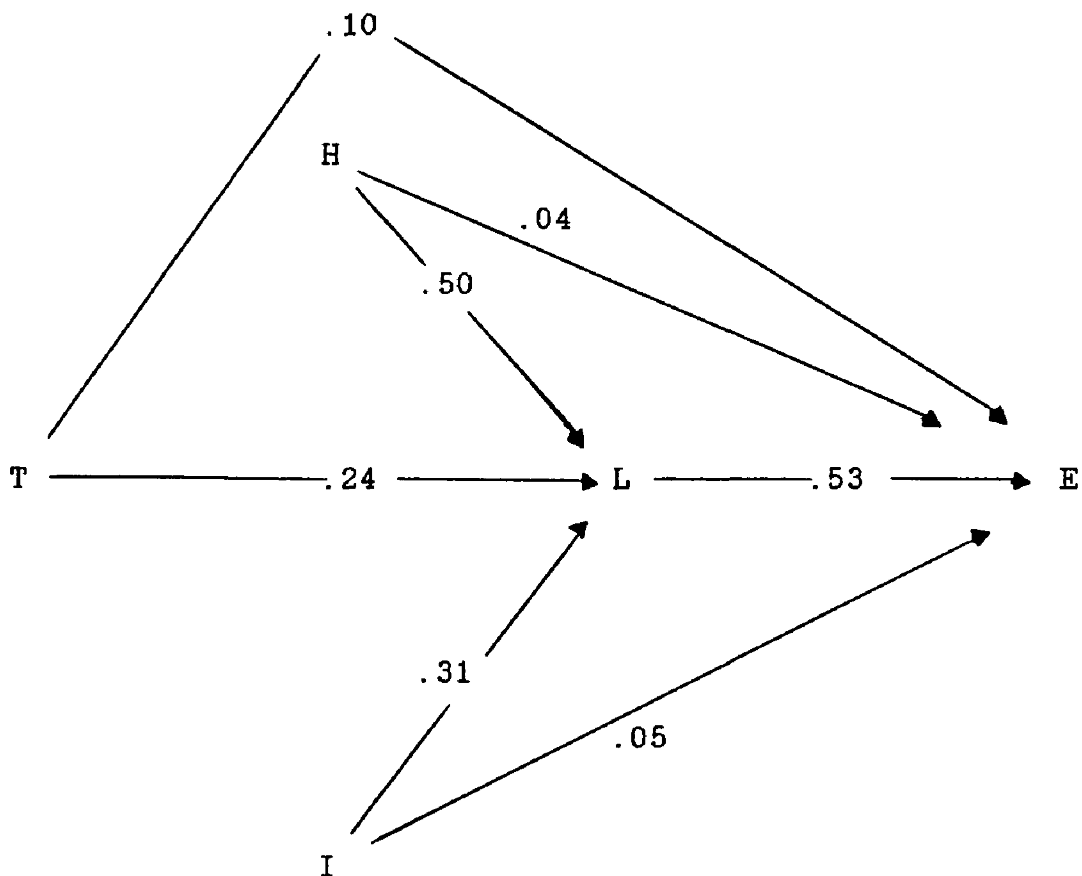


Figure 3. Simple Causal Model of Enrollment, 1976.

The model depicted in Figure 3 shows the relationships between the variables in the two equations (1 and 3) for 1976. The path coefficients are shown for the direct relationships of the four independent variables with Enrollment, and the indirect relationships of three

independent variables with Legislators. The estimates in this model using path analysis procedures imply that Turnout has a direct effect of .10 (TE) on Enrollment and an indirect effect of .13 (TL x LE) for a total effect of .23. Thus, this estimate suggests that even though the original regression estimate (TE) is a minimal value (.10), the hypothesis is confirmed for using Turnout (.23 estimate) as an explanatory variable of Enrollment when a path analysis is used.

The path coefficients in Figure 3 for Education and Income provide similar support for an Enrollment model using these four independent variables. The direct effect of Education on Enrollment is .04 (HE), and the indirect effect is .27 (HL x LE), with a total effect of .31. The direct effect of Income on Enrollment is .05 (IE), and the indirect effect is .16 (IL x LE), but the total effect is .21.

These estimates reinforce the hypothesis for the four independent variables in the causal model of Enrollment in 1976. The direct effects of Legislators on enrollment are produced by the direct effects of Education Turnout and Income on Legislators. The combined (direct and indirect) effects of these variables on Enrollment confirm the hypothesis for a socio-political explanation of Enrollment. Furthermore, the argument is reinforced

that political indicators play a key role in an analysis of black enrollment, and provide a more complete understanding of changes in black enrollment levels in higher education institutions.

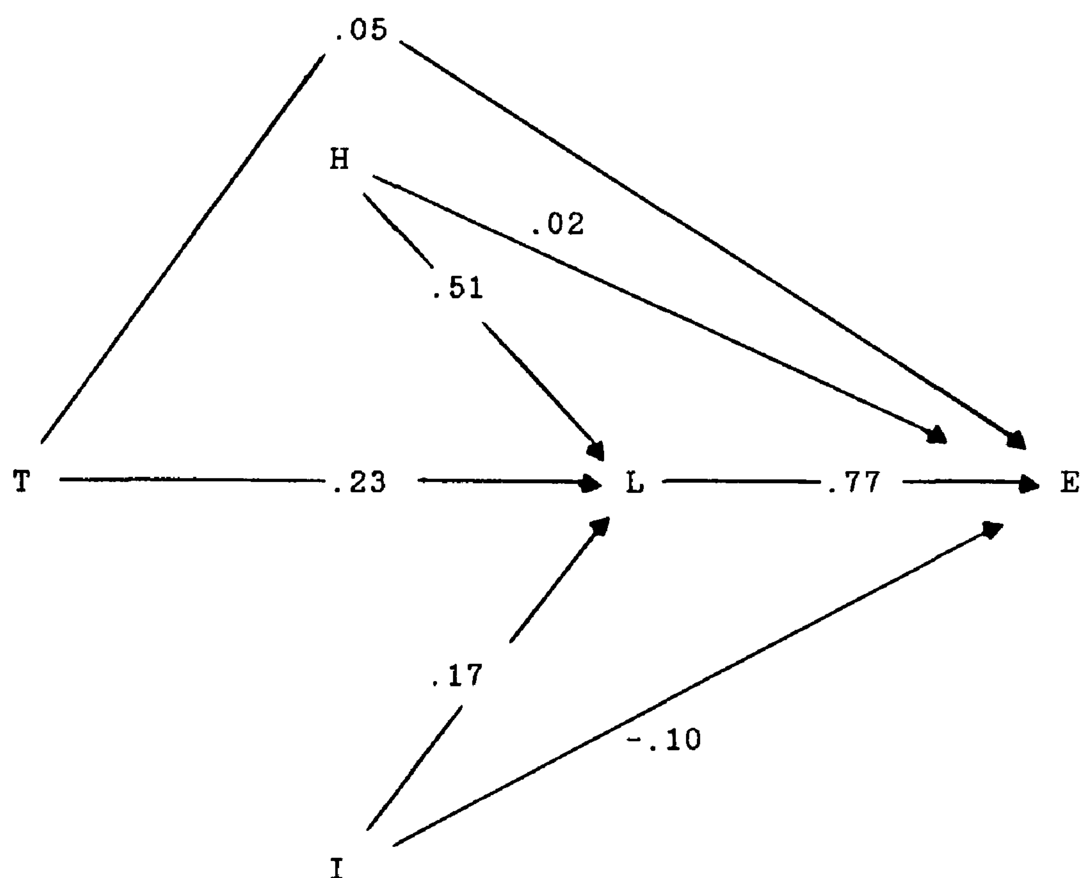


Figure 4. Simple Causal Model of Enrollment, 1982.

The model shown in Figure 4 illustrates the path coefficients for 1982 produced from the regression estimates of the Enrollment and Legislators models (1 and 3). The path analysis for this model indicates that Turnout has a direct effect of .05 TE) on Enrollment and an indirect effect of .18 (TL x LE), for a total effect of .23 of Turnout on Enrollment. This shows that the combined beta estimates in the causal model confirm the hypothsis for Turnout as a predictor variable of Enrollment. The prior arguments about the indirect effects of Turnout on Legislators in 1982 are reinforced with a path analysis of the Enrollment model. Turnout does impact Legislators indirectly. The original .05 estimate of the Turnout-Enrollment relationship is enhanced to .23 with the path analysis procedure.

The results from the path analysis for Education and Income differ slightly from the findings for 1976. That is, the direct effect of Education on Enrollment is .02 (HE) and the indirect effect is .39 (HL x LE), so the total effect of Education on Enrollment is .41. This makes the combined effects (.41) of Education on Enrollment a much stronger argument than the direct effects (.02). This value is even higher than the 1976 estimate for total effects of Education on Enrollment (.31). These findings further highlight the importance of

the Legislators variable in the model. The Education-Enrollment estimate is enhanced through the Education-Legislators relationship.

For the relationship between Income and Enrollment in 1982, Figure 4 indicates that the direct effect of Income on Enrollment is -.10 (IE) the indirect effect is .13 (IL x LE), and the total effect is .03. Even though the estimated relationship is minimal, using path analysis moves the estimate of the relationship from a negative figure (-.10) to a positive one (.03). The hypothesized direction of the relationship is minimally supported.

