



Engines of Inequality:

**Diminishing Equity in the Nation's Premier
Public Universities**

By Danette Gerald and Kati Haycock



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About the Education Trust

The Education Trust, Inc. was created to promote high academic achievement for all students, at all levels—pre-kindergarten through college. While we know that all schools and colleges could better serve their students, our work focuses on the schools and colleges most often left behind in plans to improve education: those serving African American, Latino, Native American and low-income students.

The Education Trust works side-by-side with policy makers, parents, education professionals, community and business leaders—in cities and towns across the country—who are trying to transform their schools and colleges into institutions that genuinely serve all students. We also bring lessons learned in local communities back to Washington to help inform national policy debates.

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Clifford Adelman
Karin Chenoweth
Jerry Davis
Ruth Mitchell
Jane Wellman

Education Trust Staff

Eli Pristoop
Data Analyst

Renee Pitts
Graphic Designer

As one country after another passes us by in the education of its children, Americans are growing increasingly worried. At some deep level, we all understand that the rules of the game are changing—that today’s American Dream isn’t simply a job-for-life. No, in our fickle internationalized economy, where many people work six or seven different jobs during the course of their lifetimes, the only ticket that matters is education.

Our K-12 leaders get this, and more and more are stepping up to the challenge. Responding to new data on the critical importance of postsecondary education to future employability, they are aiming to prepare most if not all of their students for college. And nowhere are these efforts more fervent than in the schools with the farthest to go: those serving mostly children from low-income families and children of color.

For the health of both our democracy and our economy, we need these efforts to succeed.

Fortunately, students are responding. More and more are completing advanced college preparatory courses, and college aspirations are steadily rising.¹ While plans for college are increasing among all groups of students, the gains are especially large among minority and low-income students.²

Sadly, however, at just the same moment when more low-income and minority youngsters are turning toward college, many colleges are turning away from them.

Nowhere is this turning away more disheartening than in the public flagship universities. The leading, and typically the oldest, four-year institution in each state, the flagships are

charged with special responsibilities for producing the future political, business and civic leaders of their respective states.³

Public higher education has a rich, proud tradition of serving as an engine of social mobility, and generations of striving Americans have long aspired to attend its institutions. State flagships sit atop this pyramid of opportunity, offering the hope that students from humble origins can learn alongside talented students from all backgrounds. This was America’s promise: work hard, excel in school and you, too, could follow your dreams into your state’s flagship university.

Over time, however, that compact has been broken, and in its place has come something quite different: the relentless pursuit not of expanded opportunity, but of increased selectivity. Rated less for what they accomplish with the students they let in than by how many students they keep out, many of these flagship institutions have become more and more enclaves for the most privileged of their state’s young people.

Even as the number of low-income and minority high school graduates in their states grows, often by leaps and bounds, these institutions are becoming disproportionately whiter and richer.

Why is this happening?

When asked about these trends, campus presidents typically point fingers of blame at “circumstances beyond our control.” They point at high schools, for the poor preparation of certain groups of youngsters. At the federal government, for inadequate investments in student aid. And at their respective state governments, for decreasing financial support which makes it necessary for them to raise tuition.

They point fingers everywhere, in other words, except at themselves.

As this fifth report in our series on college results makes clear, however, the universities themselves are important actors in this drama of shrinking opportunity. Not victims, not sideline spectators, but independent actors.

Yes, there are problems in our high schools. And both the federal and state governments have broken past promises to provide sufficient financial aid to students and adequate support to colleges and universities.

Our nation’s 50 flagship universities haven’t held up their end of the bargain, either. Most are much wealthier than other public universities and have large endowments. They also typically get more generous funding from their states.

Arguably, the flagships have a lot of money—much of it raised through frequent tuition hikes—to spend on student financial aid. *What these institutions actually spend on financial aid dwarfs the amounts their students receive from either federal or state sources.* In addition, the flagships have virtually unfettered discretion to decide which students will

benefit from tuition assistance and how much each student will receive.⁴

Skewed priorities

Flagship universities often justify the size of their tuition increases, at least in part, by the need to provide financial aid to needy students. Yet more and more they aren’t spending that money on the low-income students for whom such aid is absolutely essential if they are to attend college, but on the high-income students who will help increase their rankings in college guides.

- In 2003, for example, the flagship universities, along with a group of other public research universities just like them, spent \$257 million on financial aid for students from families that earn more than \$100,000 per year—considerably more than the \$171 million they spent on families at the other end of the economic spectrum who earned less than \$20,000 per year.
- In just eight years, spending on aid for these high-income students increased by a whopping \$207 million, up from only \$50 million in 1995. At the same time, spending on students from families making \$40,000 per year or less increased by only \$75 million, from \$384 to \$460 million.
- Astonishingly, the average institutional grant aid to students from families earning over \$100,000 annually—\$3,823—is actually higher than the average grant awarded to low or middle income students.⁵

The net result of this reshuffling of aid dollars? To meet remaining costs after grant aid, low-income students and their families must come up—from family contributions, work and loans—with amounts

the equivalent of 80 percent of their annual incomes. For those at the other end of the spectrum, families making more than \$100,000 per year, the amount remaining constitutes a more reasonable 12 percent of their yearly incomes.⁶

Insufficient attention to student success

These and other practices have resulted in entering classes that look less and less like the graduating high school classes in their respective states. But the flagships are even less representative at graduation. For example:

- Though the number of Black, Latino and Native American students entering flagship universities averaged about 24,300 per year between 1997 and 2001, the number of such students graduating each year between 2001 and 2005 averaged only 18,950.
- Across all of the flagships, Black freshmen graduated at only 84 percent, Latino freshmen at 88 percent and Native American freshmen at 61 percent the rate of white students.⁷

All about merit?

Some might say, “Well, what do you expect? These are meritocracies, and not every one has equal merit.” Others may say, “The flagships are only supposed to enroll the best and brightest, there are other universities for less talented students.”

Well, of course they are meritocratic institutions, and should be. And low-income students, in particular, are underrepresented in the top echelons of high school achievement.

A Closer Look at the Numbers

But, as we show later in this report, there turn out to be far more top-achieving, low-income students who could succeed in these institutions than ever get a chance. Indeed, the highest achieving students from high-income families—those who earned top grades, completed the full battery of college prep courses, and took AP courses as well—are nearly four times more likely than low-income students with exactly the same level of academic accomplishment to end up in a highly selective university.⁸

Where are those talented, low-income students instead? Mostly either not in college at all, or in less selective schools to which these top achieving students could have been admitted if their achievement was only mediocre.

Why? Because what has changed over the past decade in our most prestigious universities is how merit is defined. Now, in addition to academic merit, it appears to help a lot to be wealthy, too.

As a group, the nation's 50 flagship universities are failing to serve the full breadth of their state's populations. They're failing to provide sufficient access and they're failing to focus sufficient energy on student success. That is clear both in their collective grade-point average in the summary sections of this report, and in the fact that "F" was the most common grade earned by the individual flagships on our institutional report card.

Fortunately, however, there are also some "A's"—exceptions that show that flagship universities can indeed do better at both access and success when they really focus. Exceptions that can teach us the way.

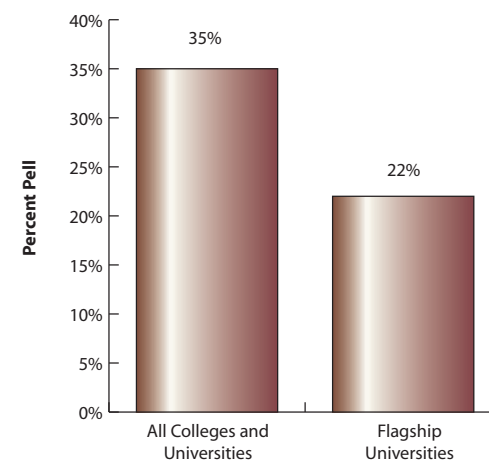
Let's take a closer look at the numbers.

Access for Low-income and Minority Students

In 2005, the nation's 50 flagship universities collectively enrolled approximately 1.2 million undergraduate students—the majority of whom entered these institutions directly after graduating from high school. As a group, however, the undergraduates who attend flagships don't look much like either the high school graduating classes they came from, or college students more generally: they are likely to be more affluent and less racially and ethnically diverse than one might presume.

We know, for example, that 35 percent of American families with children under 18 earn less than \$40,000 per year—roughly the threshold for qualifying for a federal Pell Grant.⁹ While the data on the income characteristics of students enrolled in flagship universities are limited, we do know that 22 percent of these students receive Pell Grants. This figure not only puts the number of Pell recipients enrolled in flagships below what might be expected given the economic characteristics of society at large, but also well below the 35 percent of such students attending *all* colleges and universities.¹⁰

Figure 1. Percent of Undergraduates Receiving Pell Grants
by Institutional Type



Compared with other postsecondary institutions, the flagships' combined low-income access ratio

Flagships' Grade for Serving Low-Income Students

(.22) = Pell Grant recipients as % of students in flagships

(.35) = Pell Grant recipients as % of students in all colleges and universities

Low-income access ratio = .63

Flagship Grade: D

Pell Grant

The Pell Grant has long served as the cornerstone of the federal government's financial aid program. Established in 1972 as the Basic Educational Opportunity Grant (BEOG), the Pell Grant has made it possible for millions of students from low-income families to attend two- and four-year colleges. In the 2005-2006 academic year \$12.7 billion in Pell Grants were disbursed to over 5 million undergraduate students.ⁱ

Unlike other forms of financial aid, such as unsubsidized student loans and some scholarships, Pell Grants are awarded solely on the basis of students' income and estimated family contribution (EFC). All students with demonstrated financial need who meet certain residency requirements and enroll in an eligible college or university on at least a part-time basis, qualify to receive the Pell Grant.ⁱⁱ In 2004-2005, nearly 60 percent of Pell recipients came from families who earned less than \$20,000 per year. The average family income for all Pell recipients was \$19,299.ⁱⁱⁱ Most undergraduates who receive the Pell Grant come from families whose earnings place them in the lowest income quartile of all American families.

Over the years, the purchasing power of the Pell Grant has plummeted. In 1979 the maximum Pell award of \$1,600 covered 75 percent of the cost of attending

a four-year public college or university, by 2005 the maximum award of \$4,050 only covered 33 percent of those costs.^{iv, v} Today, it is estimated that low-income students who wish to attend a four-year public college still face a funding gap (amount between cost of attendance and maximum amount of Pell Grant) of over \$6,000.^{vi}

Not surprisingly, smaller proportions of low-income students enroll in four-year colleges today than they did 20 or 30 years ago. This enrollment pattern greatly reduces the likelihood that these students will ever earn the bachelor's degrees they hoped to get. Today, 31 percent and 14 percent of Pell Grant recipients enroll in public and private four-year colleges, respectively. Proprietary institutions account for another 18 percent of Pell recipients, while the greatest share, 36 percent, enroll in two-year institutions.^{vii}

ⁱ Sandy Baum and Kathleen Payea (2006). *Trends in Student Aid 2006*. Washington, DC: The College Board.

ⁱⁱ NCES (2006). *2004-2005 Federal Pell Grant Program End-of-Year Report*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.

ⁱⁱⁱ Ibid.

^{iv} American Council on Education (2004). *ACE Fact Sheet on Higher Education*. Washington, DC: American Council on Education.

^v Sandy Baum and Kathleen Payea (2006). *Trends in Student Aid 2006*. Washington, DC: The College Board.

^{vi} Edward P. St. John (2005). *Affordability of Postsecondary Education: Equity and Adequacy Across the 50 States*. Washington, DC: The Center for American Progress.

