An exploratory study of the politics of black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities

Timothy D. Etson
Clark Atlanta University

Follow this and additional works at: http://digitalcommons.auctr.edu/dissertations

Part of the Political Science Commons

Recommended Citation

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by DigitalCommons@Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center. It has been accepted for inclusion in ETD Collection for AUC Robert W. Woodruff Library by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center. For more information, please contact cwiseman@auctr.edu.
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE POLITICS OF BLACK MALE
ENROLLMENT IN GEORGIA'S PUBLIC COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Committee Chair: Dr. F. S. J. Ledgister
Dissertation dated July 2012

Between 1998 and 2008, in the African-American community and for black men in particular in the State of Georgia, attaining a post-secondary education and its corresponding benefits has proven to be challenging. With the abrupt transition of policies and programs such as the HOPE Scholarship, Affirmative Action, and African-American Male Initiatives during this period, came a corresponding transformation of the composition of number of black males enrolling in Georgia’s public colleges and universities. Along with the wider gender and race changes that occurred during this period, as of March 2004, black males represented 16.6 percent of the national numbers as compared to 18.5 percent of their Black female and 32.9 percent of their white male counterparts 25 years and over who attained bachelor's degrees.
Despite many impediments to improving the education levels of citizens in the State of Georgia, it appears that the widest educational gap was among African Americans. Fewer black males graduated from high school on time, compared to almost two-thirds of the black females. Many scholars of educational policy attest to the fact that college enrollment levels are a problem among all students. One example of this research is highlighted to show how African-American males have particularly low rates and are even vulnerable to dropping out of high school.

This dissertation attempts to contextualize political science with larger public policy processes by using the roles of politicians and public administrators as creators of public policy that will eventually be used to impact the enrollment level of African-American males in Georgia public colleges and universities. This work draws from a series of interviews, surveys, and focus groups. By examining the different issues that impact enrollment levels, this dissertation underscores the complex areas of processes that bring together African-American Male Initiative Programs, Affirmative-Action policies, and Financial Aid programs such as the HOPE Scholarship. Present for political scientists is a body of research that will enable us to examine a core of scholarship to sift through a sort out the various interests that converge and represent different and potentially conflicting visions about how public policy should impact higher education.
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE POLITICS OF BLACK MALE
ENROLLMENT IN GEORGIA'S PUBLIC COLLEGES
AND UNIVERSITIES

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF CLARK ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

TIMOTHY DEMORRIS ETSÖN, SR.

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

JULY 2012
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The pages of this dissertation hold far more than the beginning of an article published on December 18, 2003 in *Black Issues in Higher Education* titled “Sharing the Responsibility: Increasing Black Male Student Enrollment.” These pages also represent the relationships forged with many generous and inspiring people I have met since beginning my Masters program until completing my dissertation. The list is long, but each person played a vital role to my development as a scholar, teacher, and practitioner.

To my advisor Dr. Fragano Ledgister, an outstanding mentor who demonstrates that rigorous scholarship can and must be accessible to everyone he comes in contact with, that reading about great scholars is essential to intellectual work and, also, scholars have the privileges of academia to expand the world as it exist.

To my committee members Dr. Abi Awomolo and Dr. Henry Elonge for their though provoking words, constructive criticism, and time and attention during semesters.

To my children, Tim Junior, Chandler, and Brandia, may your journey down the road of higher education lead you to great places in life such as doctors, lawyers, or entrepreneurs.

And finally, to Angela Chandler Etson, who I met in graduate school and became the woman I married at St. Paul of the Cross, my cheerleader, voice of reason, and life raft, thank you for coming to the defense of my dissertation and for always coming to my defense.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</th>
<th>ii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER

### I. INTRODUCTION ................................................................................................. 1

- Statement of the Problem .................................................................................. 1
- Purpose and Significance of the Study .......................................................... 5
- Scope, Limitations, and Delimitations of the Study ...................................... 6
- Practical/Political Significance of Study ...................................................... 7
- Concepts ................................................................................................................ 8
- Research Questions and Hypotheses .................................................................. 11
- Brief Analysis of Georgia .................................................................................. 12
  - Population and College and University Growth Patterns .............................. 12
- Outline of the Study ........................................................................................... 16
- Notes ..................................................................................................................... 17

### II. LITERATURE REVIEW ......................................................................................... 18

- Introduction .......................................................................................................... 18
- African-American Male Initiatives ...................................................................... 18
- Educational Policies ............................................................................................... 24
- Helping Outstanding Pupils Educationally (HOPE) Scholarship and Other funding Sources ........................................................................................................................................... 28
- Incarceration Rates ............................................................................................... 31
- Affirmative Action .................................................................................................. 32
- Conclusions ............................................................................................................ 39
- Notes ...................................................................................................................... 41

### III. RESEARCH DESIGN ......................................................................................... 44

- Theoretical/Conceptual Framework ...................................................................... 44
  - Racial Quotas ..................................................................................................... 45
  - Reverse Discrimination ...................................................................................... 47
  - Affirmative Action ............................................................................................. 48
  - Afrocentricity ..................................................................................................... 50
  - Multiculturalism ............................................................................................... 52
  - Economics .......................................................................................................... 54
Table of Contents (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Major Concepts</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methods: Data Analysis Steps and Procedures</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methods for Technical Analysis</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodology of the Study</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Analysis</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Processing</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analyzing Survey Data</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV. HISTORY OF BLACKS IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN GEORGIA | 65 |

| Introduction | 65 |
| History | 65 |
| Acts and Associations | 67 |
| The Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1862 | 67 |
| The Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1890 | 68 |
| American Missionary Association | 69 |
| State Supported Historically Black Colleges and Universities in Georgia | 70 |
| Savannah State University | 70 |
| Fort Valley State University | 71 |
| Albany State University | 73 |
| Policy Implications of Black Institutions | 75 |
| Court Cases | 78 |
| Philosophy of Influential Men | 99 |
| W.E.B. DuBois | 99 |
| Carter G. Woodson | 105 |
| President Barack Obama | 107 |
| Conclusions | 117 |
| Notes | 120 |

V. DATA ANALYSIS: PART I | 125 |

| Introduction | 125 |
| Overview of Sample Population | 125 |
| Bill Cosby’s Position of Cultural Bias against Education | 126 |
| Bill Cosby’s Critics | 135 |
| Conclusion | 139 |
| African-American Male Initiative Survey Results | 140 |
| African-American Male Initiative Programs Interview and Focus Groups | 148 |
Table of Contents (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arlethia Perry-Johnson: African-American Male Initiative</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program Project Director</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center for African-American Males: Albany State University</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Leadership Academy: Georgia Perimeter College</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia Perimeter College Leadership Academy Focus Group</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programs of Excellence: Introduction</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Georgia Project: Gentlemen on the Move</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of West Georgia: Black Men With Initiative</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. DATA ANALYSIS: PART II</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affirmative Action Policies</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University System of Georgia</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of California Board of Regents</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University System of Michigan</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University System of Texas</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of Admissions Policies</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calculating Lambda to Measure about Affirmative Action Admissions Policies</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helping Outstanding Pupils Educationally Scholarship (HOPE Scholarship)</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current State of Affairs with the HOPE Scholarship</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How Will Governor Nathan Deal Impact the HOPE Scholarship Program</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia Student Finance Commission</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia Student Finance Commission Focus Group</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final Survey Results</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Findings</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African-American Male Initiative Programs</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affirmative Action</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOPE Scholarship</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table of Contents (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Advancement Through Achievement Academy Model</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community-Based Efforts</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Interview Questions</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Survey Instrument</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Institutional Review Board Letter</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

vi
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. African-American Male Initiative Programs</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The Availability of Financial Aid as a Spending Priority</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The Importance of Programs Designed to Increase the Level of Black Male Enrollment</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The Availability of Financial Aid</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The Importance of Academic Enrichment Programs</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Approaches that Influenced Respondents to Attend College</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. What Influenced Respondents to Enroll at Georgia Perimeter College (GPC)?</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Influence Church Had on Respondents Attending College</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. The Impact of the Role of Guidance Counselors</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. The Impact of the University Presidents</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. The Role of Admissions Directors Had on the Focus Groups</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Recruiting</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Affirmative Action Admissions Policies Attitudes</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Best Approach in Influencing Black Males to Attend College</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Influence of Civic Organizations</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Most Important Impact on Black Male Enrollment</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

In the African-American community, and for black men in particular, attaining a post-secondary education and its corresponding benefits has proven to be challenging. As of March 2004, nationwide, 17.6 percent of black Americans 25 years and over had attained bachelor’s degrees, representing 16.6 percent of the national numbers as compared to 18.5 percent of their black female counterparts and 32.9 percent of their white male counterparts 25 years and over who had attained bachelor’s degrees.¹

