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KEEPING RACE IN PLACE: RACIAL MICROAGGRESSIONS AND CAMPUS RACIAL CLIMATE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY*

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I. INTRODUCTION

> [O]ne must not look for the gross and obvious. The subtle, cumulative miniassault is the substance of today's racism . . .[1]

> In and of itself a microaggression may seem harmless, but the cumulative burden of a lifetime of microaggressions can theoretically contribute to diminished mortality, augmented morbidity, and flattened confidence.[2]

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1. Chester Pierce, *Psychiatric Problems of the Black Minority*, *in* AMERICAN HANDBOOK OF PSYCHIATRY 512, 516 (Silvaro Arieti ed., 1974).

2. *Id.*

These two epigraphs by Chester Pierce over a 21-year period speak volumes about an important, persistent and under researched social problem – racial microaggressions. We know little about the racial microaggressions that Pierce speaks of and yet this subtle form of racism can – and does – have a dramatic impact on the lives of Students of Color.[3] We know that it causes stress, which has a great impact on the day-to-day lives of these students.

In this article, we present a theoretical framework for examining the stress associated with occupying minority racial/ethnic status on predominantly White campuses. We argue that the concept of racial microaggressions helps us to better understand how campus racial climate affects the educational experiences and outcomes of Students of Color. Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic assert that "[r]acism's victims become sensitized to its subtle nuances and code-words – the body language, averted gazes, exasperated looks, terms such as 'you people,' 'innocent Whites,' 'highly qualified Black,' 'articulate' and so on – that, whether intended or not, convey racially charged meanings."[4]

In this regard, campus racial climate exerts a major influence on college achievement among Chicano/Latino and African American students – two groups that have historically been the targets of racial discrimination in America. Compelling evidence shows that, where the campus racial climate is negative, Students of Color in general – and Black and Chicano/Latino students in particular – have lower rates of access and success.[5]

A. *Background: Microaggressions and Mundane Extreme Environmental Stress (MEES)*

Dr. Chester Pierce describes how African Americans live in a mundane extreme environment: an environment where racism and subtle oppression are ubiquitous, constant, continuing and mundane and in which African Americans must daily suffer the annoying – and at points, destructive – "microaggressions" that

3. For this study, the terms "of Color" – i.e., People of Color, Students of Color, Faculty of Color – are defined as those persons or scholars of African American, Latina/o, Asian American, and Native American ancestry. Also, Latina/o is used as another pan-ethnic term that is inclusive of all groups of Latin American ancestry in the Western Hemisphere who are living in the United States.

4. Richard Delgado & Jean Stefancic, *Images of the Outsider in American Law and Culture: Can Free Expression Remedy Systemic Social Ills?*, 77 CORNELL L. REV. 1258, 1283 (1992).

5. SYLVIA HURTADO ET AL., *Enacting Diverse Learning Environments: Improving the Climate for Racial/Ethnic Diversity in Higher Education*, 26 ASHE-ERIC HIGHER EDUC. REP. 8 (1999).

such environments breed.[6] Chester Pierce and his colleagues have defined racial microaggressions as "subtle, stunning, often automatic, and non-verbal exchanges which are 'put downs' of Blacks by offenders. The offensive mechanisms used against Blacks often are innocuous. The cumulative weight of their never-ending burden is the major ingredient in Black-White interactions."[7]

Microaggressions are subtle verbal and non-verbal insults directed toward non-Whites, often done automatically or unconsciously. They are layered insults based on one's race, gender, class, sexuality, language, immigration status, phenotype, accent, or surname. Microaggressions are also cumulative and cause unnecessary stress to People of Color while privileging Whites.[8] Examples of typical microaggressions include being ignored for service, assumed to be guilty of anything negative, treated as inferior, stared at due to being of color, or singled out in a negative way because of being different. Dr. Pierce's work focused on African Americans; however, our research indicates that other "colored" groups who are considered lower on the racial hierarchy also experience these microaggressions. To be specific, Latinos and Chicanos, particularly those who are identifiably not White, also report experiences similar to those of African Americans regarding racial stereotyping and the resulting microaggressions aimed at them.

We have labeled the stress of living in such an environment where one is subjected to daily microaggressions due to race as Mundane Extreme Environmental Stress (MEES):[9] *mundane*, because this stress is part of our day-to-day experience and is so common that we almost take it for granted; *extreme*, because it has an extreme impact on our psyche and world view, how we see ourselves, behave, and interact; *environmental*, because it is environmentally located, induced and fostered; *stress*, because the ultimate impact is indeed stressful, detracting and energy-consuming. Symbolic interactionism is the theoretical foundation that accounts for the interplay between microaggressions and MEES. To best understand how the two are intricately intertwined, a brief review of this symbolic interactionist foundation follows.

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6. Pierce, *supra* note 1; Chester Pierce, *Offensive Mechanisms*, *in* THE BLACK SEVENTIES 265 (Floyd B. Barbour ed., 1970).

7. CHESTER PIERCE ET AL., AN EXPERIMENT IN RACISM: TV COMMERCIALS 62-66 (Chester Pierce ed., 1978).

8. Chester Pierce, *Stress Analogs of Racism and Sexism: Terrorism, Torture, and Disaster*, *in* MENTAL HEALTH, RACISM, AND SEXISM 277 (Charles V. Willie et al. eds., 1995).

9. GRACE CARROLL, ENVIRONMENTAL STRESS AND AFRICAN AMERICANS: THE OTHER SIDE OF THE MOON (1998).

B. *Theoretical Framework of Symbolic Interaction: How and Why We Think and Act the Way We Do*

In order to understand why so many Students and Faculty of Color experience MEES, it is important to better understand why so many of us accept negative stereotypes of non-White race/ethnic groups who are at the bottom of this society's color hierarchy. History provides a partial explanation. Over time, structural and institutional arrangements such as racial slavery, racial conquest, racial segregation and racial discrimination produced a racial hierarchy where Whites or Europeans were at the pinnacle and Blacks and other non-Whites were pushed to the bottom.[10] However, racist ideologues like "White Supremacy," "Manifest Destiny" and "Yellow Scourge" were necessary to defend these racial inequities.[11] An extensive body of research documents the coordination in America between structural racism and racist ideology. Substantially less developed is the literature that seeks to explain how racial hierarchy is reproduced at the interpersonal level in the everyday exchanges of groups and individuals.[12]

Ultimately, theories about structural/institutional racism and racist ideology/attitudes provide at best only partial explanations for persistent social hierarchy and inequitable outcomes by race in contemporary America. Interpersonal relationships between human actors combine with structural patterns and ideological perspectives to reproduce racial hierarchy. These micro-level exchanges between groups and individuals reflect, define and validate racial status in institutional settings like a college or university. While history and cultural norms are useful as we attempt to understand this country's color hierarchy and the consequent experiences of Students and Faculty of Color in U.S. higher education with MEES, these factors are not sufficient. It still remains to understand why people think the way they do and subsequently behave the way they do.

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10. EDUARDO BONILLA-SILVA, WHITE SUPREMACY AND RACISM IN THE POST-CIVIL RIGHTS ERA (2001); NEIL FOLEY, THE WHITE SCOURGE: MEXICANS, BLACKS AND POOR WHITES IN TEXAS COTTON CULTURE (1999); JULIUS WILLIAM WILSON, THE DECLINING SIGNIFICANCE OF RACE: BLACKS AND CHANGING AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS (2d ed. 1980); HOWARD WINANT, RACIAL CONDITIONS: POLITICS, THEORY, COMPARISONS (1994); RODOLFO ACUÑA, OCCUPIED AMERICA: A HISTORY OF CHICANOS (2d ed., Haper & Raw 1981).

11. W.E.B. DU BOIS, THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK (1903); MICHAEL OMI & HOWARD WINANT, RACIAL FORMATION IN THE UNITED STATES: FROM THE 1960S TO THE 1990S (2d ed. 1994); RONALD TAKAKI, IRON CAGES: RACE AND CULTURE IN 19TH-CENTURY AMERICA (rev. ed., Oxford Univ. Press 2000).

12. ANNIE BARNES, EVERYDAY RACISM: A BOOK FOR ALL AMERICANS (2000); LENA WILLIAMS, IT'S THE LITTLE THINGS: THE EVERYDAY INTERACTIONS THAT GET UNDER THE SKIN OF BLACKS AND WHITES (2000).

The symbolic interaction theoretical framework offers a useful interpretation of the human thought/behavior process and enables us to understand how "race" is factored into our daily lives.[13] Because looking non-White is the first visual cue that others have when dealing with Students of Color, it becomes a very potent criterion regarding thought and action. Symbolic interactionism underscores the importance of the way one looks (phenotype) and assumes that your perception of how others view you has a great impact on how you view yourself. What follows is a brief overview of key theoretical constructs of symbolic interaction. This provides a theoretical construct for the importance of phenotype (looking non-White) in self-conception. It also provides for the theoretical underpinnings of mundane extreme environmental stress.

The symbolic interactionist tradition stresses the significance of social influence upon an individual. Consequently, human behavior is a result of interaction with one's environment, beyond direct reaction to it. Sociologist George H. Mead, often considered the father of the symbolic interactionist tradition, capsulated this distinction by contrasting human to non-human behavior, concluding that non-human gestures do not carry the connotation of conscious meaning or intent, but serve merely as cues for the appropriate responses of others.[14] On the other hand, humans engage in meaningful gestures (speech and other symbols). In so doing, humans interject interpretations, which may lead to varying responses to others dependent on these interpretations.[15] In other words, in human interaction, one takes the role of any given actor in order to interpret the gestures of the actor. These interpretations lead to the response to that actor as depicted below:

Person X emits—> gesture (Sl)	Person Y————————> interprets the gesture Sl (YSl)	Person Y replies to interpretation YSl

According to this view of behavior, we humans respond to our interpretation of the gestures of others, to what we believe the gesture means. For example, if a White salesperson in a clothing store served a White customer before she served you, a Person of Color, then you might interpret her behavior as racist because you were there first and because of your past history with Whites who have ignored you for service. If you do make this interpretation, you may get angry and your facial expressions may show

13. CHARLES HORTON COOLEY, HUMAN NATURE AND THE SOCIAL ORDER (1902); GEORGE H. MEAD, MIND, SELF & SOCIETY FROM THE STANDPOINT OF A SOCIAL BEHAVIORIST (1934).

14. *Id.*

15. *Id.*

this anger. You have a valid reason to interpret her behavior as racist, given the history and relationship between Whites and Blacks and the regularity of racist behavior directed toward you. However, the salesperson may not have known you were first in line for service. She may interpret your anger as your being inconsiderate or exhibiting "stereotypical hostile behavior" that her history may have led her to attribute to certain non-White groups.

Bernard Meltzer in his discussion of Mead's work on symbolic interaction emphasizes that the

> [R]elation of human beings to one another arises from the developed ability of the human beings to respond to his own gestures. This ability enables different human beings to respond in the same way, to the same gestures, thereby sharing one another's experience; behavior is viewed as "social" not simply when it is a response to others, but rather when it has incorporated it in the behavior of others.[16]

In other words humans can create a "social reality." If enough people are convinced through interaction with one another that this social reality is "real," then for all practical purposes, it becomes reality. W.I. Thomas stated this premise even more succinctly when he concluded that what people perceive as real becomes real in its consequences.[17] Thus, if there exists a stereotype of Black or Brown inferiority and one believes this stereotype, one acts accordingly.

The preceding arguments assume the presence of a "self." Mead loosely describes the development of this self through his "I/me" formulations.[18] The "me" is symbolic of the incorporated other within the individual, which acts to direct the "I" impulses. Thus, everyone develops a sense of who he or she is by the interaction of one's natural impulses or instincts ("I"), and how one interprets and incorporates his or her interaction with the environment ("me"). The interpretations that one makes can depend on a specific interaction with a specific person in the environment or with the "generalized other." The generalized other is one's perception of how persons in general feel about any given act, object, person(s), thought or response. The assumption is that this perception of the generalized other's views is also very important in developing a "self." In the context of the social political landscape of America, Whites view themselves as superior to Black and Brown people because they have incorporated the

16. SYMBOLIC INTERACTION: A READER IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY (Jerome G. Manis & Bernard N. Meltzer eds., 1967).

17. Morris Janowitz, *Introduction*, *in* W.I. THOMAS: ON SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL PERSONALITY iv (Morris Janowitz ed., 1966).

18. MEAD, *supra* note 13.

views of the society (generalized other) regarding these groups into their own sense of self. Conversely, people who are part of the devalued minority groups in America and who are in the same general social context where this devaluing occurs, may also incorporate this devaluation into their own sense of self. A person's sense of self may be viewed as a composite of one's perceptions of how others (both specific and generalized) view him or her.

The stark reality of how Black and Brown people are viewed collectively in a negative manner is reflected in the research literature on identity formation. The distinction between one's personal identity and one's reference group identity is often made for People of Color.[19] The case is made that for some African Americans to see themselves as positive, they have to make a split between themselves and the larger African American community. The assumption is that the African American community is viewed negatively, and thus in order to have high self-esteem, you must separate your personal identity ("I am a good person" or "I'm not like the rest of them" or "You're not like the rest of them") from the often negative collective Black identity ("Black people, in general, are not good"). Clearly, in the best of all worlds, such a separation should not have to occur in order to have a positive "self." This state of affairs can surely add to the MEES factor of the individual who perceives that he or she is required to make such a separation.

Prior to Mead, another social scientist, Charles Horton Cooley, was noted for his concept of the "looking glass self."[20] He asserted that the "sense of self" is a precondition for people to have control of their environment, and that this control is a desired state by the actors involved. Like Mead, Cooley believed that the sense of self is an outgrowth of interaction within a given social context. Cooley bases his theory on the following assumptions:

1. People's behavior elicits judgments from others.
2. People imagine the judgments of others in reaction to their behavior and thoughts.
3. The imagined judgments of others are incorporated into and comprise the various aspects of a person's sense of self.
4. People's behavior reflects their sense of self.
5. Different others are perceived as judging behaviors in different ways.

19. W. Jackson *et al.*, *Family socialization, environments and identity development in Black Americans*, *in* BLACK FAMILIES (Harriette Pipes McAdoo ed., 2d ed. 1998).

20. COOLEY, *supra* note 13.

6. The imagined judgment of the others are more likely to be incorporated into the person's sense of self if the imagined judgments are from individuals who are particularly important to the person.
7. People will more likely behave in order to receive the imagined positive judgment of important others than unimportant others.

Cooley incorporates the idea of "significant" others. Some people are either more rewarding, influential and/or important in the development of the "sense of self" than others. For example, if you are in a position to give rewards or punishment to a person, you are a significant other to that person. In America, societal rewards, such as good jobs, the opportunity to get a good education and recognition, are most often in the hands of Whites. Thus, their evaluations become significant to those dependent on such rewards. In the university setting, the rewards are given by professors who, in the case of most campuses, are predominately White and male.

Based on this symbolic interactionist tradition, the way one looks, or the ethnic/cultural group with which one identifies, becomes a critical variable in how Students of Color are perceived and responded to by both specific and generalized others. This consequently influences how they view themselves and how they act toward others. In a society where the negative stereotypes abound regarding Students of Color, one could hypothesize that a student who has more White physical attributes (e.g., skin color, hair texture, facial features) may accrue certain favorable responses that elude the child with more non-White physical attributes; or the person who "acts" more White will be valued more than one who relates more closely to African or Latino cultural norms.[21] There are, however, various mediating variables such as type of home environment, educational setting, peer group perspectives, and so on that can make a difference in self-perception. Such mediating variables can buffer or reshape the impact of one's personal response to MEES.

In addition to an individual's personal response via symbolic interaction, there are many structural issues that must be considered when analyzing mundane extreme environmental stress. Barriers to equal educational opportunities and housing options, job discrimination, and unequal access to quality services in a vast array of areas each contribute to MEES. They set in motion, support and affirm the Black or Brown equals bad equation. Structural variables such as lack of quality education, coupled

21. Walter R. Allen et al., *Skin Color, Income and Education: A Comparison of African Americans and Mexican Americans,* 12 NATIONAL JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY 129 (2000).

with discrimination in employment, result in disproportionate numbers of Students of Color in schools where opportunities and access are limited. Many of these students look at themselves as reflections in the societal mirror that views Students of Color as dispensable and not worthy of the privileges bestowed upon Whites. White privilege is systematic in America where a system of opportunities and benefits are conferred upon some simply because of their Whiteness.[22] It is very stressful to be non-White within such a system. It can be a burden and can potentially lead to many maladaptive and even self-destructive behaviors. Thus, the societal depiction and treatment of People of Color, which are institutionalized in the social and political system, often have major impacts on how we view ourselves and interact with each other. The universities across the country, particularly the more elite, prestigious ones, are often fraught with institutional problems associated with race and racism leading to large segments of the Students of Color experiencing microaggressions and MEES.

C. *Race, Racism, and Racial Microaggressions*

The use of racial microaggressions in the study of campus racial climate and the resulting stressful impact (MEES) must begin by defining race and racism. According to James Banks, an examination of U.S. history reveals that the "color line" or race is a socially constructed category, created to differentiate racial groups and to show the superiority or dominance of one race over another.[23] This definition leads to the question: Does the dominance of a racial group require a rationalizing ideology? One could argue that dominant groups try to legitimize their position through the use of an ideology (i.e., a set of beliefs that explains or justifies some actual or potential social arrangement). If racism is the ideology that justifies the dominance of one race over another, then how do we define racism? For our purpose, Audre Lorde may have produced the most concise definition of racism as "the belief in the inherent superiority of one race over all others and thereby the right to dominance."[24] Manning Marable has also defined racism as "a system of ignorance, exploitation, and power used to oppress African Americans, Latinos, Asians, Pacific Americans, American Indians and other

22. DAVID R. ROEDIGER, THE WAGES OF WHITENESS: RACE AND THE MAKING OF THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS (rev. ed. 1999).

23. James Banks, *The Historical Reconstruction of Knowledge about Race: Implications for Transformative Teaching*, 24 EDUCATIONAL RESEARCHER 15 (1995).

24. Audre Lorde, *Age, Race, Class, and Sex: Women Redefining Difference*, *in* RACE, CLASS, AND GENDER: AN ANTHOLOGY 495, 496 (Margaret L. Anderson & Patricia Hill Collins eds., 1992).

people on the basis of ethnicity, culture, mannerisms, and color."[25] Marable's definition of racism is important because it shifts the discussion of race and racism from a Black/White discourse to one that includes multiple faces, voices and experiences. Embedded in the Lorde and Marable definitions of racism are at least three important points: (1) one group believes itself to be superior, (2) the group that believes itself to be superior has the power to carry out the racist behavior, and (3) racism affects multiple racial/ethnic groups. These two definitions take the position that racism is about institutional power and that People of Color in the United States have never possessed this form of power to a significant degree.

It is important to note that unlike in the past, under contemporary racial etiquette, overt racist acts are usually not socially condoned and such examples in the public discourse are rare. However, it is in private conversations that racism can exist in subtle and covert ways in the form of microaggressions. Randall Kennedy found that "although overt forms of racial domination described thus far were enormously destructive, *covert* color bars have been, in a certain sense, even more insidious."[26] Correspondingly, Peggy Davis defined microaggressions as "stunning, automatic acts of disregard that stem from unconscious attitudes of White superiority and constitute a verification of Black inferiority."[27] One might add other code- or buzz-words to this list of rhetorical microaggressions, such as "quotas," "preferences," "Affirmative Action" and "reverse discrimination."

Indeed, unconscious or subtle forms of racism, while pervasive, are seldom investigated.[28] Occasionally, Students of Color get a glimpse into the world of unconscious racism as demonstrated in the following comments that one might encounter:

- "When I talk about those Blacks, I really wasn't talking about you."
- "You're not like the rest of them. You're different."
- "If only there were more of them like you."
- "I don't think of you as a Mexican."
- "You speak such good English."
- "But you speak without an accent."
- "I thought all Asians were good in math."

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25. MANNING MARABLE, BLACK AMERICA 5 (1992).