^{vii} NCES (2006). *2004-2005 Federal Pell Grant Program End-of-Year Report*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.

of .63 (calculated by dividing the 22 percent of Pell recipients enrolled at flagships by the 35 percent of Pell recipients enrolled at all colleges and universities) suggests that they are serving approximately one-third less than what might be considered their fair share of all low-income college students. On a typical classroom grading scale, then, that 63 percent would earn the flagships a "D" for providing access to low-income students.

Flagship enrollment patterns by race look even worse than the low-income numbers. Together,

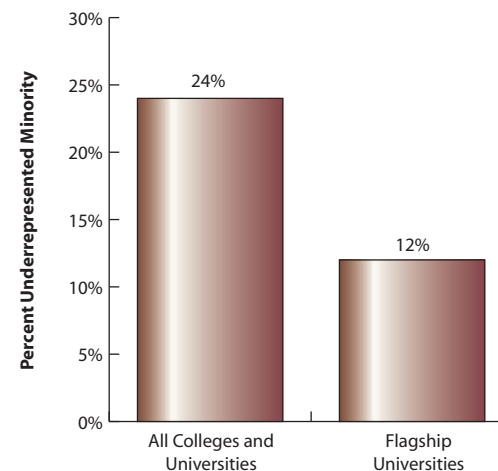
African Americans, Latinos and Native Americans—groups that have traditionally been underrepresented in higher education—account for approximately 12 percent of undergraduate students at flagship universities. This figure is much lower, however, than either the percentage of high school graduates from these same groups over the last five years (approximately 26 percent)¹¹ or their share of all undergraduate student enrollments (approximately 24 percent).¹²

In 2004, minority students accounted for 28 percent of the nation's high school graduates and 12 percent of freshmen enrolled at the flagships. This results in the flagships' minority access ratio of .43 ($.12 \div .28 = .43$), which makes it clear that these institutions are only serving about half of what might be considered their fair share of minority students. By this measure, the nation's flagships get an "F" on a typical grading scale for facilitating access for minority students.

What are the Trends?

Even in the face of such disproportionate underrepresentation of low-income and minority students at the flagships, Americans might be willing to be patient if these institutions were making steady progress in better serving the vast breadth of our citizenry. Available evidence, however, suggests just the opposite.

Figure 2. Percent of Students Who Are Black, Latino, or Native American by Institutional Type



Flagships' Grade for Serving African American, Latino and Native American Students

(.12) = % of AA, Latino and NA freshmen at flagships

(.28) = % of AA, Latino and NA high school graduates

Minority access ratio = .43

Flagship Grade: F

Low-Income Student Access Trend

1992 $\frac{.24 = \text{Pell Grant recipients as \% of 1992 undergrads. at flagships}}{.29 = \text{Pell Grant recipients as \% of 1992 undergrads. at all colleges \& universities}} = .83$

2003 $\frac{.22 = \text{Pell Grant recipients as \% of 2003 undergrads. at flagships}}{.35 = \text{Pell Grant recipients as \% of 2003 undergrads. at all colleges \& universities}} = .63$

Overall Trend: ↓

The representation of low-income students at the flagships decreased from .83 to .63.

According to national Pell recipient data, above, the absolute number and proportion of students receiving Pell Grants has increased over the past 11 years, up from 29 percent of all undergraduates in 1992 to 35 percent by 2003. Over this same period, however, the percentage of Pell recipients in flagship universities declined from 24 percent in 1992 to 22 percent in 2003.¹³

Minority Student Access Trend

1992 $\frac{.11 = \text{minority students as \% of 1992 freshmen at flagships}}{.22 = \text{minority students as \% of 1992 high school graduates nationwide}} = .50$

2004 $\frac{.12 = \text{minority students as \% of 2004 freshmen at flagships}}{.28 = \text{minority students as \% of 2004 high school graduates nationwide}} = .43$

Overall Trend: ↓

The representation of minority students at the flagships decreased from .50 to .43.

At first glance (preceeding box), the over-time enrollment numbers for students of color at flagships seem to be improving, at least a little bit. Together, Black, Latino and Native American students grew from 11 percent of freshmen enrolled in flagships in 1992 to 12 percent by 2004.¹⁴ But it turns out that these enrollment increases were swamped by even larger gains in the number of such students graduating from high school. The result is that these schools have become much less representative of the racial composition of the nation's high school graduates.

In other words, the 50 flagship universities now look less and less like America—and more and more like “gated communities of higher education.”¹⁵

Success Rates for the Low-income and Minority Students Who DO Enroll in Flagship Universities

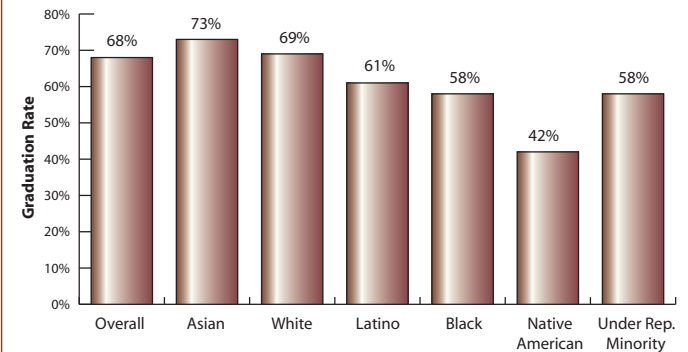
Because the federal government doesn't collect the necessary data, we don't have any information on the graduation rates of low-income students who enroll in college. As a group, therefore, we have to assign the flagships a grade of “Incomplete” for success in graduating low-income students.

However, because data on success rates by race are both collected and reported, we can examine how freshmen from different groups fare in terms of receiving bachelor's degrees within six years of entering the flagships.

Graduation data for the flagships as a whole appear in Table 3 below. When compared to most other colleges, the flagships tend to do a better job of graduating their students within six years. Yet, a close look at the graduation rates reveals that these institutions have sizable gaps between the rates at which different groups of students earn the degrees they aspired to get. Among Asian and White freshmen, for instance, a full 73 percent and 69 percent, respectively, get out with degrees within six years. The numbers are very different for Latinos (61 percent), Blacks (58 percent) and Native Americans (42 percent).

All together, minority freshmen graduate at approximately 84 percent of the rate of their White counterparts, meriting the flagships a grade of “B” on this indicator.

Figure 3. Graduation Rates at Flagships by Race/Ethnicity



Flagships' Grade for Student Success—Graduation Rate Gaps

(.58) = six-year graduation rate for AA, Latino and NA freshmen at flagships

(.69) = six-year graduation rate for White freshmen at flagships

Student Success Ratio = **.84**

Flagship Grade: B

Grading the Individual Flagships

What seems clear, then, is that the flagships as a group are better at ensuring that the students they do admit successfully graduate, than they are at creating opportunities for more poor students and students of color to have access to these institutions in the first place.

But even so, the combined effects of gaps in both access and success are evident—even when we add in transfers from community colleges. African-Americans, Latinos and Native Americans comprised only 10 percent of flagship graduates in 2005. By contrast, they accounted for 25 percent of the nation's high school graduate population four years earlier.¹⁶

Most of the existing measures used to rate American colleges and universities focus on status and selectivity rather than access and success. Accordingly, to help readers evaluate how well the flagship in their own state is serving the high school graduates in that state, we have created (or, in a few cases, borrowed) a set of metrics and applied them to each flagship.¹⁷ Then, for clarity's sake, we've assigned a letter grade to each. Also, where historical data are available, we look at trends in access and success and show whether the institution is getting better—or getting worse.

Though flagship universities have much in common, especially in the unique roles they play and the respect that they receive within their respective states, they also differ in many ways. Some, it turns out, are far more successful than others in enrolling low-income and minority students, while others have far more success in graduating them.

To be sure, there are important contextual characteristics—in the selectivity of these institutions, in the nature of the state populations from which they draw the majority of their students, and the like—that may render their ability to perform well on these access and success measures harder or easier. One might expect, for example, that public universities in Alabama and Georgia will enroll significantly more African-American students than their counterparts in New Hampshire or South Dakota.

Before we get to the report card it's important to note that we have made no attempt to assess institutional quality. These grades are not intended to judge the overall excellence of these institutions. *Our grades are designed solely to evaluate the degree to which the flagships are equitably serving the minority and low-income students in their states.*

What do the grades look like?

Given the overall patterns described earlier, which show that the flagship institutions as a group don't even come close to adequately reflecting the populations of their states, it won't be surprising that "F" was the most common grade assigned to these institutions. Indeed, of the 200 grades in the Flagship Report Card on page 10, more than one-third were "F's."

But, before we go any further, it is important to explain how the grades were calculated, so that readers can understand the importance of and differences among each of the individual indicators.

Our report card contains seven separate indices, three of which look at current results, three which measure trends over time and one cumulative grade. The three indicators that measure the current status of access and success, along with the cumulative measure which is an average of the first three, are graded. We award A's for 90 percent or better; B's for 80-89 percent, C's for 70-79 percent, D's for 60-69 percent, and F's for everything below that. The trend measures are scored even more simply, with up and down arrows to indicate improvements or declines over time.

We also assigned each flagship a cumulative grade, the most common of which were D's and F's. No flagship received an overall grade of "A," and only four earned "B's."

The grades and trends highlighted in this report card paint a grim picture. Clearly, the accessibility of these institutions is declining; success rates for minority students are lagging, and most institutions are getting worse, not better.

No matter how you look at it, our nation's flagships are not equitably serving a large proportion of our young people. This, undoubtedly, has devastating implications for our nation's future.

GRADE 1: Access for African-American, Latino and Native American students

What

We compare the percentage of African-American, Latino and Native American freshmen enrolled at each of the flagships in the fall of 2004 to the percentage of these students among 2004 high school graduates in each respective state.

Examples

At the University of Georgia (UGA), only seven percent of freshmen were African American, Latino or Native American, but these students accounted for 36 percent of Georgia's 2004 high school graduates. Therefore, UGA's access ratio for minority students is .19, the lowest of all 50 flagships, and the institution received a grade of "F" on this measure.

The University of Minnesota did much better. Together, African American, Latino and Native Americans represented exactly 7.7 percent of the freshmen class and exactly 7.7 percent of the state's high school graduates. The University of Minnesota's ratio of minority freshmen to Minnesota's minority high school graduates was 1.0 and resulted in the university receiving an "A" for providing access to minority students.

Grade Distribution

Overall, 27 of the 50 flagships received "F's" on this access index. Only 6 received A's.

Grade 2: Progress in Access for African-American, Latino and Native American Students

What

We compare the percentage of minority freshmen enrolled at each flagship in 1992 to the percentage of minority high school graduates in each respective state in 1992. We calculate the same measure for 2004 and then compare the 1992 and 2004 ratios.

Examples

The representation of New Mexico's minority high school graduates among the University of New Mexico's freshmen class increased from .70 to .85. On the other hand, the representation of Illinois' minority high school graduates among freshmen at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign decreased from .73 to .48.

Grade Distribution

Of all 50 flagships, 15 made positive gains on this measure and 35 experienced declines.

Grade 3: Access for Low-Income Students

What

We use a the Pell Grant as a proxy for low-income status and compare the percentage of Pell Grant recipients enrolled at each flagship in 2004 to the percentage of Pell Grant recipients enrolled at all colleges and universities in that state in 2004.

Examples

At the University of California-Berkeley, 34 percent of undergraduates receive the Pell Grant, but in the state of California as a whole, only 29 percent of undergraduates are Pell recipients. UC-Berkeley's low-income access index is 1.17 and its grade on this measure is an "A."

Only 19 percent of students attending Louisiana State University (LSU) receive Pell Grants, compared to 48 percent of college students statewide. LSU's low-income access ratio is .40, warranting a grade of "F" on this indicator.

Grade Distribution

Seven flagships received A's for equitably serving their state's low-income students; 26 received F's.

Grade 4: Progress in Access for Low-Income Students

What

We compare the percentage of Pell recipients enrolled at each flagship in 1992 to the percentage of Pell recipients in all colleges and universities in each respective state in 1992. We then calculate the same measure for 2004 and compare the 1992 and 2004 ratios.