These statistics are also supported by The Schott 50 State Report Black Male Data Portal published in 2008, which highlights the inequities in graduation rates. The report highlights that the graduation rate in 2005-2006 for black males was 40 percent as compared to white males which was 58 percent, creating an 18 percent gap. Mary MacDonald in her article titled “Georgia among Worst in On-time Graduation,” cited that 39 percent of black males graduated from high school on time, compared with 54 percent of black females.² According to the 2002-03 Diploma Counts—Georgia, college enrollment levels are a problem among all students. Statistics show how African-American males have particularly low rates and are even vulnerable to dropping out of high school at a rate of 61.3 percent rate.
In the book *Being a Black Man*, Michael A. Fletcher points out that the statistics that spell out the status of black men are often conflicting and sometimes perplexing. He goes on to state:

The percentage of black men graduating from college has nearly quadrupled since the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and yet more black men earn their high school equivalency diploma in prison each year than graduate from college. Black families where men are in the home earn median incomes that approach those of white families. Yet more than half of the nation’s 5.6 million black boys live in fatherless households, 40 percent of which are impoverished. The ranks of professional black men have exploded over four decades—there were 78,000 black male engineers in 2004, a 33 percent increase in 10 years. And yet 840,000 black men are incarcerated, and the Justice Department projections show that the chance of a black boy serving time has nearly tripled in three decades.3

A study commissioned by the University System of Georgia (USG) highlighted fall 2002 enrollment data with figures reflecting that black women comprised 68 percent of the USG’s black enrollment—35,873 black females compared to 17,068 black males, decries state government lack of intervention. The study identifies barriers to African-American male enrollment and retention in Georgia’s 34 public colleges and universities. Some of the key claims of the study call for tracking more African-American males into the college preparatory curriculum; better data gathering and dissemination; improved cultural sensitivity training for teachers and guidance counselors; partnering with the Department of Education and the Education Coordinating Commissions; calling on presidents to enhance African-American male student retention on their respective campuses; and increasing the number of high-quality teachers teaching in the hard-to-staff schools where many African-American students attend.

Dr. Julian Vasquez Heilig and Dr. Richard J. Reddick assert that the basic data on the status of black males and their educational outcomes provides a vivid reality of
separate and unequal experiences for black males. Although aggressive, forward thinking interventions like affirmative action are under attack, the need for public awareness and policy targeted to close the persisting and escalating gaps in educational attainment and life outcomes of young black males is necessary now, more than ever. They further explain that with the spectacular success of Senator Obama (now the President of the United States), some will attempt to manipulate public consciousness toward a post-civil rights, colorblind discourse that sociologists Michael Omi and Howard Winant have warned us against for many years which ignores the high levels of racial disparity evidenced by educational research. By remaining fastidious and working to eradicate these disheartening disparities, ultimately our national union will benefit."4 This strategy can be used especially in resolving the enrollment levels of black males in Georgia public colleges and universities.

Formal education is normally the largest human capital investment in a young person's life. According to a 1999 study conducted by the National Survey of America's Families, young black males had a graduation completion rate of 47 percent. Graduation profile figures gathered from 2002-2003 and published in the 2006 edition of Diplomas Count—Georgia, show that the national average has decreased to 44.3 percent, while the State of Georgia shows a 38.7 percent graduation rate for African-American males. The figures also reflect that the majority of 18-24 year olds who complete high school have not gone on to college. Young black men have the lowest levels of college enrollment. Based on the 1999 data, 67 percent of young black men do not go on to college (compared to 57 percent of all young people).5 Data from the 2007 U.S. Census Bureau
Current Population Survey presents a snapshot of high school graduation rates by race. Nationally, the percentage of males in the 18 – 24 year cohort with a high school diploma or greater is 77 percent. When isolated by race, however, the disparities are distinctively apparent. While Asian American and white males in the 18-24 year cohort report educational attainment of a high school diploma or greater at 85 percent and 81 percent respectively, black males report a rate of 73 percent.

Harry J. Holzer in his essay, “Reconnecting Young Black Men: What Policies Would Help?” indicates that the causes of the problem are jobs, schools, families and “culture.” He explains why the declines have been far greater among young black men than other groups. He declares that:

The most likely explanation is that young black men now face greater barriers in gaining access to better-paying jobs than do those of any other group. To the extent that better-paying jobs remain, they simply require higher levels of education and basic skills than they did in the past. And, while racial gaps in schooling and achievement (as measured by test scores) have narrowed somewhat over time, they remain disturbingly high. Gaps between blacks and whites in high school completion, college attendance, and college completion (either at the 2-year or 4 year level) have barely budged in the past 20 years.

The main purpose of this study is to examine the role Georgia politics has played in creating the factors that most affect the enrollment of black men in Georgia’s public colleges and universities. The overall scope of this study is to analyze current policies and evaluate programs, recommend ways to better coordinate efforts to improve black male enrollment, and identify areas of opportunities for new initiatives. The researcher intends on studying the current efforts being utilized in educational policy in the State of Georgia under the policy framework of Group Theory. Group Theory seeks to describe all meaningful, political activity in terms of group struggle. Public higher education in the
state involves many diverse groups—state executives, legislators, regents, college and university presidents, and faculties. State governments, through their support of state colleges and universities, bear the major burden of higher education in the United States. The goal of the study is to examine how political interactions affect the enrollment level of black males entering Georgia’s public colleges and universities.

**Purpose and Significance of the Study**

The purpose of this study was to analyze current policies of community-based organizations and examine how they are instrumental in affecting the enrollment level of black males in Georgia’s public colleges and universities. The study examines the role of community-based organizations and the role they may or may not play in actualizing the policy implementation process. Although postsecondary education can be freely chosen, income tends to increase with a person’s education; therefore, the value of education should be a core factor in discussing the value of this study. Another reason to analyze the underrepresented black male enrollment demographics on the campuses of Georgia’s public colleges and universities and how to deal with this disparity with a cause of concern is to look at the potential long-term effects. Some of these effects have an impact on the state’s economic development efforts and other initiatives driven by the desire to have an educated workforce. This research can be helpful not only to the State of Georgia, but to the nation, as public colleges and universities work out conditions created by policies on both levels and determine how the enrollment level of black males are impacted. The results of this analysis will be shared with the USG and other university systems that have developed or have the desire to develop African-American Male
Initiatives, in hope that this work will give them information on which they can better
determine the effectiveness of such programs.

**Scope, Limitations, and Delimitations of the Study**

The problem that is being examined may have been impacted by issues that may
be the cause of changing the landscape of black male enrollment in Georgia public
colleges and universities. These can, but not limited to include funding cuts, the
elimination of scholarships, grants and financial assistance. There is also another link that
may impact black male enrollment, and that is based on studies that examine how the
achievement gap may be tied to teacher qualification, which plays a key role in black
male enrollment. Dr. Motoko Akiba, assistant professor in educational leadership and
policy analysis at the University of Missouri-Columbia suggests that:

The opportunity gap more than likely originates from funding inequities between
and schools under that decentralized U.S. educational system, which draws school
funding from local property taxes. Schools in poor and minority neighborhoods
also experience far more instability in the teacher workforce. High poverty
districts typically have no choice but to hire under-qualified teachers because of
high turnover and difficult working conditions. Inequities in access to qualified
teachers are likely to play a significant role in the long-lasting achievement gap.  

Below are some of the policy initiatives examined in this analysis:

- **Improving the level of academic achievement**: According to the Manhattan
  Institute, nearly one of every three public high school students fails to
  graduate. Forty four percent of African-American students will not graduate
  with their class. Of those who do not graduate, most leave high school without
  the skills they need to succeed in college.

- **Funding**: The challenge of obtaining the financial resources to attend college
  may be a factor in black male enrollment levels. This includes recent changes
  in the eligibility requirements for Pell Grants.

- **College Preparatory Programs**: The need for programs that expose African-
  American males to higher education is an aspect of the problem that will be
examined. One example of such programs is TRIO (Educational Opportunity for Low-Income and Disabled Americans) established by Congress to help low-income Americans enter college, graduate and move on to participate more fully in America's economic and social life. 35 percent of TRIO students are African-American. TRIO began with Upward Bound, which emerged out of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 in response to the administration's War on Poverty. In 1965, Talent Search, the second outreach program, was created as part of the Higher Education Act. In 1968, Student Support Services, which was originally known as Special Services for Disadvantaged Students, was authorized by the Higher Education Amendments and became the third in a series of educational opportunity programs. By the late 1960s, the term "TRIO" was coined to describe these federal programs.

This study is concerned with the correlation between the education policy and the political attitudes among decision-makers in the State of Georgia. This study is limited to an examination of the decision-makers who currently reside in the State of Georgia. Additionally, given monetary constraints and the spatial expanse of the state, not all cities or towns in the State of Georgia were examined. In large part, this is a reasonable project to undertake given the availability of time and resources.

**Practical/Political Significance of Study**

The research examines the dynamics of African-American Male Initiatives as a catalyst to increasing black male enrollment and to determine how such initiatives play an intricate role in serving their designed purpose. Opponents question black male initiative programs, because they have expressed concern that excluding women and students who are not black is discriminatory. Second, it highlights what current educational policies or programs affect the enrollment rates and highlight best practices. Third, the study examines whether or not conditions such as incarceration rates, high school drop out rates, inadequate public school systems and the repeal of affirmative
action policies play a major role in adversely impacting the enrolment levels of black males in Georgia’s public colleges and universities. And lastly, the study reviews policy alternatives from other states such as California, Michigan, and Texas, which are just a few of the states that have approved either constitutional amendments or legislative enactments barring any consideration of applicants’ race in public higher education or professional school admissions including *Bakke v California Board of Regents* (1978), the University of Texas Law School’s procedures to give some weight to minority status, and the two Michigan cases, *Jennifer Gratz v Lee Bollinger, President of the University of Michigan*, and *Barbara Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003), which argued for the petitioner undergraduate and law school students by the Center for Individual Rights.