26. Randall L. Kennedy, *Racial Critiques of Legal Academia*, 102 HARV. L. REV. 1745, 1752 (1989).

27. Peggy C. Davis, *Law as Microaggression*, 98 YALE L. J. 1559, 1576 (1989).

28. Delgado & Stefancic, *supra* note 4; Charles R. Lawrence, *The Id, the Ego, and Equal Protection: Reckoning with Unconscious Racism*, 39 STAN. L. REV. 317 (1987); Daniel Solórzano, *Critical Race Theory, Racial and Gender Microaggressions, and the Experiences of Chicana and Chicano Scholars*, 11 INT'L J. OF QUALITATIVE STUD. IN EDUC. 121 (1998).

Pierce has maintained that Blacks "must be taught to *recognize* these microaggressions and construct his future by taking appropriate action at each instance of *recognition*".[29] Also, Sheri Johnson has argued that "one potentially significant contribution of the race and criminal procedure cases is *documentation* of the phenomenon of unconscious racism."[30] Davis has suggested that "the Court was capable of this microaggression because cognitive habit, history, and culture left it [the Court] unable *to hear* the range of relevant voices and grapple with what reasonably might be said in the voice of *discrimination's victims*".[31]

D. *Stereotype Threat and Racial Microaggressions*

Claude Steele and Joshua Aronson's work reveals that stereotypes are deeply woven into the fabric of U.S. society, yet their daily effects are often misunderstood.[32] The concept of microaggressions extends this research to look at the cumulative nature of stereotypes and their effects. Specifically, Steele and Aronson examine how stereotypes may interfere with Black students' abilities to achieve high scores on standardized tests widely believed to measure "aptitude" or "intelligence."[33] Their research found that when Black students were prompted to indicate their race before taking a Graduate Record Examination (GRE), their tests scores were significantly lower than when they were not prompted to mark their race. Steele and Aronson describe this as a "stereotype threat," which is:

> A social-psychological predicament that can arise from widely-known negative stereotypes about one's group . . . the existence of such a stereotype means that anything one does or any of one's features that conform to it make the stereotype more plausible as a self-characterization in the eyes of others, and perhaps even in one's own eyes. We call this predicament stereotype threat and argue that it is experienced, essentially, as a self-evaluative threat.[34]

Steele and Aronson's stereotype research does "not focus on the internalization of inferiority images or their consequences,"[35] but rather examines the "immediate situational threat that derives from the broad dissemination of negative stereotypes about

29. Pierce, *supra* note 1, at 520. (emphasis added)
30. Sherri L. Johnson, *Unconscious Racism and the Criminal Law*, 73 CORNELL L. REV. 1016, 1032 (1988).
31. Davis, *supra* note 27, at 1576. (emphasis added)
32. Claude Steele & Joshua Aronson, *Stereotype Threat and the Intellectual Test Performance of African Americans*, 69 J. OF PERSONALITY & SOC. PSYCHOL. 797 (1995).
33. *Id.*
34. *Id.*
35. *Id.* at 798.

one's group – the threat of possibly being judged and treated stereotypically, or of possibly self-fulfilling such a stereotype."[36] In other words, in a high-stakes testing situation, Black students are reminded of stereotypes that they are intellectually inferior to Whites, and this depresses their test performance.

We argue that stereotype threat can also work in the high-stakes game of college academic achievement. The prospect of conforming to a negative stereotype about Blacks or Latinas/os might be enough to undermine a student's performance in the high-stakes game of college achievement and are an important part of the college racial climate. Their resulting mundane extreme environmental stress may impact them by impeding their efforts and resulting achievement.

We should be aware of another form of stereotype threat that often confronts Black and Latino/a students. These students are victims of negative stereotyping by a powerful other. Given the nature of racism and racial hierarchy in this society, these students often suffer because of the predetermined, negative stereotypes of People of Color that Whites bring to their interactions with Blacks and/or Latinos. Research has shown a "Pygmalion Effect" in educational achievement such that teachers' prior impressions or opinions about a certain student's academic ability are in fact confirmed at the end of the day. These prior expectations of academic ability are confirmed largely because the teacher's prior negative or positive assumptions shape their perceptions, behaviors and evaluations of the students. The result is a self-fulfilling prophecy. Our study explores the linkages between racial stereotypes, cumulative racial microaggressions, racial stress, campus racial climate and academic performance.

II. THE UNIVERSITY CONTEXT FOR MEES

In a previous study of African American students at the University of California, Berkeley,[37] we found that African American students do indeed experience stress just because they are African American, irrespective of their diversity, their major, high school record, income level, or political orientation, which were secondary to their skin color. The mundane stress of being Black on White campuses has extreme effects on many Students of Color. MEES is clearly manifested and possibly heightened on predominately non-Black campuses. Black students in the UC-Berkeley study shared the following examples of microaggressions that contributed to their MEES experience on campus:

36. *Id.*
37. CARROLL, *supra* note 9.

- I am the only Black student in the classroom, a Black issue comes up and I feel all eyes one me. They expect me to be their expert on Black people! Sometimes I have to remind them that I had gone to the same White school system they went to, and wasn't taught about our history or psychology or anything. Just because I am Black, they expect that I know all about the African American experience.
- I was walking down Telegraph Avenue on my way to class. I really wasn't paying much attention to the people on the sidewalk because I was in a hurry to get to class. But I did notice a woman grasped her purse more tightly when she saw me behind her. On another occasion, a White woman crossed the street! They both thought that because I was a Black male, I was going to rob them.
- I don't like to raise my hand to give answers in class. I know that if I am wrong, the whole class will think that all Black people are here due to "special action" and that we don't really belong here. My wrong answer will be used to justify their stereotypes. I don't want to take a chance and give them that satisfaction. I prefer to keep to myself.

Claude Steele might label the experience described in the third example as a stereotype threat associated with racial devaluation.[38] He describes the double devaluation in such cases: risk devaluation from a particular failure (e.g., failed test, mispronunciation, wrong answer), plus a further risk that such performances will confirm the broader racial inferiority, which Black students know they are suspected of having. Once again, this results in a unique set of circumstances for students on the campus who perceive they are not accepted or do not belong based on the constant microaggressions. This can translate into high levels of repressed frustrations, higher dropout or "slow out" rates, and even to lower grades. In other cases, this translates into students who feel they must overachieve to show the White folks that African Americans are smart and can excel even in this hostile environment. This also gets restated in students trying to "prove others wrong." Dr. Steele's work on devaluation can be linked to under achievement and attitude problems among Students of Color on predominately White campuses. At times, the negative results of being in such an environment supersedes past achievement. True to the symbolic interactionist model, students must constantly respond to their perception of how others are viewing their presence. They are constantly reminded that they do not belong. They are constantly aware of the common belief that Students of Color are not as intellectually competent as Whites. It is important to note, that the student must cope with these

38. Claude M. Steele, *Race and the Schooling of Black Americans*, 269 ATLANTIC 68 (1992).

issues whether she or he wants to because these false claims permeate each fiber of our society. The stress associated with being forced to even entertain these thoughts can interfere with one's academic pursuits.

There are some obvious flaws in the anti-Affirmative Action meritocracy argument, which is based on myths that have been perpetuated in the media, particularly the myth that grade point averages and scholastic achievement test scores alone represent the highest quality and most deserving students. This myth is framed within a cluster of myths, which all add to the MEES factor experienced by Students of Color on White campuses. These interrelated myths are:

- There is a direct incremental linear relationship between "standardized test" scores and one's ability to be successful and achieve in the university;
- Higher scores mean the recipients of these scores have more merit and thus are more deserving of university admission than their counterparts with lower scores;
- By using such scores, one is being more equitable in the distribution of university admission slots; and
- One is serving the general community and society more fully and effectively by using this "pseudo equity" approach for admissions.

In addition to the overwhelming empirical evidence that we still live in a society where being Black or Brown has built-in liabilities that impact one's achievement, these myths persisted and stood front and center in the university Affirmative Action debate. This debate is often framed on the first myth that there is a direct, positive linear relationship between SAT scores/high school grades and college achievement. Thus, the argument proceeds to depict underrepresented minorities as less qualified if their test scores and grade point averages are not as high as their Asian or White counterparts. This is not a valid assumption, as the data does not support these assertions. Quite the contrary, Bowen and Bok support the argument that there are a variety of factors that contribute to the success of students in college and that one should not rely predominantly on SAT scores and grade point averages: "One often hears that students with top scores and the highest grades should be admitted 'on the merits,' as if these measures were the sole legitimate basis for admissions and that other considerations were somehow insubstantial or even morally suspect. This is patently false."[39]

39. WILLIAM G. BOWEN & DEREK BOK, THE SHAPE OF THE RIVER: LONG-TERM CONSEQUENCES OF CONSIDERING RACE IN COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY ADMISSIONS 24-25 (1998).

What researchers have found is that such scores only represent one domain of success in college, and thus predict academic performance imperfectly. More importantly, these scores "play an even smaller role in determining which applicants will contribute to the development of their fellow students or which will go on to be leaders in their chosen fields of endeavor."[40] However, when the myths of meritocracy permeate the admissions process and are articulated in newspapers and electronic media, a campus climate results that can be described as hostile to Students of Color, irrespective of their personal grades or test scores. It is within these campus climates that Students of Color must perform and negotiate day-to-day experiences where too often a host of microaggressions is directed toward them.

A. *Campus Racial Climate as a Setting for Microaggressions and MEES: The Undergraduate Experience*

In order to examine more closely the impact of MEES and microaggressions on postsecondary Students of Color, it is critical to examine the campus racial climate. Understanding and analyzing campus racial climate is an important part of examining college access, persistence, graduation, and transfer to and through graduate and professional school for underrepresented Students of Color. For this study, campus racial climate is broadly defined as the overall racial environment of the college campus. When the campus racial climate is positive, it includes at least six elements:

1. The inclusion of Students, Faculty and Administrators of Color (critical mass);
2. A curriculum that reflects the historical and contemporary experiences of People of Color;
3. Programs to support the recruitment, retention and graduation of Students of Color;
4. Faculty and administration that are open and responsive to the concerns of Students of Color;
5. A college/university mission that reinforces the colleges' commitment to diversity, and
6. The absence of racial conflict on campus.

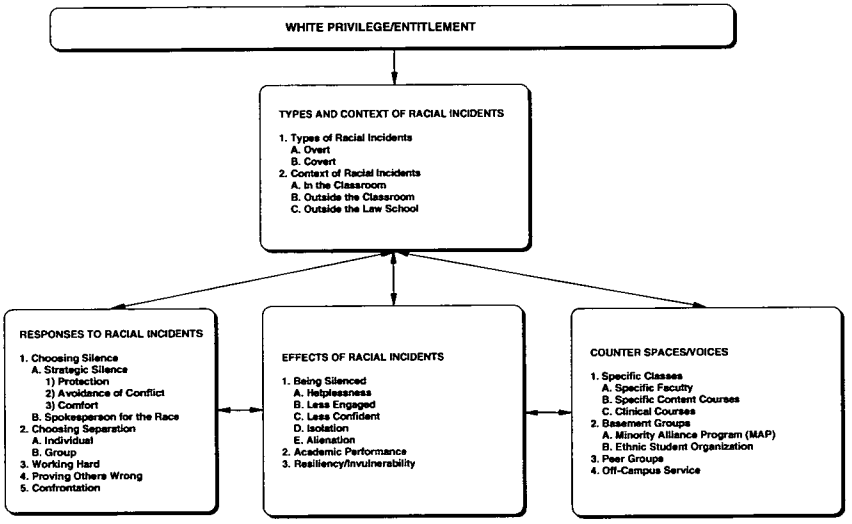
In its negative form, these elements are less likely to exist on the campus.[41] Clearly there are few, if any, campuses that clearly match this ideal and where all six elements are operating smoothly. On the contrary, campuses generally experience many problems associated with the negative racial climate since they

40. *Id.*

41. CARROLL, *supra* note 9; LANI GUINIER ET AL., BECOMING GENTLEMEN: WOMEN, LAW SCHOOL, AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE (1997); HURTADO ET AL., *supra* note 5.

are so entrenched in White privilege – which is diametrically opposite to the presence of these elements. However, we believe that the interplay between white privilege and its consequent institutional and structural barriers for Students of Color, can be mitigated by effective university programming and policies. A schematic representation of key factors that determine campus racial climate is presented in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1: A MODEL OF CAMPUS RACIAL CLIMATE



Our research approach utilizes this model and provides a critical framework that can be used to study how race and racism in its micro forms have an impact on the structures, processes and discourses within a higher education context. Utilizing the experiences of Students of Color as guides, our analysis of campus racial climate also takes into account the intersection of racism with other forms of discrimination, such as sexism and social class discrimination. Our approach acknowledges that institutions of higher education often operate in contradictory ways, with their potential to oppress and marginalize co-existing with their potential to emancipate and empower. We assert that a positive campus racial climate can facilitate and lead to important, positive academic outcomes for Students of Color who would be more able to focus on their academic work instead of negotiating the stress (MEES) associated with the negative racial climate. On the other hand, a negative or non-supportive cam-

pus climate is associated with poor academic performance and high dropout rates among Black and Latino students.[42]

From this conceptual foundation, the study presented in this article extends Pierce's construct of racial microaggressions to examine campus racial climate and answer the following questions:

1. How are racial microaggressions experienced by Students of Color?
2. How do Students of Color respond to racial microaggressions?
3. How do these racial microaggressions affect the ability of Students of Color to perform academically?
4. How do racial microaggressions affect the campus racial climate?

III. RESEARCH METHODLOGY

A. *Research Procedures and Participants*

In order to investigate campus racial climate at the University of California, Berkeley, we employed a multi-method research design consisting of focus groups, questionnaires, historical archives, institutional records, and published research. We used a purposive sampling technique to gather participants for the focus groups. Purposive sampling is defined as "a procedure by which researchers select a subject or subjects based on predetermined criteria about the extent to which the selected subjects could contribute to the research study."[43] We sought a group of African American, Latina/o, Asian American and White undergraduate students who were currently attending UC-Berkeley. Students were recruited and contacted by the project coordinators to participate in the focus groups.

We conducted eight focus groups at University of California, Berkeley in the Spring of 2000. Interviews took place off campus at a hotel in downtown Berkeley. A total of 25 (7 females, 18 male) currently enrolled students participated. All focus groups were tape-recorded with the permission of the participants. Transcripts were made of each taped focus group. The transcripts were coded and subjected to a thematic analysis.

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42. COLLEGE IN BLACK AND WHITE: AFRICAN AMERICAN STUDENTS IN PREDOMINANTLY WHITE AND HISTORICALLY BLACK PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES (Walter R. Allen et al., eds., 1991); CARROLL, *supra* note 9; HURTADO ET AL., *supra* note 5.

43. SHARON VAUGHN ET AL., FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS IN EDUCATION AND PSYCHOLOGY 58 (1996).

B. *Instrumentation*

Focus groups are guided group discussions that allow us to generate a wealth of understanding of the participant's experiences and beliefs about a particular topic of inquiry. Focus groups have four strengths that enrich the research process in that they provide a methodology to: (1) explore and discover concepts and themes about a phenomena about which more knowledge is needed, (2) add context and depth to the understanding of the phenomena, (3) provide an interpretation of the phenomena from the point of view of the participants in the group, and (4) observe the collective interaction of the participants. We developed an interview protocol for use in the focus groups (see Appendix A). The interview protocol was slightly modified to fit the racial/ethnic membership of the focus group that was being conducted. The focus group interview covered seven areas of inquiry:

1. The types of racial discrimination experienced by students.
2. How students responded to racial discrimination.
3. How racial discrimination affected the students, including their ability to perform academically.
4. The advantages of having a critical mass of Students of Color on campus.
5. Whether the racial climate for Students of Color has improved or worsened in the past few years.
6. Whether they would recommend their college to Students of Color.
7. Advice for the study.

We also compiled extensive field notes, research memos and information from debriefing meetings for each focus group.

In addition to focus groups, this study collected data from student questionnaires, student life histories, historical archives and institutional records. The accumulated literature reporting findings from empirical studies of Chicano/Latino and Black students on White campuses was another important source of empirical information for this study. In this article, we use these data to elucidate the larger social, historical, cultural, political and economic contexts that frame the University of California, Berkeley campus. This evidence shows that each context is in turn "racialized" and that together, these contexts present and reinforce experiences for Students of Color, confirming as "normative" a racial hierarchy where Blacks and Chicano/Latinos are devalued while Whites are elevated.

C. *Analytic Framework*

We used a grounded theory approach[44] to investigate the concept of campus racial climate. Specifically, we analyzed the transcripts, research memos and field notes by immersing and systematically analyzing the data for thematic patterns.[45] This was accomplished by:

- Identifying the types of, reactions to, and effects of racial microaggressions;
- Determining whether patterns could be found in the types of, responses to, and effects of racial microaggressions;
- Deciding if certain types of, responses to, and effects of racial microaggressions could be collapsed into similar categories; and
- Finding examples of text that illustrate the different types of, reactions to, and effects of racial microaggressions.

In this process, examples of text from the interviews illustrating various types of, responses to, and effects of racial discrimination were identified and compared across focus groups.

For the purpose of this study, a qualitative focus group thematic analysis is used to explain in more detail how students experience the campus racial climate. These focus groups do not represent a random student sample. Instead, a qualitative focus group analysis examines their lived experiences and shows how they can provide a depth of understanding, afford greater insight and be a guide to further research on the impact of the campus racial climate on college students. Indeed, the purpose of a qualitative focus group methodology is to illustrate and elucidate the analytical categories of the relationship between racial microaggressions and campus racial climate.

IV. Focus Group Results

The focus groups findings indicate that Students of Color experience UC-Berkeley's campus racial climate as a series of microaggressions. Many of these microaggressions seem to be directed at Black and Latina/o students in particular. The microaggressions seem to be fueled by stereotypes that Blacks and Latinas/os are not academically qualified. In contrast, the campus racial climate invokes the notion of Asian Americans being the "model minority" and Whites as unquestionably academically qualified. In general, the microaggressions described by the

44. Barney G. Glaser & Anselm L. Strauss, The Discovery of Grounded Theory (1967); Anselm L. Strauss & Juliet Corbin, Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques (1990).

45. *Id.*

students in this study demonstrate myths that Students of Color have somehow been given extra privileges to be admitted into UC-Berkeley at the expense of "more qualified" students. In reality, the vast majority of Students of Color at UC-Berkeley are not allocated special privileges, but many feel insulted and marginalized through daily microaggressions in both academic and social settings.

In this article, we look at racial microaggressions in relation to campus racial climate through the experiences of UC-Berkeley undergraduate Students of Color. Microaggressions take various forms, including both verbal and non-verbal behaviors towards, assumptions about, and lowered expectations for Students of Color. Figure 1 provides a schematic guide for the results of this study. It shows the relationship between racial microaggressions and campus racial climate. We begin by examining racial microaggressions in academic and social spaces on UC-Berkeley's campus and surrounding areas. Next, we look at students' responses to academic and social microaggressions. Then, we examine the effects of academic and social microaggressions on students and on the campus in general. Finally, we discuss how students' experiences with racial microaggressions affect the campus racial climate and how the campus racial climate impacts students.

A. *Academic Microaggressions*

This first section examines academic and social microaggressions that come in the form of overall assumptions about the academic merit of Black and Latino students. We then study microaggressions that occur within the classroom. Finally, in the following section, we discuss microaggressions that occur in social contexts on and around UC-Berkeley's campus.

Academic microaggressions are based on overall assumptions that Students of Color are academically inferior. For example, a Black male describes the frustration that his race leads others to make assumptions about his academic abilities and inabilities:

> At first, it really bothered me. Actually I have to say, it still bothers me just because of the ignorance that people pose. I get kind of upset by it because of the simple fact that they're not recognizing that me as a Black male . . . I can do the same things that they can do. And, if they got here through academics, then I did the same. Basically, I don't have to enter into a university just based on my athletic ability but based upon my intelligence.

Another Black male also encounters these assumptions about his academic merit: "[A] lot of people don't accept the fact that I'm

here on academics, and actually I got a scholarship for academics. All my scholarships were in academics, and they were not in sports." Still another Black male reiterates these experiences with microaggressions that assume most Blacks at UC-Berkeley are athletes:

> [A] lot of people will ask me, just see me walking around on campus, if I even go here or they seem surprised when they find out I do go here. Or they just already have this preconceived notion that a lot of Black males on this campus are athletes or that . . . we're here through some athletic scholarship . . . .