Examples

The representation of low-income students enrolled at the University of Vermont relative to low-income students enrolled at all other colleges throughout the state increased from .49 to .61. Using the same calculation, representation of low-

income students at the University of Oklahoma decreased from .93 to .58.

Grade Distribution

Six flagships made progress in providing access for low-income students; 44 actually got worse.

Grade 5: Student Success

What

We grade the flagships on their six-year graduation rate for minority students relative to their six-year graduation rate for White students. Schools with small or no gaps between the rates at which their minority and White students graduate receive higher grades.

Examples

At Ohio State University the combined six-year graduation rate for African-American, Latino and Native American students is 56 percent, compared to a six-year graduation rate of 69 percent for White students. This 13-point gap results in minority students graduating at 81 percent the rate of their White peers and earns a grade of "B" for Ohio State. The State University of New York at Buffalo has six-year graduation rates of 41 percent for minority students and 62 percent for White students. This 21-point gap means that minority students graduate 66 percent the rate of their White peers and results in a success grade of "D" for New York's flagship.

Grade Distribution

Eight flagships earned "A's" for having small graduation rate gaps, three earned "F's."

Grade 6: Change in access and success of minority students, 1986-2005

What

We measure the extent to which the flagships are making progress on both the access and success fronts for underrepresented students. Unlike other measures this one picks up students who transfer in from community colleges or other universities. The first ratio compares the proportion of degrees that were conferred at each of the flagships in 1990 to the percentage of that state's minority high school graduates four years earlier. The second ratio compares the percentage of degrees conferred to minority students at each individual flagship in 2005 to the percentage of minority high school graduates in each state four years earlier. We then compare the two ratios.

Examples

The proportion of degrees conferred to minority students at Ohio State University relative to the state's minority high school increased from a ratio of .32 to .82. The corresponding ratio at the University of California-Berkeley decreased from .50 to .36.

Grade Distribution

Thirty-nine of the 50 flagships made favorable progress on this measure and 11 got worse.

Flagship Report Card: Grades

Institution Name	State	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	Pell Success	Grade 6	Overall Grade
		Minority Access	Progress in Minority Access	Low - Income Access	Progress in Low - Income Access	Minority Success		Progress in Access and Success	
U. OF ALASKA FAIRBANKS	AK	A	↑	A	↓	F	Data Not Collected By USDOE	↑	C
U. OF ALABAMA	AL	F	↓	F	↓	A		↑	D
U. OF ARKANSAS AT FAYETTEVILLE	AR	F	↓	F	↓	C		↑	F
U. OF ARIZONA	AZ	F	↓	F	↓	C		↑	F
U. OF CALIFORNIA-BERKELEY	CA	F	↓	A	↓	B		↓	C
U. OF COLORADO AT BOULDER	CO	F	↓	F	↓	B		↑	D
U. OF CONNECTICUT	CT	F	↓	F	↓	B		↑	D
U. OF DELAWARE	DE	F	↑	F	↑	B		↑	D
U. OF FLORIDA	FL	D	↑	F	↓	B		↑	D
U. OF GEORGIA	GA	F	↓	F	↓	A		↑	D
U. OF HAWAII AT MANOA	HI	D	↑	A	↑	A		↓	B
U. OF IOWA	IA	B	↓	F	↓	C		↓	D
U. OF IDAHO	ID	B	↓	C	↓	C		↓	C
U. OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN	IL	F	↓	F	↓	C		↑	F
INDIANA U. -BLOOMINGTON	IN	C	↑	F	↓	C		↑	D
U. OF KANSAS	KS	D	↑	F	↓	C		↑	D
U. OF KENTUCKY	KY	C	↓	A	↑	C		↑	C
LOUISIANA STATE U.	LA	F	↓	F	↓	A		↑	D
UMASS AMHERST	MA	F	↓	A	↓	B		↓	C
U. OF MARYLAND COLLEGE PARK	MD	F	↓	D	↓	B		↑	D
U. OF MAINE	ME	A	↓	B	↓	D		↑	C
U. OF MICHIGAN-ANN ARBOR	MI	B	↓	F	↓	B		↑	C
U. OF MINNESOTA TWIN CITIES	MN	A	↓	D	↑	D		↓	C
U. OF MISSOURI-COLUMBIA	MO	F	↑	F	↓	B		↑	D
U. OF MISSISSIPPI	MS	F	↑	F	↓	C		↑	F
U. OF MONTANA	MT	D	↓	A	↓	D		↓	C
UNC CHAPEL HILL	NC	F	↑	F	↓	B		↑	D
U. OF NORTH DAKOTA	ND	F	↓	C	↓	F		↓	F
U. OF NEBRASKA AT LINCOLN	NE	F	↓	C	↓	D		↑	D
U. OF NEW HAMPSHIRE	NH	A	↑	D	↓	A		↓	B
RUTGERS U. -NEW BRUNSWICK	NJ	D	↓	B	↓	B		↑	C
U. OF NEW MEXICO	NM	B	↑	B	↓	B		↑	B
U. OF NEVADA-RENO	NV	F	↑	C	↓	B		↑	D
SUNY AT BUFFALO	NY	F	↓	A	↑	D		↑	D
OHIO STATE U.	OH	C	↓	D	↓	B		↑	C
U. OF OKLAHOMA NORMAN CAMPUS	OK	F	↓	F	↓	B		↑	D
U. OF OREGON	OR	F	↓	D	↓	C		↑	D
PENN STATE U.	PA	F	↑	F	↓	C		↑	F
U. OF RHODE ISLAND	RI	F	↓	F	↓	C		↑	F
U. OF SOUTH CAROLINA AT COLUMBIA	SC	F	↓	F	↓	B		↑	D
U. OF SOUTH DAKOTA	SD	D	↓	C	↓	F		↑	D
U. OF TENNESSEE-KNOXVILLE	TN	F	↑	F	↓	A		↑	D
U. OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN	TX	F	↓	F	↓	B		↑	D
U. OF UTAH	UT	B	↓	C	↓	B		↓	C
U. OF VIRGINIA	VA	F	↓	F	↓	A		↑	D
U. OF VERMONT	VT	A	↑	D	↑	A		↑	B
U. OF WASHINGTON	WA	D	↓	C	↓	B		↓	C
U. OF WISCONSIN-MADISON	WI	C	↓	F	↓	C		↓	D
WEST VIRGINIA U.	WV	A	↓	F	↓	D		↓	D
U. OF WYOMING	WY	C	↓	B	↓	B		↓	C

Institution Name	State	Grade 1: Minority Access				Grade 2: Progress in Minority Access				
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		Spring '04 HS grads, URM %	Fall '04 freshmen, URM %	Ratio '04	Minority Access Grade	Spring '92 HS grads, URM %	Fall '92 freshmen, URM %	Ratio '92	Ratio % change, '92-'04	Progress in Minority Access '92-'04
U. OF ALASKA FAIRBANKS	AK	24.9%	29.8%	1.20	A	24.5%	23.7%	0.97	23.6%	↑
U. OF ALABAMA	AL	33.3%	11.0%	0.33	F	32.4%	12.7%	0.39	-15.8%	↓
U. OF ARKANSAS AT FAYETTEVILLE	AR	24.1%	9.4%	0.39	F	21.9%	8.7%	0.40	-1.7%	↓
U. OF ARIZONA	AZ	41.0%	21.0%	0.51	F	30.8%	17.0%	0.55	-7.1%	↓
U. OF CALIFORNIA-BERKELEY	CA	44.0%	13.9%	0.32	F	35.1%	23.9%	0.68	-53.6%	↓
U. OF COLORADO AT BOULDER	CO	21.9%	9.2%	0.42	F	18.0%	10.4%	0.58	-27.1%	↓
U. OF CONNECTICUT	CT	21.2%	11.1%	0.52	F	16.7%	9.3%	0.56	-5.7%	↓
U. OF DELAWARE	DE	31.3%	11.1%	0.35	F	23.9%	5.3%	0.22	60.0%	↑
U. OF FLORIDA	FL	38.6%	23.1%	0.60	D	33.2%	17.1%	0.51	16.3%	↑
U. OF GEORGIA	GA	35.8%	6.8%	0.19	F	35.0%	11.7%	0.33	-43.2%	↓
U. OF HAWAII AT MANOA	HI	6.4%	4.0%	0.62	D	7.5%	1.1%	0.15	324.0%	↑
U. OF IOWA	IA	5.7%	5.0%	0.88	B	3.5%	4.5%	1.30	-32.1%	↓
U. OF IDAHO	ID	9.2%	7.7%	0.83	B	4.5%	4.2%	0.94	-11.4%	↓
U. OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN	IL	26.6%	12.8%	0.48	F	22.7%	16.5%	0.73	-33.9%	↓
INDIANA U. -BLOOMINGTON	IN	10.8%	8.3%	0.77	C	10.7%	7.4%	0.69	10.5%	↑
U. OF KANSAS	KS	14.4%	9.5%	0.66	D	10.4%	6.2%	0.59	10.8%	↑
U. OF KENTUCKY	KY	10.7%	7.8%	0.73	C	8.6%	6.6%	0.77	-4.8%	↓
LOUISIANA STATE U.	LA	42.2%	12.5%	0.30	F	39.1%	11.6%	0.30	-0.1%	↓
UMASS AMHERST	MA	15.3%	8.1%	0.53	F	11.3%	7.9%	0.70	-24.4%	↓
U. OF MARYLAND COLLEGE PARK	MD	36.7%	19.7%	0.54	F	29.3%	17.0%	0.58	-7.5%	↓
U. OF MAINE	ME	2.4%	3.2%	1.33	A	1.4%	11.9%	8.41	-84.2%	↓
U. OF MICHIGAN-ANN ARBOR	MI	15.2%	12.2%	0.80	B	14.9%	16.1%	1.08	-25.5%	↓
U. OF MINNESOTA TWIN CITIES	MN	7.7%	7.7%	1.00	A	4.0%	9.2%	2.29	-56.3%	↓
U. OF MISSOURI-COLUMBIA	MO	15.5%	8.9%	0.57	F	14.7%	6.5%	0.44	30.0%	↑
U. OF MISSISSIPPI	MS	47.0%	12.0%	0.26	F	46.6%	8.9%	0.19	33.6%	↑
U. OF MONTANA	MT	9.1%	5.5%	0.60	D	7.7%	5.4%	0.70	-14.4%	↓
UNC CHAPEL HILL	NC	31.6%	16.0%	0.51	F	30.1%	12.4%	0.41	22.7%	↑
U. OF NORTH DAKOTA	ND	7.2%	3.5%	0.49	F	5.8%	4.1%	0.71	-31.4%	↓
U. OF NEBRASKA AT LINCOLN	NE	10.7%	6.3%	0.59	F	6.4%	4.4%	0.69	-14.6%	↓
U. OF NEW HAMPSHIRE	NH	3.0%	3.9%	1.32	A	2.3%	1.9%	0.83	58.4%	↑
RUTGERS U. -NEW BRUNSWICK	NJ	29.2%	19.1%	0.65	D	23.2%	19.7%	0.85	-22.7%	↓
U. OF NEW MEXICO	NM	58.2%	49.8%	0.85	B	54.2%	38.0%	0.70	21.9%	↑
U. OF NEVADA-RENO	NV	26.4%	12.3%	0.47	F	18.8%	7.0%	0.37	25.4%	↑
SUNY AT BUFFALO	NY	25.7%	12.3%	0.48	F	22.9%	13.7%	0.60	-19.9%	↓
OHIO STATE U.	OH	13.5%	9.9%	0.74	C	10.6%	10.2%	0.97	-23.9%	↓
U. OF OKLAHOMA NORMAN CAMPUS	OK	31.0%	15.5%	0.50	F	21.7%	20.4%	0.94	-46.8%	↓
U. OF OREGON	OR	11.9%	6.4%	0.54	F	6.0%	6.1%	1.02	-47.3%	↓
PENN STATE U.	PA	15.0%	8.2%	0.55	F	10.5%	5.7%	0.54	0.8%	↑
U. OF RHODE ISLAND	RI	17.6%	10.0%	0.57	F	5.3%	6.1%	1.15	-50.7%	↓
U. OF SOUTH CAROLINA AT COLUMBIA	SC	40.6%	15.7%	0.39	F	38.7%	20.1%	0.52	-25.7%	↓
U. OF SOUTH DAKOTA	SD	6.9%	4.2%	0.61	D	5.4%	5.0%	0.93	-34.3%	↓
U. OF TENNESSEE-KNOXVILLE	TN	21.7%	11.9%	0.55	F	18.4%	7.8%	0.42	29.6%	↑
U. OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN	TX	48.9%	21.9%	0.45	F	40.7%	19.2%	0.47	-5.1%	↓
U. OF UTAH	UT	8.0%	6.5%	0.81	B	4.6%	4.4%	0.95	-14.9%	↓
U. OF VIRGINIA	VA	27.7%	15.0%	0.54	F	22.1%	15.2%	0.69	-21.4%	↓
U. OF VERMONT	VT	2.7%	3.6%	1.33	A	1.7%	1.8%	1.06	25.5%	↑
U. OF WASHINGTON	WA	13.8%	9.5%	0.69	D	8.8%	7.8%	0.88	-22.2%	↓
U. OF WISCONSIN-MADISON	WI	9.3%	6.8%	0.74	C	6.5%	4.8%	0.74	-0.5%	↓
WEST VIRGINIA U.	WV	4.2%	4.7%	1.12	A	3.5%	5.0%	1.41	-20.7%	↓
U. OF WYOMING	WY	7.8%	5.9%	0.76	C	8.4%	6.7%	0.80	-5.1%	↓