This research can also contribute to the field by examining policies using the framework of rationalism. A rational policy is one that achieves “national social gain,” that is, governments should choose policies resulting in gains to society that exceed costs by the greatest amount, and governments should refrain from policies if costs are not exceeded by gains.10

### Concepts

**Achievement Gap** is the observed disparity on a number of educational measures between the performance of groups of students, especially groups defined by gender, race/ethnicity, and socioeconomic status. The achievement gap can be observed on a variety of measures, including standardized test scores, grade point average, drop-out rates, and college enrollment and completion rates. Explanations for the phenomenon and levels of concern over its existence vary widely and are the source of much controversy,
especially since the efforts to “close the achievement gap” has become some of the more politically prominent education reform issues.

**African-American Male Initiatives:** Programs aimed at encouraging more African-American males to attend college and increasing their participation and retention in colleges and universities. These initiatives includes a variety of programs aimed at high-school to college-aged African-American males, including mentoring initiatives, summer bridge programs, retention efforts and facilitating information sharing regarding successful strategies. These programs are designed to impact college aspirations, participation and retention of African-American males.

**Black Male Enrollment:** The number of college-age African-American males that are enrolled in Georgia’s public colleges and universities.

**African-American Community-Based Organizations:** Groups such as African-American fraternities and sororities, Prince Hall Masons, 100 Black Men/Black Women of America, Jack and Jill, and the Lynx Club.

**High School Graduation Rates:** The percentage of public high school students receiving a high school diploma in the nation, each state, the nation’s largest public school districts.

**Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) Preparation Program:** A program that covers general strategies for taking the SAT. This program includes specific strategies for the various types of questions in the math, writing and critical reading sections. Participants complete and review practice exercises, and take practice exams in the math, writing and critical reading sections of the SAT.
Scholarship Programs: College funding intended to assist and encourage minority students (African-American Males) in obtaining a college education.

TRIO: A series of programs to help low-income Americans enter college, graduate and move on to participate more fully in America's economic and social life. These programs are funded under Title IV of the Higher Education Act of 1965 and are referred to as TRIO Programs (initially there were just three programs, but now they have expanded to include Upward Bound, UB Math/Science, SSS, Talent Search, EOC, and McNair). While student financial aid programs help students overcome financial barriers to higher education, TRIO programs help students overcome class, social and cultural barriers to higher education.

University System of Georgia: The 34 state supported colleges and universities located throughout Georgia. These are four research universities, 2 regional universities, 13 state universities, 2 colleges, and 13 two year colleges. These institutions enroll more than 301,892 students of whom 79,297 are African-Americans, 26,406 are African-American males (fall enrollment 2009 data).

Workshop/Seminars on Preparing for College: A training program that includes topics such as the benefits of continuing an education beyond high school, affordability of college through various types of financial aid (e.g. grants, scholarships, work-study, and loans), and resources available to help families prepare for the college admissions process.
Research Questions and Hypotheses

RQ1: In what ways do education policies affect black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities?

RQ2: Is there a relationship between African-American Male Initiatives and black male enrollment?

RQ3: Is there a relationship between Affirmative Action admission policies and black male enrollment?

RQ4: Is there a relationship between financial aid availability and black male enrollment?

Hypotheses

HO1: Black Male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities is likely to increase because of the implementation of African-American Male Initiative programs and whether or not politicians support the programs, they should work.

HO2: The ending of Affirmative Action admissions policies is likely to have an adverse effect on black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities.

HO3: Policies that improve the availability of financial aid programs will allow Georgia’s public colleges and universities to raise black male enrollment.
Brief Analysis of Georgia

Population and College and University Growth Patterns

The black population of Georgia has continued to increase at a relatively high rate. The only two significant interruption of this pattern occurred during 1920-1930 in which the nation faced major cultural and social changes. This was the start of the large migration of blacks from the South to the industrial cities of the North that followed World War I. Also, during the period of World War II and its immediate aftermath (1940–1950) were another change in the black population level.11

Georgia’s population grew from 6,478,149 to 8,186,453 in the ten year period from 1990 to 2000. This increase was 1,708,304 or 26.4 percent. Only the states of California, Texas and Florida added more people. On a percentage basis, Georgia was the fastest growing state east of the Rockies. Only the states of Nevada, Arizona, Colorado, Idaho and Utah had a higher percentage increases. Growth in Georgia has been driven by high levels of migration, both from other states and other nations. Some scholars do attribute this influx to the 1996 Olympics. Less than one half of population growth in Georgia is the result of natural increase. The remainder is due to foreign and domestic migration. Between 1990 and 1999, Georgia had a net gain through domestic migration of 665,000. Florida was the only state with a higher level of domestic migration. Foreign migration has also been substantial. Census 2000 showed a foreign-born population of 577,273 (7.1 percent) with 344,763 entering the United States between 1990 and 2000.12

Although growth rates in other parts of Georgia were lower than in Atlanta, there was still significant growth in other regions of the state. The central and northeast
Georgia mountain counties all experienced growth level in excess of 20 percent. Some of this was due to the movement of persons out from metropolitan Atlanta. Another factor is the high level of migration by retired persons into the area. Numerous counties along the Interstate 75 corridor south of Atlanta experienced strong growth rates. In the Macon area Monroe, Crawford and Houston all had strong growth rates in excess of 20 percent. In south Georgia, Coffee, Pulaski, Wilcox, Echols, Lanier and Lowndes counties also grew strongly. Other counties that showed large increases were suburban counties around Albany (Calhoun, Lee), Augusta (Columbia), Columbus (Harris, Marion), and Savannah (Bryan, Effingham, Long). University counties around Athens (Oconee, Jackson, and Oglethorpe) and Statesboro (Bullock) experienced growth above the state average, as did areas benefiting from military induced growth in Southeast Georgia (Brantley and Camden).13

In regards to racial changes, the African-American percentage of Georgia’s population rose from 27 percent to 28.7 percent. This was considered the highest level since 1940 – 1950. Between the 1920s and the 1970s, the African-American percentage of Georgia’s population had declined from 42 percent to an historical low of 26 percent in 1970. The strong growth of African-American population after the 1970s should not be understated. Between 1990 and 2000 Georgia’s black population grew from 1,746,000 to 2,349,000. This was an increase of almost 35 percent. Much of this increase is the result of migration patterns. During this period, only New York and Texas had a larger African-American populations and Georgia’s African-American population had a larger increase. Georgia’s African-American population surpassed both California and Florida during this
period. The percentage increase was the largest of any state with a significant 1990 population of this minority group. The increase of 603,000 was the largest of any state in the nation. At the current growth rates, Georgia will pass both Texas and New York in the next few years to have the largest African-American population of any state.14

The impact of the State of Georgia’s growth rate has influenced the educational system. Based on a special report titled “Georgia’s Dilemma: The Unintended Consequences of Population Growth,” Georgia’s student population is the fourth-fastest growing in the nation. From 1.4 million in 1998, the number is currently an estimated 1.5 million. At the current rate, it could easily surpass 2 million by 2025. Throughout the state, schools are struggling to meet the needs of growing student populations. In county after county, students must attend classes in portable classrooms and eat lunch as early as 10:30 to ease the strain on crowded cafeterias. In some areas, sports leagues cannot find room for all of the students who want to participate.

According to Larry Copeland of the USA Today, in his article titled “Georgia’s black population outgrows other minorities in state”, he cites that Georgia’s population grew by 18 percent over the last decade, a trend driven by African-American migration to a state whose capital has been long known nationally as “the Black Mecca.” Georgia added 1.5 million people over the past decade for a total of 9,687,653, according to new Census data. Georgia’s black population growth—579,335—was greater than either the Hispanic (418,462) or white (285,259) population growth, says William Frey, demographer at the Brookings Institution. “Georgia is just a major magnet for African Americans, both high skilled and low-skilled, “he says. “For cultural reasons and for
economic reasons, the black migration to the state is significant.” Atlanta itself has actually grown whiter in the past decade while its suburbs have gotten blacker, according to Frey’s analysis. Atlanta’s population in 1990 was 67 percent black and 30 percent white; the suburbs were 71 percent white and 25 percent African American. By the end of the decade, non-Hispanic white whites made up 39 percent of the city and 53 percent of the suburbs while blacks were 51 percent of the city and 31 percent of the suburbs.