A Latina female recalls being insulted by a student who assumed she could not succeed academically:

> I remember one time I had my paper, and this [White] girl's like, "Let me read it." And she was reading, she was like, "Oh my God, you're not turning this in, are you?" I was like, "What do you mean?" And she's like, "Is this is your final draft?" . . . I ended up getting an "A" and she ended up getting a "B," and she's like . . . "Your GSI [Graduate Student Instructor] must be grading lightly," like totally taking away from my grade.

A Black female describes assumptions that many students have of how Black students entered UC-Berkeley:

> Most of my experiences in regards to racism have come from students. I've had a similar experience in L190 [a course]. Like a couple of our discussions were about the whole Prop. 209 issue[46] and Affirmative Action. And students really thought that the only reason Black students were getting into these universities was because of Affirmative Action. A lot of them could not fathom that we earned our way in here.

A Latino male reiterates this experience: "I really feel that they probably think I got here through Affirmative Action and I don't belong here for some reason because I'll get that a lot, 'Oh, you probably got in for Affirmative Action.'" A Black male discusses the continual pressure he feels, even in social situations, to have to explain that he is a Black scholar at UC-Berkeley, and not an athlete:

> Anytime I indicate to someone, whether it's on campus or off campus, that I am a student here . . . . [The] next question is, "So what sport do you play?" . . . . it angers me . . . . 'No, I'm actually here on my academic merit because I got in on academic merit, my scholarships came from academic merit. It

46. Proposition 209 was passed by the voters in California and prohibits race from being used as a criterion for admissions into the state university system. It went into effect at UC-Berkeley in 1998 when admissions of underrepresented minority freshmen dropped significantly.

> had nothing to do with athletics.' So, that's just something that I encounter all the time on campus.

Another Black male explains that he has had to go out of his way to keep calm in the face of constant assumptions about his being at UC-Berkeley:

> There was a girl who sat next to me . . . I asked her if she was on the newspaper staff because I heard the teacher mention it . . . . Then she [asked], 'What sport do you play?' . . . I've learned to kinda keep my cool because I just want to let these people know how ignorant they are about the stereotypes.

In addition to overall assumptions about their academic qualifications, focus group findings suggest that students also experience microaggressions within classrooms and in other academic settings on campus. For example, a Black male student describes being treated with disregard by teaching assistants in his science classes.

> I was thinking about going to med school, so I was on the pre-med track. And I was in classes, I was taking Chem 1A . . . and I did experience [race discrimination]. It was subtle for the most part, but I'd be in classes with . . . mostly Asian people. The TAs are usually White and Asian, and I really didn't feel like they were catering to me on the same level as they were other students . . . as far as time spent, responses to my questions, they'd take more time with other students.

An Asian American male shares his experience in a class where the microaggression was not as subtle:

> I remember once I was in a lecture and this old professor guy was speaking. He was a guest speaker. And basically everybody in the room was Asian . . . he was an old White man . . . he was just going off on how he used to teach here 40 years ago, 30 years ago . . . he just stopped and looked around the room and said, "Wow, these faces have changed."

Many students feel that the low numbers of Students of Color at UC-Berkeley results in their being called on as "the spokesperson" for their entire race. This makes students acutely aware that their actions are generalized for all Blacks or all Latinas/os. Furthermore, it reminds them that they are seen as an anomaly at UC-Berkeley. For example, a Black female remarks:

> [A] lot of my friends were not Black and they would ask me questions about Black people like I knew all the answers . . . it wasn't like blatant racism, but I just felt pressured to have answers for everything . . . they'd always look to me for answers as far as their questions concerning the Black community.

A Black male states:

> Because you're the only Black person . . . you're the only representative and . . . your response might not be actually representative of the whole Black community but your experience

> in particular . . . we're talking about an issue that relates to African American culture or something like that . . . talking about an urban environment or in the ghetto, probably people look at me [and say] . . . so what's the experience . . . . I mean, I was raised mostly in the suburbs . . . I'm totally inexperienced from that, but just because I'm Black.

A Black female explains:

> [E]very time I say something, it's like I have to put a disclaimer, "Now, I'm not speaking for everyone and I'm not speaking for every Black woman between 18 and 25." And I'll say that. And it's like a little chuckle, but . . . that's what they're going to base it off of.

A Black male reiterates this experience with a touch of sarcasm:

> [W]e studied all types of music theories from around the world . . . we got to rap music, and I was the only African American in the class. So we got to rap music, like everyone in the class is focused on me . . . it was like, "Okay, so tell us about rap music." And, like I'm just an authority on everything that happens in the rap industry . . . .

Students also mention being insulted through non-verbal behaviors in academic settings. In these cases, Students of Color felt that their mere presence was unwanted and assumed to be inappropriate. For instance, a Black female explains:

> Last time we went to the library . . . to study . . . obviously it's finals time . . . people are going to study. But when we walked in there looking for somewhere to sit down, it's like they're looking at something. Like they've never seen Black people before in their lives or they've never seen Black people study before.

A Latino male had a similar experience:

> I was studying with one of my friends, and a lot of her friends were Asian . . . . The moment we come up to the table, it's like . . . they felt the ripples of my sitting down . . . . Although my friend had invited me over, I still felt like for some reason, they didn't want me there.

A Black female describes the frustration she felt when she was faced with non-verbal microaggressions but was unable to respond in anger because she did not want to add to assumptions about Blacks:

> [M]y freshman year in a chemistry class . . . we would have to pair up . . . it was myself and another Black girl, and we were always the two who didn't have partners in our groups, and even when we were in groups, it was apparent that the people around us did not want to work with us . . . it made me angry . . . it was obvious to me that it was going on. But at the same time, one of the guys, he really had this bad attitude towards working with me and the other girl . . . . I couldn't respond to

> him the way I wanted to because that would just enforce whatever stereotype that he had about Black people.

A Black male had a similar experience: "The School of Journalism . . . you can't imagine how it is. Because there are no Black people in the School of Journalism. We had our National Association of Black Journalists' meetings over there, and I would go over there and people would look at me like, 'Why are you here?'"

The students expressed a generalized feeling of discomfort and racial tension as a result of their experiences with ongoing microaggressions in academic spaces on campus. For instance, a Black male explains:

> I'm in the College of Natural Resources . . . dealing with them is a struggle for me because . . . there's not that many African Americans over there in that department . . . Anytime I need to drop a class, add a class . . . I hate to go over and deal with it . . . "

A Black female notes that her professor created an uncomfortable space in class where racial issues were ignored and silenced out of discussions: "When we'd bring up modern day issues like Prop. 21 [adult trials for youth offenders] racist legislation . . . he [the professor] doesn't want to discuss the racial aspect of the issues."

A Black male describes an academic microaggression that reminded him of the overwhelming racial ignorance pervading UC-Berkeley's campus:

> I had a young lady say in class, "Aren't all gangs with Black people?" But I think it's not just the teachers, but it's the students who are sitting in class with us who perpetuate this ignorance over and over and over again 'til it's bred in them. They grew up in this ignorance.

A Latino male mentions the racial tension that exists among students:

> A lot of the students really get very competitive. Especially if you're not the same color or ethnicity. They tend to not give you as much help. I think it could be racially motivated simply because they don't understand, they don't want to help you, or they don't think it's something that they should do.

Another Latino male talks about the double standard that faculty upholds, deferring to the needs of White students while remaining less accessible to Students of Color:

> In the History department, a lot of professors tend to be older, White males. If I come up and ask them . . . "I can't make your office hours, can you rearrange them?" [They'll reply,] "Sorry, I can't do that." The moment I leave, I overhear another student kind of griping, "Oh, I won't be able to make

> those hours." And he was more than happy to make them flexible for that other student . . . another White student . . . It didn't feel right.

In any form or context, microaggressions add to students' feelings of overall racial tension. Microaggressions may not always be experienced by students in the form of verbal or nonverbal insults. Instead, microaggressions may also be experienced through the overall campus racial climate and through someone else's experiences. In other words, a microaggression can be hearing a story told by a friend, about a professor who put down Students of Color in or out of class. For instance, a Black female describes a microaggression occurring in science and math classes: "I think that it's the environment. It's very discouraging and non-supportive, especially, the Sciences, Math . . . my friends are in this chemistry class . . . the GSI [Graduate Student Instructor) skips right over them and then claims that, 'Oh, I didn't see you. You weren't in the class.'"

A Black male talks about a level of racial discomfort existing at a specific place on campus: "Hass [business school] is like a little environment in itself even though it sits on Cal's campus, but a lot of African Americans don't feel comfortable there." A Black female shares her friend's experiences:

> He thought he was going to be pre-med. And he was in this chemistry lab, and nobody wanted him to be in the groups, so his partner . . . turned out to be this deaf girl. I'm sure everybody's looking at them like, '. . . they're never going to pass.

A Black male recalls the experiences of another student:

> [M]y African-American studies professor from first semester . . . told us the scenario in class where one of his students got arrested or detained because he was in a building, the Life Sciences Building, running an errand for this professor. The people in there felt that he was an intruder because he was a Black person that shouldn't have been in that building.

A Latino male expresses his belief that Students of Color are obviously marginalized at UC-Berkeley, which discourages new Students of Color from enrolling:

> I think that students are denying the offer letters simply because they believe that UC-Berkeley fosters the notion that Students of Color are not welcome. You can come here if you like, but your opinions aren't going to be validated. You might as well go to another institution because our policies are not catered to your needs. And I think a lot of students really get turned off.

As part of a negative campus racial climate, academic microaggressions uphold White privilege, assume neutral meritocracy and maintain racial tension. In various forms, Students of Color continue to experience microaggressions in academic settings.

As mentioned above, most of the microaggressions directed at Students of Color at UC-Berkeley are based on assumptions that Blacks and Latinos are less intelligent than other students. In general, these microaggressions occur within the classroom or other academic settings. However, our findings suggest that academic microaggressions also occur outside of academic settings. Within social contexts, Students of Color continue to face verbal and non-verbal assaults based on negative stereotypes. As an example, a Black male describes that microaggressions against Students of Color begin early in their career:

> [I]t begins so far in the beginning of the process. I walked up to the table and the [White] lady told me . . . I asked her . . . so how's Cal, tell me a little something about Cal . . . . And she just sat there and looked at me, and she said, "Well, we have really high GPA requirements." That was the only thing she said to me, and I stood there thinking she was going to tell me some more . . . something else . . . . But I said, "Excuse me, I'm interested in applying to Cal for Fall '99. I'd like some information." And she was hesitant, and she looked up, and said well, "There's a paper over there, and there's a paper here," so I took that information.

Another Black male says UC-Berkeley asserts that there is a level educational playing field, yet Students of Color on campus are seen as criminal suspects:

> [T]hey act . . . like it's a level playing field . . . It's not . . . I'm educated, you're educated. But when we walk into the school and we walk into the bookstore, they're not going to look at you . . . they don't think you're going to steal a book, but when they see me, they're going to think, "Okay, we gotta watch this guy. Make sure we check in his bag."

A Black female reiterates this experience, wherein Black men especially are viewed with suspicion, even at the library:

> I remember once coming out of the library. You know how they do a little bag check? I was with this young Black male, and he just opened up his bag, and this guy must have given him the hardest time about opening his bag and taking out his books. Like 20 people just passed by and opened their bag, and we were there for like five minutes.

B. *Social Microaggressions*

Beyond the academic microaggressions that Students of Color face at UC-Berkeley, they also experience social microaggressions in and around campus. These social microaggressions appear to be based on notions that People of Color pose a threat to these public spaces. Many of these microaggressions are directed at students by the UC-Berkeley campus police. Students explain that their social gatherings are closely monitored by po-

lice and often are broken up by police, whereas social gatherings of White students are not. A Black male student describes his frustration that the police often try to limit the activities of Black students by an intimidating show of force.

> [A]ll last semester, almost every night, there's Whites, there's Asians in Underhill playing Frisbee, or playing football . . . it's 11 o'clock [at night] and all of a sudden, [UC-Berkeley Campus Police] sweeps up . . . there's a total of four or five cars and then we have two cops on the bikes, all here for us who are not displaying any type of violence or anything like that . . . but we're upset. And we're saying at the same time, we're feeling restricted because if we act in a way that we want to react, number one – we're going to go to jail, number two – it's just going to feed into the stereotype that we're supposed to be violent . . . We actually just stood there out there and just really pleaded our case for at least a good 45 minutes. And they were not trying to hear us at all. We had to leave the parking lot . . . Once again, it reminded me I'm a Black man at Cal.

Another Black male talks about feeling criminalized because of police overreaction to a Black social activity:

> We were at the parking lot at Rachdale . . . we were having step [dance] practice in the parking lot. So, we had the radio on and we were learning how to step and from the entrance, it had to be eight [police] cars. [The police said], "We had complaints that there was a fight over here."

An Asian American male cites an example of the double standard upheld by the police toward People of Color in social settings. He relates,

> There's probably about 40 fraternities, and we're basically the only mainstream Asian-American fraternity that has a house huge enough to have parties . . . We are so strictly regulated, they [police] go by the books . . . And my friends in other White fraternities, they've got kegs upstairs, you could totally see them. We gotta be lowdown, quiet.

Another Asian American male reiterates this experience:

> I know their [White fraternities] parties were just as big as ours . . . they had no guest list, they had alcohol everywhere . . . their guys were getting warnings by the police, they weren't being regulated, they weren't being harassed.

A Latino male had the same experience with a predominately Latino fraternity: "[I]t's not like we're on the quiet side of town. There's parties right next to us . . . but somehow we just get – we get the most patrol cars . . . "

A Black female also experienced this racialized double standard maintained by police at UC-Berkeley:

> In my freshman year, there was a party in the Afro house. There were several White fraternities and sororities having

> parties that night. I wasn't there probably a half an hour, and the police came and shut it down entirely.

Through these microaggressions in social settings, the university police seem to be privileging White gatherings and adding to the racial tension. For example, a Black female describes a microaggression in the form of an unspoken, yet understood double standard that is applied to Black students on campus: "When it comes time for Black students to do things on campus . . . there's a whole set of rules that you have to abide by, whereas the other students, it's like, 'Well, you have a good time.'"

C. *Responses to Microaggressions and Campus Climate*

Students respond to academic and social microaggressions in various ways. In this section, we will examine how students are responding to stereotypes, microaggressions and UC-Berkeley's negative campus racial climate. We begin by describing how students' anger is motivating them to "prove others wrong." We then discuss how students are creating academic and social counter spaces that challenge stereotypes and microaggressions.

1. *Responding to Racial Microaggressions by Proving "Them" Wrong*

We should emphasize that the Students of Color at UC-Berkeley are pursuing higher education amidst multiple layers of discrimination based on race, gender, and class. Students are angered by the extra stress forced on them by a negative campus racial climate. For example, a Black female feels that she must hold her anger back because she knows her actions are generalized to those of all Black women:

> There are times when I want to be angry, but I don't want to fall into what they think every Black woman is and so a lot of times, I find myself restricted from saying what I feel or doing what I feel because I don't want to perpetuate negative stereotypes.

It seems that Students of Color at UC-Berkeley are developing attitudes and searching for resources that assist them to be resilient in the face of stress. Many students stated that they want and need to succeed at UC-Berkeley specifically because they want to "prove wrong" the ideas, statistics, statements and attitudes that say People of Color are less intelligent or less capable than others. As a response to microaggressions and a negative campus racial climate, students are driven by a desire to prove that Students of Color can and do succeed.

Just as racism, sexism, classism and other forms of oppression come in blatant and subtle forms, responses to racism and

oppression also may be overt or covert. Microaggressions force incredible amounts of stress on Black and Latina/o students. Indeed, these students feel the burden of stereotypes, microaggressions and inequality resting on their shoulders. Listening to these racialized experiences, we frame students' overall "prove them wrong" strategy as resistance to a negative campus racial climate. For example, a Black female describes:

> I feel I have to justify myself all the time, and it sucks. Even to my professors, like I want to feel so intelligent to them. Every time I go to office hours, I prep for like a whole week . . . what I'm going to say, to make sure I have good questions, make sure I know something . . . because I don't want them to think that I don't belong here. And I feel that sometimes I have to work a little harder . . . just to be even average, just because you want to prove yourself.

A Latino male explains his frustration of having to prove himself academically capable:

> I've gotten to the point where it's like . . . I know I have to prove myself every day no matter what because people don't know who I am. I don't have my resumé tattooed on my forehead. I don't have . . . all my different medals, or patches, or all my achievements tagged on me . . . .

A Black female talks about the layered stress of being a Person of Color: "I think there's a lot of pressure. You're constantly not just proving to yourself, but trying to disprove the stereotypes. I was trying to prove that I do deserve to be here." Another Black female says: "It's kinda like having to prove that we're good students . . . And the only difference between us and the rest of the class is that we're Black."

Deciding how to respond to the barrage of microaggressions in classroom discussions also causes stress for Students of Color. A Black female points out how this creates a tense racial climate wherein she feels she is paying hard-earned money to be in a situation where she must respond to daily insults. She describes going to UC-Berkeley as having two jobs: to do well in school, and to prove that deficit notions about Blacks are wrong. She states:

> [The class is] always a whole bunch of other people talking about what's going on in my community. And they're always wrong. I'm not making any of this money. I'm paying to go here just like you are, so why am I working twice as hard in my classes to try and prove you wrong and to do my own work? It's just . . . it makes the situation really tense.

A Latina female explains that the stress of responding to microaggressions reaches beyond UC-Berkeley: "What I'm try-

ing to say, it's not just on campus, it's almost everywhere I go, you have to really prove yourself."

2. *Creating Academic and Social Counter Spaces as a Response to Microaggressions*

In response to the daily barrage of racial microaggressions that they endure both in and outside of their classes, Students of Color at UC-Berkeley are creating academic and social counter spaces. Counter spaces challenge the dominant deficit notions of People of Color and promote a positive racial climate. Academic counter spaces are found in study groups and student-organized academic study halls on campus. Students of Color have created these academic counter spaces to foster their own learning at the university and to nurture a supportive environment wherein their experiences are validated and viewed as important knowledge.[47] Some of these counter spaces have been co-created with faculty and exist within classrooms. Other counter spaces exist within more social settings on campus through student organizations. Table I shows the number of student organizations at UC-Berkeley that provide counter spaces for Students of Color.

TABLE I: STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS, FRATERNITIES & SORORITIES[48]

Student Organizations	Number of Student Organizations
African American	14
American Indian/Alaska Native	4
Asian American	51
Latina/o	27
Multi-Ethnic	8
Other	322
Total	426

Fraternities/Sororities	Number of Fraternities/Sororities
Fraternities	32
African American Fraternities	5
Sororities	13
African American Sororities	5
Total	55

47. Daniel Solórzano & O. Villalpando, *Critical Race Theory, Marginality, and the Experience of Minority Students in Higher Education*, *in* EMERGING ISSUES IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION: COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES 211 (C. Torres & T. Mitchell eds., 1998).

48. Latino and Asian American fraternities and sororities are included in the ethnic student organization section. *See* Office of Student Life, *at* http://uga.berkeley.edu/sas/stdorgs.shtml.

Even though many counter spaces take place in social settings, they also serve as academic counter spaces. Students are not only creating study groups; they are also creating friendship groups and community outreach groups. These academic and social counter spaces often provide educational, emotional and cultural support. This section examines how Students of Color at UC-Berkeley are creating resources in the form of counter spaces, which assist them to be resilient in the face of stress related to the negative campus racial climate. For example, a Black female explains the academic and social importance of her participation in an organized study hall counter space:

> [T]he benefit that I have gained from the situation is that my involvement in the Black community has grown, and that's where I found a lot of my support. Even in terms of academics, I go study with the homies all the time. Go to Heather Lounge and you're going to see a million Black faces, and it's going to be cool . . . you might not get that much studying done, but it's a cool little network that's created because classes are so uncomfortable.

A Black male offers a rationale for creating a study group counter space: "I think you perform better academically if there are others who are around . . . who can support you . . . If you had the opportunity to have an all Black study group . . ." A Black female says she seeks out Blacks for support throughout campus: "I just feel more comfortable dealing with Black people in every aspect . . . counseling, financial aid. I just look for the first Black face I find because I feel like they're going to be more sympathetic . . . ."