Note: URM = underrepresented minority and comprises African-American, Latino, and Native-American. Column 3 (Ratio '04) = Column 2 / Column 1. Column 7 (Ratio '92) = Column 6 / Column 5. Column 8 (Ratio % Change '92-'04) = ((Column 3 - Column 7)/Column 7). The numbers that appear in columns 1-3, and 5-8 are rounded, but the numbers used to generate columns 3, 7, and 8 are not, so calculating the values for columns 3, 7, and 8 using the numbers in the chart may yield results slightly different from the numbers that appear in columns 3, 7, and 8.

Institution Name	State	Grade 3: Low-income Access				Grade 4: Progress in Low-Income Access				
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		Flagship studs with Pell '04 %	State studs with Pell '04 %	Equity index '04	Low - Income Access Grade	Flagship studs with Pell '92 %	State studs with Pell '92 %	Equity Index '92	Equity Index % change	Progress in Low-Income Access '92 - '04
U. OF ALASKA FAIRBANKS	AK	17.9%	17.7%	1.01	A	17.2%	13.5%	1.27	-20.7%	↓
U. OF ALABAMA	AL	23.6%	50.4%	0.47	F	23.0%	38.1%	0.60	-22.4%	↓
U. OF ARKANSAS AT FAYETTEVILLE	AR	23.7%	48.3%	0.49	F	29.2%	39.9%	0.73	-32.7%	↓
U. OF ARIZONA	AZ	24.5%	41.9%	0.59	F	23.9%	27.1%	0.88	-33.6%	↓
U. OF CALIFORNIA-BERKELEY	CA	33.6%	28.7%	1.17	A	27.0%	19.8%	1.36	-14.2%	↓
U. OF COLORADO AT BOULDER	CO	14.5%	34.5%	0.42	F	17.8%	25.3%	0.70	-40.4%	↓
U. OF CONNECTICUT	CT	15.3%	26.0%	0.59	F	11.8%	16.4%	0.72	-18.1%	↓
U. OF DELAWARE	DE	9.8%	24.4%	0.40	F	6.7%	17.2%	0.39	4.0%	↑
U. OF FLORIDA	FL	23.9%	40.2%	0.59	F	24.3%	26.5%	0.92	-35.4%	↓
U. OF GEORGIA	GA	13.9%	48.5%	0.29	F	15.9%	33.1%	0.48	-40.6%	↓
U. OF HAWAII AT MANOA	HI	21.1%	22.5%	0.94	A	10.8%	12.5%	0.86	8.8%	↑
U. OF IOWA	IA	17.7%	39.9%	0.44	F	20.4%	35.3%	0.58	-22.9%	↓
U. OF IDAHO	ID	37.0%	47.4%	0.78	C	33.4%	39.7%	0.84	-7.3%	↓
U. OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN	IL	16.3%	32.3%	0.51	F	19.8%	25.3%	0.78	-35.5%	↓
INDIANA U. -BLOOMINGTON	IN	16.5%	44.7%	0.37	F	18.7%	34.2%	0.55	-32.4%	↓
U. OF KANSAS	KS	15.6%	31.6%	0.49	F	20.3%	29.7%	0.68	-27.7%	↓
U. OF KENTUCKY	KY	37.3%	41.2%	0.91	A	36.4%	47.0%	0.78	16.8%	↑
LOUISIANA STATE U.	LA	19.2%	47.8%	0.40	F	21.6%	42.2%	0.51	-21.5%	↓
UMASS AMHERST	MA	23.4%	24.0%	0.97	A	21.6%	22.1%	0.98	-0.7%	↓
U. OF MARYLAND COLLEGE PARK	MD	16.9%	28.3%	0.60	D	16.2%	21.0%	0.77	-22.3%	↓
U. OF MAINE	ME	30.4%	34.0%	0.89	B	29.0%	27.0%	1.08	-16.9%	↓
U. OF MICHIGAN-ANN ARBOR	MI	13.5%	33.9%	0.40	F	14.9%	30.6%	0.49	-18.2%	↓
U. OF MINNESOTA TWIN CITIES	MN	18.1%	28.4%	0.64	D	19.7%	32.2%	0.61	4.0%	↑
U. OF MISSOURI-COLUMBIA	MO	16.6%	38.3%	0.43	F	24.8%	33.4%	0.74	-41.8%	↓
U. OF MISSISSIPPI	MS	25.1%	58.8%	0.43	F	25.6%	49.1%	0.52	-18.2%	↓
U. OF MONTANA	MT	38.8%	42.7%	0.91	A	39.9%	43.7%	0.91	-0.4%	↓
UNC CHAPEL HILL	NC	14.7%	35.9%	0.41	F	14.6%	23.2%	0.63	-35.0%	↓
U. OF NORTH DAKOTA	ND	24.9%	33.7%	0.74	C	33.4%	43.7%	0.77	-3.6%	↓
U. OF NEBRASKA AT LINCOLN	NE	21.6%	30.1%	0.72	C	27.4%	31.0%	0.88	-18.5%	↓
U. OF NEW HAMPSHIRE	NH	16.2%	24.8%	0.65	D	18.5%	20.6%	0.90	-27.3%	↓
RUTGERS U. -NEW BRUNSWICK	NJ	27.8%	31.7%	0.88	B	21.0%	21.9%	0.96	-8.3%	↓
U. OF NEW MEXICO	NM	33.5%	40.2%	0.83	B	36.4%	36.6%	0.99	-16.1%	↓
U. OF NEVADA-RENO	NV	14.9%	20.6%	0.72	C	14.3%	14.8%	0.97	-25.1%	↓
SUNY AT BUFFALO	NY	37.5%	40.9%	0.92	A	28.4%	37.2%	0.76	20.3%	↑
OHIO STATE U.	OH	23.0%	38.6%	0.60	D	22.2%	32.9%	0.68	-11.8%	↓
U. OF OKLAHOMA NORMAN CAMPUS	OK	24.4%	42.2%	0.58	F	33.2%	35.6%	0.93	-37.9%	↓
U. OF OREGON	OR	25.4%	37.4%	0.68	D	24.3%	28.6%	0.85	-20.2%	↓
PENN STATE U.	PA	18.0%	33.6%	0.54	F	22.2%	27.7%	0.80	-33.2%	↓
U. OF RHODE ISLAND	RI	20.8%	35.2%	0.59	F	18.8%	23.2%	0.81	-27.0%	↓
U. OF SOUTH CAROLINA AT COLUMBIA	SC	23.6%	44.1%	0.54	F	26.0%	32.7%	0.79	-32.7%	↓
U. OF SOUTH DAKOTA	SD	32.0%	43.4%	0.74	C	41.5%	46.4%	0.89	-17.4%	↓
U. OF TENNESSEE-KNOXVILLE	TN	22.6%	43.3%	0.52	F	22.0%	31.2%	0.71	-26.1%	↓
U. OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN	TX	21.4%	43.2%	0.50	F	19.3%	28.5%	0.68	-27.0%	↓
U. OF UTAH	UT	28.0%	38.0%	0.74	C	30.1%	39.2%	0.77	-4.1%	↓
U. OF VIRGINIA	VA	7.6%	28.7%	0.26	F	9.9%	23.0%	0.43	-38.9%	↓
U. OF VERMONT	VT	17.0%	28.0%	0.61	D	12.9%	26.3%	0.49	23.6%	↑
U. OF WASHINGTON	WA	22.5%	29.8%	0.75	C	19.3%	24.7%	0.78	-3.2%	↓
U. OF WISCONSIN-MADISON	WI	13.1%	24.2%	0.54	F	16.4%	26.0%	0.63	-13.8%	↓
WEST VIRGINIA U.	WV	27.0%	49.3%	0.55	F	23.6%	34.1%	0.69	-20.7%	↓
U. OF WYOMING	WY	26.5%	31.0%	0.86	B	33.1%	32.1%	1.03	-16.8%	↓

Note: Column 3 (Equity Index '04-'05) = Column 1 / Column 2. Column 7 (Equity Index '92) = Column 5 / Column 6. Column 8 (Equity Index % Change) = ((Column 3 - Column 7)/Column 7). Kentucky pell grant data, both statewide and flagship data, are from 2003. The numbers that appear in columns 1-3, and 5-8 are rounded, but the numbers used to generate columns 3, 7, and 8 are not, so calculating the values for columns 3, 7, and 8 using the numbers in the chart may yield results slightly different from the numbers that appear in columns 3, 7, and 8.