Although the current laws require schools to cut class sizes over the next few years, principals report that they simply do not have the space to do it. There are too many students for the available classrooms. More than 14,900 new classrooms are needed. Georgia already has some of the largest classrooms in public schools nationwide. To simply maintain its current student-teacher ratio, approximately 6,000 teachers will have to be hired annually (not including those who will have to be replaced due to retirement or career change).\(^{15}\)

At the same time it struggles to find more space and teachers, Georgia must still meet basic educational challenges, like reducing dropout rates, raising academic achievement levels, increasing teacher effectiveness, and meeting the needs of an increasing share of non-English speaking students. In 1999, Georgia spent $5,594 per pupil, below the national average of $6,407.\(^{16}\) Further population growth will compound the difficulties that already exist, which will also have an impact on black enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities.

According to the USG Board of Regent’s Ten-Year Enrollment Report 1999-2008, there has been an increase in enrollment levels each year, but the most significant
increase can be found during the 2003 and 2004 school years, in which the population was 233,098 and 247,020. This was also the same period that the enrollment level of African-Americans increased. That population was 52,941 and 57,098 respectively.

**Outline of the Study**

The study is divided into seven chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the study by presenting the purposes and significance of the study, a statement of the problem, research questions and hypotheses, limitations of the study, and a brief analysis of Georgia. Chapter 2 provides a review of existing literature on the Helping Outstanding Pupils Educationally (HOPE) Scholarship, African-American Male Initiatives and affirmative action, and chapter 3 provides the research design. Chapter 4 discusses the history of blacks in higher education in Georgia. Chapter 5 provides an analysis of the data collected which includes surveys, interviews, focus groups on the African-American male initiative and Bill Cosby’s position of cultural bias against education, chapter 6 provides an analysis of the data collected from surveys, interviews, and focus groups on Affirmative Action and the Hope Scholarship, and chapter 7 with details the conclusions and implications of the study.
NOTES


13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Current attempts at developing approaches to address the low number of black males enrolled in college have come from various sources, raise the question why nationally, a mere quarter of the 1.9 million black males between 18–24 attended college in 2000, the last year the American Council on Education reported such statistics. By contrast, 35 percent of black females in the same age group and 36 percent of all 18–24 year olds were attending college. The pool of black males is dictated by the number that graduate from high school, so a review of high school retention and graduation levels is important to overcome the problem that the USG is trying to address. Other issues examined in this review include African-American Male Initiatives, educational policies, HOPE Scholarship and other funding sources, programs designed to help low income students, incarceration rates, and affirmative action.

African-American Male Initiatives

African-American Male Initiatives have been recommended as a medium for increasing black male enrollment levels not only in college, but in particular disciplines in colleges and universities. James L. Moore III in his piece titled “Factors that Impact the Persistence of African-American Males in Engineering Disciplines at Predominately White Institutions: An Overview of the Obstacles and Challenges,” points out that in
higher education, retention and graduation rates of African-American males have become a growing concern for predominantly white institutions (PWIs) around the country. The research literature suggests that African-American males possess unique academic, social, and personal needs at PWIs, particularly in scientific majors such as engineering. Outreach programs for elementary, middle, and high school students; pre-college programs for entering freshman; and academic support programs for undergraduate students are common interventions implemented to assist African-American males in succeeding in engineering disciplines. Even with these interventions, too many African-American males fall short in obtaining a degree in engineering.¹

During the fall of 2005, the City University of New York (CUNY), the largest public urban university in the United States started the Black Male Initiative. Based on a year-long study by a panel of college presidents, deans and leading social scientists and other academics, and assisted by a series of focus groups comprising of black male students and black men who are not students, the system has developed perhaps the most ambitious program to date to attract more black men to higher education, and help them succeed.² CUNY is not the only higher education system taking the issue of black men seriously. Notably, one of the other systems with ambitious plans is the University System of Georgia, which in many ways is quite a contrast to CUNY; the Georgia system has many rural institutions, some historically black institutions, and is spread across the entire state. Like CUNY, however, Georgia has a better than two-to-one ratio of black women to men enrolled as students (40,043 to 18,714 headcount in 2004).³
While much can and has been said about the failure of the public education system to adequately engage and prepare young black men to enter college or the workforce, there tends to be less discussion about the educational experiences of those who actually do make it into college. By observing the factors that contribute to success (or failure) in college, policymakers can begin to create policies and programs that not only help those already enrolled, but also better prepare students before they enter college. Aggregate enrollment and completion statistics give us a snapshot of the students at the beginning and end of the college education process, but fail to address the specific dynamics at work in the decision to remain enrolled and complete a college degree. A meaningful discussion of the black male college experience must go beyond a simple statement of the facts to an analysis of how differences in socioeconomic status, family background, educational preparation and even college environment contribute to different educational outcomes. This discussion helps to substantiate the argument for implementing African-American Male Initiatives.

The African-American Male Initiative (AAMI) pilot programs were developed from the recommendations of a report submitted to the Board of Regents in May 2003. That report resulted from a comprehensive qualitative and quantitative research study and reports produced by the University System of Georgia’s Task Force on Enhancing Access for African-American Males. The research project was funded by the Georgia General Assembly as part of the Board of Regents Fiscal Year 2003 Budget, and was aimed at identifying why low numbers of African-American males enrolled in an graduated from
college. The goal of the report’s recommendations are being addressed and implemented through the University System of Georgia’s African-American Male Initiative.⁵

Key recommendations resulting from the study included the need for tracking more African-American males into the K-12 college preparatory curriculum, improved cultural sensitivity training for teachers and guidance counselors, and increasing the number of high-quality teachers in hard-to-staff schools where many African-American students attend. According to Arlethia Perry-Johnson, AAMI’s project director, “Black males cannot be competitive in today’s global society if they are educationally deficient. It is incumbent upon both the K-12 and higher education systems to leverage their resources to enhance these students’ preparedness for such competition.”⁶

In 2005, USG’s AAMI awarded its third round of grants which totaled $200,000 to institutions to help them improve the recruitment and retention of black males. Coastal Georgia Community College is receiving support, for example, for a program that identifies black male seventh-graders with academic problems and provides them with extra academic help and a path to stay in school and not drop out. Valdosta State University is receiving funds for the Heroes Institute (Helping Everyone Research Optimum Educational Success) in which black men at Valdosta State serve as mentors for local ninth graders who are black males. Another effort receiving support is a program at the University of West Georgia in which a group of black male freshmen are living in the same dormitory while taking courses as a cohort and receiving extra guidance and support. During the first three years of the initiative and grant awards (2003–2005); black male enrollment increased by 13 percent during this period.⁷
Dr. John H. Eaves suggests a model that is similar to the prototypical African-American Male Initiative program in his book *The Morehouse Mystique: Lessons to Develop Black Men*:

There is one postsecondary institution in America that is head and shoulders above the rest in terms of consistently engaging, educating, and empowering African-American males. Morehouse students today are cultivated in the Morehouse Mystique. They are encouraged to embrace brotherhood among fellow students and alumni. They are also challenged to minister to the less fortunate. Morehouse students are urged to reach their academic potential, attain a terminal degree, assume leadership roles after graduation, and excel in their respective professional fields. In the spirit of Dr. Mays, Morehouse men are challenged to leave the world better off than when they found it.8

These preliminary observations indicate a heightened interest in increasing the enrollment rate of African-American males in colleges and universities in the State of Georgia. After a generation of federal student assistance for the poor, in the 1970s and 1980s, Congress passed the Middle Income Student Assistance Act. Consequently, the college enrollment rate of whites increased to 55 percent, while the rate of African Americans and especially African-American men dropped to 44 percent during this same period, higher education and black colleges in particular, experienced a precipitous drop in the enrollment of black men.9

Recruiting African-American males in the teaching profession is another initiative that is being studied to impact the development of young black males during the matriculation process, so they will have role models that have the potential to increase their probability to enroll in college or a university. Robert Lemons in his piece, *Recruiting and Training African American Males in Teacher Education*, highlights that:

It is imperative that the number of African-American and male teachers be increased. This will do much to provide role models for African-American male
children with whom they can bond. It is expected that this increased number of minority teachers will result in improved academic performance of the minority students they have been assigned to teach. Another important strategy for improving the academic performance of minority students is to provide culturally responsive teaching. Preparing pre-service teachers to provide culturally responsive instruction will enable them to provide high quality instruction to their minority students. This strategy will consider the minority students’ points of view.

Many universities are providing their own initiatives to highlight their interest in black male enrollment. For example, Ohio State University has taken on a new initiative further which incorporated minority students into college life. The African-American Male Resource Center is the first of its kind on Ohio State’s campus that caters specifically to black males. The center is the result of several focus groups and a collaborative effort with the Office of Minority Affairs. The center opens up at a time when more studies show that black males are statistically one of the most underrepresented demographic groups on any college campus. Nationally, of the 1.8 million black men between the ages of 18 and 24, only one-fourth were seeking higher education in 2004, according to the American Council on Education. One of the major goals of the resource center is recruiting black males at an earlier age and retaining them throughout their college career.