A Latina female describes the process by which she began to associate with Latina/o organizations as she looked for a safe space:

> I tended to stay away from Latino organizations . . . I want to be a people lover . . . I don't want to be with just all Latinos. But you know, it's kind of like that was my safeguard, and I joined a Latina organization because as much as I thought that I didn't want to do that, they were the only group who is really going to accept me. So I kind of steered away from other groups and I tend to stay more with Latinos now.

A Black male explains that he sought out a counter space as the basis for supporting himself through UC-Berkeley:

> [T]hat was one of the reasons why I chose to live on the African-American theme floor . . . because, if I go home and I don't have the support, then that can really be discouraging to somebody . . . you need some type of support to get through this thing . . . and if you're a freshman coming in, you don't know Black faces . . . you need somewhere to start.

A Latino male explains how an ethnic-specific fraternity provides him with a space to nurture friendships:

> My freshman year at Cal, I was living in the dorms. I could totally kick it with all my White friends, my Asian friends, and all the Indians. I didn't want to be pigeonholed as just a Latino guy. Eventually, I took a look around and most of my true friends are Latino. So bam! Latino organization.

A Latina female admits finding emotional support in her Latino friends: "I was looking for a family away from home, people I could really rely on like a brother, that sister, that mother you can really depend on." A Latino male affirms this experience and notes that he and others sought out a social counter space: "I just joined [the Latino fraternity] last year with my other friend Mike, who joined just before he graduated. I started finding out that three guys near graduation joined simply because they felt like it was already a family. It was a network there that they felt comfortable with."

By creating academic and social counter spaces, students channel their anger and desires to "prove them wrong" into overt challenges to microaggressions and racial tension. For instance, a Latina female participates in a multiracial women's organization that challenges the patriarchal, individualistic and competitive university through a nurturing and unified coalition:

> [I]t serves the basic function of a support group. It's a very large organization . . . . I always say that it's the social thing for me just because I meet and network with so many Latina women in there. And, just recently it's been starting to get multiracial, see we have Black women there, we have White women there, we have Asian women.

A Latina female offers an example of how students can also create counter spaces in classroom settings. She created a counter space in her classroom wherein she was able to challenge a professor's assumption about the "universality of experience" at UC-Berkeley:

> The first social welfare class I took, the professor stressed how the first social workers were females and he asked the class, "Do any of you girls see yourselves being like these pioneer women?" I raised my hand and said, "Well, honestly I can't, because all these women were White females who were married to rich husbands. And they had money to start these charities. I'm a minority female, I have to start from scratch."

Another Latina female demonstrates how counter spaces can be co-created in classroom settings. In this case, a Professor of Color created a counter space within his classroom wherein this Latina recognized herself in the curriculum. She explains, "The reason why I'm real interested in doing Ph.D. work in sociology

is 'cause my current professor who's a Latino . . . talks about his research . . . I see him – the work he does, I could see myself doing the same."

In sharing his research with the class, this Professor of Color pedagogically co-creates a counter space wherein this Latina student can picture herself becoming a Latina professor. Faculty who co-create counter spaces within their classrooms offer an important resource for students who are trying to challenge a negative campus racial climate.

As a strategic response to stereotypes and microaggressions, these Students of Color are creating and participating in academic and social counter spaces. These counter spaces are a means by which students can ease feelings of alienation and discouragement spawned by cumulative racial microaggressions. Social counter spaces allow room, outside of the classroom confines, for students to vent frustrations and to get to know people who share their experiences of being racially discriminated. Participation in academic and social counter spaces also means having space to offer and receive advice about navigating through institutions such as schools and devising plans of action that incorporate school and community knowledge.[49] Students seemed to create academic and social counter spaces along racial or gender lines. We believe this separation is a response to their position of marginality. Marginalized students are often familiar with being silenced in a classroom or having their personal experiences and beliefs discounted. These negative experiences in the classroom are in addition to the cultural deficit discourse pervasive throughout the campus.[50] Nonetheless, in separating themselves from racial- or gender-uncomfortable situations, Students of Color appear to be utilizing counter spaces on their own terms. Indeed, as these students navigate successfully through UC-Berkeley, they demonstrate that creating counter spaces are important for survival.[51]

D. *Summary of Focus Group Findings*

The following statements are a summary of the key findings from this research:

- Because of the negative campus racial climate, the educational playing field is uneven for Students of Color.
- Students of Color experience instances of racial microaggressions both on and off campus. Racial microaggressions

49. Solórzano & Villalpando, *supra* note 47.

50. Richard Valencia, & Daniel Solórzano, *Contemporary Deficit Thinking*, *in* THE EVOLUTION OF DEFICIT THINKING IN EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT AND PRACTICE 160 (Richard Valencia ed., 1997).

51. Solórzano & Villalpando, *supra* note 47.

seem to be more covert in academic spaces and more overt in social spaces. Together, these subtle and obvious racial microaggressions make up a large part of the negative campus racial environment.

- Students of Color and their perspectives are often excluded and undervalued in their departments and classroom discourse.
- Students of Color and women depend on peers like themselves for social, organizational and emotional support. They create and participate in academic and social counter spaces in response to the negative racial climate. Therefore, it is important for the university to achieve and retain a "critical mass" of Students of Color.
- Student academic performance is negatively affected by the cumulative experiences with racial microaggressions. As a result, Students of Color appear to be burdened by more stress than White students. While all students must focus on their studies, and some also work to pay for their education, Students of Color have an additional full-time job of dealing with racial and gender microaggressions. This is an extra burden that most White students do not face.
- Students of Color feel frustrated and isolated as a result of the negative campus racial climate.
- Some Asian American students expressed their concern that the discourse on Affirmative Action policy at UC-Berkeley fosters racial divisions between Students of Color.
- African American and Latina/o students describe being unfairly stigmatized as "academically unqualified."
- As a means to counter the negative effects of their campus racial climate, students feel the need to increase the numbers of other Students and Faculty of Color.
- The lowered academic performance of Students of Color is partly a product of macroforms and microforms of racism and a negative campus racial climate. In its macroforms, we are speaking of institutional racism. In its microforms, we are speaking of racial microaggressions that are the part of everyday discourse in and out of UC-Berkeley.

V. Survey Study Results

Our focus group study of the campus racial climate at the University of California, Berkeley provides rich, textured information. These data and qualitative approach offer many insights into the perceptions and interactions of selected individuals on campus. We see from these sources of information the inner workings of campus racial dynamics. As students relate their personal interactions, observations and interpretations, we gain an understanding of the "lived experience" for students as they, in their racial identities, interact with other-race students in the

highly racialized environment presented by the University of California, Berkeley.

To add perspective and to locate these individual experiences in broader institutional setting, we now consider more general patterns and parameters of campus racial climate at UC-Berkeley, as revealed by student questionnaires. These survey results sketch the backdrop and broader context that characterizes UC-Berkeley's campus and racial climate. The survey results also provide an explicit, empirical gauge of the degree to which patterns revealed by the focus groups can be said to reflect more general and broad experiences by Black and Chicano/Latino students at UC-Berkeley.

During May 2000, survey questionnaires were administered to undergraduates currently attending the University of California, Berkeley. These students represented a purposive sample, which included some students who had consented to participate in the focus group studies of racial climate (students completed surveys prior to the start of focus groups). The surveys consisted of 28 items that asked students to answer a series of questions about family background, academic experiences, student attitudes and opinions, campus racial climate and interpersonal relations on campus. The survey items were drawn from previous studies of campus racial climate.[52] Copies of the survey and response frequencies can be found in Appendix B.

Results from our survey study provide a broad context and background for the interpretation of findings from our focus group study. In this regard, the survey results both supplement and expand upon lessons learned from the focus groups. Whereas the focus group findings reveal the nature of racial context and raced interactions in laser-like specificity and detail, these survey results offer a broader take on general patterns and attitudes. Together, the snapshot view (provided by surveys) and the movie view (provided by focus groups) combine to tell us much about the structure and process of the campus racial climate at the University of California, Berkeley.

With a total of 94 completed surveys, the respondents consisted of 31 males and 63 females (see Appendix B, Attachment B: Table 1). The group included 39 Black/African Americans, 8 Caucasian/Whites, 20 Chicano/Latinos, 23 Asian American/Pacific Islanders, 2 Arab Americans and 2 who labeled themselves as "Other" (Table 2). There were 20 freshman, 16 sophomores, 28 juniors and 25 seniors in this undergraduate sample (Table 4).

52. COLLEGE IN BLACK AND WHITE: AFRICAN AMERICAN STUDENTS IN PREDOMINANTLY WHITE AND HISTORICALLY BLACK PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES (Walter R. Allen et al. eds., 1991); HURTADO ET AL., *supra* note 5.

Over half of these Berkeley undergraduates (54%) reported "B" college grade point averages, followed by 42% who reported "A" averages (Table 5). Nearly two-thirds of African American and Asian American students reported "B" grades compared to 55% of Latinos. All of the White respondents reported average college grades of "A." Two-thirds of all students (66%), regardless of race or ethnicity, reported having "A" averages in high school compared to 31% with "B" averages. By racial group, 62% of African Americans, 63% of Whites and 60% of Latinos reported high school grade averages of "A." In contrast, 83% of Asian American respondents averaged "A" grades in high school.

Comparing parents' educational attainment, 31% of African American students' fathers, and 39% of their mothers, had some college education versus 63% of White students' fathers and 38% of their mothers who had earned graduate/professional degrees (Tables 6 and 7). At the other extreme, 45% of Latina/o students' fathers and 40% of their mothers had less than a high school degree. Thirty percent of Asian American students' fathers had graduate/professional degrees while 44% of their mothers held B.A. or B.S. degrees.

In evaluating the effectiveness of high school preparation prior to entrance to college, 64% of African Americans and 75% of Whites felt that they were well prepared for college compared to 48% of Asian Americans and 50% of Latinos (Table 12). Interestingly, 41% of African Americans and 45% of Latinos aspired to doctoral degrees versus 25% of Whites and 23% of Asians (Table 13). More Asian Americans aspired to M.A./M.S. degrees (41%) than did Latinos (25%), Whites (25%) or African Americans (23%). As one indicator of academic confidence, 55% of African Americans, 50% of Whites and Latinos, and 44% of Asian Americans were completely certain that they would earn their B.A. degrees from the University of California at Berkeley (Table 14).

Responding to questions that evaluated student experiences and relationships with faculty, Whites (63%) and Latinos (60%) more often consulted faculty for help with difficult assignments than did Blacks (41%) or Asians (48%) (Table 15). Perhaps opposite but equally debilitating stereotypes – that cast Asians as not needing help and Blacks as being beyond help – explained this pattern. It is interesting to note that Asian and Black students were also more likely to believe that faculty graded them unfairly (51% and 52%, respectively) compared with Whites and Latinos (38% and 35%, respectively) (Table 16). Clearly, reluctance to approach faculty for academic assistance was related to

beliefs that faculty were not fair in their grading practices. Taken as a whole, these two factors can be said to signal greater alienation from faculty for Black and Asian students.

In evaluating whether they felt part of the general campus life as far as student activities and government were concerned, over half the African American students answered "no," thus continuing a trend of Black alienation (Table 17). No Whites, 30% of Latinos and 26% of Asians answered similarly. This contrasted with 63% of Whites, 65% of Latinos, 44% of Asian Americans and 36% of Blacks who did feel part of general campus life. A sizeable 56% of African Americans and 40% of Latinos reported having experienced discrimination on the Berkeley campus because of their race (Table 18). In the opposite extreme, 88% of Whites and 52% of Asians reported no experience with racial discrimination on campus. Along the same lines, 88% of Whites and 65% of Asian Americans reported that they had not been targets of gender discrimination on campus. Twenty-one percent of African Americans and 20% of Latinos agreed they had experienced gender discrimination on campus (Table 20).

In terms of overall satisfaction, roughly 70% of Latinos and African Americans felt that they had made the right choice in deciding to attend the University of California, Berkeley. All of the White students and 83% of the Asian American students expressed similar beliefs. In line with this finding, 62% of African Americans, 75% of Whites, 65% of Asian Americans and 60% of Latinos had never seriously considered leaving Berkeley (Table 22).

Rejecting the current anti-Affirmative Action rhetoric – and presumed orthodoxy – three-quarters of Asians, Blacks, Latinos and Whites agreed that different admissions criteria and standards are justified for some minority students (Table 23). Twenty-one percent of Black and Latina/o students disagreed while 25% of Asians and Whites also did not feel that different admissions were justified for some races. Consistent with these patterns, the overwhelming majority disagreed that minority students are given advantages that discriminate against other students (Table 24). Specifically, all African American and White respondents rejected this claim, while 91% of Asian Americans and three-quarters of Latinos disagreed that minorities are given discriminatory advantages. Lastly, 72% of African Americans, 74% of Latinos and 75% of Whites agreed that greatly increased enrollment of racial minority students would strengthen colleges and universities (Table 25). In opposition, over half of the Asian American respondents disagreed with this stance (52%).

Evaluating the degree of trust and respect among students of different race/ethnicity groups on the Berkeley campus, 31% of African American and 35% of Latina/o undergraduates reported at best slight degrees of trust and respect, compared to 25% of Whites and 22% of Asians who felt the same (Table 26). By the same token, 28% of African Americans, 15% of Latinos and 13% of Asians believed there was a substantial level of racial conflict on campus (Table 27). In an opposing vein, 55% of Latinos, 48% of Asians, and 43% of Whites felt there was only a slight degree of racial conflict on campus. Only 18% of Blacks agreed. There was also disagreement on the question of open discussion of racial issues on campus: 63% of Whites and 42% of Latinos reported substantial discussion versus 23% of Blacks and 22% of Asians. The students shared a consensus about the level of racial segregation on the Berkeley campus: 92% of African Americans, 75% of Whites, 90% of Latinos and 74% of Asian Americans agreed that there was substantial racial separation on campus (Table 29).

Given the patterns of racial conflict, separation and block communication revealed above, it is instructive to examine efforts by university administration to foster an environment supportive of racial diversity and free of racial conflicts. When asked to comment on campus efforts to promote racial understanding and respect, 54% of African Americans, 45% of Latinos and 57% of Asian Americans thought there were at best slight efforts by the administration along these lines (Table 30). On the other hand, 38% of Whites felt that the university exerted substantial efforts to foster racial diversity. This substantial racial divide in perceptions of university commitment is revealing in and of itself.

To further evaluate the campus racial climate from a student perspective, students were asked how their expectations regarding campus racial climate changed after entering the university (Table 32). The overwhelming majority of African Americans (68%), Latinos (68%) and Asian Americans (52%) expected to find a friendlier racial climate at the university compared to what they experienced. Interestingly, 63% of Whites found the campus racial climate to be about what they expected. Comparing the racial climate at the University of California, Berkeley to that on other predominantly White campuses, 47% of African Americans, 75% of Whites, 45% of Latinos and 70% of Asians believed the campus racial climate at UC-Berkeley was friendlier (Table 33).

Reflecting on the campus gender climate, all groups believed that male peers and male faculty respected female stu-

dents' attitudes and beliefs. Majorities of all racial groups – 63% of African Americans, 75% of Whites, 65% of Latinos and 64% of Asian Americans – reported that male faculty showed respect for the attitudes and beliefs of female students (Table 35). Further, 79% of African Americans, 63% of Whites, 55% of Latinos and 65% of Asian Americans believed that male students at the university respected the academic abilities of female students (Table 36). By the same token, 76% of African Americans, 63% of Whites, 70% of Latinos and 73% of Asian Americans agreed that male faculty respected female students' academic ability (Table 37). The students believed in sizeable part that gender issues were discussed openly on campus: 2% of Blacks, 38% of Whites, 40% of Latinos and 30% of Asian Americans concurred in this opinion. While the general consensus was that women are respected at the university, 74% of African American students, 85% of Latinos, 86% of Whites and 65% of Asian Americans agreed there continued to be too few females on the University of California, Berkeley faculty (Table 38).

Concerning sexual harassment and inappropriate sexual behaviors, students split almost evenly in judging whether male students behaved in sexually inappropriate ways toward female students and in general respected women on campus (Table 39). In particular, three-quarters of Whites and 57% of Asians felt that male students evidenced sexually inappropriate behaviors toward female students. Sixty-one percent of African Americans disagreed with this premise. Latinos were evenly split in their agreement or disagreement with this statement. However, 70% of African Americans, 63% of Whites, 74% of Latinos and 77% of Asian Americans agreed that fundamentally men respected women on the Berkeley campus (Table 40). Further, 94% of African Americans, all Whites, 75% of Latinos and 77% of Asian Americans disagreed that male faculty demonstrated sexually inappropriate behavior toward female students (Table 41).

Reporting on-campus relations between racial peer groups, 57% of African Americans claimed to maintain satisfactory relations with White students compared to 88% of Whites and 42% of Latinos who reported excellent relations with Whites on campus (Table 42). Over one-third of Asian Americans reported excellent relations with Whites. Moreover, half the African Americans and 55% of Asian Americans reported excellent relations with Latinos on campus, compared to 75% of Latinos and all Whites (Table 44). In addition, one-quarter of the African American students indicated they had excellent relations with Asians compared to 88% of Whites, 53% of Latinos and 74% of Asians (Table 43). Lastly, 87% of African Americans, 67% of

Latinos and 46% of Asian Americans reported excellent relations with African American students (Table 45).

Students were asked in what ways their ideas concerning race and gender had changed since attending college. Almost half of African Americans (46%) and 55% of Latinos said their feelings were about the same, compared to half of Asian Americans (50%) and Whites (52%) who had developed more positive feelings (Table 50).

Significantly, a majority reported more positive feelings toward the need for and value of cultural diversity (Table 51). In particular, 56% of African Americans, all Whites, 70% of Latinos and 61% of Asian Americans had more positive feelings concerning cultural diversity. Moreover, 75% of Whites and 45% of Latina/o students had developed more favorable attitudes concerning women's rights. Thirty-nine percent of Asian and African American students had developed more positive feelings about arguments in favor of women's rights (Table 52). Furthermore, 75% of Whites had more positive feelings about the status of women compared to 23% of African Americans, 35% of Latinos and 26% of Asians whose feelings became more positive (Table 53).

The students' backgrounds prior to college were mostly segregated by race. Seventy-five percent of Whites grew up in mostly White neighborhoods, whereas 56% of African Americans, 55% of Latinos and 44% of Asians grew up mostly around People of Color (Table 54). As regards high school racial composition, 40% of Latinos, 48% of Asians and 18% of Blacks attended mostly White high schools. Thus, for a sizeable number of Students of Color, UC-Berkeley was their first integrated educational experience. Forty-six percent of African Americans went to high schools that were mostly People of Color (Table 55). Color segregation in friend networks on campus was apparent. With respect to on-campus friendships, 87% of African Americans, 55% of Latinos and 87% of Asian Americans had friendships on campus with mostly People of Color (Table 56). In comparison, only 25% of Whites reported having campus friends who were mostly White. In the general case, 90% of African Americans, 55% of Latinos and 83% of Asian Americans have friends who are mostly People of Color. Fifty percent of Whites reported having mostly White friends generally.

Evaluating perceptions about race relations in society, 63% of Whites, 60% of Latinos, 85% of African Americans and 52% of Asian Americans agreed that Whites attempted to keep minorities subordinate (Table 59). In a closer consensus, nearly all African Americans, 88% of Whites, 70% of Latinos and 83% of

Asian Americans disagreed with the claim that racial background does not interfere with achievement (Table 60). In a similar vein, 90% of African Americans, 90% of Latinos, all Whites, and 83% of Asians disagreed that gender does not interfere with achievement (Table 64).

All racial groups denied a preference for only studying with students of their own race (Table 61). Specifically, 69% of African Americans, all Whites, 55% of Latinos and 78% of Asian Americans did not prefer to study with the same race. However, 87% of African Americans did prefer to have a same-race counselor, whereas 88% of Whites, 55% of Latinos and 57% of Asians disagreed with this position (Table 62). Moreover, 88% of Whites and 65% of Latinos disagreed that they were more comfortable at same-race parties, while 67% of African Americans as well as 65% of Asians agreed they were more comfortable (Table 63).