		Grade 5: Minority Student Success					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
Institution Name	State	Overall Six-Year Grad Rate	White Grad Rate	URM Grad Rate	URM-White gap	URM-White Grad Rate Equity Score	Minority Success Grade
U. OF ALASKA FAIRBANKS	AK	21.6%	25.4%	9.6%	15.8	37.8%	F
U. OF ALABAMA	AL	62.9%	63.6%	58.6%	5	92.1%	A
U. OF ARKANSAS AT FAYETTEVILLE	AR	56.4%	57.6%	45.6%	12	79.2%	C
U. OF ARIZONA	AZ	58.9%	61.2%	46.7%	14.5	76.3%	C
U. OF CALIFORNIA-BERKELEY	CA	87.1%	86.6%	74.4%	12.2	85.9%	B
U. OF COLORADO AT BOULDER	CO	66.2%	67.3%	57.8%	9.5	85.9%	B
U. OF CONNECTICUT	CT	71.7%	72.8%	63.2%	9.6	86.8%	B
U. OF DELAWARE	DE	76.4%	77.5%	65.3%	12.2	84.3%	B
U. OF FLORIDA	FL	79.3%	81.1%	72.7%	8.4	89.6%	B
U. OF GEORGIA	GA	73.2%	73.9%	68.9%	5	93.2%	A
U. OF HAWAII AT MANOA	HI	51.1%	28.1%	34.6%	-6.5	123.1%	A
U. OF IOWA	IA	66.1%	67.3%	51.5%	15.8	76.5%	C
U. OF IDAHO	ID	57.4%	57.6%	43.8%	13.8	76.0%	C
U. OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN	IL	82.9%	86.0%	65.7%	20.3	76.4%	C
INDIANA U. -BLOOMINGTON	IN	71.7%	73.2%	53.8%	19.4	73.5%	C
U. OF KANSAS	KS	59.3%	60.7%	45.3%	15.4	74.6%	C
U. OF KENTUCKY	KY	59.8%	60.8%	46.4%	14.4	76.3%	C
LOUISIANA STATE U.	LA	56.8%	57.9%	52.2%	5.7	90.2%	A
UMASS AMHERST	MA	65.7%	67.5%	57.2%	10.3	84.7%	B
U. OF MARYLAND COLLEGE PARK	MD	76.5%	79.8%	66.8%	13	83.7%	B
U. OF MAINE	ME	52.7%	53.6%	37.0%	16.6	69.0%	D
U. OF MICHIGAN-ANN ARBOR	MI	86.5%	92.0%	74.9%	17.1	81.4%	B
U. OF MINNESOTA TWIN CITIES	MN	60.7%	63.7%	41.4%	22.3	65.0%	D
U. OF MISSOURI-COLUMBIA	MO	66.0%	67.0%	58.6%	8.4	87.5%	B
U. OF MISSISSIPPI	MS	56.2%	58.1%	44.2%	13.9	76.1%	C
U. OF MONTANA	MT	43.9%	44.4%	29.4%	15	66.2%	D
UNC CHAPEL HILL	NC	83.8%	85.2%	75.9%	9.3	89.1%	B
U. OF NORTH DAKOTA	ND	56.1%	57.1%	26.5%	30.6	46.4%	F
U. OF NEBRASKA AT LINCOLN	NE	63.4%	64.6%	42.4%	22.2	65.6%	D
U. OF NEW HAMPSHIRE	NH	73.1%	74.4%	69.0%	5.4	92.7%	A
RUTGERS U. -NEW BRUNSWICK	NJ	71.3%	71.9%	62.5%	9.4	86.9%	B
U. OF NEW MEXICO	NM	40.7%	44.3%	36.9%	7.4	83.3%	B
U. OF NEVADA-RENO	NV	51.7%	52.0%	41.7%	10.3	80.2%	B
SUNY AT BUFFALO	NY	58.8%	61.7%	41.1%	20.6	66.6%	D
OHIO STATE U.	OH	68.2%	69.4%	56.2%	13.2	81.0%	B
U. OF OKLAHOMA NORMAN CAMPUS	OK	54.9%	56.8%	46.7%	10.1	82.2%	B
U. OF OREGON	OR	63.0%	63.5%	47.0%	16.5	74.0%	C
PENN STATE U.	PA	84.2%	86.1%	68.8%	17.3	79.9%	C
U. OF RHODE ISLAND	RI	55.8%	57.9%	43.5%	14.4	75.1%	C
U. OF SOUTH CAROLINA AT COLUMBIA	SC	64.9%	66.6%	59.0%	7.6	88.6%	B
U. OF SOUTH DAKOTA	SD	46.4%	49.1%	9.4%	39.7	19.1%	F
U. OF TENNESSEE-KNOXVILLE	TN	57.2%	57.6%	54.5%	3.1	94.6%	A
U. OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN	TX	75.1%	76.3%	67.3%	9	88.2%	B
U. OF UTAH	UT	43.1%	41.2%	34.3%	6.9	83.3%	B
U. OF VIRGINIA	VA	92.6%	93.8%	86.3%	7.5	92.0%	A
U. OF VERMONT	VT	65.1%	64.9%	63.3%	1.6	97.5%	A
U. OF WASHINGTON	WA	74.3%	74.7%	63.7%	11	85.3%	B
U. OF WISCONSIN-MADISON	WI	76.7%	78.6%	57.0%	21.6	72.5%	C
WEST VIRGINIA U.	WV	54.2%	55.7%	37.6%	18.1	67.5%	D
U. OF WYOMING	WY	57.6%	59.2%	50.9%	8.3	86.0%	B

Note: URM = underrepresented minority and comprises African-American, Latino, and Native-American. Column 4 (URM -- White Gap) = Column 2 - Column 3. Column 5 (URM -- White Grad Rate Equity Score) = Column 3 / Column 2.

		Grade 6: Change in Access and Success							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Institution Name	State	State's '01 HS grads URM %	Grads of flagship '05, URM %	Ratio '01 - '05	State's '86 HS grads, URM %	Grads of flagship '90, URM %	Ratio '86-'90	Ratio % change	Progress in Access and Success
U. OF ALASKA FAIRBANKS	AK	25.0%	14.7%	0.59	26.6%	11.9%	0.45	31.6%	↑
U. OF ALABAMA	AL	34.3%	15.7%	0.46	31.4%	8.4%	0.27	71.2%	↑
U. OF ARKANSAS AT FAYETTEVILLE	AR	23.4%	8.6%	0.37	21.3%	4.2%	0.20	86.1%	↑
U. OF ARIZONA	AZ	35.3%	17.8%	0.50	25.2%	8.5%	0.34	49.6%	↑
U. OF CALIFORNIA-BERKELEY	CA	40.9%	14.9%	0.36	27.8%	13.8%	0.50	-26.7%	↓
U. OF COLORADO AT BOULDER	CO	18.6%	7.5%	0.40	14.5%	4.3%	0.30	35.4%	↑
U. OF CONNECTICUT	CT	19.8%	10.1%	0.51	13.6%	3.7%	0.27	87.3%	↑
U. OF DELAWARE	DE	29.2%	6.8%	0.23	24.2%	3.5%	0.14	61.2%	↑
U. OF FLORIDA	FL	37.0%	19.6%	0.53	26.9%	9.9%	0.37	44.3%	↑
U. OF GEORGIA	GA	34.9%	6.4%	0.18	35.0%	4.6%	0.13	39.7%	↑
U. OF HAWAII AT MANOA	HI	6.4%	3.1%	0.48	2.7%	1.4%	0.51	-5.8%	↓
U. OF IOWA	IA	4.4%	4.7%	1.08	2.9%	3.2%	1.11	-2.7%	↓
U. OF IDAHO	ID	7.4%	4.9%	0.66	4.5%	3.2%	0.72	-7.4%	↓
U. OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN	IL	24.0%	11.6%	0.48	20.1%	5.5%	0.27	76.5%	↑
INDIANA U. -BLOOMINGTON	IN	9.8%	5.1%	0.52	9.5%	3.6%	0.38	37.6%	↑
U. OF KANSAS	KS	11.7%	6.5%	0.56	9.4%	4.7%	0.50	11.2%	↑
U. OF KENTUCKY	KY	9.0%	5.8%	0.65	8.5%	3.2%	0.38	71.8%	↑
LOUISIANA STATE U.	LA	41.2%	11.0%	0.27	39.4%	6.2%	0.16	69.5%	↑
UMASS AMHERST	MA	15.0%	7.6%	0.51	8.2%	4.9%	0.60	-15.2%	↓
U. OF MARYLAND COLLEGE PARK	MD	36.7%	16.9%	0.46	29.2%	9.0%	0.31	49.7%	↑
U. OF MAINE	ME	1.9%	3.7%	1.96	0.8%	1.0%	1.33	48.2%	↑
U. OF MICHIGAN-ANN ARBOR	MI	15.6%	12.1%	0.78	14.0%	5.6%	0.40	93.5%	↑
U. OF MINNESOTA TWIN CITIES	MN	6.0%	4.8%	0.80	2.7%	2.3%	0.85	-5.5%	↓
U. OF MISSOURI-COLUMBIA	MO	14.2%	6.5%	0.46	12.2%	3.2%	0.26	74.4%	↑
U. OF MISSISSIPPI	MS	47.4%	11.0%	0.23	48.4%	5.9%	0.12	90.3%	↑
U. OF MONTANA	MT	8.4%	4.5%	0.54	4.1%	3.7%	0.91	-41.0%	↓
UNC CHAPEL HILL	NC	29.9%	13.4%	0.45	29.6%	7.2%	0.24	84.2%	↑
U. OF NORTH DAKOTA	ND	5.8%	3.2%	0.55	5.8%	3.3%	0.57	-3.3%	↓
U. OF NEBRASKA AT LINCOLN	NE	8.4%	3.7%	0.44	5.4%	2.0%	0.37	19.9%	↑
U. OF NEW HAMPSHIRE	NH	2.5%	2.3%	0.91	0.8%	0.8%	0.99	-7.5%	↓
RUTGERS U. -NEW BRUNSWICK	NJ	27.7%	16.1%	0.58	20.2%	11.2%	0.55	4.7%	↑
U. OF NEW MEXICO	NM	57.0%	43.4%	0.76	50.4%	26.5%	0.53	44.7%	↑
U. OF NEVADA-RENO	NV	23.5%	9.6%	0.41	14.7%	5.6%	0.38	7.2%	↑
SUNY AT BUFFALO	NY	26.4%	10.7%	0.41	20.5%	5.7%	0.28	46.0%	↑
OHIO STATE U.	OH	11.6%	9.5%	0.82	12.0%	3.8%	0.32	160.1%	↑
U. OF OKLAHOMA NORMAN CAMPUS	OK	28.4%	16.1%	0.57	19.8%	6.4%	0.32	75.3%	↑
U. OF OREGON	OR	9.1%	6.0%	0.66	5.3%	2.6%	0.49	34.9%	↑
PENN STATE U.	PA	13.1%	7.3%	0.56	10.2%	4.7%	0.46	21.6%	↑
U. OF RHODE ISLAND	RI	15.7%	7.4%	0.47	5.3%	2.2%	0.42	13.1%	↑
U. OF SOUTH CAROLINA AT COLUMBIA	SC	39.3%	18.4%	0.47	40.1%	12.9%	0.32	45.5%	↑
U. OF SOUTH DAKOTA	SD	5.0%	2.7%	0.54	4.4%	1.3%	0.29	86.4%	↑
U. OF TENNESSEE-KNOXVILLE	TN	18.7%	7.1%	0.38	19.5%	4.1%	0.21	80.2%	↑
U. OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN	TX	45.7%	17.0%	0.37	37.3%	12.2%	0.33	13.6%	↑
U. OF UTAH	UT	6.7%	4.1%	0.61	4.6%	3.3%	0.72	-15.4%	↓
U. OF VIRGINIA	VA	26.3%	11.6%	0.44	22.2%	7.9%	0.36	23.5%	↑
U. OF VERMONT	VT	0.8%	2.9%	3.51	0.6%	1.1%	1.77	98.7%	↑
U. OF WASHINGTON	WA	12.0%	7.7%	0.64	7.5%	4.9%	0.66	-2.5%	↓
U. OF WISCONSIN-MADISON	WI	8.3%	4.0%	0.48	5.6%	2.5%	0.45	7.2%	↑
WEST VIRGINIA U.	WV	4.0%	5.6%	1.40	3.7%	2.7%	0.74	90.4%	↑
U. OF WYOMING	WY	7.1%	4.6%	0.65	6.9%	4.0%	0.58	12.0%	↑

Note: URM = underrepresented minority and comprises African-American, Latino, and Native-American. Column 3 (Ratio '01-'05) = Column 2 / Column 1. Column 6 (Ratio '86-'90) = Column 5 / Column 4. Column 7 (Ratio % Change) = ((Column 3 - Column 6)/Column 6). The numbers that appear in columns 1-7 are rounded, but the numbers used to generate columns 3, 6, and 7 are not, so calculating the values for columns 3, 6, and 7 using the numbers in the chart may yield results slightly different from the numbers that appear in columns 3, 6, and 7.

Why Are Low-income and Minority Students so Underrepresented at Flagship Universities?