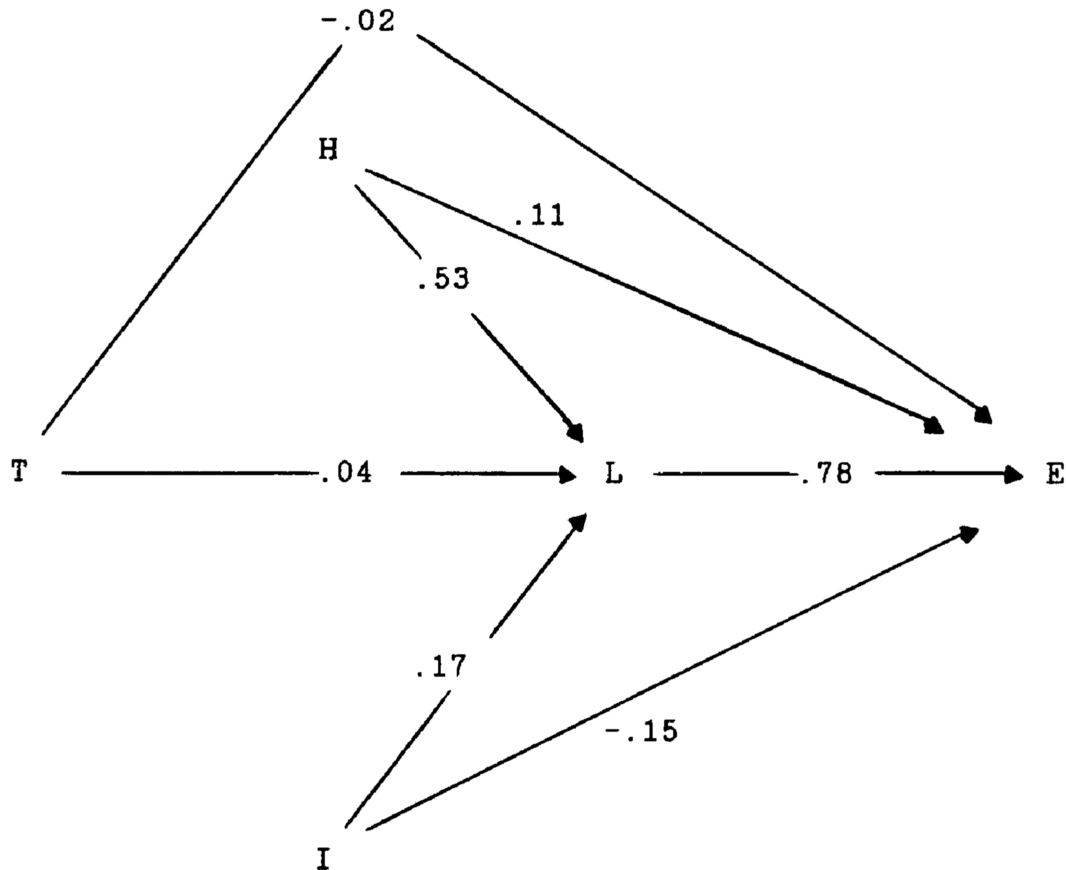


Figure 5. Simple Causal Model of Enrollment, 1988.

The path coefficients for 1988 are presented in Figure 5. The path analysis procedures for this model produce slightly different results than were produced for the other two causal models. The estimates here imply that Turnout has a direct effect of -.02 (TE) on

Enrollment, and indirect effect of .03 (TL x LE), for a total effect of .01. This estimate is somewhat lower than the values for 1976 (.23) and 1982 (.23) which might suggest that less elections for black state legislators occurred in 1988 (a presidential election year). On the other hand, fewer black voters may have been motivated to vote for black candidates if they did run in 1988. There are numerous speculations about the "causes" or additional effects not accounted for in the causal model of Enrollment. Finally, any model can only reveal whether the data and the hypotheses are consistent. It cannot "prove" the causes of the phenomenon.

The path coefficients in Figure 5 for Education and Income show similar patterns to those in 1982, when path analysis procedures are employed. The direct effect of Education on Enrollment is shown to be .11 (HE), the indirect effect is .41 (HL x LE), which provide a combined total effect of .52. This estimate is higher than those for 1976 (.31) and 1982 (.41). The total impact of Education on Enrollment is seen to be much stronger than is implied by the original Enrollment model in Table 5.

In Figure 5, the direct effect of Income on Enrollment is -.15 (IE), and the indirect effect is .13 (IL x LE), for a total effect of -.02. These results show that the combined path estimates for Income remain a

negative value in 1988 (the inverse of the hypothesized direction of the relationship). However, the direct effects of -.15 diminished when combined with the indirect effects, -.02.

The proposals of these three structural models of Enrollment provide reinforcement and further clarification of the simple regression model used to explain Enrollment. The causal models in Figures 3-5 illustrate the socio-policical processes underlying the changes that are hypothesized about the relationships between the variables. The model in each year confirms the hypothesis for the Enrollment model when path analysis is applied. The center point of the model is that the Legislators variable serves as a conduit for the other three independent variables (Turnout, Education, and Income) to explain changes in Enrollment.

In Support of the Political Variables

The findings from these data substantiate the proposition that political factors make a difference in the enhancement of black enrollment in higher education. The four hypotheses for the independent variables (as indicators of increases in black college enrollment levels) are supported with the results from the bivariate relationships between the variables. The proposition for the formal model (1) as a predictor of Enrollment is also

confirmed, with recognition that one variable accounts for most of the variance in the dependent variable.

The correlations between the independent and dependent variables report that the strongest relationships occur with the legislative representation variable (Legislators) for all three of the study years. The voter variable (Turnout) shows moderate correlation in 1982 and weak relationships in 1976 and 1988. The socio-economic variables (Education and Income) reveal weak to moderate relationships across the three years. The impact of the political variables substantiates claims that black political participation (on various levels) is an influential factor in the arena of black enrollment in higher education.

The regression analyses indicate that more explanatory power is visible from black legislative representation (Legislators) than black voter participation (Turnout) in all three years. The socio-economic explanations for Enrollment fluctuations are canceled or (at least) overshadowed when specific political variables are included in the model. This further suggests that the socio-economic arguments, by themselves, are inadequate in explaining changes in black college enrollment levels. Political indicators are major contenders in the analysis.

TABLE 7

PATH ANALYSIS ESTIMATES
FOR CAUSAL MODEL, 1976-1988

Variable	1976	1982	1988
Turnout	.23	.23	.01
Education	.31	.41	.52
Income	.21	.03	-.02

The path analysis of a simple causal model for Enrollment and the four independent variables confirms the results from the regression analyses. The argument, in fact, that this model may be an optimal predictor model for Enrollment is strengthened by these findings. Using the estimates in Tables 5-7 (of the total estimates of direct and indirect effects on Enrollment), further suggest that these socio-economic variables provide more than minimal explanations of changes in Enrollment, when changes in Legislators are considered. In 1976, all four independent variables (Legislators, Turnout, Education, and Income) confirm the hypothesis for the Enrollment model. In 1982, three variables (Legislators, Turnout, and Education) confirm the hypothesis. Finally, in 1988

two variables (Legislators and Education) reinforce the hypothesis. Thus, the argument can be supported that political indicators, in addition to other (socio-economic) factors, influence black enrollment levels. Furthermore, the Legislators variable is essential to this explanation. These findings provide strong support for the strategic and "active" role of black state legislators (and other black elected officials) in sustaining benefits for the black community. Although inconclusive, these findings contribute to an interdisciplinary dialogue offered from the multifaceted perspective of a political analysis of black enrollment in higher education.

FOOTNOTES

[1]In addition, the partial b (or slope) coefficients for each variable were compared across the three years to check for extreme or unreliable changes. Although the slope does not tell the relative importance of the variables in predicting the dependent variable, it does report something about the nature of the relationship between each independent variable and the dependent variable. The b coefficients are not reported in this study because the strength of the relationships between the variables is the primary focus and not specific mathematical associations (or unit changes) between the variables. By looking at the slope values, the responsiveness of the dependent variable to changes in each of the independent variables can be evaluated separately. The unstandardized regression (slope) estimates are presented in Table 8 for the enrollment model (1) using four independent variables and deficit measures for the three study years.

TABLE 8

UNSTANDARDIZED REGRESSION ESTIMATES
FOR ENROLLMENT MODEL, 1976-1988

Variable	1976	1982	1988
Legislators	.17	.34	.38
Turnout	.04	.02	- .01
Education	.01	.01	.03
Income	5.44	-9.39	-8.83
Adjusted R^2	.30	.56	.62
N = 50			

The estimates in Table 8 show how much change takes place in the dependent variable for every unit change in each independent variable. Looking at the b (slope) values across the three years, only the Legislators variable suggests a slope line in a positive linear direction. This coincides with the beta values in Table 5 which indicate the Legislators variable explains most of the variance in the dependent variable.

[2]The enrollment model using all six independent variables is specified in the following formula:

$$E = b_0 + b_1L + b_2B + b_3T + b_4R + b_5H + b_6I + e \qquad (2)$$

The two additional variables are represented by B, black elected officials, and R, black voter registration. The

results from the analysis of this model (2) are presented in Appendix C (Tables 33-36). The problems encountered in these analyses are expressed by the regression coefficients, using deficit measures, for Legislators (-.27) and BEOs (.84); and Registration (-.31) and Turnout (.48) in 1976 (see Table 33, Appendix C). Using the ratio-measured variables to analyze model (2), does not improve the interpretation. In 1976, the beta estimate for Legislators is -.10 and BEOs is .10; and Registration is -.97, while Turnout is .82 (see Table 34, Appendix C).

Interestingly, adding the population control to the model (2), does not clarify these results. In 1976, the deficit scores with the population control reveal conflicting regression estimates--Legislators is -.52 and BEOs is 1.11; Registration is -.33 and Turnout is .54 (see Table 35, Appendix C). The population control with the ratio scores produces much weaker findings for all six variables in 1976 but in 1988 they are sporadic again--Legislators is -.33 and BEOs is -.12; Registration is -.65 and Turnout is .69 (see Table 36, Appendix C). Dropping two of the variables--BEOs and Registration--from the model produces more interpretable results for the analytical purposes of this study.

CHAPTER V

A CASE FOR POLITICAL EXPLANATIONS OF BLACK COLLEGE ENROLLMENT

The findings in Chapter IV provide some helpful insights into the multidimensional nature of college enrollment for black students. The focus of this study has been to analyze various factors affecting black enrollment in higher education. This study broadens the traditional (socio-economic) approach to research on black enrollment, with the inclusion of political variables. By adding these variables, it can be argued that political factors are essential to understanding the full range of variables that may influence black enrollment levels in higher education.