During North Carolina Central University’s conference held from March 22 through March 24, 2006, titled “African-American Males in Higher Education,” the theme of the conference was “Collective Works and Responsibility: A Community Response to African-American Males Success in Postsecondary Education.” During the conference, Dr. James Ammons stated in his report that in order to enhance the academic
achievement level of African-American males, the following steps must be made in cultivating a passion for excellence:

1. Set high expectations,
2. Code of conduct must reinforce standard of excellence,
3. Employ the methods used by good coaches,
4. Encourage them to compete in the classroom, and
5. Do not accept mediocrity.

His recommendations and best practices included the following:

1. Creation of rites of passage programs,
2. All-male academies,
3. Identifying African-American male mentors,
4. Early career exploration, and
5. Fusion of Afro-cultural teaching pedagogy.12

Educational Policies

In regards to education policy, a report by the Citizens' Commission on Civil Rights has called for greater enforcement of the No Child Left Behind requirements that states and districts ensure that poor and minority students are not disproportionately taught by inexperienced teachers. In response to the report, the late Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), released a statement stating that the report focuses on the need to ensure equitable access to highly qualified teachers for low-income and minority students: “We made progress in the No Child Left Behind Act, with its recognition that
all students deserve first-rate teachers, but the Citizens’ Commission report confirms that we have a lot of work to do to fulfill the commitment we made to our children’s future.”

According to the report, federal officials have not taken any significant action with respect to the teacher quality and equity requirements. The report charges that states have been allowed to set extremely low standards for teacher quality. Those standards, along with the inaccurate and misleading data, allowed states to essentially cover up discrepancies in teacher quality between high-poverty and low-poverty schools. President Barack Obama responded to this by stating: “Children of color and poverty suffer most from our continued failure to correct these teacher disparities. These students don’t just score lower on tests, they are less prepared for college and the workplace as well.”

From a scholarly perspective, the work that carefully analyzes the importance of enforcing teacher quality policy in affecting black male enrollment is found in *Empowering African-American Males to Succeed*. The author stresses the role of teachers by citing Roy Weaver’s *Beyond Identity: Education and the Future Role of Black Americans*. The author points out the following from Weaver’s text.

> Since black children are often viewed by their teachers as incapable of success, they tend to perform at low levels and internalize negative feelings. For Black children, as is the case and with other minority children usually possessing values differing from those of their teachers, little of what the teachers say or the attitudes instilled are considered related to their life outside the school.”

Research on policies that are designed to close the achievement gap has ranged from funding of school reform to community involvement. Rosa A. Smith discusses some of the important elements of closing the achievement gap in her article, “Savings Black Boys,” that discusses that the many children in America who are at risk and likely to lack
success in school most often because they lack authentic educational opportunities the African-American male student stands alone in terms of the accumulation of negative factors affecting his future. Smith discusses some of the negative factors that show that the future of African-American boys is at stake including those related to special education, expulsions and suspensions, dropouts, graduation rates, unemployment, and juvenile incarceration rates. However, she further adds that though flawed in significant and improvable ways, the stated intent of the No Child Left Behind Act and the promises of public education alike are slowly creating positive steps towards a high-quality education and better future of these black boys.16

In its November 2001 report titled *Closing the Achievement Gap: Improving Educational Outcomes for African-American Children*, the National Black Caucus of State Legislators suggest the following strategies to improve the educational outcomes for black students: Develop sound policies that address the quality of entering teachers and the ongoing training of veteran teachers. The report finds that often the teachers with the least experience and training end up in the most challenging schools. Pre and in-service training, recruitment, induction, retention, and incentives that will attract highly qualified individuals to work in challenging environments are essential to creating successful schools for black students. The report also recommends increased funding to implement standards, reduce class size, improve teacher quality, and provide necessary classroom support. It suggests that the wealthier school districts spend 56 percent more per student than the poorest school districts. Small wonder, then, that more than seven of ten teachers in low income schools report lacking the necessary materials for their
classes, according to the U.S. Department of Education. The report summarizes the recommendation by stating that money can have a direct and positive impact on a school's ability to acquire computer technology, raise teacher salaries and attract qualified teachers, upgrade laboratory and sports equipment, purchase up-to-date curricula, and maintain structurally safe buildings.\textsuperscript{17}

Will J. Jordan and Robert Cooper discuss school reform and closing the achievement gap through the role of black teachers. In their article titled "High School Reform and Black Male Students: Limits and Possibilities of Policy and Practice," the authors recognize that an infusion of federal funding and philanthropic support for high schools has sparked an unprecedented number of educational reforms. Still, few initiatives confront the unique conditions facing black male students. Despite efforts to reform ineffective schools and foster academic achievement for all students, there continues to be a lingering gap between affluent and poor, as well as white and black subgroups. Their article explores the complexities of these issues. Jordan and Cooper examine the negative effects of intractable social barriers such as poverty and ineffective schooling. The article suggests that current trends reflect responsible approaches to reform but that the potential role of black teachers has not been fully explored.\textsuperscript{18}

Analysis of standardized tests and examination of education policies have been annotated in articles that discuss closing the achievement gap. In an article written by Ronald Roach titled "Closing the Achievement Gap: Who's Going to Take the Weight?" Roach's article highlights dialogue from educators and their position on intervention to alleviate the widening of the achievement gap. In the article, Dr. John H. Jackson, the
education director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), discusses initiatives established by the NAACP:

The NAACP Call for Action Initiative is an effort to partner with the states to reduce the racial disparities in education and assist states in meeting the benchmark in the federal No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB). The federal government has to play more of an active role assisting states in resources and policy to address these disparities. Without funding to help states reach benchmarks set by NCLB, students in struggling schools will make little to no progress on the standardized tests used to assess educational progress.19

Many of the scholars in the article have serious reservations about the strong reliance on standardized tests as measures. Dr. Garret Duncan points out that while disparities do exist, the focus on test scores forces many schools to concentrate on teaching to the test rather than offering a broad range of teaching approaches and curriculum. Standardized test scores reveal limited information about actual performance standards states Duncan. Tyron Howard concurs when he states that standardized tests should be one means of that assessment. He argues that over-reliance on standardized tests is not the answer.20

Helping Outstanding Pupils Educationally (HOPE) Scholarship and Other Funding Sources

Another important ingredient in the formula for black male enrollment in Georgia’s public universities is funding. One funding source that the state has is the HOPE scholarship. Between 1993 and June 2001, over $1.4 billion was distributed to about 625,000 students through HOPE. In size and scope, HOPE is now roughly twice as large as the federal Pell Grant program in Georgia. In 1998–1999, over $189 million in scholarship funds were available to 141,000 Georgia undergraduates, compared with only $113 million in Pell aid to 62,000 recipients.21
Christopher Cornwell and David B. Mustard in their chapter titled "Race and the Effects of Georgia’s HOPE Scholarship," point out that between 1993 and 1997; HOPE raised the enrollment rates of blacks at four-year public colleges by 21 percent. This exceeds the effects for whites, whose enrollment rates went up by 5 percent in four-year public institutions. The differences is partly explained by the fact that blacks have much lower enrollment rates to begin with, and therefore, a relatively small increase in enrollment rates can account for a relatively large percentage change. In addition, Georgia is home to three state supported Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), which amplifies HOPE’s incentive to remain in state for blacks.22 There has been no corresponding increase in black enrollment at the state’s more selective institutions, the University of Georgia and Georgia Institute of Technology. At the University of Georgia, which has experienced the largest increase in Scholastic Aptitude test (SAT) scores of entering students, the percentage of blacks in the freshman class has dropped sharply since 1995.23

In an article published on July 31, 2007 in the Atlanta Journal-Constitution, Matt Kemper reported that fewer students were to receive HOPE money because of how grades are calculated. The article reports that:

Georgia’s immensely popular HOPE scholarship—an award that for years has been given to average and sometimes below-average students—is significantly harder for high school graduates to get, thanks to new eligibility rules applied in 2007.

About 18,000 fewer public and private school seniors qualified in 2007, compared with the average for the last two years, early state figures indicate. And the drop off in HOPE-eligible students is significantly steeper in some metro Atlanta school systems than others.

The city of Atlanta saw its pool of HOPE-eligible students plummet nearly 53 percent compared with the previous two years, according to preliminary state
figures. In the fastest-growing, Forsyth County, the number of HOPE qualifiers sank about 10 percent.

Most years more than half of Georgia's public school seniors met the award's grade requirements for B average. But in the most dramatic shift in HOPE's history, only about a third of Georgia's 2007 public high school seniors qualified for HOPE's scholarship.24

In defense of the changes, former State Representative and Clark Atlanta University political science professor Dr. Bob Holmes, a Democrat from Atlanta, who also sat on the HOPE Study commission, said he was not surprised by the disparity among school systems. There also are sharp differences in how different school systems compare on standardized test results. He said he did not think the changes made to HOPE were excessive, but that schools needed to make sure they had properly informed students about the revised formula. HOPE is a merit scholarship, Holmes said, "A B standard or 3.0 is not, in my mind, an extremely high standard. You do not give scholarships to C students."25

Another funding source that helps pay for college is the Pell Grant, a program created in 1972 by then Senator Claiborne Pell, who as chairman of the Senate Education Committee, championed its creation. In 2005, the Department of Education made a change in Pell Grant eligibility. The recommended change was based on the formula which depends on state and local tax data paid by low-and middle income families. The formula is supposed to be updated regularly, but the Department of Education had not done so for 15 years. This change was explained by Susan Aspey, press secretary for the Department of Education: "We're required by law to do this and cannot pick and choose which parts of the law to follow. Our projections show an increase in the number of
students receiving Pell Grants next year and nearly half of Pell recipients are eligible for the maximum award and will not be affected.\textsuperscript{26}

Pell’s response to the reduction was a prediction that the new regulation will have a modest impact on most college students. He did not think that many students would drop out of college as a result. Instead, he stated they would likely work longer hours, borrow from other sources such as credit cards or reduce their course load.