When asked why their campuses enroll and graduate so few low-income students and students of color, presidents of flagship universities often point to quality problems in the nation's high schools, especially those that serve significant concentrations of low-income and minority students. Like many presidents in other colleges, they would like Americans to believe that we have a high school problem, not a college problem.

Obviously, they're not all wrong. We do have important problems in our high schools. Most of them seriously shortchange poor and minority students and result in devastating outcomes for these groups.

Setting aside for the moment the question of whether higher education has any culpability for that sorry state of affairs, it is important to ask the bottom line question: Are the colleges right to think that it's not really about them? In other words, do achievement patterns in our high schools entirely explain access and success patterns in our flagship institutions, or could these institutions be doing more to serve the full range of students in their states?

When examined directly, the answer is clear. There is no way that achievement patterns in our high schools over the past two decades—which show vastly higher college prep course completion rates, stronger achievement in mathematics, and higher SAT and ACT scores for low-income and minority students—could possibly fully explain the poor and mostly worsening performance of our flagship universities.

Indeed, virtually every available source of data suggests that there are more students—especially low-income students—who could successfully do the work in these institutions if we only tried a little harder to get them in and through.

Let's take a look at what the data tell us.

A Quick Look at the Data on High-achieving Low-income Students

The best data sources for understanding the post-secondary experiences of America's high school students is the National Education Longitudinal Study (NELS). In general, analyses of these databases show large differences in the college-entry rates of high-achieving students from various economic backgrounds.

One such analysis, summarized in Table 1 below, found college-going rates among high-achieving, low-income high school graduates to be about the same as those among the lowest achieving students from high-income families. Indeed, almost one-quarter of the highest achieving students from low-

Achievement Level	Low-Income	High-Income
First (Low)	36%	77%
Second	50%	85%
Third	63%	90%
Fourth (High)	78%	97%

income families had not entered any college at all within two years of graduating from high school.¹⁸

A second, more nuanced analysis of the NELS database found a similar pattern, with significant numbers of high achieving low-income students not in college a full two years after graduating from high school. But these analysts also found something equally important: that the high-achieving, low-income students who did enter college were considerably more likely than other high achievers to begin in two-year colleges,¹⁹ a path far less likely to result in a baccalaureate degree.²⁰

It turns out, though, that this stratification process—whereby high-achieving, low-income students enter less selective colleges than their high income counterparts—involves more than them just resigning themselves to attending two-year colleges.

A special analysis of the NELS database for the Education Trust shows that even the low-income students in the highest “academic resource quintile” (high achievement plus completion of intense college prep curriculum and AP courses) who entered four-year colleges enrolled in institutions with less status and fewer resources.²¹

By virtually any standard, these students' academic credentials would warrant admission to most of the top universities in the country. Yet nearly three-quarters of our country's best and brightest high school graduates from low-income families—those

who fell in the top quintile of a rigorous academic index attended colleges to which they could have gained admission had they simply achieved at a mediocre level.²²

Certainly, as is clear in Table 2 below, there is some settling for less of high-achieving students at all income levels. But high-achieving, high-income students are nearly four times more likely to attend a highly selective college and nearly twice as likely to attend a selective college than are similarly accomplished students from the bottom three income quartiles.²³ Indeed, the differences between those at the highest and bottom three income levels represent both a stunning loss of talent and a devastating message back to the communities from which those lower-income, high achievers came about the disappointing opportunities available, despite hard work and early success.

Table 2. College Selectivity Level of Best Prepared High School Students by Income		
Selectivity		
Income Level	<i>Highly Selective / Selective</i>	<i>Non-Selective / Open-Door</i>
Highest quintile	56.2	42.9
2nd highest quintile	33.6	66.4
3rd highest quintile	23.9	74.9
4th highest quintile	22.2	77.2
Lowest quintile	26.8	73.2

How Many More High-achieving, Low-income Students Might Be Out There?

Together, these various analyses of the federal longitudinal databases provide an unequivocal answer to our core question. Yes, there are more high-achieving low-income students out there who could enroll in a flagship university but don't. Some of them are in other, less prestigious institutions. Some of them aren't in college at all.

But in part because the longitudinal data are old (most recent covers high school class of 1992), and in part because they are a sample, they don't easily lend themselves to answering the question, "How many?"

Fortunately, a recent analysis of a different database—students who took the SAT or ACT college admissions tests in 2003—provides some good clues. Though this analysis sought to provide estimates of how many low-income students might be sufficiently well prepared to enter highly selective, private colleges and universities. The data are also analyzed in ways that give us information about how many students at different income points perform at a level that should be sufficient for enrollment at a flagship.²⁴

Because each flagship has slightly different admissions criteria, we identified the SAT/ACT score at the 25th and 50th percentiles for each institution and averaged them across all the flagships. We then took those score levels—which happen to be 1042 (ACT approximately 22) and 1146 (ACT approximately 25)—and asked the question: how

many students who score within that range come from families in the bottom two income quintiles?

Based on this more recent analysis, nearly 110,000 students in the bottom two income quintiles scored at least an 1110 on the SAT (ACT approximately 24), which is right in the middle of the 25th and 50th percentiles for the flagships. If, according to our calculations, approximately 42,000 freshmen who attended flagships in the fall of 2004 were low-income students (as indicated by their status as Pell recipients), that would have left more than 60,000 other low-income, high SAT/ACT scorers who were likely candidates for admission to the flagships. This however, is a conservative estimate because another 238,000 students who scored at least an 1110 on these assessment tests did not report their income.²⁵ Given that students from low-income families are more likely than others not to report their income, we can conclude that there were actually many more low-income students whom the flagships could have recruited for admission to their institutions.²⁶

Certainly some of these students attended other prestigious universities. But we know, based upon information from the longitudinal databases that many, in fact, went on to non-selective colleges, and others didn't go on to college at all.

How Flagships and Other Highly Selective Research Universities Use Their Own Resources

These numbers raise the question: Why aren't flagships doing more to attract such students? Are these universities, for example, deploying their own financial aid dollars in ways that ensure that the financial needs of students from low-income families are adequately met?

Unfortunately, although their wealth and prestige might have led us to hope otherwise, the nation's flagship universities used their own resources over the past decade in much the same way as have other colleges. Available data suggests that they spend, less and less on the truly needy and more and more to attract higher-income students who will make them look ever better in college guides.

Certainly, inadequate financial aid isn't the only cause of lower access and success rates for low-income students and students of color at the flagships. However, in this time of rapid escalation in college costs, it's hard not to see a connection between how and on whom institutions spend their available aid dollars and who actually enrolls.

Though the nation's flagship universities are public institutions and receive considerable support from the government, detailed information on how each of them deploys their own financial resources is not publicly available. However, as part of its periodic National Postsecondary Student Aid Survey (NPSAS), the Department of Education does collect data on student aid expenditures in various categories of institutions. "Research Extensive Universities" is one such category, and it includes 46 of the 50 flagships in our analyses, along with 56 other public research

universities that are quite similar, along a number of different dimensions, to the flagships.²⁷

We looked closely at the NPSAS data and were stunned by what we discovered.²⁸

First, like many other universities, the flagships substantially increased the number of their own dollars devoted to grant aid over the past nine years. As Table 3 illustrates, between 1995 and 2003, Research Extensive Universities (REU) doubled the amount of institutional aid they awarded—from \$616 per full-time student to \$1,205 per student—an increase of 95 percent. These institutions now pick up a larger share of grant aid costs for their students—40 percent—than any other sector, dwarfing the federal share (20 percent), the state share (25 percent) and the private share (15 percent).

Second, as is clear from Table 4, some of that increase went to students from the poorest families. For example, the average award for students from families making less than \$20,000 per year grew by \$383. But both the dollar and percentage increases over the eight-year time frame were larger for students from the richest families, those earning more than \$100,000 per year. To woo high-income students from other institutions they were considering attending, REUs increased the non-need based aid disbursed to this group by an average of \$535 per student.

In other words, at the same time that they increased grant aid to the lowest income students by 29 percent, public research extensive universities increased grant aid to their wealthiest students by 186 percent.

Table 3. Change in Grant Aid Per Student at REUs, By Source of Aid, 1995–2003

<i>Aid Source</i>	1995	2003	% Change 95 to 03	Amt. Change 95 to 03
Institutional	\$616	\$1,205	96%	\$589
State Grants	\$334	\$744	122%	\$410
Federal Grants	\$339	\$577	70%	\$238
Private Grants	\$259	\$452	75%	\$193
Total Grants	\$1,548	\$2,978	92%	\$1,430

Table 4. Change in Institutional Grant Aid Per Student at REUs, by Family Income, 1995–2003

<i>Family Income</i>	1995	2003	% Change 95 to 03	Amt. Change 95 to 03
<\$20K	\$1,311	\$1,694	29%	\$383
\$20 - \$39,999	\$899	\$1,716	91%	\$817
\$40 - \$59,999	\$529	\$1,295	145%	\$766
\$60 - \$79,999	\$423	\$1,254	196%	\$831
\$80 - \$99,999	\$210	\$938	347%	\$728
\$100,000 +	\$287	\$822	186%	\$535

It is important to note that the grant amounts in Table 4 are averaged across all students in that income category, regardless of whether or not they received aid. This is a good way to look at trends, but has the primary effect of masking just how large were the institutional grants to the high income students who actually received aid.

Table 5 provides award data for the students who actually received grant aid. The average award for students from families earning more than \$100,000 per year was \$3,800. At the same time, the average grant to students from the lowest income families actually declined, so that by 2003 these institutions were giving the affluent aid recipients more money than the students who need financial aid the most.

Table 5. Change in Institutional Aid to Grant Recipients at REUs, by Family Income, 1995–2003

Family Income	1995	2003	% Change 95 to 03	Amt. Change 95 to 03
< \$20K	\$3,756	\$3,691	-2%	-\$65
\$20 - \$39,999	\$2,871	\$3,479	14%	\$392
\$40 - \$59,999	\$2,554	\$3,616	41%	\$1,062
\$60 - \$79,999	\$2,503	\$3,676	47%	\$1,173
\$80 - \$99,999	\$1,998	\$3,423	71%	\$1,425
\$100,000 +	\$3,223	\$3,823	19%	\$600

Third, as is demonstrated in Table 6, even after deducting average grant aid received from all sources from the estimated total cost of attending these institutions, students at every income level were left with significant expenses that they had to meet through a combination of work, loans and family contributions.

We are by no means suggesting that students and their families, at all income levels shouldn't be responsible for some of the costs associated with attending college. To the contrary, it is perfectly acceptable for students to work a reasonable number of hours (preferably no more than 10) to earn money while attending college, or take out a manageable loan amount to help finance their college degrees. But it makes no sense at all that the neediest students are forced to work an excessive number of hours and to assume thousands of dollars in loans, just to ensure that they can stay enrolled from one semester to the next.

For students from the lowest income families, their remaining costs, after grant aid was considered, constitute approximately 80 percent of their families' annual incomes. Imagine needing three-quarters of your family's income every year for at least four years, to pay for your child to go to college! Now suppose that you had more than one college-aged child.

These scenarios make it easier to understand why some of the brightest high school students feel forced to attend less selective and less expensive, universities even when they are qualified to attend much more prestigious institutions.

Fourth, a natural outgrowth of the shifts we've just described is a dramatic change in the composition of the student bodies at these universities in just eight years time. In 1995 students from families earning less than \$20,000 per year represented 14 percent of undergraduates at these institutions; today, they account for only nine percent. At the other end of the income spectrum, there were substantial increases in the number of students from

Table 6. Change in Percentage of Income Needed for Remaining Costs at REUs after Grant Aid, by Family Income, 1995–2003

Family Income	1995 Mean Income	2003 Mean Income	1995 % of Income	2003 % of Income
< \$20K	\$11,500	\$12,300	66.8%	79.5%
\$20 - \$39,999	\$29,800	\$30,300	31.2%	37.2%
\$40 - \$59,999	\$50,700	\$50,100	20.8%	27.5%
\$60 - \$79,999	\$69,900	\$69,600	16.1%	20.9%
\$80 - \$99,999	\$89,000	\$90,100	13.5%	16.4%
\$100,000 +	\$133,100	\$136,700	9.2%	11.8%

families earning more than \$100,000 per year at these schools—from 16 percent of undergraduates in 1995 to 28 percent just eight years later.