The hypotheses for each of the independent variables in the analyses state the expectations for including each variable in the study. Each is seen as a factor in the

enhancement of black enrollment levels in public institutions of higher education. The intention of this investigation has been to explore and to describe the relationships between these variables. As a result, some generalizations are offered about socio-political influences on black college enrollment, and skepticism is placed on the socio-economic models of explanation. This preliminary step in the redefinition of research on black college enrollment suggests some interesting associations between socio-political realities and the process of college enrollment.

Applications for the Findings to Political Science

The four hypotheses for this study posit several new possibilities for analyzing black enrollment in higher education. The results from the analyses apply to states, in general, and may not be applicable to individual states. However, the analysis of specific states with these (or additional) data would provide helpful comparisons to these national trends. In order to capture the contributions of each variable, the hypotheses are presented here with summary remarks about the findings for each relationship.

<u>Black Legislators</u>: The greater the proportion of black legislators in a state, the greater the level of black enrollment in higher education in the state.

The examinations of the bivariate relationships between the Legislators (and BEOs) and Enrollment variables reveal moderate to strong associations. These results make this variable (Legislators and BEOs) the best candidate for arguing that political factors are involved in the process of black attendance on college campuses. The inference is that those states with a higher percent of black legislators also show higher proportions of black students enrolled in college. This suggests that black elected officials are having an impact on the policy making process in ways that enhance black college enrollment levels. Their efforts produce positive outcomes for black students in their states.

This is an interesting finding because the action of Legislators may be indirectly aimed at student enrollment levels. The direct target is on legislation or policies that may affect enrollment (access, distribution, and persistence) in public higher education institutions. Although, black state legislators have been responsible for state hearings in state legislatures and at state universities which specifically targeted the issue of black student enrollment in higher education (Upton and

Pruitt, 1985). The actual implementation of specific legislative activity may be another aspect related to the enrollment process.

The action of other black political elites (BEOs) includes the activities of many other elected officials who can direct students through the educational "pipeline" at various stages. Local politicians may have more opportunity for contact with students than state legislators. The communication networks between local black elected officials, black university faculty, black legislators, and black community leaders may be another source of influence on political elites that indirectly produces changes in the presence of black students on college campuses. The strong bivariate relationships between the Legislators (and BEO) and Enrollment variables support using political variables in further analyses of black enrollment in higher education.

> Black Voter Turnout. The greater the proportion of black voter turnout in a state, the greater the level of black enrollment in higher education in the state.

The expected associations between voter Turnout (and Registration) and Enrollment levels across the 50 states are reflected in the bivariate relationships between these variables. The expectation of the Turnout variable for

influencing higher rates of Enrollment is moderately supported in 1982; and the proposition is given weaker support for Registration and Enrollment in that same year. The claim that voter participation is a strong indicator of higher rates of black college enrollment is not upheld in the other two years (1976 and 1988), with weak to minimal relationships reported. The contention here is that political factors (Turnout and Registration) may indrectly influence black enrollment in higher education in presidential election years (1976 and 1988), through their direct impact on other variables (Legislators and BEOs).

There may be other ways that the black electorate exercises political participation and, thereby, impacts black enrollment levels. The voter participation variables may not adequately reflect political involvement or political avenues used by the black population, to influence the policy making process directly on higher education issues at state and local levels. These other avenues of political expression include (see Bobo and Gilliam, 1990:380): campaigning (running for elected office); communal or grassroots action groups (representing a variety of community concerns); and organizational membership in education-oriented interest groups. These latter interest groups include

organizations such as NAACP[1] and NAFEO, which are not managed (or controlled) by the educational systems in their state (Prestage, 1982:103).

The communication between local black school board and city council members and the black community may provide an informal mechanism for influencing policy decisions related (directly or indirectly) to black college enrollment. Furthermore, at different time periods other pressing socio-economic matters may take precedence over higher education, such as unemployment, local school levies, and inflation or other national economic crises. Elementary and secondary education needs may be more relevant during elections than higher education concerns. Further research is needed in this area to examine the impact from these other channels of political involvement.

> Education. The greater the education level (black high school graduation rate) in a state, the greater the level of black enrollment in higher education in the state.

The research for the socio-economic indicators of black college enrollment are supported by the bivariate results in this study. The relationships between Education and Enrollment show moderate support for a linear relationship between the variables in all three of

the study years (for both deficit and ratio measures). This suggests the Education variable is justified in the study of higher education enrollment. However, there are other environmental factors that influence enrollment that this socio-economic indicator may not capture. For instance, high school dropout rates of black students affect both high school completion rates and college enrollment levels (Blackwell, 1991). Research using a high school dropout indicator would provide additional insights into these different levels of association.

Black Family Income. The greater the level of black family income in a state, the greater the level of black enrollment in higher education in the state.

As the social science literature indicates, the income variable is a common indicator of enrollment in the research on higher education. The bivariate findings from this study support this hypothesis. The Income variable shows moderate impact in one of the study years (1976) and weak influences in 1982 and 1988. Thus, Income is a stronger indicator of black Enrollment than Turnout (and Registration), but it is weaker than Education and Legislators (and BEOs). The conclusion that income is a weaker indicator of black college enrollment than political factors has implications for the prominence of this variable as a determinant of enrollment patterns.

Other economic indicators, such as unemployment levels or poverty rates, may reveal different economic dynamics in conjunction with higher education aspirations. In contrast to the political representation variables, the economic arguments for black college enrollment are greatly reduced.

These results call for reevaluation of some of the empirical and theoretical ideas about black college enrollment in relationship to SES variables. First, the traditional arguments about black enrollment in higher education should continue to be reexamined for the consideration of political influences on higher education systems. The next suggestion is for reassessment of what determines black student access to and enrollment in higher education institutions. By confining the analyses of black student enrollment in higher education to only socio-economic influences, other potential avenues for enrollment enhancement may be overlooked. Verification for SES effects is illustrated by the bivariate outcomes between the variables. However, as seen in the multivariate results, the SES effects are overriden in the presence of political representation variables.

Another interesting discovery from these findings is the weak association between Enrollment and voter participation (Registration and Turnout). That is, the

mobilization of the black electorate to register and to vote does not have strong direct effects on the enrollment of black students in college, according to these data. It can be argued, though, that high voter registration and turnout may indirectly affect enrollment in higher education. This stems from the direct effects of voters on the election of state legislators and BEOs (Perry, 1990:141). This also suggests that there are other avenues (besides voting) that may reflect black political influence and political participation. In addition to black Legislators and BEOs, there are numerous political linkages to explore, such as membership in grassroots community- and church-related organizations, participation in political parties, and political campaign strategies (Perry, 1990:141).

Along with the bivariate relationships in this study, a multivariate regression model is proposed to describe the predictive qualities of the independent variables. One surprising result from this model is the low predictive support given by the socio-economic variables for enrollment levels. These results vary somewhat from the arguments presented in the literature and the expectation indicated by the bivariate relationships. Furthermore, the results show that in

combination with political factors the influences of the socio-economic variables diminish.

The regression analyses are further explanded in this study by path analyses of the Enrollment model. These procedures show that when the indirect effects on Legislators are considered the explanations change slightly for the political and socio-economic dynamics in the enrollment process. That is, at least two variables (Legislators and Education) support the hypothesis for socio-political explanations of Enrollment in all three years of this study. In 1988, one political variable (Legislators) and one socio-economic variable (Education) account for the changes in black enrollment levels. Three variables in 1982 (two political--Legislators and Turnout--and one socio-economic--Education) and all four independent variables in 1976 can be considered as predictors of Enrollment. These findings indicate that high school graduation is a consistent factor in college enrollment plans. Income diminished in importance after 1976, or it may have been overridden by other economic realities, e.g., unemployment rates increased for the black population from 1976 to 1988 (Bureau of the Census, 1992).

Interesting political implications are further made from the importance of the political variables in all

three years of the study. Legislators confirms the hypothesis for all three years and the Turnout variable is a contender in the explanations in 1976 and 1982. These findings provide unique suggestions in the study of black college enrollment data. The indirect effects from Turnout, Education, and Income on Enrollment are quite revealing. However, they are _indirect_ effects. Their importance as explanatory variables in the Enrollment model are not as powerful as those posed by the _direct_ effects of Legislators (and BEOs). This emphasizes the point that black political elites play an active role in implementing changes that benefit the black population in their states. The form of that activity may provide useful information for educations, researchers, and policy makers interested in specific higher education issues.

Since the Legislators variable in this study could be substituted for the BEO variable, the emphasis is placed on the influence of all black political elites (not just Legislators). This also suggests that these elected representatives play an important role at state and local levels for benefits to the black community. Their influence on mass mobilization and political participation of the black electorate is noteworthy. Their impact through traditional legislative and bureaucratic channels is expected but their potential influence outside the

conventional policy process provides another area of investigation for political researchers.

The overriding influence of black political representatives on enrollment in this study is a major contribution to higher education and political science research. Several generalizations, though, should be clarified. Legislative behavior is not uniform among black legislators. Their personal characteristics and backgrounds differ, as they do for all legislators. Black legislators also have different constituencies. Some come from black urban districts and others represent white rural areas (Walton, 1985:217). Some are active in black caucuses but many are not. There is no one voice that speaks for all black legislators (or black elected officials). This study broadens the analyses of black legislative behavior (and black elected officials) to a significant area of concern for policy makers, educators, and researchers.

This study provides an example of the potential of the electoral-representative system in the U.S. for black Americans. Maximization of the black vote is yet to be recognized through proportional election of black officials (Jennings, 1992). Formulation and implementation of policies that affect the black population can be seen in the advancement of black

enrollment levels. However, black enrollment levels are still underrepresented (in proportion to state populations) in the majority of states (see Appendix A). The potential areas of influence for black political participation have not been exhausted. In this regard, "the maturing of black politics" (Ardrey and Nelson, 1990:148) has important implications in mainstream socio-political systems in the U.S.