**Programs Designed to Help Low-Income Students**

Programs designed to help low-income students enter college, is another aspect of how politics impact the enrollment of black males in Georgia’s public universities. Research has shown that the students in the Upward Bound program are four times likely to earn an undergraduate degree than students from similar backgrounds who did not participate in the program; nearly 20 percent of all black and Hispanic freshmen who entered college in 1981 received assistance through the TRIO Talent search or Educational Opportunity Centers (EOC) programs; students in the TRIO Student Support Services program are more than twice as likely to remain in college than those students from similar backgrounds who did not participate in the program.

In June of 2006, the House subcommittee voted to protect the Talent Search, Upward Bound and Gear UP programs from cuts or elimination. The Bush Administration had called for termination of all three programs, which are a part of the TRIO programs. Overall, TRIO programs would receive $828 million under the House bill, unchanged from 2005 funding. The White House called for a cut of more than $400 million, with a goal of terminating Talent Search and Upward Bound, both college
preparation programs. Jennifer Pae, Vice President of the U.S. Student Association, says that the programs are vital to improving higher education access for low-income students. "These programs target students from underserved communities, and that they are important to break the cycle of poverty," she says.27

Incarceration Rates

The review of the literature also reflects the conditions that adversely impact black male enrollment. In 1980 African American men enrolled in higher education outnumbered those incarcerated by a quarter million. In 2000, black men on college campuses totaled 466,700. U.S. Department of Justice statistics from 2001 indicate that 179,500 black men ages 18-24 were in prison and jail.

Olivia Pullmann, in her article titled "Just the Stats: Education or Incarcerate," reports that when it comes to young minorities, should we be feeding their minds or giving them "time?" She explains if we look at state's funding of schools versus prisons, we see the unfortunate answer to that question. She further highlights that minorities are flowing into our prison systems at an alarmingly high rate, but graduating from college at an alarmingly low rate in comparison. Minorities made up 70 percent of the prison population in 2001, the latest year for which U.S. Department of Justice statistics are available. That year, minorities comprised only 28 percent of America's college population. She illustrates the following statistics in her report: The average cost per year per person for public elementary and secondary education in 2001 was $7,734.00. During the same period, average tuition in public four year institutions was $8,655.00, private four year institutions, $21,907.00, public 2 year institutions $1,359.00 all of which she
compared to the cost to incarcerate a state inmate at $22,650.00 annually. Finally, she highlighted the top five states with the highest average amount spent per inmate versus educational cost, in which main spent $44,379.00 per inmate and $9,361.00 per student in 4 year public institutions. She explains the correlation between the two figures by stating, “With states apparently so willing to pay for prisons as apposed to public schools, perhaps it is not surprising that the majority of inmates are barely literate.”

Vincent Schiraldi, President of the Justice Policy Institute, says the study titled “Cellblocks or Classrooms: The Funding of Higher Education and Corrections and Its Impact on African-American Men,” focused on black men of all ages because it emphasized the financial trade-off between higher educational and penal institutions. Budgets for state colleges and corrections both come from state’s general funds, where legislators cut one program’s appropriations to boost another’s. Expanding prison systems have gobbled up state money at the expense of funding for public higher education. Students have picked up the tab through higher tuition and fees, and also long-term debt. Schiraldi emphasized that the comparison of prisoners to college students was to highlight state spending priorities and their impact on African-American men.

In response to the increase in the number of black men in jail, William B. Harvey, vice president and director of the Office of Minorities in Higher Education at the American Council on Education, remarked that, “It makes a lot more sense for us as a society to spend money developing people than incarcerating people. The payoff is dramatically positive over time in terms of earning potential and contributions to society for a person who moves through an academic experience.”
Affirmative Action

Furthermore, the literature reviewed on repeal of affirmative action program policies notes several major federal cases regarding the use of race in college admission. Examples include the State of California, the University of Michigan and the University of Georgia. Proposition 209, a ballot initiative approved by 54% of California voters in 1996, outlaws the use of race as a factor in college admission decisions at all institutions of higher education in the state. In response to this prohibition, the University of California system instituted a plan to automatically admit the top 4% of California high school graduates to one of the eight University of California campuses. In the University of Michigan case, the plaintiff Gratz sued the University in 1997 in response to the university’s undergraduate admission policy. On June 23, 2003, the Supreme Court ruled that the university’s undergraduate admission policy using a point system was unconstitutional. In regards to the University of Georgia, three plaintiffs sued the University in 1999 for the university’s undergraduate admission policy. A federal district court ruled in favor of the plaintiffs, ruling that the university’s point index admission policy was unconstitutional. Upon appeal by the university, the Eleventh Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the district court’s decision in 2001.31

In Peter Schmidt’s book titled Color and Money: How Rich White Kids are Winning the War Over College Affirmative Action, the chapter entitled “The Struggle Continues,” he discusses that among the colleges that had been precluded from considering applicant’s ethnicity or race under earlier federal court rulings, neither Texas A & M nor the University of Georgia seemed to be in any hurry to go back to using
affirmative action preferences, despite getting the green light from the Supreme Court to do so. Texas A & M simply decided such preferences were not the best approach for it, while Georgia was bent on proceeding cautiously given the conservative political climate that it operated under and the strong likelihood that any new race-conscious policy it adopted would promptly face legal challenge.²²

Barbara A. Perry mentions in her book *The Michigan Affirmative Action Cases*, that Justice Sandra Day O’Connor suggested a twenty-five-year “sunset” on affirmative action in higher education, in which Perry suggests O’Connor opened another chapter in racial/ethnic awareness, if not preferences. In order to reach a time when, in the next quarter century, higher education will not have to use race/ethnicity as a plus, and can still create a diverse student body, the entire American educational system will have to concentrate on raising the academic performance of minority students. The University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) provides a contemporary example of what could happen if race/ethnicity drop-out of the admissions process, without improvement of primary and secondary schools that serve primarily black students. In June 2006, UCLA reported that its first-year class of 4,852 students for the upcoming fall would have only 96 blacks, or 2 percent of the class.²³

The *Los Angeles Times* noted that UCLA was the alma mater of such celebrated African-Americans as Jackie Robinson and Ralph Bunche and is located in a county that is 9.8 percent black. Of the 96 blacks who were due to enroll in fall 2006, 20 were recruited athletes. Current undergraduates at the university complained about the low number of blacks expected to arrive on campus as freshmen. Chancellor Albert Carnesale
admitted, “Clearly, we’re going to have to meet this crisis by redoubling our efforts, which have not yielded the results we’d like to see.” He cited the common lament that academically selective schools have trouble attracting, admitting, and enrolling qualified black students.  

In the book *The Pursuit of Fairness: A History of Affirmative Action*, Terry H. Anderson discusses that during the Clinton years, affirmative action divided the Republicans, as it did America. During this period, politicians in a dozen states—from Delaware to Texas to Washington—submitted proposals to end affirmative action, but they were not voted on or did not pass. Instead, said one observer, many legislatures began a “big push to keep affirmative action but, at the same time, to fix it, to make it work more fairly” by ending programs that gave preferences based only on race, but also increasing outreach programs that would help minorities prepare for college or employment.  


But if not preferences, then what? I think we need social policies that are committed to two goals: the educational and economic development of disadvantaged people, regardless of race, and the eradication from our society – through close monitoring and severe sanctions – of racial, ethnic, or gender discrimination. Preferences will not deliver us to either of these goals, since they tend to benefit those who are not disadvantaged – middle-class white women and middle class-blacks—and attack one form of discrimination with another.  