Finally, the sheer number of institutional dollars spent on financial aid for students who don't need it is amazing. Table 8 contains information on total institutional aid expenditures for students from families at each income level. Collectively, in 2003 these public universities committed \$171 million to

Table 7. Change in Percentage of Students at REUs by Family Income, 1995–2003

Family Income	1995	2003	Percentage Pt. Chg 1995 to 2003
< \$20K	14%	9%	-5
\$20 - \$39,999	19%	15%	-4
\$40 - \$59,999	21%	16%	-5
\$60 - \$79,999	18%	18%	-
\$80 - \$99,999	11%	14%	+3
\$100,000 +	16%	28%	+12

students from families earning less than \$20,000 per year. This figure seems laudable, but only until it is compared with the astonishing \$257 million these same institutions spent on students from families earning more than \$100,000 per year.

Thus the institutions that arguably had the most to spend on student grants collectively gave \$86 million more to their highest-income students than they did to their students with the greatest financial need.

Given the way that the REUs chose to allocate their financial aid dollars, it is not surprising that the number of students who received institutional grant aid and came from families earning more than \$100,000 per year increased from 32,000 in 1995-96 to 119,000 in 2003-04. During the same time period, the number of institutional grant aid recipients from families earning less than \$20,000 decreased from 118,000 to 89,000.

These dollar figures tell a disturbing story about the choices made by public research universities, including the flagship universities that are the subject of this paper. Though they are all public institutions that receive (albeit in some cases declining) public subsidies, their decisions about how to disburse their institutional grant aid have been much like those of private universities.

The saddest choice of all is this: these universities find it more important to use their own money to buy high-income students, who will almost inevitably attend an elite institution no matter what, than to expand the enrollment of—or lower the financial burden on—low-income students. These students depend on institutional aid to make their dreams of going to college a reality in ways that high-income students do not.

Of course, federal and state aid dollars (not to mention tax credits) are shifting toward upper income students, too. There's not much these institutions

can do about that. But they could deploy their own resources differently to cushion or counteract changes in the way that federal and state aid are distributed.

Unfortunately, however, they choose not to. Indeed, as is clear from our analyses these universities are shifting resources to middle and upper class students far more aggressively than the state and federal politicians who presumably did so to win votes. And the leaders in these universities don't even have to stand for election.

Table 8. Change in Institutional Aggregate Grant Aid For REU Students by Family Income, 1995–2003 (Dollar amounts in millions)

<i>Family Income</i>	<i>1995</i>	<i>2003</i>	<i>Amt. Change</i>	<i>Pct. Change</i>
> \$20K	\$196.6	\$171.0	\$25.6	-13%
\$20 - \$39,999	\$187.0	\$288.3	\$101.3	54%
\$40 - \$59,999	\$122.2	\$229.2	\$107	87.6%
\$60 - \$79,999	\$82.5	\$259.6	\$177.1	214.6%
\$80 - \$99,999	\$25.2	\$147.3	\$122.1	484.5%
\$100,000 +	\$50.8	\$257.3	\$206.5	406%
Total	\$664.3	\$1,353	\$688.4	104%

Renewing Our Commitment to Low-Income and Minority Students

The institutions that earned good marks on one or more of the measures on our report card give us hope that these negative patterns can be turned around. What some institutions have done, others can do too.

They also provide examples of the policies and practices that lead to greater success. If it's not just about the levels of preparation among the students these institutions serve—and it is clearly not—then what, exactly, are the high performers or big gainers doing that the rest of us could do too?

The Universities of Maryland, Minnesota, Virginia, and North Carolina have already developed efforts to help them better serve their states' underrepresented students. Ohio State University also offers an important example of what a flagship university can do when it sets out to widen access for low-income and minority students.

Ohio State University: Moving up in access and success

Ohio State University (OSU) used to be an open-enrollment institution, so when it raised its entrance requirements, there were fears that it would become more elite and less diverse. Because the university, as the economic and intellectual engine of Ohio, wants to stay true to its mission to educate a broad section of Ohio's citizens, it not only aggressively recruits low-income and minority students, but also has initiated a series of programs to retain them. Now 26 percent of the student body qualifies for Pell Grants and on Grade 6 of our scorecard, OSU has the highest trend grade for access and success for underrepresented minorities.

Tally Hart, OSU's long-time director of financial aid has been appointed Senior Advisor for Economic Access. She is working on ways to recruit students from families who are expected to make a family financial contribution of \$1,500 or less per year, the most needy of OSU's students. In her research, Hart found that these families were reluctant to encourage their children to apply to OSU for fear that they were courting disappointment. The families and the communities surrounding them were unfamiliar with financial matters because in many cases their incomes were so low that they did not file income tax statements.

Hart is using the information she gleaned from those families to help demystify the application process for students who are similarly needy but do not apply. She has already begun working with chess clubs in many of the state's public schools and talking to them about applying to college. She is also planning on working with 4-H clubs to try to reach low-income rural students.

Once admitted to OSU, these students face severe financial

pressures. Tally says, "To our real surprise, these neediest students were taking on a great deal of consumer debt—credit cards—which may have contributed to their leaving college." Their financial aid packages were significantly changed, in an attempt to meet more of their needs that were not met by Pell and other grants. The university also tries to steer them away from borrowing from unsubsidized loan programs and to keep their total loan packages low. But, Hart says, "even small loan amounts are problematic if you don't finish your education."

The OSU has undertaken a number of other initiatives aimed at connecting students more closely to the institution so that they do finish their education and are thus in a better position to repay any loans. Administrators make sure students with the greatest need hold work-study jobs on the campus, not only to help them financially but also to help them structure their time productively and to make sure that they have another adult in their lives who can keep an eye on their academic progress.

In addition, the OSU provides a freshman-year experience which includes seminars taught by faculty who are selected because of their success in teaching undergraduates; pre-academic year freshman programs for hundreds of students, thus providing a nucleus of students who know each other before the year begins; a two-day freshman orientation (up from the one-day orientation Ohio State used to offer); and small learning communities that offer students the opportunity to live in the same dorm as other students taking the same courses.

Hart cites research that shows that students who are successful tend to have at least one strong relationship with a faculty member. "We have a new office of undergraduate

research directed by one of our highly prized faculty members," Hart says. A donor has provided money to help students with prizes and travel opportunities so that, for example, if a student's name is on a paper that is being presented at an academic conference, the student will be able to travel with the faculty member to present the paper. Several hundred scholarships are providing students with, for example, computer programs needed to undertake research or money to join an archaeological dig in Greece.

To make sure third- and fourth-year students are able to graduate, the university is streamlining registration procedures so courses that students need to fulfill their graduation requirements are offered in sufficient numbers. OSU's alumni have also been recruited to provide internships and co-op opportunities for current students.

Ohio State's progress can be tracked by looking at the four-year graduation rate numbers. In 2002 it was 25.3 percent and its six-year graduation rate was 58.8 percent. In 2004, the four-year rate was 30.7 percent while the six-year graduation rate was 62 percent.

Although this seems like slow progress, it represents a leap for some groups. African-American females, for example, improved their four-year graduation rate from 21.8 percent in 1999 to 30.6 percent in 2005. African-American males more than doubled the rate at which they graduated in four years during that time, from 7.3 to 16.4 percent.

This fall OSU announced a freshman-to-sophomore retention rate of 91.5 percent, which is considered high for a large state university and may be a harbinger of improved graduation rates in three years' time.

Moving Forward

As wealth in this country grows ever more concentrated and economic mobility declines to the lowest point in decades, leaders in the nation's flagship universities—including boards of trustees, presidents and faculty—face a critical choice. They can choose to ride the wave of prosperity among Americans at the top of the economic pyramid, and in the process enrich their institutional coffers. Or they can broaden opportunities for success among minority youngsters and those from low-income families and enrich the communities and states they were created to serve.

The data in this report make clear that, over the past decade, these institutions have turned away from their historic roles as engines of opportunity for talented young people of all races and economic backgrounds. Not, perhaps, deliberately. But they have turned away, nevertheless.

In some ways, this isn't surprising. After all, virtually all of the rewards in today's perverse college status systems go to institutions that select only the students easiest to educate. And cutbacks in state support for higher education have made leaders in public universities acutely sensitive to the need to find new strategies to raise support wherever they can. Indeed, such leaders would feel lacking in their duty to the long-term greatness of their institutions if they did otherwise.

But while perhaps not surprising, this turn away from their historic commitment is deeply troubling.

Some might argue that expanding college access and success for low-income and minority students is mostly a job for other institutions—especially “lesser” institutions. In their minds, the flagship

universities are about excellence, not equity—as if the two were somehow incompatible.

We would argue just the opposite.

First, in the America we aspire to be, excellence and equity are not only *compatible*, they are *inextricable*. We need to find a way to realize that essential touchstone of our national identity.

Second, without the active leadership and participation of our flagship universities, it is hard to imagine *any* way to bring the “two Americas” closer together. Certainly, these institutions contribute directly to the creation of their states' leadership corps and they also exercise broad influence: where they go, others will follow. That's what being a flagship means.

So what might leaders in the flagship universities do to make sure they are developing the talents of all our students?

Many things need to change in order for higher education—including our premier public universities—to become the engine of opportunity that our country so desperately needs. There are also important roles for federal and state governments, for schools and for students themselves.

These roles are described in some detail in our August 2006 report, *Promise Abandoned*. That report called on key actors at every level—federal, state and institutional—to recommit to the ideals we hold dear as a country, and to put the needs of low-income students first. That doesn't mean that we can't help middle-income students, too.

But it does mean that, before we spend money on students who don't really need it to attend college, we must first honor our commitment to students from low-income families who cannot attend college without help. The message to them must be clear, unequivocal and sent early enough to make a difference: if you work hard in school, you won't have to worry about being able to afford a college education.

Promise Abandoned also made clear what many in higher education have now come to realize: we must begin to think very differently about what constitutes “quality” in higher education. Now, colleges get a lot of their status from things that have very little to do with the fundamental purposes of higher education—things like how many applicants they turn down for every one they accept, the average SAT or ACT of their freshmen, or the winning record of their football teams. If higher education is to do its fair share of the work in widening opportunity in this country, we need very different metrics for assessing quality—metrics that recognize institutions for who they serve and for what they do with the students they admit. Instead of bestowing status on colleges that admit only students who will succeed no matter what, we need to honor and support institutions that are helping students who face far more difficult challenges to earn the degrees they need to contribute to the well-being of their families and our nation.

Beyond these things, though, what might leaders in the flagship universities do to make sure they are developing the talents of more low-income students and students of color?

Recommendations

1. Start with the data.

Institutions first need to come to grips with their own data. Just as presidents and trustees can recite the average SAT or ACT scores of their most recent freshman cohort and the win/loss record of the football team, they should know their university's basic statistics regarding access and success. At the very least, every campus president, dean or department chair and trustee of a flagship campus should know:

- (1) the extent to which their institution serves the full breadth of its state's residents;
- (2) the overall graduation rate for entering freshmen;
- (3) gaps in graduation rates between groups of students; and
- (4) the proportion of institutional grant aid awarded to students from families in the bottom half of the family income distribution.

These data should guide how universities define and evaluate their success, and should also play a prominent role in public conversations about institutions goals and accomplishments.