Suggestions for Future Research in Political Science and Higher Education

From these results, the intention of providing additional explanatory information to the research and literature on black college enrollment appears successful. The political variables are stronger indicators of enrollment in all the analyses that were conducted. In spite of its limitations (see Chapter III), the Enrollment model supports the argument that political variables do make a difference in black enrollment levels in higher education. The contributions of these data to the study of black politics and higher education research are significant. However, more research is needed to increase the validity and reliability of these data and findings.

Since these data for this study include two- and four-year public institutions, the arguments extrapolated

from these results may not apply to private institutions or to two- and four-year public institutions separately. Other political dynamics are assumed to operate in private institutions that vary a great deal from public institutions. The reliance on federal or state funding, for instance, suggests one major difference; and political representatives (or voters) may have less affect on policies at private institutions. To investigate these realities, other political variables might include: the presence of black members/trustees on specific college boards who could impact the percent black enrollment; the role of the governor or other political elites in terms of public statements about black enrollment at private higher education institutions; the role of private interest groups (outside the education system) in recruiting blacks to private institutions, e.g., NAACP or NAFEO, the National Urban League, and the Rainbow Coalition (Smith, Rice, and Jones, 1991); church-related organizations and efforts; and the presence of a minority affairs or affirmative action officer on campuses (see Prestage, 1982:101-3). Analyses of black enrollment at private colleges (using political indicators) would expand the scope (or realm of influence) of the factors affecting enrollment at public institutions.

Another possibility for future research would be to disaggregate the public enrollment figures of each state into two groups, in order to analyze two-year and four-year enrollment levels separately. This would be of interest because of the disproportionate attendance of black students at two-year colleges (Abramowitz, 1976:152). Also, the organizational structure and educational mission of these institutions often differ (Chandler, 1984). The college dropout rates also differ between two- and four-year institutions, with higher attrition occuring at four-year public institutions (Blackwell, 1991). Thus, it would be interesting to compare the relative impact of the socio-political variables on levels of black enrollment at both types of institutions. Another point of comparison with findings from these institutions would be to examine the influence of these variables on graduate and professional school enrollment levels of black students. This could provide corroboration with Blackwell's (1987) study.

The focus of this study has been on enrollment, but it would be helpful to replicate this study using the socio-political variables with data for black graduation levels in these same years. This would involve an analysis of the total "degrees conferred" to black students in each of the study years (see NCES, 1976b,

1982b, and 1988b). The results from these analyses of factors which enhance (or hinder) black enrollment and those of graduation rates in higher education may be quite different.

Since the 1970s, a great deal of progress has been made in higher educational opportunities for black Americans (Blackwell, 1987:347). Additional research is needed to provide reassessment and reevaluation of the strides made toward (complete) dismantling of the dual education systems in the U.S. For instance, research is needed to monitor the impact of the Fordice (1991) case on university or state policies directed at black enrollment, as litigation decisions continue to unfold (see Jaschik, 1992). These studies should consider multidimensional factors (political, social, and economic) which might affect enrollment levels. By confining the analyses to one dimension in each study, the results can be misleading and limited.

This leads to another point. There may be regional differences which account for variations in black college enrollment. One major source of difference occurs in the South where the majority of Adams (1970) states and traditionally black colleges are located. A comparison of southern and non-southern states may provide useful insights. Another application for regional controls is

for a comparison of Census regions using these same data. Do the soico-political indicators have similar effects on enrollment in different geographical regions of the U.S.? State-by-state analyses would provide in-depth information of states on each of the socio-political dimensions. At the individual state level, it would also be easier to collect information on the number and type of legislators' committee assignments. The committee on which black legislators serve may be more influential, in terms of college enrollment, than the number of legislators.

Finally, this study has achieved two goals. The first has been to stress the interconnection between political and educational arenas. This emphasis is well-grounded in the history and literature of black enrollment in higher education (see Chapters I and II). Throughout this history, there has been the persistent use of political pressure to exercise some effect on policy making. For this study, political participation has been seen as the key element in guaranteeing black access to and enrollment in higher education institutions. It has meant the involvement of black citizens and black elected officials in the electoral-representative arena with the intent of affecting policies for black educational benefits (i.e., college enrollment). The suggestion here is that the electoral-representative system of the U.S.

provides the means for obtaining equal educational opportunities for black Americans. Thus, this is the perspective that research of this area should also utilize.

The second objective of this study has been to broaden the ways in which enrollment in higher education is studied. As the social science research of the 1970s and 1980s indicates, the analyzes have been confined to socio-economic indicators (see Chapter II). Although these may be influential factors in determining the level of black enrollment in higher education, they do not capture the interconnectedness of social, economic, and political processes which have contributed to increased enrollment of black students at state colleges and universities (Prestage, 1982:101-3). In fact, socio-economic factors are not as influential as political representation when SES and political variables are used together in the analysis of black college enrollment levels.

This study is one step toward bridging a gap that exists in the higher education research. It provides an opportunity to apply scientific methods to mainly descriptive research. It also extends the focus for the scientific study of politics to research on important social issues and problems (Johnson and Joslyn, 1991:28). This analysis is not intended as the final word or as a

complete examination of all the possibilities of influence on black college enrollment. It is one explanation of changes in enrollment levels from a political perspective. The findings indicate that political variables are more influential than socio-economic indicators in this area of educational opportunity for black students. This approach reemphasizes an important historical argument that increased political participation enhances (or ensures) participation in other areas, especially education (DuBois, 1972). The results of this research reiterate that the study of politics and political behavior is complex. Furthermore, the analyses of black political participation in the United States goes beyond campaign strategies and winning elections. This dissertation provides a political analysis of recent educational, political, and socio-economic data to reinforce and advance the ongoing research of black politics and black enrollment in higher education in the United States.

FOOTNOTES

[1]The original data collection for this study began with the intention of using NAACP data for the number of members and chapters in each state. Numerous telephone calls and letters to the national and seven regional NAACP offices uncovered repeated denial of access to these data. Isazetta Spikes, Membership Director of the national office, explained "membership information in the NAACP is confidential and we do not release it for public use" (letter, May 2, 1991). Jeff Flannery, archival librarian at the Library of Congress, explained that access is available to public records of the NAACP, but information 30 years before the present requires permission from the NAACP. Thus, the variable was dropped from this study.

Kenneth Goings (1990), a NAACP scholar and historian, concurs with this problem in his research. During several telephone conversations, he indicated that the historical-political role of the NAACP partially explains its reluctance to release this information (June

4, 1991). Membership until recently was considered "radical" (McAdam, 1982:273) or "foreign," and members were often subject to racial hostilities and legal harassment (Raines, 1983:134). Although its image has changed to a more conservative one since the 1960s, the organization has not changed its policy on access to membership information. A few recent studies use early NAACP statistics, (see McAdam, 1985; Goings, 1990).

APPENDIX A

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION LISTS OF VARIABLES

TABLE 9

STATE ABBREVIATION CODES

State	Code	State	Code
Alabama	AL	Montana	MT
Alaska	AK	Nebraska	NE
Arizona	AZ	Nevada	NV
Arkansas	AR	New Hampshire	NH
California	CA	New Jersey	NJ
Colorado	CO	New Mexico	NM
Connecticut	CT	New York	NY
Delaware	DE	North Carolina	NC
Florida	FL	North Dakota	ND
Georgia	GA	Ohio	OH
Hawaii	HI	Oklahomaa	OK
Idaho	ID	Oregon	OR
Illinois	IL	Pennsylvania	PA
Indiana	IN	Rhode Island	RI
Iowa	IA	South Carolina	SC
Kansas	KS	South Dakota	SD
Kentucky	KY	Tennessee	TN
Louisiana	LA	Texas	TX
Maine	ME	Utah	UT
Maryland	MD	Vermont	VT
Massachusetts	MA	Virginia	VA
Michigan	MI	Washington	WA
Minnesota	MN	West Virginia	WV
Mississippi	MS	Wisconsin	WI
Missouri	MO	Wyoming	WY

TABLE 10

PERCENT DISTRIBUTIONS OF ENROLLMENT, LEGISLATORS, BEOS, & POPULATION SIZE BY STATE, 1976

State	Enrollment[a]	Legislators[b]	BEOs[c]	Size[d]
SD	.23	.00	.00	.22
ME	.23	.54	.03	.14
NH	.34	.24	.00	.18
MT	.38	.67	.00	.40
ND	.45	.00	.01	.24
VT	.55	.00	.00	.31
HI	.77	.00	.00	.71
ID	.78	.00	.03	.18
UT	.84	.00	.00	.66
OR	1.27	1.11	.07	1.06
WY	1.30	.00	.04	.39
MN	1.41	1.00	.02	.83
IA	1.86	1.33	.03	.98
NM	2.14	.89	.15	1.60
RI	2.37	.67	.18	2.17
AZ	2.60	2.22	.81	2.29
WA	2.85	1.36	.14	1.94
MA	2.98	2.86	.08	2.72
CO	3.19	3.00	.17	2.71
NE	3.27	2.04	.02	2.39
WI	3.53	2.27	.07	2.62
KS	4.03	3.64	.14	4.40
WV	4.32	.75	.53	2.05
AK	4.35	.00	.22	3.72
NV	4.60	5.00	.48	5.11
CT	4.96	2.67	.38	5.69
IN	6.22	3.33	.57	6.16
OK	6.99	2.68	.68	6.13
KY	7.93	2.17	.86	8.07
CA	8.14	6.67	.83	7.16
PA	8.32	4.74	.33	7.76
TX	9.78	4.97	.66	10.48
MO	10.14	7.61	.70	10.62
OH	10.32	8.33	.66	8.47
MI	10.71	10.14	.99	10.20
NJ	10.89	5.00	1.53	9.07
DE	11.41	4.84	1.48	11.96
FL	11.63	1.87	1.77	12.59
NY	12.38	6.67	.65	11.40

Table 10 (continued)

State	Enrollment	Legislators	BEOs	Size
IL	13.07	7.63	.70	12.81
VA	13.93	1.43	2.25	14.44
TN	14.27	8.33	1.23	14.62
AR	14.90	2.96	2.02	14.81
GA	15.61	9.32	2.60	24.71
AL	17.02	10.71	3.97	24.12
MD	19.07	10.11	3.97	18.19
NC	19.34	3.53	3.96	19.62
SC	19.35	7.65	4.63	27.11
LA	24.16	6.94	5.19	25.02
MS	29.60	2.30	4.48	30.84
Mean	7.62	3.44	.97	7.84
(Total)	(818,454)	(276)	(3,498)	(14,457,000)

Total Institutions = 3,068

Notes.