Asked whether they would recommend the University of California, Berkeley to other students like themselves who planned to attend college, 82% of African Americans, all Whites, all Asians and 85% of Latinos agreed that they would recommend the university to prospective students (Table 65). As for the campus racial climate report card, 37% of African Americans assigned UC-Berkeley a grade of "D" (Table 67). Fifty percent of Whites and 52% of Asians gave a grade of "B," whereas 35% of Latinos gave the university a "C." In regard to changes in the racial climate over the past few years, all substantial numbers believed that the campus racial climate had gotten worse (Table 66). Specifically, 77% of African Americans, 57% of Whites, 46% of Latinos, and 55% of Asians said the campus racial climate had worsened over the years.

In rating the level of gender equality on campus, 50% of African Americans, 57% of Whites and 52% of Asians assigned grades of "B" (Table 68). This compared to almost half of Latinos who gave grades of "C." Lastly, commenting on whether the gender climate at the University of California, Berkeley has changed or stayed the same over the last few years, 65% of African Americans, half of Whites as well as Latinos, and 61% of Asian Americans felt that the campus gender climate had stayed about the same over the past few years (Table 69).

A. *Summary of Questionnaire Survey Findings*

A summary of key findings from the survey study follows:

- The sample consisted of a multi-racial group of high academic achieving students.

- The parents of Black and Latino students were less well-educated than the parents of Asian and White students. Latino parents had the lowest educational attainment of all groups, while Asian parents had the highest levels.
- Most of these students felt that their high schools prepared them well for the academic rigors of UC-Berkeley.
- Black and Latina/o students had higher educational aspirations than their White and Asian peers.
- Black and Asian students are less likely to consult faculty for help with difficult assignments.
- Asian and Black students more often feel that university faculty have graded them unfairly.
- Of all groups, African Americans are least likely to feel a part of the general campus life.
- Latinos and Blacks more often report campus experiences with racial discrimination. Whites and Asians are more likely to report no experience with racial discrimination.
- The majority of students felt that they had made the right choice in attending the University of California, Berkeley and had not considered leaving.
- A majority of students supported Affirmative Action.
- Blacks and Whites reported higher levels of campus racial conflict.
- All groups described campus life as highly segregated by race.
- The campus administration was reported to show little leadership and support for racial diversity and the resolution of racial issues/conflicts.
- The majority of Students of Color found the campus racial climate much more negative than they had expected.
- Students describe a campus climate where gender discrimination is minimal yet also agree that women are seriously underrepresented on the faculty.
- White and Black students offer inconsistent accounts of campus race relations; the positive views of Whites are at odds with the negative views of Blacks.
- Students reported more positive attitudes towards racial/cultural diversity and women's status in society resulting from their college experience.
- For many students, UC-Berkeley was their first experience with racial and cultural diversity.
- Students believe that race and gender discrimination continue to pose barriers to the success of Women and Students of Color.
- Black and Latina/o students give the University of California, Berkeley low grades for racial climates. They report that, in recent years, the campus racial climate has gotten worse.

VI. Historical Perspectives on Campus Racial Climate and Affirmative Action at the University of California, Berkeley

We have taken important lessons from our examination of campus racial climate at the University of California, Berkeley. Our data reveal the rich, personal experiences of students with campus racial climate (focus groups) as well as their more general group experiences with campus racial climate (survey questionnaires). Historical perspective on campus racial climate at this university should further elucidate the picture, helping to deepen and expand our understanding of campus racial climate and the difference that it can make for academic achievement among Chicano/Latino and Black students. Life history data provide a rich store of such information. We now report data from intensive case studies of students from underrepresented groups who were admitted to the University of California, Berkeley through its Affirmative Action programs and who were successful students and have been successful in their chosen careers.

A small case study was undertaken to tell the story of several students from underrepresented minority groups who were admitted to UC-Berkeley through its Affirmative Action programs, graduated from that institution and went on to become successful citizens. The study was completed in a very short period of time because the data were to be used in a legal challenge to the UC Regents' anti-Affirmative Action rulings. Due to limited time and resources, the sample was selected based on timely response and location. Those chosen responded most quickly and were predominantly local (they lived in California).

The study sample consisted of 18 African American, Chicano/Latino and Filipino American UC-Berkeley alumni admitted in the early 1980s through 1993, a period when larger numbers of students from these racial/ethnic groups attended the university and prior to the implementation of the new admissions policies in 1998. The respondents were chosen from a larger pool of 65 minority alumni based on location, convenience, timing, racial/ethnic affiliation and availability considerations. In total, 7 African Americans, 6 Chicanos/Latinos, and 5 Filipino Americans – 8 females and 10 males – participated in the study.[53]

All of the respondents entered the UC-Berkeley campus between August 1986 and August 1993 and graduated between May 1984 and August 1999. They majored in several different sub-

53. For further information regarding this study and sample, *see* Grace Carroll et al., *Those Who Got in the Door: The University of California-Berkeley's Affirmative Action Success Story*, 69 Journal of Negro Education 128, 128-44 (2000).

jects across the humanities (11%), sciences (22%), and social sciences (67%) (see Table I). The mean college GPA for the sample was 3.16 (African Americans, 3.00; Chicanos/Latinos, 3.19; Filipino Americans, 3.35). Most had completed advanced degrees (5 master's degrees, 3 juris doctorates [JDs], and 3 PhDs). Five were enrolled in graduate/professional schools at the time of the study. The respondents' connections to their communities of origin were very strong, as reflected in their career choices. Three were counselors/academic advisors, 2 were college professors, and 2 were teachers. Additionally, 2 members of the sample were lawyers (one started his own community-based law firm, and the other is a city attorney), and 1 was a social worker.

TABLE I: DISTRIBUTION OF MAJORS AMONG UNDERREPRESENTED MINORITIES AT UC–BERKELEY

	African American	Chicano/ Latino	Filipino American	Total
Humanities	1	1	0	2
Science	0	1	3	4
Social Science	6	4	2	12
Total	7	6	5	18

Each interviewee was provided information about the nature of the study via electronic mail or telephone calls. All agreed to discuss their undergraduate experiences in an intensive one- to two-hour interview. Most of the interviews were conducted face-to-face, but in a few instances, interviews were conducted via telephone.

VII. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

A. *Perspectives on Campus Climate from "Affirmative Action Admits"*

Although the respondents were from different racial/ethnic groups and had different admissions portfolios, they all perceived themselves, without compunction, as "Affirmative Action admits." However, many shared thoughts about how this identity provided a context for their UC-Berkeley experiences. Some had returned to the campus as staff members or graduate students and, as a result, were able to compare their undergraduate experiences and thoughts of the campus climate when they were students to their perceptions of the racial/ethnic climate of the day. The commonalities of experience across the range of respondents were striking. All agreed that they did indeed experi-

ence stress as a result of being on a campus where their ethnic/racial groups were not valued in the same way the predominate cultural group was valued. They discussed the motivating factors in their college experience, ranging from a strong parental push for education to their participation in college outreach and Summer Bridge programs. Such programs afforded these alumni the opportunity to meet other students like themselves and to build a strong support system, in addition to getting the necessary introduction to college life by staff members who wanted them to achieve. Many of the alumni felt that these programs also allowed them to be themselves and provided a sense of belonging that is very important for students in the making of a positive racial campus climate. This was a prevalent theme for alumni as indicated by their remarks regarding their Summer Bridge experience:

> [Summer Bridge] prepared me for what to take in the fall semester and allowed me to connect to other People of Color like me. The feeling of not belonging didn't occur until after Summer Bridge during the regular semester where there were not that many People of Color. Had I not had the feeling of belonging in Summer Bridge, my disconnect from the campus would have been more pronounced. (African American female)

> Summer Bridge got me on the right track. There, you find out what you needed to do and you got it done. Then you have all these other people around you who looked like you, sounded like you, and came from the same experiences as you, sort of like a critical mass of folks with so much relatedness. (Chicano/Latino male)

> I like the fact that Summer Bridge had a lot of people from different ethnicities. More importantly, meeting people from the same economic background and making friends was great. Going straight to Berkeley without this experience would have been extremely difficult. (Chicano/Native American male)

Although one alumnus indicated that participation in the Summer Bridge added to his stigmatization as an "Affirmative Action student," upon reflection, he too conceded that the Summer Bridge experience was one of the best things that could have happened to him. He credited the program with helping to make his success possible by giving him the academic tools, support and contacts needed to matriculate successfully at UC-Berkeley.

One of the alumni quoted above mentioned this issue of critical mass in reference to the campus climate and Students of Color. This was a prominent theme throughout the interviews when discussing campus climate. Respondents frequently noted how important it was to them to have a critical mass of students

from their racial/ethnic group for support and understanding. This was particularly true of those alumni who have returned to UC-Berkeley since the dismantling of Affirmative Action and who were undergraduates during the "golden years" of campus diversity. Several alumni reminisced about times on the Berkeley campus when they did not have to seek for others who looked like themselves:

> I attended Cal from 1987 to 1992, and I felt really secure on a bright sunny day when I would step foot on campus and see a group of Black faces. Older Black students were beneficial in telling me what classes to take, and in fact, I was introduced to Harry Edwards' class, which I would not have known about otherwise. The climate at UCB wasn't better due to the high number of Blacks at that time; instead, students worked together as a unit and were able to confront political and academic challenges together. The lack of community has taken from other students' experiences. Many students are trying to study abroad to get a Black experience elsewhere. Also, I am scared because without the critical mass, there are a lot of stereotypes left unchallenged in classes, such as sociology, dealing with race, etc. There will be no voice to represent minorities without the critical mass. (African American female)
>
> From 1986 to 1990, there were Filipinos all over, and then from 1990 to 1994, I didn't see them anymore. They vanished into thin air? I said to myself, "Oh my God, what is happening to my community?" (Filipino American male)
>
> Summer Bridge and [the Chicano House] provided an incubator to go figure out what I wanted to do. I was able to first learn what it was to be Chicano and at Cal. Once I got this down, I was able to understand the role of different groups from an ethnocentric model. It wasn't until late in my sophomore year that I was able to get this down with the help of my peers. (Chicano/Latino male)
>
> I came at a good time [1989] and it was a good feeling to see at least 10 Black people on any given day on a campus. There is a difference because now I get a different feeling when I visit campus because there are no Black faces or have the acknowledgment of another Black person. (African American female)

Having a critical mass was instrumental in providing a sense of community for these alumni. It afforded them the opportunity to be themselves, without having to be on guard or having to be "*the* representative" of the race. Many of the respondents noted, however, that at the time, they took the presence of a critical mass of Students of Color for granted. They had created or participated in successful counter spaces where they could interact with others who supported them. When they return to the cam-

pus in the present era, the sparse number of Students of Color and fewer campus groups of color sadden them.

A related campus climate issue was that of having Faculty and Staff of Color for support and understanding. Some of the respondents noted with joy that prior to their making a decision about college, UC-Berkeley sent minority staff to recruit. An African American alumnus, for example, attributed his application to UC-Berkeley to an African American staff member who came to his school and encouraged him to apply, even though his counselor had told him it would be useless to do so. A Filipino American alumnus recalled how proud and inspired he was to see Staff of Color at the college day event held at his high school.

The respondents generally claimed that many of their White professors at UC-Berkeley were not approachable. Some even perceived that White professors did not want them around and treated them differently than they did their White student counterparts, which led to stressful encounters and a sense of being unnecessarily pressured in certain environments. One Filipino alumnae commented that she desperately wanted to have a Filipino professor at UC-Berkeley but never did, and indicated that she felt cheated when graduate Students of Color taught ethnic studies courses because the department did not have enough minority faculty members with ethnic/cultural and racial knowledge. As another alumnae related:

> Not having minority professors was hard because I couldn't get close to my White psychology professors. Double-majoring in Chicano Studies gave me a balance and an opportunity to be heard. With my White professors, the White students would hang out with them and talk after class. I simply went to office hours, asked my questions and left. (Chicano/Latino female)

Having staff members available who understood their plight on campus was a very positive aspect of these respondents' college experience. Their general perception was that Faculty and Staff of Color were concerned about their success and had a positive, vested interest in it. According to a female African American respondent, "Professors of Color in the African American and Ethnic Studies Department were very inclusive and had an interest in the students. There was the expectation that we would succeed." A Filipino student recalled that UC-Berkeley's Professional Development Program was a "home" and "family" for him and described how comfortable he felt in that program's setting within the greater university.

The theme of needing a "home base" was a common one among this group of respondents, many of whom conveyed how difficult it was to feel as if they were always "on stage" – as if

everyone in the larger UC-Berkeley community was watching them. Many claimed that they developed personal relationships more readily with Faculty and Staff of Color, with whom they felt more comfortable. They also explained that they viewed these staff members as role models who demonstrated the professional possibilities that they too could attain. Respondents were able to recall the names of Chicano/Latino, African American and Native American UC-Berkeley staff members, particularly those from the Upward Bound and Partnership programs who encouraged them to apply to the UC-Berkeley campus and had helped them to make it through the collegiate process. They further noted that many of these staff members were never given full credit for their work in assisting minority students.

B. *MEES as a Result of Lack of True Diversity, and The Burden of Being the Racial/Ethnic Group Representatives and Spokespersons*

A recurring theme in these interviews was the respondents' general sense of frustration with being the only persons of their racial/ethnic heritage in their classrooms. Often they felt the stress associated with having to be the person expected to speak for their entire race/ethnic group in discussions of social justice or anything that disproportionately affected poor and/or minority communities. Several of the alumni claimed that they felt as though Students of Color were on campus to educate Whites and others about their racial/ethnic heritage.

> Why do I have to be the educator? We are forced to be educators on campus – even when we are fresh out of high school and we don't know who we are. That might be why so many of us end up as educators or social types. (Filipino American female)

This issue was a double-edged sword for many respondents who, on one hand, voiced the stress at having been compelled to speak for their entire group but, on the other hand, believed that if they did not speak out, others' misconceptions and stereotypes may have continued and been fostered in some class discussions. This was, in many respondents' view, an additional burden that they had to bear as Students of Color, particularly in large, predominantly majority classes. Some recalled harboring resentment toward the professor or teaching assistant in such classes and feeling angry over the lack of true diversity in the curriculum.

> Although the studies cited in class are totally biased against Blacks, when you speak up, the perception that "Oh, the one nigger has something to say" makes me not want to speak. I'll

> make an intelligent comment but all they are going to see is "She's the angry Black girl." (African American female)

The similarities between and among the different racial/ethnic groups in this sample of UC-Berkeley graduates (African American, Chicano/Latino and Filipino American) were far greater than the differences, particularly as they related to the respondents' perceptions on diversity on campus. This group of alumni strongly felt a sense of unity among the underrepresented minority students on campus. The racial/ethnic differences within the respondent group were mentioned by only some of the alumni, but the differences between the current students and Affirmative Action cohorts was referred to far more often. Nearly one-third of the sampled alumni discussed the differences between the underrepresented minority students from their graduate cohorts and those who entered after Affirmative Action policies were dismantled. Their consensus was that the latter group of students are less conscious of their ties to their racial/ethnic communities and are more individualistic than they were as undergraduates. The following respondent comments reflected those perceptions:

> Affirmative Action students [were] willing to do more than get a degree and walk off. We want to give back and really do something for the community in terms of service. Me and several of my classmates are not only trying to get students in the community to go to college and have a high self-esteem, but also challenge a lot of issues in our communities. Those students here under anti-Affirmative Action don't have a sense of community and [don't] know what it means to serve. (African American male)

> The [post-Affirmative Action] students aren't doing as much as my group did. The new students don't have the same ideas and don't want to do as much. They don't get the same perspective. Yes, they may have a higher GPA, but still they lack the perspective. (Chicano/Latino male)

> The bond between Black students changed from 1988-1990 to present. Black students dealing with depression was unheard of at [that] time. This wave is a different generation of students altogether. Black students now have very individualistic and cut-throat study habits. (African American female)

C. *Perceptions of the Negative Impact of the Loss of Affirmative Action*

Every respondent in this sample embraced Affirmative Action. Their overriding sentiment was that UC-Berkeley had made a major mistake by dropping its Affirmative Action policies. Doing so, they unanimously contended, negatively affected

both the university and the larger community that it purports to represent. As a Filipino male respondent succinctly stated, UC-Berkeley could "survive but not thrive without diversity." Although many respondents maintained that the UC-Berkeley campus was very segregated, reflective of society in general, most did not see this segregation as a problem as long as all had the opportunity to be successful. Other respondents felt that the long-term impact of the new anti-Affirmative Action policy would put much at risk. For example, according to one respondent:

> Affirmative Action has allowed a lot of students to become more ethnically rich as far as their knowledge base and whole sense of reality when leaving UC-Berkeley. It's like they are more aware and entered society with a better grip on a lot of social realities. Without Affirmative Action, the Regents' children are going to suffer the consequences. This separation will cause a lot of racial tension for years to come. We are going to go back in time in terms of race relations in this country. As the number of Black students stuck increases, the tension thickens almost like a boiling pot and it will explode. (African American male)

For these respondents, the issues surrounding the current anti-Affirmative Action debate brought to the surface a lot of pain, frustration and anger.

> It hurts to know that [UC-Berkeley] doesn't want people that look like me. This is a loss for both the community and the university. Who is going to represent the voice of the voiceless? Students will succeed regardless and, by not educating them here, it is a loss to California because these students will go elsewhere and excel. It is a loss of diversity to the state. (Chicano/Latino male)

> I was very upset that the Affirmative Action program was thrown out because I feel an opportunity for others has been lost. I think we are worse off because we are creating situations where people can't excel. (Chicano/Latino male)

> Anti-Affirmative Action has done a lot of damage in terms of diversity on campus. There is a block on diversity. Walking on [the campus], you only see White faces. The [anti-Affirmative Action policies have] discouraged Chicano and Black students from applying because they know they are not wanted here. (Chicano/Latino female)

This feeling of being unwanted was exacerbated by the respondents' perception that others view Affirmative Action students as not being qualified or believe that their degrees were undeserved. The respondents agreed that a variety of factors should be incorporated into the university's admissions decisions as opposed to the current heavy reliance on aptitude test scores

and grade point averages. Moreover, they contended, others should realize that once at UC-Berkeley, no one is merely given a degree.

> The anti-Affirmative Action policies are hypocritical in the sense that the mission statement of the University of California is to educate a diverse population. You can't reduce humanity to SAT scores and GPAs, much less anything else, because it comes from the mind. You can't get this from any formula or regression. The Regents need to apply a humanistic approach to the admission application process. (Chicano/ Latino male)

> I would tell the Regents that if you are going to take race out of the equation, then zip code and other characteristics such as this must also come out of the equation. They must look at the full picture to understand the essence of the person. You cannot have one type or dimension of diversity – race, SES [Socio-Economic Status], gender. Diversity means different people from different backgrounds. (African American male)

> Prop 209 [California's landmark anti-Affirmative Action legislation] paints a picture that is not true. It says that Affirmative Action students were knuckleheads and dropouts in high school, which is not true. These students still had to work hard and meet a certain criteria. Anti-Affirmative Action will continue to promote the ideology of racism because a lot of White students will no longer have their first exposure and tolerance of different races. (African American female)

> There is always that assumption that any Person of Color got in on Affirmative Action, but the follow-up to this assumption is that Affirmative Action doesn't keep you in or get you through the system. No one is going to get you through, you have to earn it, and you have to do the work yourself. (African American female)

Other alumni, particularly a Filipino male and two African American males, postulated that Whites were threatened by the success of Affirmative Action because they did not want to see large numbers of successful Students of Color who would later become successful professionals. They contended that the purpose of the anti-Affirmative Action movement was to maintain the status quo and to keep certain minorities underrepresented in all the positive aspects of life, including the opportunity to change their lives through education.

> Without Affirmative Action, I could have ended up some sort of con artist or thief. Just know that this Ph.D. candidate could have been stealing your credit card. This [anti-Affirmative Action] is their [the White establishment's] brainchild and they are going to have to face it. It's not right when you take away an opportunity for a set of people who have just grown

> up in a certain set of chances and environment. If you give them a chance, that genius is put in a lot of directions. (African American male)

Alumni agreed that UC-Berkeley's Affirmative Action policies were successful in recruiting, retaining and graduating underrepresented minority students. This is substantiated by graduation and retention rates as shown in Table II. A significant increase in the six-year graduation rate occurred during the "golden years" when Affirmative Action policies were in place. These graduation figures are impressive and indicate a decreased gap between underrepresented racial/ethnic groups and Whites on the UC-Berkeley campus. Indeed, the gap decreased from a 28% difference in 1983 for African Americans to 11.8% difference in 1992, and from 26.7% to 15.3% for Latino/Chicano students over this same period. Consequently, a critical mass and basis for cultural/ethnic communities existed within the larger UC-Berkeley community. As noted earlier, the overwhelming majority of respondents (90%) stated that having such a critical mass and a "home" community on campus were key factors in their UC-Berkeley success.