Steele further explains that, preferences are inexpensive and carry the glamour of good intentions; change the numbers and the good deed is done. In the following statement he argues that:
To be against them is to be unkind. But I think the unkindest cut is to bestow on children like my own an undeserved advantage while neglecting the development of those disadvantaged children on the East Side of my city who will likely never be in position to benefit from a preference. Give my children fairness; give disadvantaged children a better shot at development — better elementary and secondary schools, job training, safer neighborhoods, better financial assistance for college, and so on. Fewer blacks go to college today than ten years ago; more black males of college age are in prison or under the control of the criminal justice system than in college. This is despite racial preferences.37

Stephen Carter in his book Reflections of an Affirmative Action Baby, states that many proponents of preferential policies, however, insist that the current generation of white males deserves to bear the costs of affirmative action. "White males," we are told, "have had exclusive access to certain information, education, experience, and contacts through which they have gained unfair advantage." In the words of a leading scholar, "We have to say to whites, listen, you have benefited in countless ways from racism, from its notions of beauty and its exclusion of minorities in jobs and schools." The argument has a second step, too: "For most of this country's history," wrote one commentator, "the nation's top universities practiced the most effective form of affirmative action ever; the quota was 100 percent white males."38

Carter further explains that the analogy is fair—indeed, it is so fair that it wins the endorsement of opponents as well as supporters of affirmative action—but what does it imply? For proponents of preferences, the answer is clear: if white males have been for centuries the beneficiaries of a vast and all-encompassing program of affirmative action, today's more limited programs can be defended as simply trying to undo the most pernicious effects of that one. That is how, in the contemporary rhetoric of affirmative
action, white males turn out to deserve the disfavored treatment that the programs accord.\(^3\)

In her explanation of why we need affirmative action, Mary Frances Berry contends that affirmative action has also been important in alleviating discrimination in higher education for women of all races and ethnicities as well as African-Americans and other people of color. After the enactment of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Title IX of the educational amendments of 1972, and through voluntary affirmative action efforts, women and racial minorities have taken advantage of increased opportunities in higher education. The enrollment of women in higher education has risen steadily. Women now make up more than 50% of undergraduate students and 50% or more of the students in law and medicine and other graduate and professional schools. Through the availability of student aid programs and aggressive recruitment and retention programs, the college-going rate for blacks and whites who graduated from high school was about equal by 1977.\(^4\)

Berry further explains that still, conservatives want to eliminate minority-targeted scholarships, which according to a 1994 General Accounting Office report, “represented no more than 5% of all undergraduate and graduate scholarship dollars.” The GAO study, “Higher Education: Information on Minority-Targeted Scholarships,” underscored the value of a representative student body, concluding that “by increasing diversity within their student body, schools can promote equal access to educational opportunities and provide a broader and more enriched educational experience.”\(^4\)
Barbara R. Arnwine in her essay titled “The Battle Over Affirmative Action: Legal Challenges and Outlook,” explains that in states where anti-affirmative action measures have been adopted, all is not foreclosed, as there are still tools legally available to promote diversity and equal opportunity. Expanded outreach and recruitment efforts to ensure that minorities, as well as non-minorities, are encouraged to apply remain permissible. Moreover, states may still use non-racial characteristics—like socioeconomic status and geographic considerations—as factors in decision-making to promote diversity. Supporters of inclusiveness efforts should not assume that a successful ballot initiative is the end of our struggle. Instead, efforts should be explained to modify or repeal these harmful initiatives by sponsoring future pro-affirmative initiatives in the affected states.42

Arnwine also offers a solution to the battle over affirmative action by recommending that if you live in a state where an anti-affirmative action movement is brewing, form a local campaign to spread the word about the deleterious effects of these initiatives. The anti-affirmative movement is attempting to co-opt the open voting process to push through measures that promote exclusivity. A well-organized, energized, and informed campaign to educate the public and to “get out the vote” is needed to expose the dangers of these initiatives. It is not enough to identify this issue.43

Conclusions

Indeed, public policies should be considered key elements that factor increasing black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities. Most literature explored involves multipurpose approaches to address and correct the dwindling of black
male enrollment it sees the responsibility of teachers and parents as keys to better performance of black males. The literature reviewed in this dissertation examines the research done on education policies and their potential for helping African-American males attain higher education levels. It reviews the pros and cons of the impact of the policies on organizations such as the USG, which desires to increase black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities. This data can help politicians and policymakers decide on the best strategy for eradicating the low black male enrollment levels.
NOTES


3. Ibid., 4.


14. Ibid.


20. Ibid., 3.


22. Ibid., 65.

23. Ibid., 66.


25. Ibid., 2.


30. Ibid., 2.


34. Ibid., 174.


37. Ibid, 124.

39. Ibid., 19.


41. Ibid., 303.


43. Ibid.
CHAPTER III
RESEARCH DESIGN

Theoretical/Conceptual Framework

Public policy is not a new concern of political science. The earliest writings of political philosophers reveal an interest in the policies pursued by government, the forces shaping these policies, and the impact of these policies on society.¹ In this study, the focus will be on the impact of public policies on black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities.

Critics of affirmative action allege that the underlying principles of civil rights have been ravaged by governmental policies and court decisions that benefit or restrict people because of their ethnicity or gender. The strength of increasing anti-affirmative action sentiment was clearly evident in the decision by the University of California Regents to disallow the use of race as a factor in the university admissions as of January 1997. Arguments presented by the proponents of the decision seem to suggest that the content of the character of university applicants may be determined solely by numbers—that is, by grade point averages and SAT scores.²

Gender Balance

Alternative frameworks for what include gender balance, quotas and reverse discrimination. Gender balance is considered “social engineering” by Dr. Julianne Malveaux, specifically for ways to increase enrollment in undergraduate universities for
male students. One of the critiques Dr. Malveaux has for affirmative action for men is that:

It seems some men’s advocates want to have it both ways. They don’t like ‘special consideration’ when it comes to people of color, but they’d like a mild dose of affirmative action when it comes to gender. They tout “qualifications” when it comes to race and ethnicity, but argue social considerations when it comes to gender. Further, they fail to deconstruct the power dynamic that results in still-unequal women’s pay, despite women’s greater enrollment in colleges and universities. Though the pay gap is narrowing, it is narrowing more slowly than women’s enrollment is increasing. That suggests that qualifications and college enrollment notwithstanding, the “old-boy network” is alive and well, and men get the rewards in a patriarchy.

Gender balancing is a paradox that has not escaped the notice of America’s business schools. Eager to mirror the student population of other professional fields—and to meet hiring demands from corporate recruiters—admissions officers have made boosting the number of women on campus as a top priority. Yet a variety of factors, from the typical timing of the degree to a continuing dearth of female role models in the business world, have made M.B.A.’s a hard sell for female college grads: Far fewer women than men even apply in the first place.

**Racial Quotas**

Racial quotas in education are numerical requirements in admitting members of a particular racial group. These quotas are determined by governmental authority and are backed by governmental sanctions. Advocates of affirmative action programs deny that such programs involve “quotas,” and regard the term “racial quotas” as particularly divisive. They prefer the use of “goal” to “quota.” Quotas are said to limit the best people for the job, but affirmative action attempts to increase the representation of those demographics in colleges and universities in which they have been traditionally
underrepresented. When asked whether quotas "that required schools to admit a certain number of minorities and women should be created," 61% of the whites were opposed, with 35% in favor.⁵

Peter Schmidt gives us an historical perspective of quotas when he discusses that colleges were not completely oblivious to the idea that diversity on campus had educational benefits. As far back as 1950, in *Sweatt v Painter*, one of two landmark rulings that year calling for the desegregation of public colleges, the Supreme Court declared: "Few students, and no one who has practiced law, would chose to study in an academic vacuum, removed from the interplay of ideas and the exchange of views with which law is concerned."⁶

Schmidt goes on to state: "But the diversity rationale for affirmative action would be just one of several—and hardly the primary one—espoused by colleges that rallied behind the use of racial quotas in the first full-blown Supreme Court battle over college affirmative action, the *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* case of 1978. When colleges first adopted racial preferences in admissions—as well as in hiring and contracting—they did so mainly for the simple reason that they believed it was the right thing to do.⁷

Racial quotas do not provide a useful explanation about the nature of the problem, because they set limitations on the number of minorities that can be enrolled. In effect, depending on how the policy is established, this policy could adversely impact black male enrollment. For example, if minorities are lumped into one category and gender is not considered, black males may not be factored into the equation, which therefore, is not
a positive impact specifically based on the current enrollment levels where they are
outpaced by black females.

Reverse Discrimination

Reverse discrimination became best known as a concept after the *University of
California Regents v. Bakke*. Alan Bakke had challenged an affirmative action program
operated by the University of California-Davis Medical School, in which sixteen of the
one hundred slots in each entering class were set aside for minorities. In 1978, the Court
ruled that the program was unconstitutional because Bakke had been precluded from
competing for all of the available seats because of his race. The Court found that the
Fourteenth Amendment’s equal protection clause did not protect only racial minorities,
and in any event, the Davis program was not implemented to correct past discrimination
by institutions, since it was only a few years old when the suit was initiated. The Court
ruled that “general societal discrimination” was not a sufficient basis on which to justify
the special admissions program.8

Stephen L. Carter describes his views on the issue with the following thought:

Besides, to allow or, worse, to encourage the state to use racial differences as
proxies for other differences is potentially quite dangerous to the cause of
equality. Our sharp rhetorical arrows have a way of turning back on us, as any
civil rights lawyer struggling to defend racial preferences against the ringing and
eloquent (if a bit misleading) language of “color blindness” and “reverse
discrimination” can testify. We may run similar risks by emphasizing the special
perspective that people of color are said to bring to the table.9

He goes on to further explain that: “By abandoning the vision of affirmative
action in the professions as a tool for providing training so that students of color will have
the chance to show what they can do, and treating it instead as a battle to bring into our
most powerful institutions at all levels the points of view that have been excluded in the past, we risk opening a box that might have given even Pandora some pause.¹⁰

Some of the opponents of affirmative action argue that the practice is reverse discrimination. They believe that when a university discriminates against a white male for the sake of bettering the outcomes of another ethnicity, an injustice occurs. They believe it cannot erase the atrocities of slavery and recipients of affirmative action may not feel as if their achievement was legitimate, if they were allowed to matriculate because of an affirmative action program. These arguments are not reasonable explanations about the nature of this problem, because there seems to be a focus on those that feel they are victims of reverse discrimination and not on policies that enhance diversity to public colleges and universities.