[a]Percent derived from total black population of state. Data are from ICPSR (Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research), University of Michigan, (ICPSR No. 7650), compiled by National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES), 1978, Higher Education Opening Fall Enrollment, 1976, Washington, D.C.: NCES.

[b]Percent derived from total state legislators (senators and representatives) of state. Data are from Joint Center for Political Studies (JCPS), 1977, National Roster of Black Elected Officials, 1976, (Tables 6-9), Washington, D.C.: JCPS Press.

[c]Derived from total elected officials of state, does not include black state legislators. Data are from Joint Center for Political Studies (JCPS), 1977, National Roster of Black Elected Officials, 1976, (Tables 11 and 16), Washington, D.C.: JCPS Press.

[d]Percent derived from total population of state. Data are from Bureau of the Census, 1979, Current Population Reports, "Demographic, Social, and Economic Profile of States: Spring 1976," (Series P-20 No. 334, Table 1), Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

TABLE 11

PERCENT DISTRIBUTIONS OF ENROLLMENT, LEGISLATORS, BEOS, & POPULATION SIZE BY STATE, 1982

State	Enrollment[a]	Legislators[b]	BEOs[c]	Size[d]
ME	.24	.00	.06	.27
SD	.30	.00	.00	.32
MT	.31	.00	.00	.22
NH	.35	.00	.00	.40
VT	.35	.00	.00	.21
ND	.51	.00	.00	.40
ID	.69	.00	.00	.30
UT	.70	.96	.00	.65
WY	.91	.00	.00	.68
MN	1.04	.50	.04	1.12
HI	1.07	1.32	.94	2.01
OR	1.33	1.11	.06	1.28
IA	1.84	.00	.03	1.30
NM	2.06	.00	.30	1.72
WA	2.37	1.36	.17	2.50
RI	2.48	1.33	.38	2.53
CO	2.52	3.00	.15	3.21
AZ	2.64	2.22	.59	2.46
AK	2.69	.00	.18	3.40
MA	2.81	3.00	.19	4.10
NE	2.83	2.04	.03	2.73
WI	3.10	2.27	.07	3.40
WV	3.86	1.49	.58	3.33
KS	3.88	3.03	.12	4.94
NV	4.26	5.00	.52	5.00
CT	5.33	5.88	.47	4.50
OK	6.16	2.68	.86	5.99
IN	6.21	4.67	.54	6.20
KY	6.59	2.90	1.13	6.40
CA	7.84	7.50	1.27	6.60
OH	8.29	9.09	.90	9.00
FL	8.64	3.13	2.34	13.90
PA	8.68	5.93	.34	9.00
MO	8.76	9.14	.74	9.90
TX	8.94	7.18	.82	10.50
MI	9.33	10.81	1.30	11.80
NJ	10.21	5.00	1.76	10.40
DE	10.27	4.84	2.17	14.36
IL	12.27	9.32	.79	12.30
NY	12.28	7.62	.73	12.90

Table 11 (continued)

State	Enrollment	Legislators	BEOs	Size
VA	13.17	3.57	2.76	17.60
AR	13.77	3.70	2.07	14.70
TN	14.00	9.85	1.53	15.60
GA	14.88	9.32	3.71	25.00
AL	17.95	11.43	6.36	24.60
MD	18.09	11.17	3.26	20.60
NC	18.37	2.35	5.00	19.80
SC	18.50	8.82	7.36	32.00
LA	22.25	8.33	7.82	25.80
MS	28.94	9.77	8.39	30.40
Mean	7.10	4.05	1.32	8.37
Total	(853,846)	(324)	(4,537)	(17,326,355)

Total institutions = 3,327

Notes.

[a]Percent derived from total black population of state. Data are from ICPSR, University of Michigan, (ICPSR No. 8292), compiled by NCES, 1985, Higher Education General Information Sruvey (HEGIS), 1982: Fall Enrollment, Washington, D.C.: NCES.

[b]Percent is derived from total state legislators of state. Data are from Joint Center for Political Studies (JCPS), 1983, National Roster of Black Elected Officials, 1982, (Table 2), Washington, D.C.: JCPS Press.

[c]Derived from total elected officials of state, does not include black state legislators. Data are from Joint Center for Political Studies (JCPS), 1983, National Roster of Black Elected Officials, 1982, Washington, D.C.: JCPS Press.

[d]Percent derived from total population of state. Data are from Bureau of the Census, 1983, Supplementary Report, "Congressional District Profiles, 98th Congress," (PC80-S1-21, Table 2); and 1982, Current Population Reports, "Population Estimates and Projections," (Series P-25, No. 1023, Table C) for average annual percent change, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

TABLE 12

PERCENT DISTRIBUTIONS OF ENROLLMENT, LEGISLATORS, BEOS, & POPULATION SIZE, 1988

State	Enrollment[a]	Legislators[b]	BEOs[c]	Size[d]
ME	.30	.00	.05	.34
MT	.36	.00	.00	.17
SD	.38	.00	.02	.39
NH	.39	.24	.00	.61
VT	.45	.56	.00	.24
ND	.55	.00	.00	.62
UT	.63	.00	.04	.74
ID	.71	.00	.00	.43
HI	.90	.00	1.00	1.82
WY	1.02	1.06	.10	.57
MN	1.17	.50	.06	1.30
OR	1.30	3.33	.09	1.41
NM	2.05	.89	.26	1.63
IA	2.12	.67	.05	1.60
NE	2.29	2.04	.02	3.00
WA	2.64	2.04	.20	2.28
AZ	2.66	3.33	.43	2.38
RI	2.80	4.00	.42	3.14
CO	3.03	4.00	.14	3.62
WI	3.11	3.03	.10	3.93
AK	3.55	1.67	.23	3.38
WV	3.57	.75	.80	2.93
MA	4.28	3.00	.25	4.19
KS	4.38	2.42	.14	5.25
NV	4.61	4.76	.65	5.90
IN	5.43	5.33	.54	7.50
CT	5.72	5.35	.69	7.06
KY	5.93	1.45	.99	6.85
OK	6.26	3.36	1.21	6.03
CA	6.86	6.67	1.54	7.55
OH	7.01	9.85	1.03	10.03
PA	7.53	6.32	.42	8.64
MO	7.97	7.61	.85	9.68
MI	8.88	10.81	1.56	13.19
TX	9.04	8.29	1.16	11.16
FL	9.04	7.50	3.46	11.78
NJ	10.03	6.67	2.01	12.72
DE	11.48	4.84	2.03	16.33
VA	12.61	7.86	3.95	17.78
IL	12.70	12.43	1.05	14.19

Table 12 (continued)

State	Enrollment	Legislators	BEOs	Size
AR	12.91	3.70	3.04	13.63
TN	13.04	9.85	1.85	14.70
NY	13.11	9.52	.96	14.50
GA	16.72	11.86	6.68	24.39
AL	17.00	17.14	10.40	23.16
MD	17.09	13.83	4.74	23.86
SC	17.49	11.18	10.87	27.35
NC	17.68	9.41	8.02	20.21
LA	23.73	13.19	11.04	27.50
MS	26.64	12.64	10.89	31.44
Mean	7.02	5.10	1.85	8.66
(Total)	(892,529)	(401)	(6,148)	(20,122,000)

Total institutions = 5,359

Notes.

[a]Percent derived from total black population of state. Data are from ICPSR, University of Michigan (ICPSR No. 9528), compiled by National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), 1988, Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS): Fall Enrollment Analysis, 1988, Washington, D.C.: NCES.

[b]Percent derived from total state legislators of state. Data are from Joint Center for Political Studies (JCPS), 1989, Black Elected Officials: A National Roster, 1988, (Table 4), Washington, D.C.: JCPS Press.

[c]Derived from total elected officials, does not include black state legislators. Data are from Joint Center for Political Studies (JCPS), 1989, Black Elected Officials: A National Roster, 1988, Washington, D.C.: JCPS Press.

[d]Percent derived from total population of state. Data from Bureau of the Census, 1988, Current Population Reports, "Projections of the Population of Voting Age, for States: November 1988," (Series P-25, No. 1019, Table 3; and 1988, "Population Estimates and Projections," (Series P-25, No. 1017, Table 3), Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

TABLE 13

PERCENT DISTRIBUTIONS OF BLACK TURNOUT, REGISTRATION, EDUCATION, & INCOME BY STATE, 1976

State	Turnout[a]	Registration[a]	Education[b]	Income[c]
NV	37.70	40.40	58.70	10,130
MT	37.70	40.40	58.70	10,860
UT	37.70	40.40	58.70	10,860
AZ	37.70	40.40	58.70	10,860
CO	37.70	40.40	58.70	13,091
NM	37.70	40.40	58.70	10,860
ID	37.70	40.40	58 70	10,860
WY	37.70	40.40	58.70	10,860
GA	43.10	52.90	34.90	7,781
SC	43.10	52.90	39.00	8,284
FL	43.10	52.90	46.50	7,575
DE	43.10	52.90	39.00	8,630
VA	43.10	52.90	37.00	9,003
NC	43.10	52.90	38.00	7,354
MD	43.10	52.90	34.30	12,851
WV	43.10	52.90	39.00	8,756
CT	45.70	53.90	46.90	8,809
ME	45.70	53.90	46.90	9,239
NH	45.70	53.90	46.90	9,239
RI	45.70	53.90	46.90	9,028
VT	45.70	53.90	46.90	9,239
MA	45.70	53.90	39.90	9,700
PA	47.8C	54.80	45.40	8,066
NY	47.80	54.80	49.00	10,845
NJ	47.80	54.80	46.80	10,400
LA	48.20	59.70	39.00	6,823
TX	48.20	59.70	44.00	8,791
AR	48.20	59.70	39.00	7,010
OK	48.20	59.70	39.00	7,636
AL	49.30	61.20	39.00	7,639
MS	49.30	61.20	39.00	5,685
TN	49.30	61.20	39.00	7,941
KY	49.30	61.20	39.00	8,850
HI	51.20	62.60	58.70	8,522
OR	51.20	62.60	58.70	10,860
AK	51.20	62.60	58.70	15,965
WA	51.20	62.60	58.70	8,522
CA	51.20	62.60	58.10	8,374
MO	54.40	64.60	44.20	9,977
KS	54.40	64.60	45.40	9,620

Table 13 (continued).