2. Focus on increasing the success of students already admitted.

Most flagships have already admitted a certain albeit small number, of low-income and minority students. But without greater effort on the part of the institutions themselves, many of these students will never graduate. What could flagship universities do?

Though graduation rates for minority students who attend flagship universities are higher than the rates for such students in other universities, those rates are not as high as they should be. Many institutions don't even know the graduation rates for their low-income students.

No single strategy will solve the problem, and certainly more generous aid packages will help. But so, too, will stronger advising; deeper engagement with faculty and with the subjects they came to study; and better connections with campus life. Sometimes it's even as simple as eliminating the frustrations that come from not getting access to a required course by adding an additional section or two of that course. But mostly it's a question of taking more responsibility for student success and making sure that ethic permeates all units of the institution.

3. Aggressively recruit more talented low-income students and students of color

Every available source of data says the same thing: there are far more low-income students and students of color who meet the high standards of flagship universities than ever enroll there. They may not always show up in the usual places. Indeed, available research suggest that such students—and the high schools that they attend—receive far fewer mailing and visits from selective colleges than their more affluent peers.²⁹ But they are there nevertheless. Flagship leaders need to devote some of that creative energy that their institutions are noted for to devising ever better ways to reach and attract

these students. Setting clear stretch goals would help. But reaching those goals will require real effort and real creativity.

4. Reallocate institutional aid dollars.

Remember, institutional aid dollars in Research Extensive Universities dwarf federal and state grant dollars. Over the past eight years, the amount spent on students from families above \$100,000 per year increased from \$51 million to \$257 million, while the amount spent on students from families below \$20,000 per year went down. By shifting a portion of that \$207 million increase spent on children of the rich, these universities could shield their low-income students from most of the effects of high unmet need.

Yes, we understand that giving some grant aid to high-income students allows the flagships to enroll top-notch students who otherwise might choose to attend a different school. But, if just half of the funds currently distributed to high-income students were reallocated in the form of need-based aid to qualified students in the lowest income bracket, it would significantly reduce the financial burden on these students and their families and probably contribute to their ability to graduate in a timely manner. The University of Maryland has already done this with its Maryland Pathways program which increases the grant component, and eliminates the loan component of its neediest students' financial aid packages.³⁰

The amounts spent on the rich should be capped. Flagship university leaders could also agree to disarm their efforts to compete with

one another and with other elite institutions, for high-achieving well-to-do students. There's nothing wrong with awards for exceptional artists or science contest winners. But public institutions should not regularly discount tuition for students from families over \$100,000 per year. A disarmament pact would be great, but short of that, courageous leaders should step forward and disarm unilaterally.

5. Reach out and reclaim students who left in good standing, but without a degree.

Ten years ago, leaders at the University of New Mexico, the state's flagship university, realized that most of the students who dropped out actually left in good standing, many of them only a handful of units short of a degree. So they launched the Graduation Project, and hired a bill collector to track down students who left in good academic standing and needed 30 credits or less to meet the university's graduation requirements. The University invited them back, simplified the readmission process, and paid half of the tuition, up to \$800, for returning students with a 2.5 cumulative GPA. Since its inception in 1996, more than 1,100 UNM students have earned their bachelor's degrees through this effort.³¹ Other flagships should create their own versions of the same thing.

6. Commit to preparing more high-quality teachers for high-poverty and high-minority schools.

Research conducted around the country makes it very clear that the most important thing that higher education could do to improve achievement and college readiness among low-income and minority students is to prepare well qualified teachers to teach in those schools. And it matters, frankly, who produces those teachers. Almost by definition, flagship universities are more likely than other institutions to attract the kind of future teachers with the intellectual capacity to succeed in the enormously complex work of teaching even the poorest children to high standards. Certainly, flagships can't do it all. But far too many have taken their roles as the epicenter of research for their states to the extreme, and have left educating the teaching workforce to other colleges and universities.

That needs to change. Fortunately, in some flagship universities, it already is. The University of Texas-Austin, for example, has launched UTEACH which is aimed at increasing the number and diversity of science and math teachers.³² Since the program's inception the University of Texas-Austin has doubled the number of Math and Science majors who go into teaching.

Of course, other things need to change to help make sure that America is developing all of her talent. There are important roles for the federal and state governments, for schools,

and for students themselves. For a fuller set of recommendations see our fourth report in this series, *Promise Abandoned*.

But flagship universities don't have to wait on anyone else to act. They have sufficient wealth and prestige to risk a little of both for this purpose. Virtually all of them occupy an almost mythic place in the psyche of their states: they decide who has the inside track to the upper echelons of public office and private enterprise.

With that special status comes special responsibility. To create the next generation of leaders for our country, we need the current generation of leaders in these institutions to reaffirm their historic commitment to opportunity and set a new course.

Endnotes

- ¹ The College Board (2005). *Advanced Placement Report to the Nation, 2005*. New York, NY: The College Board.
- ² Margaret Cahalan, Steven Ingels, Laura Burns, Michael Planty, Bruce Daniel, Jeffrey Owings. (2006). *United States High School Sophomores: A Twenty-two Year Comparison, 1980-2002*. NCES. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.
- ³ We have identified 50 flagships, one for each state. We acknowledge that not every state designates one of its public universities as its flagship institution, and that some states might recognize, at least informally, more than one flagship institution. Following are a few examples of other research reports of flagship universities that only include 50 institutions: 1) Tom Mortenson (August 2004). Underrepresented Minorities Share of Undergraduate Enrollments at State Flagship Universities 1992 and 2002. *Postsecondary Opportunity Number 14*; 2) *2005-06 Tuition and Fee Rates: A National Comparison*. The Washington Higher Education Coordinating Board (January, 2006); 3) JBHE Completes its Count of Black Students and Faculty at the Nation's 50 Flagship State Universities. *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, Spring 2006. With few exceptions, the flagships included in our analyses are the same as those in the previously mentioned reports.
- ⁴ All income and grant figures come from a special analysis of the *National Postsecondary Student Aid Study* (2003-2004), conducted by Jerry Davis for the Education Trust.
- ⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶ Ibid.
- ⁷ Education Trust analysis of Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) data.
- ⁸ National Educational Longitudinal Study. Data analysis conducted by Clifford Adelman for the Education Trust.
- ⁹ Current Population Survey. Total Money Income in 2005 by Race and Type of Family Work Experience. Retrieved October 27, 2006 from http://pubdb3.census.gov/macro/032006/faminc/new03_001.htm
- ¹⁰ Education Trust analysis of Pell data from Tom Mortenson Retrieved October 30, 2006 from www.postsecondary.org/spreadsheetsPW/pellmasterdocument.xls.
- ¹¹ Education Trust analysis of Common Core of Data (CCD). NCES.
- ¹² Education Trust analysis of Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS).
- ¹³ Education Trust analysis of Pell data from Tom Mortenson.
- ¹⁴ Education Trust Analysis of IPEDS data.
- ¹⁵ Term used by Tom Mortenson in a recent report, *The Gated Communities of Higher Education: 50 Most Exclusive Public and Private 4-Year Institutions, 2003-2004*. *Postsecondary Opportunity*, 162, December 2005.
- ¹⁶ Although we typically use a six-year graduation rate, most entering freshmen who graduate from college do so four years after entering. Therefore, instead of comparing flagship graduates to high school graduates six years prior, we have chosen to compare the flagships' 2005 graduates to high school graduates from 2001. Education Trust analysis of data from the CCD and IPEDS.
- ¹⁷ For Grade 1 we follow the example of Estela Bensimon et al. (2006), *Measuring the State of Equity in Public Higher Education*, in *Leveraging Promise*, SUNY Press. Laura Perna and colleagues (2006) also use this ratio in *The Status of Equity for Black Undergraduates in Public Higher Education in the South: Still Separate and Unequal in Research in Higher Education* 47, (2).
For Grade 2 we follow the example of Mortenson in *Pell Grant Shares of Undergraduate Enrollments in Postsecondary Institutions*, October 2005.
- ¹⁸ NELS: 88, Second (1992) and Third follow-ups (1994), in *The Condition of Education 1997*, p. 64.
- ¹⁹ Anthony Carnavale and Stephen Rose. (2003). *Socioeconomic Status, Race/Ethnicity, and Selective College Admissions*. New York, NY: The Century Foundation.
- ²⁰ Lutz Berkner, Shirley He, Emily Forrest Cataldi (2002). *Descriptive Summary of 1995-1996 Beginning Postsecondary Students: Six Years Later*. NCES Statistics. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education.
- ²¹ Data analysis of NELS conducted by Clifford Adelman for the Education Trust.
- ²² Students in the top quintile of the academic curriculum intensity variable accumulated at least 3.75 units of English, 2.75 units of mathematics with the highest course being calculus, precalculus or trigonometry; 2.5 units of science; 2 units of foreign languages; 2 units of social studies and more than one AP course. In Clifford Adelman's (2006), *The Toolbox Revisited: Paths to Degree Completion from High School through College*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.
- ²³ Data analysis of NELS conducted by Clifford Adelman for the Education Trust, which showed that while 16.5 percent of students from the highest academic resources and highest SES quintile went on to highly selective colleges, only 2.4 percent, 4.7 percent, and 4.5 percent of students from the same academic resources quintile, but the middle, second lowest, and lowest SES quintiles, respectively, went on to highly selective colleges.
- ²⁴ Hill, C.B., & Winston, G.C. (2006). How Scarce are High-Ability, Low-Income Students? In McPherson, M.S. & Schapiro, M.O., (Eds.), *College Access: Opportunity or Privilege?* New York NY: The College Board. For the complete table of SAT/ACT estimates see p.79.
- ²⁵ A full explanation of how we calculated these figures can be found in the Technical Appendix.
- ²⁶ Hill & Winston p.99.
- ²⁷ Until very recently, the Carnegie Foundation classified postsecondary institutions according to the level and number of degrees they awarded. The highest definition was doctoral research extensive. This is the group that we include in our analyses.
- ²⁸ All of the data included in this section of the report were derived from the NPSAS (2003-2004). Data analysis conducted by Jerry Davis.
- ²⁹ Don Munce. (2005). Achieving Diversity on Campus: A Better Approach. *Diverse Issues in Higher Education*, 22 (23) p.43.
- ³⁰ For more information on the Maryland Pathways program visit <http://www.financialaid.umd.edu/MarylandPathways.html>
- ³¹ For a detailed description of the University of New Mexico's Graduation Project, see *Choosing to Improve: Voices from Colleges and Universities with Better Graduation Rates*. Washington, DC: The Education Trust (2005).
- ³² For an explanation of the UTEACH initiative, see The National Association of System Heads (NASH). *Turning the Tide: Strategies for Producing the Mathematics and Science Teachers Our Schools Need*. Washington, DC: NASH (2006).

The technical appendix for this report is available at www.edtrust.org.

College Results Online

In 2005, the Education Trust created a new, interactive, web-based data tool called College Results Online (www.CollegeResults.org). It allows users to select any four-year public or private non-profit college or university in the country and see how its graduation rates compare with those of other institutions that are most similar, based on 11 factors that are statistically related to graduation rates, ranging from median scores on college admissions exams to the percentage of students receiving federal Pell Grants.

College Results Online shows that very similar institutions often have very different graduation rates. These differences are not trivial. A typical analysis comparing one university to the 25 most similar institutions produces a range between the highest and lowest graduation rates of 30 percentage points or more. The highest-performing school can have a graduation rate *double* that of the lowest. For students, the impact of these differences between institutions that otherwise look the same is huge.

College Results Online also allows users to study graduation rates broken down by students' race, ethnicity, and gender within a single institution. That information – which has only recently become publicly available for all four-year colleges and universities – also reveals significant graduation-rate gaps between White students and students of color. Users can sort schools according to the size of their graduation-rate gap, as well as examine how overall graduation rates at individual colleges and universities increased or decreased over time.



1250 H Street, N.W.
Suite 700
Washington, DC 20005

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