TABLE II: SIX-YEAR GRADUATION RATES, ACROSS UNDERREPRESENTED MINORITY: RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUPS, 1983-1992[54]

Year Entered	African American	Chicano/ Latino	White American
1983	50.4%	51.7%	78.4%
1984	49.0%	63.9%	78.8%
1985	46.7%	60.0%	81.0%
1986	58.2%	66.9%	83.9%
1987	53.8%	63.6%	84.8%
1988	61.5%	65.7%	85.0%
1989	61.4%	65.0%	84.8%
1990	61.6%	66.8%	82.7%
1991	60.9%	66.7%	81.6%
1992	71.1%	67.6%	82.9%

VIII. DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

As indicated in these data, Students of Color respond to the day-to-day stress brought on by not being White in a campus environment that privileges "Whiteness" in a variety of ways. Individually, some Students of Color adapt in both resilient and positive ways. Others become defeated and engage in behaviors

54. University of California, Berkeley, Office of Student Research, 2000.

that do not support their successful matriculation. There are response modes that are extremely useful and productive; however, there are also response modes that can be described as maladaptive. Carroll's previous work[55] delineates a listing of response modes that are consistent with those demonstrated by the students in this study. Carroll's list is not exhaustive but does represent the type of responses in which Students – and People – of Color generally engage to combat MEES. The statements in parentheses are matched to the finding of this study.

1. *Overachievement (prove them wrong)*

Many Students of Color believe that in order to be successful in the context of racism, they have to be better than Whites. They feel that they have to be twice as good to get the same privileges. There is a realization and understanding that they are still the targets of racism and consequently lower expectations. Many autobiographical stories of successful Persons of Color indicate that they believe they were successful partly because they had to prove themselves on an uneven playing field. Although this response mode can yield substantial professional results, it too can have liabilities. There are countless stories of Students of Color who push themselves to exhaustion and still are not able to reap the fair rewards for their work.

2. *Ignore/Suppress*

The difficulty in acknowledging that being a Student of Color creates a set of obstacles, which are beyond one's control, is at times overwhelming. Many students close their eyes to this as a means of avoidance. They ignore or suppress the microaggressions. They try not to get upset when subtle issues of racism arise and often try to explain it away (e.g., "The professor just didn't understand the point that I was making"). For some, this strategy is a lifesaver because they feel if they cannot ignore nor suppress it, they would be spending all of their waking hours fighting, getting angry or just being frustrated at the system. A critical skill is knowing when to ignore and when to fight back.

3. *Self-Devaluation (self-doubt)*

As a result of believing the constant barrage of negativity that confronts Students of Color, there are those who incorporate this negativity into their own sense of self. This is supported by the symbolic interactionist theory. People who have incorporated the generalized others' negative point-of-view of them-

55. CARROLL, *supra* note 9.

selves can really suffer from self-devaluation. They believe they have nothing to offer and consequently are alienated from the interaction that should occur in their academic experience. They have not been provided positive mediators who challenge the stereotype or help them in deciphering the truth from myth in a White privilege campus. Consequently, they often engage in self-destructive behavior and have very little self-value. They suffer from less confidence and are less engaged in their work. When people think lowly of themselves, they do not expect much of themselves; hence, they are less likely to be disappointed. This may serve to buffer the pain; however, low expectations can serve to become self-fulfilling prophecies: no expectations, thus no disappointment, thus no success, thus perpetuation of self-devaluation and stereotype.

4. *Anti-White (increased racial division and negative racial campus climate)*

As a result of feeling constantly harassed and treated unfairly by those considered controllers of the power structure (which translates to White people by many Students of Color), some students truly take a strong anti-White stance. They are frequently bitter about their situation. They do not want to associate with Whites and believe that Whites represent all that is negative in their life.

5. *Pro-Black and Pro-Brown (creation of counter spaces)*

Often anti-White and pro-Black or Brown response modes are grouped together. However, there is a difference. Many Students of Color believe that they have to overly support their own ethnic/cultural group in order to help deflect and make up for the history of racism. Some believe that identifying with one's own ethnic/cultural groups is very positive and natural. They get the support they need by surrounding themselves with others who are in similar circumstances. In such environments, they do not have to deal with "the race issue" inherent in mixed groups. This does not automatically imply anti-White. It does lead some to associate less with Whites, but the emphasis is on a more internal self-love stance.

6. *Identify with the Oppressor*

Some Students of Color truly believe that they can be more successful and live a better life if they just become more White. They adopt the philosophy encouraged by the media and White power structure regarding the reason that most Students of Color are part of the negative statistics: it is because of their laziness

and lack of ability. This response mode often carries with it a denial of the historical and current manifestations of racism. It also produces Students of Color who often espouse the traditional White views more eloquently and voraciously than Whites do. These students are often alienated from other students in their ethnic/cultural group.

7. *Anger and Rage*

The microaggressions that occur daily in the lives of African Americans do not go unrecognized. Anger and rage frequently accompany them. Sometimes this anger and rage is controllable and other times it is not. This anger may occur when one least expects it. It is like that last straw on the camel's back. Microaggressions can be kept in and the anger can be building. Depending on the circumstances, a comment, a stare, or an accidental bump in passing can each lead to an opportunity for release. Most Students of Color use acceptable channels to release their anger and rage, such as overachievement, humor or religion. Others can be quite violent in their release modes. The anger and rage can get turned inwardly and lead to self-destructive behavior such as alcohol and drug abuse.

8. *Hopelessness and Helplessness*

One of the most common responses to MEES and the status of being a Person of Color combined with many of the consequences thereof is hopelessness, a sense that they are helpless in making any real change in their circumstances. There are some Students of Color who are truly beaten down. They feel apathetic and hopeless regarding their own self-empowerment. They silently suffer and often are just going through the motions on campus. The psychological research literature is replete with studies on the negative effects of hopelessness. Jesse Jackson's mantra, "Keep hope alive," also is a testimonial to the importance of having hope in our communities.

These response modes are not developmental, not hierarchical, not mutually exclusive. Students of Color can engage in any of these responses at any given time, depending on the circumstances. They can also change from one predominant mode of response to another if the circumstances change. Irrespective of which response modes are adopted, there is one clear and consistent thread that is stitched across all of these response modes: they create added stress on the lives of those who must engage in them. Whether we embrace our ethnic/cultural difference or reject it, the fact that we must deal with "it" within a context of devalued group status on White campuses creates stress. It has a

definite impact on one's academic achievement. Holding frustrations inside, not knowing why one feels so upset or defeated, or even feeling guilty about issues as they relate to race can take a serious toll, both medically and psychologically.

Students of Color in this study share how they cope with MEES, how they attempt to reduce the social-psychological toll. As indicated by one of their responses, they also take collective action by creating groups and counter spaces. Unfortunately, these collective responses are just that – responses necessitated by pre-existing structural and institutional mechanism that fail to support Students of Color. Quite the contrary, there are many pre-existing macro-level barriers to the success of Students of Color – admissions policies that buy into the myth of meritocracy, old boy networking of faculty resulting in few Faculty of Color, campuses steeped in racist histories, and so on. In combination, these micro-level and macro-level barriers act to reduce Black and Latino student access and success at the University of California, Berkeley.

IX. CONCLUSION

> These [racial] assaults to Black dignity and Black hope are incessant and cumulative. Any single one maybe gross. In fact, the major vehicle for racism in this country is offenses done to Blacks by Whites in this sort of gratuitous never-ending way. These offenses are microaggressions. Almost all Black-White racial interactions are characterized by White put-downs, done in automatic, preconscious, or unconscious fashion. These minidisasters accumulate. It is the sum total of multiple microaggressions by Whites to Blacks that has pervasive effect to the stability and peace of this world.[56]

This study of racial microaggressions has helped us to: (1) extend and apply a racial microaggressions analysis to the study of campus racial climate, (2) recognize, document and analyze racial microaggressions from the perspective of Students of Color, (3) document the stress and responses of Students of Color on issues surrounding race and racism on campus, and (4) listen to the voices of those who experience MEES and are directly affected by racial microaggressions. Indeed, we must continue to view race, racism, racial stereotypes and the campus racial climate through the lenses of Students of Color.

The experiences of these students have shown that even at high levels of accomplishment (i.e., an elite undergraduate education) where educational conditions might on the surface appear to be equal, inequality and discrimination still exist – albeit

56. Pierce, *supra* note 1, at 515.

in more subtle and hidden forms. Perhaps the cumulative impact of racial microaggressions at each point in the educational system offers further evidence of the different road that Students of Color must travel and the strength of having to overcome both macro and micro barriers along that road. Two questions that the experiences of these Students of Color have raised in the Affirmative Action discourse are: (1) Is the educational playing field level for Students of Color as they make their way through the educational system? The answer from these students is a resounding NO! (2) Should a student's determination and persistence in the face of racial discrimination be a factor in the undergraduate, professional school and graduate admissions process? The answer is YES! The descriptions of racial microaggressions shared by students in this study helped to answer these questions by challenging the anti-Affirmative Action ideology of college as an "equal," "colorblind" and "race-neutral" institution.

The attack on Affirmative Action continues to have a negative impact on the numbers of underrepresented minority students admitted to University of California, Berkeley. The Board of Regents, led by Ward Connerly, stepped up efforts to dismantle Affirmative Action through the passage of Senate Bills 1 and 2 in 1997, both of which challenged the university's traditional support for Affirmative Action within the University of California system. This, coupled with the passage of Proposition 209 in California,[57] has successfully deflated the numbers of underrepresented students, particularly African American, Latino/Chicano and Native American students who have the opportunity to attend UC-Berkeley. The majority of voters in California and the majority of the Regents have accepted the arguments that there is no longer a need for Affirmative Action because "we are all on a level playing field" and that "race is no longer a barrier to success." Too many in California have also "bought" the argument that Affirmative Action means lower standards and that "unqualified" Black and Chicano/Latino students are taking the places of deserving White and Asian students. These arguments fail to reflect the reality of most underrepresented minority students and families and are not empirically valid. Our research and the stories shared here demonstrate this point conclusively.

The stories revealed in this research also reinforce the notion that using the traditional Black/White paradigm in examining race and race relations is too narrow and that the experiences of other racial/ethnic groups is critical to understanding the lives of college Students of Color. Although the racial, gender and

57. *See supra* note 46.

class experiences of Students of Color are similar in some areas, there are very important differences in the historical and contemporary lives of these groups that cannot be ignored. Therefore, in order for theory in higher education to advance, it must recognize and utilize the multiple voices and experiences of students confronted with racism and sexism.

In a 1970 article, Chester Pierce discussed the very underresearched concept of "offensive mechanisms" or microaggressions.[58] He made the following comment: "It is my fondest hope that the day is not far remote when every Black child will recognize and defend promptly and adequately against every offensive micro-aggression."[59] Thirty years later, we regret that Dr. Pierce's hope has not come to realization. Indeed, we know very little about to whom, when, where and how these racial microaggressions are initiated and responded. Without careful documentation and analysis, these racial microaggressions can easily be ignored or downplayed. It is our hope that further research into these subtle forms of and responses to racism and sexism will advance the study of Students of Color and move toward making Professor Pierce's hope a reality.

58. Pierce, *supra* note 1.
59. Pierce, *supra* note 1, at 280.

APPENDIX A: RACIAL CLIMATE PROTOCOL, UC-BERKELEY

As you know, the campus racial climate is a very important part of the student experience. The purpose of the focus group is to better understand how you have experienced the racial climate here at UC-Berkeley. Be assured that your responses will be held in the strictest professional confidence. We want to thank you in advance for your assistance.

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UCLA Department of Sociology
Graduate School of Education
& Information Studies
Howard University

INTRODUCTORY QUESTION

1. Tell us your name, the year you're in at UC-Berkeley, your major (if undergraduate), your hometown, and plans after you graduate from undergraduate.

KEY PROTOCOL QUESTIONS

Now let's talk about your specific experiences on the UC-Berkeley campus.

2. Have you experienced racial discrimination at UC-Berkeley? Please give me a specific example.
   - Probe for both **macro** and **micro** forms.
   - Probe for how they **responded**.
   - Probe for individual **responses**.
   - Probe for collective **responses**.

   If applicable:
   - Probe for discrimination by **professors**.
   - Probe for discrimination by **students**.
   - Probe for discrimination by **administrators or clerks**.
   - Probe for discrimination by **campus police**.
   - Probe for **representation in the curriculum**.
   - Probe for discrimination in **extracurricular activities**.
   - Probe for examples of **White privilege** at UC-Berkeley.
3. In what ways do these racial incidents affect your ability to perform academically? Please explain?
   - Probe for stigma and stereotype.

4. What are the advantages of having a significant number of _____ students on campus? Please explain?
   - Probe for the affects of the reduction of _____ students on campus.
5. Do you think the racial climate for _____ students at UC-Berkeley has gotten better or worse in the last few years? Please explain?
6. Would you recommend UC-Berkeley to other _____ students considering a college/law school? Please explain?
7. This is an on-going study on campus racial climate and its influence on _____ undergraduates and law school students. We are planning to conduct additional focus groups at other universities around the country. Have we missed anything? Do you have any advice for us?

APPENDIX B: UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY SURVEY STUDY OF CAMPUS RACIAL CLIMATE ATTACHMENT A: A SURVEY OF STUDENT OPINIONS AND EXPERIENCES

DIVERSITY IN THE COLLEGE COMMUNITY

Part I. Student Information

1. Your sex: 1) Male 2) Female
2. Your racial/cultural identification:
   1) Black/African American (Specify nationality):_____
   2) Caucasian/White (Non-Latino) (Specify nationality):_____
   3) Latino (Specify nationality):_____
   4) Asian American/Pacific Islander (Specify nationality):_____
   5) Native American (Specify tribal identification):_____
   6) Arab American (Specify nationality):_____
   7) Other (Specify nationality):_____
3. Citizenship status: 1) U.S. citizen 2) Other
4. Classification:
   1) Freshman 4) Senior
   2) Sophomore 5) Other (Specify): _____
   3) Junior
5. Which of the following best describes your college grade point average?
   1) A+ or A 4) B 7) C
   2) A– 5) B– 8) C–
   3) B+ 6) C+ 9) D+ or below
6. Please circle the number corresponding to the highest level of education completed by *each* of your parents/guardians (answer A and B).

Years of School Completed	A. Father or Guardian	B. Mother or Guardian
Not Applicable	0	0
Less than high school	1	1
Some high school	2	2
High school graduate	3	3
Some college	4	4
B.A., B.S. degree	5	5
Graduate or professional degree	6	6
Not sure	7	7

Part II. Academic Background and Plans

7. What was your average grade in high school?

1) A+ or A
2) A–
3) B+
4) B
5) B–
6) C+
7) C
8) C– or below

8. If you took the SAT, what were your scores?

1) Verbal: _____ 2) Math: _____

9. If you took the ACT, what was your score? _____

10. How well do you feel your high school prepared you academically for college?

1) Extremely well
2) Fairly well
3) Somewhat
4) Not too well
5) Not at all

11. What is the highest academic degree you plan to obtain?

1) Some college
2) B.A. or B.S. degree
3) M.A. or M.S. degree
4) M.S.W., M.P.H. or M.B.A.
5) M.D., D.D.S. or J.D. degree
6) Ph.D. or Ed.D. degree
7) Other (Specify): _____

12. How certain are you that you will get your degree?

1) Completely certain I will get my degree from this institution
2) Completely certain I will get my degree, but not necessarily from this institution
3) Not completely certain I will get my degree

Part III. Student Experiences at This University

13. We are interested in learning more about your experiences at this university. Indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
A. When I have difficulty with an assignment, I talk it over with my professor.					
B. I sometimes feel that I have not been graded fairly by faculty.					
C. I feel part of the general campus life, as far as student activities and government are concerned.					
D. I feel discriminated against on this campus because of my race.					
E. I am sure that I made the right choice in attending this university.					
F. I feel discriminated against on this campus because of my sex or gender.					

14. Have you ever seriously considered leaving this university?

    1) Yes, often
    2) Yes, sometimes
    3) Hardly ever
    4) No, never

Part IV. Racial Environment and Relationships

15. Please indicate *the extent to which you agree or disagree* with each statement.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
A. Different admissions criteria and standards may be justified for some racial minority students.				
B. Minority students are given advantages at this university that discriminate against other students.				
C. In the long run, the greatly increased enrollment of racial minority students will strengthen our colleges and universities.				

16. Rate the *extent* to which each of the following is *present* on your own campus?

	None	Slight	Some	Substantial	Very Substantial
A. The degree of trust and respect among students of different races and ethnicities					
B. The degree of racial conflict on campus					
C. Open discussion of Black or racial issues and concerns on campus					
D. The degree of racial separation on campus					
E. Campus efforts to promote racial understanding and respect					
F. Open discussion of sex or gender issues and concerns on campus					

17. Rate the *extent* to which you view each of the following.

	Much more friendly	Somewhat more friendly	About the same	Somewhat more hostile	Much more hostile
A. When you first enrolled at this institution, what did you expect the racial climate on the campus would be?					
B. How do you think the racial climate on this campus compares to that at other predominantly White colleges and universities you have heard about?					

18. Indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements about male and female student attitudes on this campus.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
A. Male students respect female students' attitudes and beliefs.				
B. Male faculty respect female students' attitudes and beliefs.				
C. Male students respect female students' academic ability.				
D. Male faculty respect female students' academic ability.				
E. There are too few female faculty at this institution.				
F. Men on this campus respect women as people.				
G. Male students often engage in unwelcome sexually inappropriate behavior toward female students.				
H. Male faculty often engage in unwelcome sexually inappropriate behavior toward female students.				

19. How would you describe *your* relations at this university with:

	Excellent	Good	Satisfactory	Poor	Very Poor	No Contact
A. White students						
B. Latino students						
C. Asian American students						
D. African American students						
E. Native American students						
F. Arab American students						
G. Male students						
H. Female students						

20. We are interested in ways in which your ideas have *changed* about race and gender *since attending college.* Which of the following best describes what has happened to you?

	Much more negative	More negative	About the same	More positive	Much more positive
A. My feelings about people of other races are:					
B. My feelings about the need for cultural diversity are:					
C. My feelings about arguments in favor of women's rights are:					
D. My feelings about the status of women in society are:					

Part V. Student Attitudes and Opinions

We would like to conclude with some general questions about you and your views on racial and gender issues in our society.

21. How would you describe the racial composition of the following:

	All or nearly all White	Mostly White	Half White and half non-White	Mostly non-White	All non-White
A. The neighborhood where you grew up					
B. The high school you attended					
C. Your friends on this campus					
D. Your friends in general					

22. Please indicate the extent of your agreement or disagreement with each of the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
A. Interracial dating and marriage are equally as acceptable as dating and marrying a person of your own race.				
B. Whites are trying to keep non-Whites down				
C. A person's racial background in this society does not interfere with achieving everything they want to achieve.				
D. When I study for an exam, I prefer to study with students of my own race.				
E. When seeking advice about my academic career, I prefer to consult with a counselor or faculty member of my own race.				
F. I am more comfortable at parties with my own race than I am at interracial parties.				
G. A person's sex or gender in this society does not interfere with achieving everything that they want to achieve.				

23. Would you recommend the University of California, Berkeley to other students like yourself considering a college?

    1) Definitely yes
    2) Probably yes
    3) Probably no
    4) Definitely no

24. Do you think the racial climate on campus has gotten better or worse in the last few years?

    1) Much worse
    2) Worse
    3) About the same
    4) Better
    5) Much better

25. If you were to complete a report card on racial equality and the racial climate at the University of California, Berkeley, what overall grade would you give the university?

1) A+	4) B+	7) C+	10) D+
2) A	5) B	8) C	11) D
3) A–	6) B–	9) C–	12) D–

26. Do you think the racial climate at the University of California, Berkeley has gotten better or worse in the past few years?

    1) Much worse

2) Worse
3) About the same
4) Better
5) Much better

27. If you were to complete a report card on gender equality and the climate for women at the University of California, Berkeley, what overall grade would you give the university?