State	Turnout	Registration	Education	Income
SD	54.40	64.60	45.40	9,972
ND	54.40	64.60	45.40	10,510
MN	54.40	64.60	45.40	9,972
IA	54.40	64.60	45.40	9,972
NE	54.40	64.60	45.40	8,341
IN	57.70	66.60	39.50	10,324
IL	57.70	66.60	44.00	10,517
MI	57.70	66.60	48.00	11,876
WI	57.70	66.60	45.40	9,309
OH	57.70	66.60	46.00	12,237
Mean	47.60	56.30	46.80	9,569

Notes.

[a]Percent of black population reported voted and registered. Data are from Bureau of the Census, 1978, Current Population Reports, "Voting and Registration in the Election of November 1976," (Series P-20, No. 322, Table 4), Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

[b]Percent high school graduates of black population of state. Data are from Bureau of the Census, 1977, Current Population Reports, "Educational Attainment in the United States: March 1977 and 1976," (Series P-20, No. 314, Tables 7-8); and 1978, Statistical Abstract of the United States 1978, (Table No. 232), Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

[c]Median family income. Data are from Bureau of the Census, 1979, Current Population Reports, "Demographic, Social, and Economic Profile of States: Spring 1976," (Series P-20, No. 334, Table 11), Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

TABLE 14

PERCENT DISTRIBUTIONS OF BLACK TURNOUT,
REGISTRATION, EDUCATION, & INCOME BY STATE, 1982

State	Turnout[a]	Registration[a]	Education[b]	Income[c]
FL	30.40	50.30	48.70	10,643
NC	30.40	43.60	43.80	11,124
WA	31.90	45.10	69.20	15,681
LA	32.00	68.50	46.80	10,362
GA	32.50	51.90	40.30	10,776
NY	37.30	45.20	59.80	12,836
TX	37.80	56.60	54.70	12,836
DE	38.30	56.90	46.80	12,822
WV	38.30	56.90	46.80	12,099
SC	38.90	53.30	46.80	11,061
CT	38.90	52.30	57.30	14,054
NJ	39.60	59.50	57.30	14,459
RI	40.10	51.80	57.30	11,835
NH	40.10	51.80	57.30	18,643
ME	40.10	51.80	57.30	12,590
VT	40.10	51.80	57.30	20,453
AL	41.20	57.70	46.80	10,036
MD	42.70	61.40	45.80	16,605
MA	43.60	57.30	61.30	12,962
VA	44.30	53.60	45.90	12,953
KY	44.30	64.90	46.80	10,906
OK	44.90	59.20	46.80	11,521
PA	45.90	59.20	51.20	12,513
AR	47.70	63.30	46.80	9,053
HI	50.70	61.20	69.20	24,627
NV	50.70	61.20	69.20	15,340
AK	50.70	61.20	69.20	15,815
CO	50.70	61.20	69.20	15,610
WI	50.70	87.90	57.10	13,193
OR	50.70	61.20	69.20	13,159
UT	50.70	61.20	69.20	15,036
MT	50.70	61.20	69.20	13,709
AZ	50.70	61.20	69.20	10,294
WY	50.70	61.20	69.20	13,961
NM	50.70	61.20	69.20	10,645
ID	50.70	61.20	69.20	12,951
IN	50.80	67.10	46.80	10,901
MS	50.80	75.80	46.80	9,013
OH	50.80	65.60	53.20	14,349
CA	53.30	64.40	68.80	14,864

Table 14 (continued).

State	Turnout	Registration	Education	Income
MI	53.70	72.10	56.50	15,659
MO	55.40	76.70	54.80	13,521
KS	56.00	71.80	57.10	12,642
MN	56.00	71.80	57.10	14,372
SD	56.00	71.80	57.10	9,141
NE	56.00	71.80	57.10	12,275
ND	56.00	71.80	57.10	10,319
IA	56.00	71.80	57.10	14,082
IN	59.70	68.50	65.10	15,745
IL	64.00	76.10	59.80	14,383
Mean	46.50	61.60	57.00	13,289

Notes.

[a]Percent of black population reported voted and registered in each state. Data are from Bureau of the Census, 1983, Current Population Reports, "Voting and Registration in the Election of November 1982, (Series P-20, No. 383, Tables 2 and 16), Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

[b]Percent high school graduates of black population of state. Data are from Bureau of the Census, 1984, Current Population Reports, "Educational Attainment in the United States: March 1981 and 1980," (Series P-20, No. 390, Table 8); and 1982, "Population Estimates and Projections," (Series P-25, No. 1023, p. 9), Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

[c]Median family income. Data are from Bureau of the Census, 1983, Supplementary Report, "Congressional District Profiles, 98th Congress," (PC80-S1,11; Table 2); and 1983, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Part I, U.S. Summary, (PC80-1-C1, Table 93), Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

TABLE 15

PERCENT DISTRIBUTIONS OF BLACK TURNOUT, REGISTRATION, EDUCATION, & INCOME BY STATE, 1988

State	Turnout[a]	Registration[a]	Education[b]	Income[c]
KY	32.30	45.80	59.40	15,159
MA	37.10	45.00	77.00	18,017
RI	39.60	47.30	65.10	16,450
NH	39.60	47.30	65.10	25,914
ME	39.60	47.30	65.10	17,500
VT	39.60	47.30	65.10	28,430
SC	40.70	56.70	59.40	15,375
FL	40.80	57.70	59.90	14,794
NY	41.30	49.50	61.70	17,842
CT	41.70	50.50	65.10	19,535
GA	42.40	56.80	63.40	14,979
DE	44.30	59.30	59.40	17,823
WV	44.30	59.30	59.40	16,818
NV	45.60	53.40	80.00	21,323
UT	45.60	53.40	80.00	20,900
MT	45.60	53.40	80.00	19,056
AZ	45.60	53.40	80.00	14,309
ID	45.60	53.40	80.00	18,002
NM	45.60	53.40	80.00	14,797
WY	45.60	53.40	80.00	19,406
NC	46.60	58.20	52.70	15,462
NJ	47.00	59.70	64.20	20,098
TX	47.00	64.20	64.90	17,842
VA	47.70	63.80	58.00	18,005
MD	48.30	64.50	59.40	23,081
AR	49.60	68.00	59.40	12,584
AL	52.40	68.40	59.40	13,950
OK	53.00	59.80	59.40	16,014
CO	54.70	59.70	80.00	21,698
PA	57.30	68.00	69.60	17,393
KS	57.70	68.30	65.70	17,572
NE	57.70	68.30	65.70	17,062
MN	57.70	68.30	65.70	19,977
ND	57.70	68.30	65.70	14,343
SD	57.70	68.30	65.70	12,706
IA	57.70	68.30	65.70	19,574
TN	57.90	74.00	59.40	15,152
HI	58.00	69.20	80.00	34,232
OR	58.00	69.20	80.00	18,291
AK	58.00	69.20	80.00	21,983

Table 15 (continued)

State	Turnout	Registration	Education	Income
WA	58.00	69.20	80.00	21,797
CA	58.40	69.50	80.70	20,661
MS	60.30	74.20	59.40	12,528
MI	60.70	73.70	58.60	21,766
MO	60.70	73.50	58.10	18,794
OH	61.00	68.70	64.40	19,945
LA	61.50	77.10	59.40	14,403
IN	63.10	75.60	70.30	21,886
WI	66.80	82.60	65.70	18,338
IL	71.00	80.70	67.20	19,992
Mean	50.90	62.30	67.40	18,471

Notes.

[a]Percent of black population reported voted and registered in each state. Data are from Bureau of the Census, 1989, Current Population Reports, "Voting and Registration in the Election of November 1988," (Series P-20, No. 440, Table 4), Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

[b]Percent high school graduates of black population of state. Data are from Bureau of the Census, 1987, Current Population Reports, "Educational Attainment in the United States: March 1987 and 1986," (Series P-20, No. 428, Tables 7-8); and 1990, Statistical Abstract of the United States 1990, (Table No. 219), Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

[c]Median family income. Data are from Bureau of the Census, 1983, Supplementary Report, "Congressional District Profiles, 98th Congress," (PC80-S1-11, Table 2); 1983, General Social and Economic Characteristics, (PC80-1-C1, Table 93); and 1991, Statistical Abstract of the United States 1991, (Table No. 730), Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

TABLE 16

DEFICIT* DISTRIBUTIONS OF BLACK ENROLLMENT, LEGISLATORS, & BEOS BY STATE, 1976

State	Enrollment	Legislators	BEOs
GA	- 9.10	-15.38	-22.11
SC	- 7.77	-19.47	-22.48
AL	- 7.10	-13.41	-20.15
MS	- 1.25	-28.55	-26.36
FL	- .96	-10.72	-10.83
LA	- .86	-18.08	-19.83
CT	- .74	- 3.02	- 5.31
TX	- .70	- 5.51	- 9.82
DE	- .55	- 7.12	-10.48
VA	- .51	-13.01	-12.18
NV	- .51	- .11	- 4.63
MO	- .48	- 3.01	- 9.93
KS	- .37	- .76	- 4.25
TN	- .35	- 6.28	-13.39
NC	- .27	-16.09	-15.65
KY	- .13	- 5.89	- 7.21
MT	- .02	.27	- .40
SD	.01	- .22	- .22
HI	.06	- .71	- .71
IN	.06	- 2.83	- 5.59
AR	.09	-11.85	-12.79
ME	.09	.41	- .11
NH	.16	.06	- .18
UT	.18	- .66	- .66
RI	.20	- 1.51	- 2.00
ND	.21	- .24	- .23
OR	.21	.05	- .99
VT	.24	- .31	- .31
MA	.26	.14	- 2.64
IL	.27	- 5.18	-12.11
AZ	.31	- .07	- 1.48
CO	.48	.29	- 2.54
MI	.51	- .06	- 9.21
NM	.53	- .71	- 1.46
PA	.56	- 3.01	- 7.43
MN	.58	.16	- .81
ID	.60	- .18	- .16
AK	.62	- 3.72	- 3.50
OK	.85	- 3.45	- 5.46
MD	.88	- 8.09	-14.22

Table 16 (continued)

State	Enrollment	Legislators	BEOs
IA	.88	.35	- .95
NE	.88	- .35	- 2.37
WA	.90	- .58	- 1.80
WI	.90	- .35	- 2.55
WY	.91	- .39	- .35
CA	.98	- .50	- 6.33
NY	.98	- 4.73	-10.75
NJ	1.82	- 4.07	- 7.54
OH	1.85	- .14	- 7.81
WV	2.28	- 1.30	- 1.52
Mean	- .23	- 4.40	- 6.87

Note.

*Deficit measures derived by subtracting the percent population from the variable percentage for each state (see Table 10 for percentages).

TABLE 17

DEFICIT* DISTRIBUTIONS OF BLACK ENROLLMENT, LEGISLATORS, & BEOS BY STATE, 1982

State	Enrollment	Legislators	BEOs
SC	-13.50	-23.18	-24.64
GA	-10.12	-15.68	-21.29
AL	- 6.65	-13.17	-18.24
FL	- 5.26	-10.77	-11.56
VA	- 4.43	-14.03	-14.84
DE	- 4.09	- 9.53	-12.19
LA	- 3.55	-17.47	-17.98
MD	- 2.51	- 9.43	-17.34
MI	- 2.47	- .99	-10.50
TN	- 1.60	- 5.75	-14.07
TX	- 1.56	- 3.32	- 9.68
MS	- 1.46	-20.63	-22.01
NC	- 1.43	-17.45	-14.80
MA	- 1.29	- 1.10	- 3.91
MD	- 1.14	- .76	- 9.16
KS	- 1.06	- 1.91	- 4.82
HI	- .94	- .69	- 1.07
AR	- .93	-11.00	-12.63
NV	- .74	.00	- 4.48
OH	- .71	.09	- 8.10
AK	- .71	- 3.40	- 3.22
CO	- .70	- .21	- 3.06
NY	- .62	- 5.28	-12.17
PA	- .32	- 3.07	- 8.66
WI	- .30	- 1.13	- 3.33
NJ	- .19	- 5.40	- 8.64
WA	- .13	- 1.14	- 2.33
MN	- .08	- .62	- 1.08
RI	- .06	- 1.20	- 2.15
NH	- .05	- .40	- .40
ME	- .03	- .27	- .20
IL	- .03	- 2.98	-11.51
SD	- .02	- .32	- .32
IN	.01	- 1.53	- 5.66
OR	.05	- .17	- 1.22
UT	.05	.31	- .65
MT	.09	- .22	- .22
NE	.10	- .69	- 2.71
ND	.12	- .40	- .40
VT	.14	- .21	- .21

Table 17 (continued)

State	Enrollment	Legislators	BEOs
OK	.17	- 3.31	- 5.13
KY	.19	- 3.50	- 5.27
AZ	.19	- .23	- 1.87
WY	.23	- .68	- .68
NM	.34	- 1.72	- 1.42
ID	.39	- .30	- .30
WV	.53	- 1.84	- 2.75
IA	.54	- 1.30	- 1.26
CT	.83	1.38	- 4.03
CA	1.24	.90	- 5.33
Mean	- 1.27	- 4.31	- 7.05

Note.

*Deficit measures derived by subtracting the percent population from the variable percentage for each state (see Table 11 for percentages).

TABLE 18

DEFICIT* DISTRIBUTIONS OF BLACK ENROLLMENT, LEGISLATORS, & BEOS BY STATE, 1988

State	Enrollment	Legislators	BEOs
SC	- 9.86	-16.17	-16.48
GA	- 7.67	-12.53	-17.71
MD	- 6.78	-10.03	-19.12
AL	- 6.15	- 6.01	-12.76
VA	- 5.17	- 9.92	-13.83
DE	- 4.85	-11.49	-14.30
MS	- 4.81	-18.80	-20.55
MI	- 4.31	- 2.38	-11.64
LA	- 3.77	-14.30	-16.46
OH	- 3.02	- .18	- 9.00
FL	- 2.74	- 4.28	- 8.33
NJ	- 2.69	- 6.05	-10.71
NC	- 2.53	-10.80	-12.19
TX	- 2.12	- 2.87	-10.00
IN	- 2.06	- 2.16	- 6.96
MO	- 1.71	- 2.07	- 8.83
TN	- 1.66	- 4.85	-12.84
IL	- 1.48	- 1.76	-13.14
NY	- 1.39	- 4.98	-13.54
CT	- 1.35	- 1.72	- 6.38
NV	- 1.29	- 1.14	- 5.25
PA	- 1.11	- 2.32	- 8.22
HI	- .92	- 1.82	- .82
KY	- .91	- 5.40	- 5.86
KS	- .87	- 2.82	- 5.11
WI	- .82	- .90	- 3.83
AR	- .72	- 9.92	-10.59
NE	- .70	- .96	- 2.98
CA	- .69	- .88	- 6.01
CO	- .58	.38	- 3.47
RI	- .34	.86	- 2.72
NH	- .22	- .37	- .61
MN	- .13	- .80	- 1.24
OR	- .12	1.92	- 1.32
UT	- .11	- .74	- .70
ND	- .07	- .62	- .62
ME	- .03	- .34	- .28
SD	- .01	- .39	- .37
MA	.09	- 1.19	- 3.94
AK	.17	- 1.71	- 3.15

Table 18 (continued)

State	Enrollment	Legislators	BEOs
MT	.19	- .17	- .17
VT	.21	.31	- .24
OK	.22	- 2.68	- 4.83
AZ	.28	.95	- 1.95
ID	.28	- .43	- .43
WA	.35	- .24	- 2.08
NM	.42	- .74	- 1.38
WY	.45	.49	- .47
IA	.53	- .93	- 1.55
WV	.64	- 2.19	- 2.14
Mean	- 1.64	- 3.56	- 6.82

Note.

*Deficit measures derived by subtracting the percent population from the variable percentage for each state (see Table 12 for percentages).

TABLE 19

RATIO* DISTRIBUTIONS OF BLACK ENROLLMENT, LEGISLATORS, & BEOS BY STATE, 1976

State	Enrollment	Legislators	BEOs
GA	.63	.38	.11
AL	.71	.44	.16
SC	.71	.28	.17
CT	.87	.47	.07
NV	.90	.98	.09
KS	.92	.83	.03
FL	.92	.15	.14
TX	.93	.47	.06
DE	.95	.40	.12
MO	.95	.72	.07
MT	.96	1.68	.00
MS	.96	.07	.15
VA	.96	.10	.16
LA	.97	.28	.21
TN	.98	.57	.08
KY	.98	.27	.11
NC	.99	.18	.20
AR	1.01	.20	.14
IN	1.01	.54	.09
IL	1.02	.60	.05
SD	1.03	.00	.00
MD	1.05	.56	.22
MI	1.05	.99	.10
PA	1.07	.61	.04
HI	1.08	.00	.00
NY	1.09	.58	.06
RI	1.09	.31	.08
MA	1.09	1.05	.03
AZ	1.13	.97	.35
CA	1.14	.93	.12
OK	1.14	.44	.11
AK	1.17	.00	.06
CO	1.18	1.11	.06
OR	1.20	1.05	.06
NJ	1.20	.55	.17
OH	1.22	.98	.08
UT	1.28	.00	.00
NM	1.33	.56	.09
WI	1.34	.87	.03
NE	1.37	.85	.01

Table 19 (continued)

State	Enrollment	Legislators	BEOs
WA	1.46	.70	.07
ME	1.69	3.95	.22
MN	1.69	1.19	.03
VT	1.76	.00	.00
ND	1.86	.00	.03
IA	1.90	1.36	.03
NH	1.91	1.32	.00
WV	2.11	.36	.26
WY	3.31	.00	.11
ID	4.28	.00	.15
Mean	1.27	.62	.10

Note.

*Proportional ratio measures derived by dividing the variable percentage by the population percentage for each state (see Table 10 for percentages).

TABLE 20

RATIO* DISTRIBUTIONS OF BLACK ENROLLMENT, LEGISLATORS, & BEOS BY STATE, 1982

State	Enrollment	Legislators	BEOs
HI	.53	.66	.47
SC	.58	.28	.23
GA	.60	.37	.15
FL	.62	.22	.17
MA	.69	.73	.05
DE	.71	.34	.15
AL	.73	.46	.26
VA	.75	.20	.16
CO	.78	.93	.05
KS	.79	.61	.02
MI	.79	.92	.11
AK	.79	.00	.05
TX	.85	.68	.08
NV	.85	1.00	.10
LA	.86	.32	.30
NH	.88	.00	.00
MD	.88	.54	.16
ME	.88	.00	.24
MO	.88	.92	.08
TN	.90	.63	.10
WI	.91	.67	.02
OH	.92	1.01	.10
NC	.93	.12	.25
MN	.93	.45	.04
AR	.94	.25	.14
SD	.94	.00	.00
WA	.95	.54	.07
MS	.95	.32	.28
NY	.95	.59	.06
PA	.96	.66	.04
RI	.98	.53	.15
NJ	.98	.48	.17
IL	1.00	.76	.06
IN	1.00	.75	.09
OK	1.03	.45	.14
KY	1.03	.45	.18
NE	1.04	.75	.01
OR	1.04	.87	.05
AZ	1.08	.90	.24
UT	1.08	1.48	.00

Table 20 (continued)

State	Enrollment	Legislators	BEOs
WV	1.16	.45	.17
CT	1.18	1.31	.10
CA	1.19	1.14	.19
NM	1.20	.00	.17
ND	1.29	.00	.00
WY	1.34	.00	.00
MT	1.39	.00	.00
IA	1.42	.00	.02
VT	1.65	.00	.00
ID	2.33	.00	.00
Mean	.98	.50	.11

Note.