1) A+	4) B+	7) C+	10) D+
2) A	5) B	8) C	11) D
3) A–	6) B–	9) C–	12) D–

28. Do you think the climate for women at the University of California, Berkeley has gotten better or worse in the past few years?

1) Much worse
2) Worse
3) About the same
4) Better
5) Much better

29. Are there any other points you would like to make about the topics addressed in this survey?

Thank you very much for your participation in this survey.

APPENDIX B

Attachment B: Survey Results

TABLE 1: GENDER

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Male	31	33.0
Female	63	67.0
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 2: RACIAL/CULTURAL IDENTIFICATION

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Black/African American	39	41.5
Caucasian/White	8	8.5
Latina/o	20	21.3
Asian American/Pacific Islander	23	24.5
Arab American	2	2.1
Other	2	2.1
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 3: CITIZENSHIP STATUS

Valid	Frequency	Percent
US Citizen	90	95.7
Other	4	4.3
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 4: LEVEL CLASSIFICATION

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Freshman	20	21.3
Sophomore	16	17.0
Junior	28	29.8
Senior	25	26.6
Other	5	5.3
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 5: COLLEGE GRADE POINT AVERAGE

Valid	Frequency	Percent
A	39	41.9
B	50	53.8
C	4	4.3
Total	93	100.0

TABLE 6: FATHER/GUARDIAN'S EDUCATION

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Not Applicable	3	3.2
Less than H.S.	10	1.1
Some H.S.	8	8.5
H.S. Graduate	10	13.6
Some College	17	18.1
BA or BS Degree	14	14.9
Graduate or Professional Degree	27	28.7
Not Sure	4	4.3
Missing	1	1.1
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 7: MOTHER/GUARDIAN'S EDUCATION

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Not Applicable	2	2.1
Less than H.S.	12	12.8
Some H.S.	2	2.1
H.S. Graduate	18	19.1
Some College	23	24.5
BA or BS Degree	19	20.2
Graduate or Professional Degree	18	19.1
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 8: HIGH SCHOOL GRADE POINT AVERAGE

Valid	Frequency	Percent
A	62	66.0
B	29	30.9
C	3	3.2
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 9: VERBAL SAT SCORE

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Less than 550	16	21.3
550-599	18	24.0
600-699	22	29.4
700 or higher	19	25.3
Total	75	100.0

TABLE 10: MATH SAT SCORE

Valid	Frequency	Percent
500 or less	21	28.0
501-599	18	24.0
600-689	19	25.3
690-800	17	22.7
Total	75	100.0

TABLE 11: ACT SCORE

Valid	Frequency	Percent
19-23	10	35.7
24-26	7	25
27-28	5	17.9
29-31	6	21.4
Total	28	100

TABLE 12: EXTENT OF COLLEGE PREP IN H.S.

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Well	54	57.4
Somewhat	25	26.6
Not at All	15	16
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 13: HIGHEST DEGREE PLANS

Valid	Frequency	Percent
BA or BS	9	9.7
MA or MS Degree	26	28.0
MSW, MPH or MBA	9	9.7
MD, DDS, or JD	14	15.1
PhD or Ed.D. Degree	35	37.6
Total	93	100.0

TABLE 14: CERTAINTY OF COMPLETING DEGREE

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Completely Certain from this Institution	46	49.5
Completely Certain, not from this Institution	37	39.8
Not Completely Certain	10	10.8
Total	93	100.0

TABLE 15: CONSULT PROFESSOR WITH DIFFICULT ASSIGNMENT

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	28	29.8
Neither Agree nor Disagree	21	22.3
Agree	45	47.9
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 16: UNFAIRLY GRADED BY FACULTY

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	20	21.3
Neither Agree nor Disagree	29	30.9
Agree	45	47.9
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 17: FEEL PART OF CAMPUS LIFE

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	34	36.2
Neither Agree nor Disagree	17	18.1
Agree	43	45.7
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 18: FEEL RACIAL DISCRIMINATION ON CAMPUS

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	29	30.9
Neither Agree nor Disagree	30	31.9
Agree	35	37.2
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 19: SURE OF UNIVERSITY AS THE RIGHT CHOICE

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	9	9.6
Neither Agree nor Disagree	14	14.9
Agree	71	75.5
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 20: FEEL GENDER DISCRIMINATION ON CAMPUS

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	47	50.0
Neither Agree nor Disagree	32	34.0
Agree	15	16.0
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 21: MADE THE RIGHT CHOICE

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	9	9.6
Neither Agree nor Disagree	14	14.9
Agree	71	75.5
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 22: SERIOUSLY CONSIDERED LEAVING UNIVERSITY

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Yes	34	36.2
No	60	63.8
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 23: DIFFERENT ADMISSIONS JUSTIFIED FOR RACIAL MINORITIES

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	20	21.3
Agree	72	76.6
Missing	2	2.1
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 24: ADVANTAGES TO MINORITY STUDENTS DISCRIMINATE AGAINST OTHERS

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	87	92.6
Agree	7	7.4
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 25: INCREASED RACIAL MINORITY ENROLLMENT STRENGTHENS COLLEGES

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	15	16.1
Neither Disagree nor Agree	20	21.5
Agree	58	62.4
Total	93	100.0

TABLE 26: DEGREE OF TRUST AND RESPECT AMONG STUDENTS OF DIFFERENT RACIAL GROUPS

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Slight	27	29.0
Some	47	50.5
Substantial	19	20.4
Total	93	100.0

TABLE 27: DEGREE OF RACIAL CONFLICT ON CAMPUS

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Slight	32	34.8
Some	41	44.6
Substantial	19	20.7
Total	92	100.0

TABLE 28: OPEN DISCUSSION OF BLACK OR RACIAL ISSUES ON CAMPUS

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Slight	18	19.1
Some	42	44.7
Substantial	32	34.0
Missing	2	2.1
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 29: DEGREE OF RACIAL SEPARATION ON CAMPUS

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Slight	4	4.3
Some	9	9.8
Substantial	79	85.9
Total	92	100.0

TABLE 30: CAMPUS EFFORTS TO PROMOTE RACIAL UNDERSTANDING AND RESPECT

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Slight	46	49.5
Some	32	34.4
Substantial	15	16.1
Total	93	100.0

TABLE 31: OPEN DISCUSSION OF GENDER ISSUES ON CAMPUS

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Slight	21	22.8
Some	41	44.6
Substantial	30	32.6
Total	92	100.0

TABLE 32: EXPECTATION OF RACIAL CLIMATE ON CAMPUS

Valid	Frequency	Percent
More Friendly	54	58.7
About the Same	32	34.8
More Hostile	6	6.5
Total	92	100.0

TABLE 33: HOW DOES RACIAL CLIMATE COMPARE WITH OTHER MAINLY WHITE CAMPUSES

Valid	Frequency	Percent
More Friendly	51	55.4
About the Same	30	32.6
More Hostile	11	12.0
Total	92	100.0

TABLE 34: MALE STUDENTS RESPECT FEMALE STUDENTS' ATTITUDES AND BELIEFS

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	29	31.5
Agree	63	68.5
Total	92	100.0

TABLE 35: MALE FACULTY RESPECT FEMALE STUDENTS' ATTITUDES AND BELIEFS

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	25	27.8
Agree	65	72.2
Total	90	100.0

TABLE 36: MALE STUDENTS RESPECT FEMALE STUDENTS' ACADEMIC ABILITY

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	29	31.5
Agree	63	68.5
Total	92	100.0

TABLE 37: MALE FACULTY RESPECT FEMALE STUDENTS' ACADEMIC ABILITY

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	25	27.8
Agree	65	72.2
Total	90	100.0

TABLE 38: TOO FEW FEMALE FACULTY AT INSTITUTION

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	22	23.4
Agree	72	76.6
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 39: MALE STUDENTS ARE SEXUALLY INAPPROPRIATE TOWARD FEMALE STUDENTS

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	46	51.1
Agree	44	48.9
Total	90	100.0

TABLE 40: MEN RESPECT WOMEN ON CAMPUS

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	25	28.1
Agree	64	71.9
Total	89	100.0

TABLE 41: MALE FACULTY ARE SEXUALLY INAPPROPRIATE TOWARD FEMALE STUDENTS

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	76	86.4
Agree	12	13.6
Total	88	100.0

TABLE 42: RELATIONS WITH WHITE STUDENTS

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Excellent	33	37.5
Satisfactory	36	40.9
Poor	19	21.6
Total	88	100.0

TABLE 43: RELATIONS WITH ASIAN AMERICAN STUDENTS

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Excellent	42	48.8
Satisfactory	28	32.6
Poor	16	18.6
Total	86	100.0

TABLE 44: RELATIONS WITH LATINA/O STUDENTS

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Excellent	58	63.0
Satisfactory	27	29.3
Poor	7	7.6
Total	92	100.0

TABLE 45: RELATIONS WITH AFRICAN AMERICAN STUDENTS

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Excellent	67	73.6
Satisfactory	14	15.4
Poor	10	11.0
Total	91	100.0

TABLE 46: RELATIONS WITH NATIVE AMERICAN STUDENTS

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Excellent	32	50.8
Satisfactory	14	22.2
Poor	17	27.0
Total	63	100.0

TABLE 47: RELATIONS WITH ARAB STUDENTS

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Excellent	24	33.8
Satisfactory	20	28.2
Poor	27	38.0
Total	71	100.0

TABLE 48: RELATIONS WITH MALE STUDENTS

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Excellent	70	75.3
Satisfactory	16	17.2
Poor	7	7.5
Total	93	100.0

TABLE 49: RELATIONS WITH FEMALE STUDENTS

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Excellent	76	80.9
Satisfactory	14	14.9
Poor	4	4.3
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 50: FEELINGS ABOUT PEOPLE OF OTHER RACES

Valid	Frequency	Percent
More Negative	20	21.3
About the Same	43	45.7
More Positive	31	33.0
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 51: FEELINGS ABOUT NEED FOR CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Valid	Frequency	Percent
More Negative	20	21.3
About the Same	43	45.7
More Positive	31	33.0
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 52: FEELINGS ABOUT ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Valid	Frequency	Percent
More Negative	5	5.3
About the Same	46	48.9
More Positive	43	45.7
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 53: FEELINGS ABOUT STATUS OF WOMEN IN SOCIETY

Valid	Frequency	Percent
More Negative	16	17.0
About the Same	46	48.9
More Positive	32	34.0
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 54: NEIGHBORHOOD WHERE YOU GREW UP

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Mostly White	33	35.1
Half White/Half People of Color	14	14.9
Mostly People of Color	47	50.0
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 55: HIGH SCHOOL YOU ATTENDED

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Mostly White	30	31.9
Half White/Half People of Color	28	29.8
Mostly People of Color	36	38.3
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 56: FRIENDS ON CAMPUS

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Mostly White	5	5.3
Half White/Half People of Color	21	22.3
Mostly People of Color	68	72.3
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 57: FRIENDS IN GENERAL

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Mostly White	7	7.4
Half White/Half People of Color	17	18.1
Mostly People of Color	70	74.5
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 58: INTERRACIAL DATING AND MARRIAGE AS ACCEPTABLE

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	28	30.1
Agree	65	69.9
Total	93	100.0

TABLE 59: WHITES TRY TO KEEP NON-WHITES DOWN

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	29	30.9
Agree	65	69.1
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 60: OWN'S RACE DOESN'T INTERFERE WITH ACHIEVEMENT

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	81	86.2
Agree	13	13.8
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 61: WHEN STUDYING FOR EXAM, YOU PREFER STUDYING WITH OWN RACE

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	64	69.6
Agree	28	30.4
Total	92	100.0

TABLE 62: WHEN IN NEED OF ADVISE ABOUT ACADEMIC CAREER, YOU PREFER OWN RACE

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	37	39.4
Agree	57	60.6
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 63: YOU ARE MORE COMFORTABLE AT SAME-RACE PARTIES

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	45	47.9
Agree	49	52.1
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 64: ONE'S GENDER DOESN'T INTERFERE WITH ACHIEVEMENT

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	83	88.3
Agree	11	1.7
Total	94	100.0

TABLE 65: WOULD YOU RECOMMEND SCHOOL TO OTHER STUDENTS LIKE YOURSELF

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Yes	83	89.2
No	10	10.8
Total	93	100.0

TABLE 66: CHANGE IN RACIAL CLIMATE AT INSTITUTION IN LAST FEW YEARS

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Worse	51	63.8
About the Same	24	30.0
Better	5	6.3
Total	80	100.0

TABLE 67: RACIAL EQUALITY AND CLIMATE REPORT CARD FOR INSTITUTION

Valid	Frequency	Percent
A	12	12.9
B	28	30.1
C	28	30.1
D	25	26.9
Total	93	100.0

TABLE 68: GENDER EQUALITY AND CLIMATE REPORT CARD AT INSTITUTION

Valid	Frequency	Percent
A	10	10.9
B	44	47.8
C	29	31.5
D	9	9.8
Total	92	100.0

TABLE 69: CHANGE IN CLIMATE FOR WOMEN AT INSTITUTION IN PAST FEW YEARS

Valid	Frequency	Percent
Worse	16	18.2
About the Same	52	59.1
Better	20	22.7
Total	88	100.0

APPENDIX C: AFFIRMATIVE ACTION SUCCESS STORIES

Case Study Summaries

01 - Margaret went through all of her schooling in public schools, including Oakland High School. Although she participated in the Upward Bound and the GATE (Gifted and Talented) programs and did well in high school, Margaret is convinced that she would not have gotten into UC-Berkeley without Affirmative Action. To secure finances, she began working part-time and continued until graduation. She went to the Summer Bridge Program and felt this was a good experience as she was able to learn about campus life. Networking with staff and other students in the program was an important factor in her success. Margaret's experiences in the program led to her interest in child welfare and her work in a variety of programs that served local students (both on and off campus). Her community work led her to receive one of only two university honors for commitment to the community and to be formally recognized at commencement. This passion for supporting children and community led her to pursue an advanced degree at UC-Berkeley's School of Social Welfare. Despite the major impact UC-Berkeley had in her life, Margaret fears that the shift from Affirmative Action will not allow students like herself the opportunity to share thoughts in classes where Whites and Asians could experience competent, equal voices, which will help them all learn more about each other and about themselves. This safe environment for discourse will not exist if there is not a group of Black students who feel secure in their group, as well as their individual identity at UC-Berkeley. In the time that Margaret has been out of UC-Berkeley, particularly since the reversal of Affirmative Action, she feels that there has been a great erosion of this opportunity for all students.

02 - College was an expectation for Franklin, which was held by his mother, who raised three children alone after the death of their father. Franklin's older brother did not finish high school and ended up in prison. His mother wanted Franklin to avoid this path and, as a result, enrolled him in a private, predominantly White, Catholic high school, where she struggled to pay tuition. At one of his high school college day events, Franklin heard and was impressed by minority representatives from UC-Berkeley. He was impressed that UC-Berkeley sent minority representatives. Teachers from his high school were also UC-Berkeley graduates. His mother was happy about his admission. The transition to UC-Berkeley "was hard" for Franklin. He didn't think he was particularly well prepared. Even though he

had high SAT scores and a high GPA, he felt he was always made to feel that his portfolio wasn't as good and that he was an Affirmative Action admit. However, he used the tutorial services and knew early that he wanted to go to law school and thus majored in legal studies. He used the tutorial services and felt that, in his major, these support services were outstanding. He attributes his success in part to these services. He worked over 20 hours per week from his sophomore year through graduation. Franklin felt more prepared for law school than he was for college. Going to UC-Berkeley had exposed him to a lot of different people that helped him in law school. He states that "Berkeley was a good incubator for life." According to Franklin, diversity is really important. He perceives that life at UC-Berkeley outside of class is where many of the best lessons were learned. He shares that he might forget what happened in a class but not the people he met and interacted with at UC-Berkeley. He strongly feels that one can learn a lot more about life and people when you have diversity, and this is invaluable. Franklin graduated from UCLA Law School and worked a year for a judge, spent four years with a law firm in San Francisco, and finally, opened his own law firm

03 - Born in San Francisco to emigrant parents, Jesse and his younger sister spent most of their formative years in a middle-income suburban neighborhood consisting of Latino, African American, Asian and White residents. He went to a predominately White, Catholic high school with only seven other Filipino students. His parents expected Jesse to go to college. He was involved in the UC-Berkeley Professional Development Program (PDP), which targeted high school students of color in math and science, as well as in their Partnership Program. UC-Berkeley representatives also came out to recruit at his high school. When his high school counselor looked over his college applications, he said that Jesse shouldn't apply to UC-Berkeley because he was not going to get in. Jesse applied anyway and thanks to Affirmative Action, he did get in. Jesse went to Summer Bridge and felt that it, along with PDP, was instrumental in his transition to college. They guided him in reference to classes and also provided an ongoing support base. He also worked 20 to 25 hours per week as a PDP tutor in his upper-class years. Looking back over his UC-Berkeley experience, Jesse shares that these bonds, particularly with Filipino groups, were his best experiences at UC-Berkeley. It allowed him to insulate himself from the negativity associated with the racial tension often brewing on campus. He also states that these experiences helped him to develop a strong sense of community and a desire to give back to the community.

Even though Jesse's indecisiveness about a major and his need to work kept him in college for five and a half years, he went on to get his Masters in math and began teaching at a local state college. He felt his UC-Berkeley degree made a big difference in his ability to get into graduate school. Jesse finds the current anti-Affirmative Action trends very "disheartening." He sees kids who are asking why they should apply to UC-Berkeley since UC-Berkeley doesn't want them. Many are not even applying and going straight to junior college without trying to get into UC-Berkeley. He thinks this is a very negative trend and is bad for our communities and bad for UC-Berkeley.

04 - Lauren's parents emigrated from the Philippines in 1970 and relocated in the Bay area. She recalls always having extended family living in and out of her household. She went through public schools through the ninth grade and then attended a Catholic high school as a sophomore, where she remained very active. She had a column in the school paper, won literary contests, and played sports. Due to her high PSAT scores, Lauren was able to take classes at UC-Berkeley her senior year. This made the transition after her graduation to UC-Berkeley easier. Her family was very happy she decided to go to UC-Berkeley as they wanted her to stay close to home. She joined the Filipino American Alliance and was very involved in the other Filipino organizations on campus. Lauren learned that in 1989, there were over 180 Filipino freshpersons and, as a result, were taken off the underrepresented group list and were no longer considered Affirmative Action candidates. Each year following this decision, the numbers decreased and stabilized at around 50 Filipino freshpersons per year. During her work with recruitment as an undergraduate, the administration claimed that not enough Filipinos applied to UC-Berkeley. She, along with other Filipino students, went on an active recruitment campaign and successfully recruited about 1000 applicants her junior year. To her dismay, few got in and once again, approximately 50 actually came. UC-Berkeley officials claimed it was a UC policy and should be addressed at the Office of the President. That office responded that this issue was a UC-Berkeley issue as UCLA's numbers didn't drop and, in fact, other campuses were increasing their numbers of Filipino students admitted. This entire experience was disheartening to Lauren. Although Lauren admits there might be problems with the structure of the Affirmative Action process as it was implemented at UC-Berkeley, she feels that dismantling it without creating something to replace it is wrong. She also believes that fewer Filipino students would mean that most Whites at UC-Berkeley will never understand Filipino cul-

ture, which would negatively impact the larger community. She states of this circumstance, "If UC-Berkeley is the flagship campus and you're not letting us in, how are we to be the leaders of tomorrow?"

05 - Tom's family emigrated to the U.S. from the Philippines in 1982. Tom had heard about UC-Berkeley in his advanced placement classes in high school. As a senior, he took classes at UCLA and was admitted early. However, this did not present a challenge to him, so he applied and got accepted to UC-Berkeley. Around the same time, his father died prior to Tom's high school graduation and his mother shared that his father wanted Tom to go to UC-Berkeley. So he went to Summer Bridge and says he was helped by it tremendously. He now shares that Summer Bridge teachers and staff taught him how to solve problems by explaining the step-by-step logic of the problems. He shares that the most significant contributor to his success was a Summer Bridge teacher who told the class that no one would get an "A" in Chemistry 1A. Tom took this on as a challenge. He took loans instead of working so he could devote time to studying. Upon graduating from UC-Berkeley, he applied and got accepted to UC-Berkeley's Ph.D. program in molecular cell biology. As the years went on, he saw fewer and fewer students of color on campus and hardly any Filipino students. Tom shares how minority students were systematically not admitted into his graduate department and how he learned of the need for a critical mass of minority students for support. This opened his eyes about Affirmative Action. It opened the door for many students and their families to help their community. He concludes that Whites were threatened by this and intentionally "cut off their scholarship" by not admitting students of color to their flagship campus and thus not training them to be leaders. This, Tom feels, will ultimately hurt the larger community.

06 - Barbara went to a majority White high school in the East Bay. Throughout elementary and high school, she only had one Filipino teacher. She did not feel supported in high school and was not in college preparatory classes. In fact, her counselor did not push her toward college and told her to go to cosmetology school. Barbara, however, enrolled in junior college after high school. In her second semester, she took a Chicano Studies class and became interested in political conflict. After a series of meetings with outreach counselors and continued support of one professor at her junior college, she transferred to UC-Berkeley. The transition was tough for Barbara. The courses were harder, there was more reading, and the professors were inaccessible. However, her motivation for doing well was to show others that

she could do it and to make her family proud. She felt that the staff at the Student Life Advising Services (SLAS) was very helpful and supportive and helped her to achieve her academic goals. With the support of faculty and students at SLAS, Barbara graduated from UC-Berkeley and was the first in her family to attend and graduate from college. She shares how proud her family was and how happy it made her feel that so many came to her graduation. With support from a helpful graduate student instructor, she applied and got into an M.A./Ph.D. program at UCLA. Barbara feels that Affirmative Action was a lifesaver for her and her family. She became the first to achieve the college graduation goal and sees where this accomplishment opened the possibility for all the other young people in her family. Now, she states that all of her cousins are going to school. Her UC-Berkeley experiences gave her confidence, but more importantly knowledge that she could indeed achieve. She went from a 1.8 high school grade point average to a 3.4 GPA as an undergraduate to a current 3.8 GPA as a graduate student. She ultimately wants to be a professor and is currently working on her dissertation. According to Barbara, a sense of community, a sense of passion regarding their goals, and issues more directly related to a student's personhood should be more represented in the admissions process.

07 - Karen was born in San Francisco and moved to the East Bay when she was eight years old. Although she shares that she lived in low-income neighborhoods, she never felt that she was poor. She attended Catholic schools from K-12 that were predominately White. She felt very supported in high school, and the counselors and faculty supported her application process to different state universities. The financial aid package from UC-Berkeley was best and this was instrumental in her decision to come to UC-Berkeley. At UC-Berkeley, Karen went from a class of 60 high school seniors to 5000 in the freshman class. She connected right away with the EOP counselors. They were a key resource for her and shared information she may not have gotten otherwise. The few numbers of African American students didn't bother her because she was used to this in high school, but she was not used to feeling marginalized by White professors. She didn't see herself in the curriculum of her major, political science, and so she decided to also major in ethnic studies. Karen felt the ethnic studies classes were more comprehensive and she felt a "closeness with the faculty." Karen really supports Affirmative Action; she feels that the anti-Affirmative Action legislation "institutionalizes our lack of value." Fewer staff of color, fewer students of color and fewer of those who help stu-

dents of color get through are the real down sides of the current legislation. She feels that it reinforces stratification and that we are buying into dangerous myths. UC-Berkeley is becoming the oppressor versus an institution that supports and facilitates diversity.

08 - Martin is an only child raised by his parents in Oakland, CA in a predominantly low-income, African American neighborhood. Throughout his elementary and high school years, he participated in a variety of after-school and evening programs, including the Partnership and Upward Bound Programs, which facilitated his application and admission to UC-Berkeley. Martin became the second in his family to go to college and the first in his entire extended family to actually complete college. Although he was never on academic probation, he didn't do as well as he should have because he felt he didn't put in the effort. However, he refers to a couple of African American staff members in financial aid, at the Student Life Advising Services and Student Learning Center who were particularly supportive and without whom life at UC-Berkeley would have not been so positive. Upon graduation from UC-Berkeley, Martin taught in the public schools and was eventually accepted to the University of Michigan's M.A./Ph.D. Program in Education. Martin was very dismayed to learn about the changes at UC-Berkeley regarding Affirmative Action. He knows that his opportunity to go to UC-Berkeley made a difference in his life. He was able to explore possibilities that may not have been available without his UC-Berkeley network and experiences. The impact of the anti-Affirmative Action decisions are widely felt, according to Martin, not only for individuals but for communities. Those people who come from a community are often more likely to understand the problems of the community and can come back equipped with knowledge, skills and empathy to make a difference for those left behind. In this case, Martin completed all of the coursework for his doctorate and came back home due to his father's illness. He wanted to be close to home and be supportive of his family. He is currently teaching at a local high school while completing the doctoral program.

09 - Malcolm began high school in North Carolina where he felt there was a strong bond between families and the school. However, when his mother decided to move to Los Angeles, Malcolm saw a drastic difference between his new high school and his old one in North Carolina. In LA, teachers were afraid of students and gangs would interfere with the learning process. Upon learning that Malcolm was new to the school, a staff member moved him to the teacher magnet program within the high

school. Although it was a form of tracking, it contributed to his decision to go to college. Malcolm's first two years at UC-Berkeley were really tough. One reason for this was Malcolm's insecurity about his abilities since the things on his mind were not deemed important in his political science classes. As a result, Malcolm admits to not applying himself in class. With this, in addition to working 15 to 20 hours per week, it was not surprising that he wasn't doing well academically. He stumbled across the Student Life Advising Services and got an African American male advisor. He took a couple of African American studies classes and shortly thereafter, he changed his major from political science to African American studies. Although he was accepted at Teachers College at Columbia University, Malcolm deferred his admission and began teaching at Berkeley High School soon after graduation. The experiences and interactions in the high school influenced his decision to go to graduate school. He graduated from Columbia with a 3.4 GPA, became an academic advisor for a year and is currently enrolled in a Ph.D. program in African American Studies. As an advisor for a year upon returning to UC-Berkeley, he felt that others might not get the positive experiences that he had as an undergraduate. He saw fewer students of color (particularly from inner cities), less community-mindedness, less bonding and more Black students dealing with depression. Malcolm feels that Affirmative Action was also good for Whites and others. It gave them the opportunity to learn about Blacks when they are roommates, or classmates. They become "a lot more ethnically rich and can enter society with a greater knowledge base and grip on the social demands of society." He thinks with the current structure, the White students will come to UC-Berkeley White, and unfortunately leave *very* White.

10 - Anita is one of five children of immigrant parents from Mexico. Her family worked the fields in Watsonville and lived in labor camps until she was 12 years old. She grew up with immigration raids as part of her daily life. She had two jobs in high school to help her family. At age 16, Anita was the president of the migrant works children organization. In her senior year of high school, a labor strike informed Anita of the need to have lawyers in her community. Recognizing her desire to become a lawyer, one teacher told Anita of UC-Berkeley and supported her throughout the application process. Anita got accepted at UC-Berkeley, although initially the responses from her White peers led her to believe that it was a mistake. Although her parents were supportive of her admission, Anita's first experiences at UC-Berkeley were "horrible." One of the

reasons why she felt this way was because she didn't see or know of anyone who looked like her or had her experiences. Also, she didn't feel her high school prepared her academically for college. It was not until her junior year that Anita felt at home for the first time on campus when she discovered the Student Learning Center and Department of Chicano Studies, which she majored in along with Sociology. Once Anita found her niche at the university, she did better academically. When she got accepted to the Kennedy School of Public Policy at Harvard (she was a Woodrow Wilson Scholar), she found that it was a very isolating experience with few people of color. However, she completed the joint program between Boalt Law School and the Kennedy School and is now a practicing attorney in Los Angeles. Her experiences have made her a firm believer of Affirmative Action. The financial impact of the opportunity to go to college under Affirmative Action programs allowed her to support her family and younger brothers. She states it is "devastating for the state of California to deprive groups of young people from education." Having the opportunity afforded by Affirmative Action not only helps on campus, but on the streets as well. She feels the lack of exposure to others at UC-Berkeley now "will continue this vicious cycle of segregation which hurts everybody."

11 - Robert's family was considered middle-class before his father became bankrupt and they had to move to a low-income neighborhood in South Central, Los Angeles. The high school that Robert attended was diverse – 25% Black, 35% White, 25% Latino and the rest Asian or other. Despite never being on the college track, his parents really focused on education and wanted him to go to college. In fact, his father said he would have to either go to college, the military or to work. College seemed the best alternative. Although not accepted to UC-Berkeley initially, Robert appealed and did get in with a mandate to go to Summer Bridge. Summer Bridge proved to be a very positive experience. Robert states that this experience was a major reason for his success. It gave him confidence and provided a foundation for his UC-Berkeley transition. It also provided a buffer for some of the racist incidents that he experienced. In an anthropology class, the professor spoke sincerely of Black inferiority. Another asked him if he had come from a junior college, as if to imply that he was not UC-Berkeley material. As a history major, Robert always wanted to teach. However, he decided to attend law school and was accepted to UCLA Law School and felt his experiences and academic preparation at UC-Berkeley really were instrumental in his getting through law school. Returning to Berkeley as a staff member made him aware of the

many changes on campus resulting from the decision to end Affirmative Action. He believes that the new configuration of students is really a loss to the non-minority students as well as to Black and Brown communities because the chance to interact and listen to persons with different viewpoints is sparser now than when Affirmative Action programs were in place. Thus, Robert strongly believes that Affirmative Action should be reinstated. It was a way to open doors for persons to whom the doors had been closed in the past

12 - Jose's parents, brother and two sisters illegally immigrated to the U.S. in 1974, where they lived in a predominantly low-income, African American community in Oakland, CA. His parents were not formally educated and the family lived in fear of being "found" by the INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service) and sent back to Mexico. Despite these circumstances, Jose did well in school and spent most of his lunch and free time in the libraries, partially to avoid physical confrontation with other kids at school as a result of being the only Chicano in his classes. While in high school, one of his teachers took a particular interest in him and fueled his desire to go to college. Jose made a decision to apply only to UC-Berkeley. He recalls not completing the section that asked about his citizenship status. He was surprised to get into UC-Berkeley. Fear of deportation, along with the feeling of not belonging at UC-Berkeley, was reflected in his grades during his first two years at UC-Berkeley. However, Jose found support during Summer Bridge and with the tutors and mentors at the Student Life Advising Center to which he attributes his success at UC-Berkeley. At the end of his sophomore year, new legislation diminished his fear of deportation and, as a result of this and his experience with mentors and tutors at the Summer Bridge, his grades improved dramatically – moving to mainly "A's." One Chicano professor encouraged Jose to apply to graduate school because of his exceptional writing ability. He did and, to his surprise, was accepted into UC-Berkeley's Ethnic Studies Ph.D. program. He completed his Ph.D. with a dissertation focusing on the plight of undocumented students, a story which had been untold and a voice that would have been unheard had Jose not had this opportunity. He is now married to a physician and has a 14-month-old son. The opportunity to go to UC-Berkeley, which was afforded by Affirmative Action, was "transformational" for him and established a path for his family. Both of his younger siblings graduated from UC-Berkeley. Jose believes that "Affirmative Action not only helps our opportunity but also our spirit." He feels that Affirmative Action helps families and communities like his and the country.

13 - Nathaniel grew up in a predominantly low-income, African American community in Sacramento with his parents, two siblings and extended family members. His family had pushed educational attainment ever since the children were young. This led to his older brother's attendance at Stanford University and Nathaniel's acceptance to UC-Berkeley, where he participated in the Summer Bridge Program. Nathaniel felt that this program allowed him to become a part of a supportive network. He also became knowledgeable of the tutorial assistance available and many of the facilities and services that UC-Berkeley had to offer. Nathaniel initially did feel the pressure of being an "Affirmative Action" student by feeling insecure about being at UC-Berkeley and feeling that he may not be able to compete. However, staff and students in the Ethnic Studies Department, his chosen major, and the Student Life Advising Services (SLAS) were able to help him counter the arguments that he was not deserving of being at UC-Berkeley. At the SLAS office, he learned about counseling and how it really was important to help guide others both personally and professionally. As a result, he wanted to be a counselor like those who had supported him. He is currently in a Masters of Counseling program in San Francisco and is doing his internship at the SLAS office. Nathaniel ultimately wants to pursue a Ph.D. in counseling. Continuing the tradition of education is extremely important to Nathaniel. His cousins see him as a role model now. He strongly feels that Affirmative Action was instrumental in his success and his ability to be that role model. He also attributes his success to the support he received by dedicated faculty and staff, primarily those of color. Having the SLAS staff as role models made him see the professional possibilities that he is currently pursuing. Overall, Nathaniel feels that we should continue Affirmative Action not only because it benefits the individuals who get into college, but also because it benefits their communities and the larger society.

14 - Christopher's parents and grandparents were migrant workers who were very involved in the civil rights movement. He comes from a family with a very long history of struggle and involvement. While in high school in East Lansing, Michigan, a series of incidents with teachers led to a protest in which he and his family took a lead role. The protest was successful and led to the firing of faculty and staff. He moved from this high school his senior year to Sacramento, where he attended a school that had predominantly minority students (approximately 25% White). Although his father was incarcerated during Christopher's last year of high school, his parents continued to support his desire to go to college. After an admission interview, Chris-

topher was accepted and was mandated to go to Summer Bridge, which was a positive experience for him. One of Christopher's major dilemmas was to balance his political activism with his schoolwork. He wanted to participate in the political movements on campus as they resonated with his desire to help the community and others less fortunate. However, one professor made it clear that Christopher should focus on his work since he would be much more helpful to his community as a physician. The only way to reach this goal was to study extremely hard, which, for Christopher, was the most difficult aspect of his experience at UC-Berkeley. Graduating with a 3.17 GPA, Christopher feels that UC-Berkeley prepared him for medical school, which he currently attends at Stanford. Christopher would like to see Affirmative Action reinstated. His opportunity came through his interview with UC-Berkeley, and this opportunity no longer exists for those behind him. Christopher feels he is a role model for his nephews, who are now able to see possibilities through him.

15 - Maria was born in Mexico. Her eleven-member family migrated to San Francisco when she was in elementary school. The transition from Mexico to San Francisco was extremely harsh for Maria. She was put in a class where only English was spoken. When her family relocated to Oakland, Maria was placed in a bilingual class, where she felt included and not like a "piece of furniture" as at her former elementary school. While in high school, Maria had to help her family economically. Many times, Maria and her siblings had to go to work with their mother and had to do homework in the car. Her participation in the Upward Bound Program instilled in Maria a desire to go to college and led to her acceptance at UC-Berkeley. Maria went through the Summer Bridge Program, and although she made good use of the tutors and other support services, she felt "cheated" by her high school as she felt it did nothing to really prepare her for college. In addition, Maria felt excluded by the White professors and students. She remembers times when she was put off by a professor, who turned right around and paid attention to a White student. The students also showed their disapproval in subtle ways: not paying attention to her comments, looking away from her and discussing things that excluded her participation. These experiences led to her placement on academic probation her first semester at UC-Berkeley. Therefore, she actively sought help wherever she could find it. Support and encouragement from staff at the Student Life Advising Service (SLAS) was instrumental in her academic success. Her experience with the UC-Berkeley advisors and mentors influenced her decision to become a counselor after graduation. Maria continued on to graduate

school and earned a 4.0 GPA and a master's degree in counseling. She is currently an academic advisor at her alma mater. The anti-Affirmative Action movement was very disturbing to Maria, who attributes her success, in part, to Affirmative Action. As a counselor, Maria knows that many high school students are discouraged as a result of this movement away from inclusion. She sees less diversity at UC-Berkeley now and fewer community-oriented students. According to Maria, this is a great loss to all communities involved, as she firmly believes that "given the opportunity and support, we all can perform" and that "everyone deserves a piece of the pie."

16 - Being the son of immigrant parents, Jesus was the first to go to and graduate from college. During his high school years, Jesus had to be his own advocate, as his family did not understand the educational system, although they expressed that they wanted him to do well. He participated in the EAOP program, which helped with the application process and ultimately his acceptance to the university. In addition to his acceptance, Jesus received a UC-Berkeley Incentive Award, which paid for all of his college expenses. It also mandated that he attend the Summer Bridge Program. His experiences in the program gave him the foundation to "go to the table with other ethnic groups" to share his perspectives and have a voice in political and intellectual issues. Jesus also learned the importance of networking and forming alliances with others. Overall, he felt that mentorship and having people to talk with about pressing issues in his community was an important factor in his development at UC-Berkeley. As a result of these experiences, Jesus became a PPIA fellow, which facilitated his transition from college to graduate school. After working for two years with an assemblywoman in Sacramento and in New York through another fellows program, Jesus returned to UC-Berkeley for graduate study, where he noticed a striking change. He feels that the sense of community, "of belonging to a greater part," is no longer as strong with the ethnic groups as it had been when he was an undergraduate. The issue of accountability was diminished by the passage of Proposition 209 and the actions of the Board of Regents. Jesus strongly believes in the need for Affirmative Action, for it provided the opportunity and possibility for many students to contribute productively to the society, as he is now doing. Jesus believes that not only did the students of color who attended college under Affirmative Action impact their own communities but also the larger UC-Berkeley community. Jesus makes this point: "You need to have my voice in the classroom . . . who is going to represent the voice of the voiceless?"

17 - Tracy grew up in a lower middle-class community in Pasadena, CA with her parents and three brothers, one who is now deceased and the remaining two incarcerated. There was a heavy tracking system at her high school, which put most of the Whites in the higher tracks and the Black and Brown students in the lower tracks. The Black Recruitment and Retention Center did a recruitment trip to her school, after which she decided to go to UC-Berkeley. Upon receiving her acceptance to UC-Berkeley, a classmate approached her and said, "You bitch, you only got in because of Affirmative Action." Tracy recalls that she didn't even know what Affirmative Action was until then when she asked another Black student. Despite this experience, Tracy felt that attending UC-Berkeley would give her an opportunity to get away and become independent. When her academic performance at UC-Berkeley reflected the difficult transition she had to make between high school and college, she was assigned a mentor through the Office of African American Student Development. Her academic achievement improved and throughout her undergraduate experience, she participated in the Howard University Exchange Program, the McNair Scholars Program, the Barbados Summer Program through African American Studies, and a variety of campus activities, predominantly with the Office of African American Student Development. Tracy decided to go to Howard University for a masters program in psychology. She felt that UC-Berkeley prepared her for graduate school. At Howard University, Tracy feels respected as an intelligent student by classmates and faculty. This was often missing in her UC-Berkeley experiences. Tracy has been accepted to Santa Clara Law School and will pursue her psychology research as well as a law degree, perhaps merging the two in public policy. Although in high school Tracy was unaware of Affirmative Action, she agrees that it benefited her and others by providing opportunities to attend college and prove that in spite of adverse circumstances, it is possible to achieve high standards.

18 - Jan's family emigrated from Haiti to Canada and, since 1981, lived in a low-income neighborhood in South Central, Los Angeles. In high school, she was part of the Upward Bound Program, which influenced her decision to apply to UC-Berkeley. To facilitate the transition from high school to college, Jan attended the Summer Bridge Program. The "Wall," which is what the Summer Bridge Program came to be known as, "was an excellent experience that prepared students for what to expect while serving as a time to bond with others." Although Jan did not feel any overt disconnection with campus personnel and students, she did sense a strong connection to Summer Bridge students along with

Black faculty, mentors and staff. Wanting to help others in the same manner proved to be Jan's greatest motivation to continue her education. She was accepted into Stanford's secondary education masters program and graduated with a 3.8 GPA. She feels strongly that Affirmative Action made a difference in her life and the lives of those in her community. Jan was extremely disappointed when she returned to campus and learned that no one was at the "Wall" any longer. According to her, the reversal of Affirmative Action "did a disservice" to the campus. She felt that having a critical mass of students of color was a valuable experience for all on campus. Not having this "took away from the opportunity for them [Whites and Asians] to come into contact with those who think differently." Jan believes that the discourse in classes must be different as "there are fewer voices and fewer who have the experiences to replace those of the African American and Chicano students." By limiting the number of minorities able to enroll at the university, the reversal decision also decreased the number of role models in the community.