*Proportional ratio measures derived by dividing the variable percentage by the population percentage for each state (see Table 11 for percentages).

TABLE 21

RATIO* DISTRIBUTIONS OF BLACK ENROLLMENT, LEGISLATORS, & BEOS BY STATE, 1988

State	Enrollment	Legislators	BEOs
HI	.49	.00	.55
SC	.64	.41	.40
NH	.65	.39	.00
MI	.67	.82	.12
GA	.69	.49	.27
OH	.70	.98	.10
DE	.70	.30	.12
VA	.71	.44	.22
MD	.72	.58	.20
IN	.72	.71	.07
AL	.73	.74	.45
NE	.76	.68	.01
FL	.77	.64	.29
NV	.78	.81	.11
NJ	.79	.52	.16
WI	.79	.77	.03
CT	.81	.76	.10
TX	.81	.74	.10
MO	.82	.79	.09
KS	.83	.46	.03
CO	.84	1.11	.04
UT	.85	.00	.06
MS	.85	.40	.35
LA	.86	.48	.40
KY	.87	.21	.14
PA	.87	.73	.05
NC	.87	.47	.40
TN	.89	.67	.13
ND	.89	.00	.00
RI	.89	1.27	.13
IL	.90	.88	.07
MN	.90	.38	.04
ME	.90	.00	.16
NY	.90	.66	.07
CA	.91	.88	.20
OR	.92	2.36	.06
AR	.95	.27	.22
SD	.97	.00	.06
MA	1.02	.72	.06
OK	1.04	.56	.20

Table 21 (continued)

State	Enrollment	Legislators	BEOs
AK	1.05	.49	.07
AZ	1.12	1.40	.18
WA	1.15	.89	.09
WV	1.22	.25	.27
NM	1.26	.55	.16
IA	1.33	.42	.03
ID	1.65	.00	.00
WY	1.79	1.87	.17
VT	1.86	2.29	.00
MT	2.11	.00	.00
Mean	.94	.65	.15

Note.

*Proportional ratio measures derived by dividing the variable percentage by the population percentage for each state (see Table 12 for percentages).

APPENDIX B

ADDITIONAL CORRELATION ESTIMATES OF VARIABLES

TABLE 22

CORRELATION MATRIX FOR CORRELATES OF BLACK ENROLLMENT, 1976
(Deficit Scores)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Enrollment	1.00						
2. Legislators	.59	1.00					
3. BEOs	.63	.92	1.00				
4. Registration	.04	-.07	-.17	1.00			
5. Turnout	.14	.09	-.04	.97	1.00		
6. Education	.34	.58	.62	-.41	-.28	1.00	
7. Income	.35	.54	.45	-.17	-.02	.49	1.00

TABLE 23

CORRELATION MATRIX FOR CORRELATES OF BLACK ENROLLMENT, 1976
(Ratio Scores)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Enrollment	1.00						
2. Legislators	-.02	1.00					
3. BEOs	.01	.05	1.00				
4. Registration	-.29	-.01	-.27	1.00			
5. Turnout	-.22	.06	-.36	.97	1.00		
6. Education	.35	.13	-.24	-.41	-.28	1.00	
7. Income	.21	.12	-.16	-.17	-.02	.49	1.00

TABLE 24

CORRELATION MATRIX FOR CORRELATES OF
BLACK ENROLLMENT, 1982
(Deficit Scores)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Enrollment	1.00						
2. Legislators	.76	1.00					
3. BEOs	.76	.89	1.00				
4. Registration	.24	.20	.09	1.00			
5. Turnout	.42	.48	.37	.77	1.00		
6. Education	.53	.69	.71	.07	.45	1.00	
7. Income	.25	.43	.37	-.09	.12	.45	1.00

TABLE 25

CORRELATION MATRIX FOR CORRELATES OF
BLACK ENROLLMENT, 1982
(Ratio Scores)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Enrollment	1.00						
2. Legislators	-.24	1.00					
3. BEOs	-.42	.02	1.00				
4. Registration	.08	.16	-.20	1.00			
5. Turnout	.24	.20	-.36	.77	1.00		
6. Education	.35	.21	-.31	.07	.45	1.00	
7. Income	.03	.18	-.04	-.09	.12	.45	1.00

TABLE 26

CORRELATION MATRIX FOR CORRELATES OF
BLACK ENROLLMENT, 1988
(Deficit Scores)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Enrollment	1.00						
2. Legislators	.79	1.00					
3. BEOs	.85	.85	1.00				
4. Registration	-.17	-.15	-.30	1.00			
5. Turnout	.04	.08	-.09	.94	1.00		
6. Education	.52	.59	.62	-.16	.05	1.00	
7. Income	.18	.37	.30	-.04	.08	.37	1.00

TABLE 27

CORRELATION MATRIX FOR CORRELATES OF
BLACK ENROLLMENT, 1988
(Ratio Scores)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Enrollment	1.00						
2. Legislators	.22	1.00					
3. BEOs	-.33	-.16	1.00				
4. Registration	-.31	-.03	.09	1.00			
5. Turnout	-.19	.05	-.08	.94	1.00		
6. Education	.39	.21	-.30	-.16	.05	1.00	
7. Income	.02	.18	-.13	-.04	.08	.37	1.00

TABLE 28

CORRELATIONS OF ENROLLMENT &
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES, 1976-1988
(Deficit Scores & Population Control)

Variables	1976	1982	1988
Legislators	.59	.75	.77
BEOs	.66	.76	.83
Registration	.09	.28	-.05
Turnout	.20	.43	.15
Education	.35	.51	.51
Income	.34	.26	.17
(N)	(38)	(41)	(41)

TABLE 29

CORRELATIONS OF ENROLLMENT &
INDPENDENT VARIABLES, 1976-1988
(Ratio Scores & Population Control)

Variables	1976	1982	1988
Legislators	.24	.39	.02
BEOs	.08	-.27	-.18
Registration	-.01	.15	-.13
Turnout	.05	.23	-.01
Education	.28	.21	.40
Income	.21	-.16	-.08
(N)	(37)	(38)	(40)

APPENDIX C

ADDITIONAL REGRESSION ESTIMATES OF VARIABLES

TABLE 30

STANDARDIZED REGRESSION ESTIMATES
FOR ENROLLMENT MODEL
WITH 4 VARIABLES, 1976-1988
(Ratio Scores)

Variables	1976	1982	1988
Legislators	-.05	-.33	.16
Turnout	-.13	.14	-.21
Education	.28	.41	.41
Income	.08	-.12	-.15
Adjusted R^2	.07	.19	.16
N = 50			

TABLE 31

STANDARDIZED REGRESSION ESTIMATES
FOR ENROLLMENT MODEL
WITH 4 VARIABLES, 1976-1988
(Deficit Scores & Population Control)

Variables	1976	1982	1988
Legislators	.53	.75	.75
Turnout	.11	.08	.05
Education	.04	.03	.15
Income	.03	-.14	-.21
Adjusted R^2	.27	.53	.58
(N)	(38)	(41)	(41)

TABLE 32

STANDARDIZED REGRESSION ESTIMATES
FOR ENROLLMENT MODEL
WITH 4 VARIABLES, 1976-1988
(Ratio Scores & Population Control)

Variables	1976	1982	1988
Legislators	-.01	.44	-.29
Turnout	.09	.08	.07
Education	.26	.14	.67
Income	.10	-.45	-.30
Adjusted R^2	-.02	.20	.20
(N)	(37)	(38)	(40)

TABLE 33

STANDARDIZED REGRESSION ESTIMATES
FOR ENROLLMENT MODEL
WITH 6 VARIABLES, 1976-1988
(Deficit Scores)

Variables	1976	1982	1988
Legislators	-.27	.39	.19
BEOs	.84	.45	.68
Registration	-.31	.12	-.35
Turnout	.48	.00	.43
Education	-.08	-.05	-.04
Income	.11	-.06	-.13
Adjusted R^2	.37	.58	.73
N = 50			

TABLE 34

STANDARDIZED REGRESSION ESTIMATES
FOR ENROLLMENT MODEL
WITH 6 VARIABLES, 1976-1988
(Ratio Scores)

Variables	1976	1982	1988
Legislators	-.10	-.30	.14
BEOs	.10	-.30	-.20
Registration	-.97	-.02	-.36
Turnout	.82	.07	.12
Education	.22	.34	.29
Income	-.01	-.09	-.16
Adjusted R^2	.07	.23	.19
N = 50			

TABLE 35

STANDARDIZED REGRESSION ESTIMATES
FOR ENROLLMENT MODEL
WITH 6 VARIABLES, 1976-1988
(Deficit Scores & Population Control)

Variables	1976	1982	1988
Legislators	-.52	.34	.16
BEOs	1.11	.50	.71
Registration	-.33	.10	-.36
Turnout	.54	.04	.48
Education	-.12	-.06	-.05
Income	.11	-.10	-.18
Adjusted R^2	.41	.56	.71
(N)	(38)	(41)	(41)

TABLE 36

STANDARDIZED REGRESSION ESTIMATES
FOR ENROLLMENT MODEL
WITH 6 VARIABLES, 1976-1988
(Ratio Scores & Population Control)

Variables	1976	1982	1988
Legislators	.06	.43	-.33
BEOs	.24	-.02	-.12
Registration	.12	-.04	-.65
Turnout	.08	.11	.69
Education	.29	.12	.53
Income	.09	-.44	-.39
Adjusted R^2	-.03	.15	.22
(N)	(37)	(38)	(40)

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