These conceptual frameworks provide an adequate explanation about the nature of this problem, but it does not address the “delicate” balance of what dynamics that politics play in addressing black male enrollment. These frameworks can be fortified if they considered issues such as what policy initiatives have been launched on the state and federal levels in the past 10 years to assist young African-American men directly and indirectly.

Affirmative Action

Affirmative action programs were initially products of the federal bureaucracy. They were not begun by Congress. Instead, they were developed by the federal executive agencies that were authorized by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to develop “rules and regulations” for desegregating activities receiving federal funds (Title VI) and private
employment (VII). President Lyndon B. Johnson gave impetus to affirmative action with Executive Order No. 11246 in 1965, covering employment and promotion in federal agencies and businesses contracting with the federal government. In 1972 the U.S. Office of Education issued guideline that mandated “goals” for university admissions and faculty hiring of blacks and women. Federal officials measured “progress” in affirmative action terms by the number of blacks admitted, employed, or promoted. The pressure to show progress and retain federal financial support resulted in preferential treatment of blacks. It also put pressure on traditional measures of qualifications—test scores and educational achievement.\textsuperscript{11}

The origins of college affirmative action dates back racially to when colleges initially adopted such programs in the 1960s for the sake of becoming integrated and keeping the peace at a time when the nation’s campuses were in turmoil and many of its major cities were on fire. Such policies were very much the product of black rage and white fear. When the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights issued a statement of support for such programs in 1977, it noted, looking back, that they had been developed for two fundamental reasons: (1) to provide redress for past discrimination by the colleges and (2) to offer opportunities to people who might not get them otherwise. What enabled blacks—and, to some extent, women of all ethnicities—to make inroads into selective colleges was a combination of political agitation and real and threatened litigation.\textsuperscript{12}

The affirmative action lens is considered best because it examines which policies specifically impact positively or adversely the enrollment of black males in Georgia’s public colleges and universities. The African-American male holds a peculiar, uncertain
status in American society. In some realms of life, such as athletics and entertainment, he is highly respected, and often revered. More generally, however, the African-American male is often labeled as the epitome of all that is violent and criminal in our society. There is almost no public awareness of African-American males who work as scientists, teachers, or in a wide variety of jobs as white males. The larger society however, does hold a range of perceptions concerning the character or nature of white males. It is an accepted fact that white males perform many different roles in society and that they are not, for example typecast either as a Larry Bird or a Jeffrey Dahmer. But such an either/or perception is often applied to black males.13

This contradictory perception regarding African-American males is not new. There has been a long history of conflict between African-American males and the larger society (leaving women out). Today, we see continuing aspects of this conflict when we look for example, at the money being spent to build new prisons compared to smaller amounts spent to promote educational opportunities for African-American males. Research shows that the basis of such conflicts and such contradictory policies and perceptions is firmly rooted in the history of American society and in the history of African-American males’ struggles to achieve his rightful place in that society.14

Afrocentricity

Another lens that should be carefully examined in analyzing the Politics of Black Male Enrollment in Georgia’s Public Colleges and Universities is the world view of Afrocentricity. Molefi Kete Asante in his book Afrocentricity: The Theory of Social Change, defines Afrocentricity as a mode of thought and action in which the centrality of
African interests, values, and perspectives predominate. As regards theory, it is the placing of African people in the center of any analysis of African phenomena. Thus, it is possible for any one to master the discipline of seeking the location of Africans in a given phenomenon. In terms of action and behavior, it is a devotion to the idea that what is in the best interest of African consciousness is at the heart of ethical behavior. Finally, Afrocentricity seeks to enshrine the idea that blackness itself is a trope of ethics. Thus, to be black is to be against all forms of oppression, racism, classism, homophobia, patriarchy, child abuse, pedophilia, and white racial domination.

Dr. Asante further goes on to explain how Afrocentricity is the centerpiece of human regeneration. It challenges and takes to task the perpetuation of white racial supremacist ideas in the imagination of the African world, and by extension, the entire world. To the degree that it is incorporated into the lives of the millions of Africans on the continent and in the Diaspora, it has become revolutionary, attacking the very falsification of truth and attitudes of self-hatred that have oppressed a great many of us. Thus, Afrocentricity is purposeful, giving a true sense of destiny based upon the facts of history and experience. The psychology of the African without Afrocentricity is a matter of great concern.

In his chapter titled “The Bases of Action,” Asante’s Afrocentricity lens is another model to use to examine how the politics of black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities can be analyzed. He explains that culture is not a narrow term. Consequently, the Afrocentric cultural project is a holistic plan to reconstruct and develop every dimension of the African world from the standpoint of Africa as subject
rather than object. Culture is the totalization of the historical, artistic, economic, and spiritual aspects of a people’s lifestyle. Afrocentricity assumes that African government officials will become conscious of the centrality of Africa in their deliberations that writers will seek to influence the African people that we re-connect, in our minds, ancient and every issue affecting the world. While our hospitality has been our greatest weakness, it is also our greatest human strength in the humanizing project. Asante further explains in the “The Bases for Action,” that:

When I call for Afrocentricity, I am also calling for a new historiography founded on African aspirations, visions, and concepts. The search is not for nationalism nor a superficial socialism but rather a deep, self-conscious, positive relationship with our own experiences. This is no easy project; it takes boldness, intelligence, and planning. Such a project, Africa-centered as it will be, means that no one anywhere in the world would be allowed to abuse, exploit, or harm African people without our collective wrath. Those who have committed and commit massive crimes against African people cannot be allowed to go free without the rebuke and trail of the people.

Multiculturalism

The multicultural lens is also another model that can be used in analyzing the politics of black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities. In Will Kymlicka’s Multicultural Citizenship, he explains the term “multicultural” covers many different forms are a variety of ways in which minorities become incorporated into political communities, from the conquest and colonization of previously self-governing societies to the voluntary immigration of individuals and families. Theses differences in the mode of incorporation affect the nature of minority groups, and the sort of relationship they desire with the larger society.
Kymlicka goes on to explain that generalizations about the goals or consequences of multiculturalism can therefore be very misleading. Indeed, much of the public debate over multiculturalism suffers from this flaw. For example, opponents of multiculturalism often say that it ghettoizes minorities and impedes their integration into mainstream society; proponents respond that this concern for integration reflects cultural imperialism. Both of these charges are over-generalizations which ignore differences amongst minority groups, and misinterpretations of their actual motivations.20

In the chapter titled “The Politics of Multiculturalism,” Kymlicka takes note of the fact that some people use ‘multicultural’ in an even broader way, in that they encompass a wide range of non-ethnic social groups which have, for various reasons, been excluded or marginalized from the mainstream of society. This usage is particularly common in the United States, where advocates of a ‘multicultural’ curriculum are often referring to efforts to reverse the historical exclusion of groups such as the disabled, gays and lesbians, women, the working class, atheist, and Communists."21

Kymlicka also explains in this chapter how culture and ‘multicultural’ are used in a different sense. Kymlicka states:

My focus will be on the sort of ‘multiculturalism’ which arises from national and ethnic differences. As I said earlier, I am using ‘a cultural’ as synonymous with ‘a nation’ or ‘a people’—that is, as an intergenerational community, more or less institutionally complete, occupying a given territory or homeland, sharing a distinct language and history. And a state is multicultural if its members either belong to different nations (a multination state), or have emigrated from different nations (a polyethnic state), and if this fact is an important aspect of personal identity and political life.22

Will Kymicka’s discussion on the value of cultural diversity, highlights how the lens on multiculturalism is useful in examining the politics of black male enrollment in
Georgia’s public colleges and universities. He explains that there are other aesthetic and educational benefits from cultural diversity, apart from the value of expanding individual choice. But it is not clear that any of these values by themselves can justify minority rights. One problem is that the benefits of diversity to the majority are spread thinly and widely, whereas the costs for particular members of the majority are sometimes quite high. Everyone may benefit, in a diffuse way, from having flourishing minority cultures in Quebec and Puerto Rico. But some members of the majority culture are asked to pay a significant price so that others can gain this diffuse benefit. For example, unilingual Anglophones residing in Quebec or Puerto Rico are unlikely to get government employment or publicly funded education in English, benefits which they would take for granted elsewhere. Kymlicka continues to support the value of cultural diversity by stating that:

Similarly, non-Indians residing on Indian lands may be discriminated against in terms of their access to natural resources, or their right to vote in local elections. It is not clear that the diffuse benefits of diversity for society as a whole justify imposing these sorts of sacrifices on particular people. It seems to me that these sacrifices are only consistent with justice if they are needed, not to promote benefits to the members of the majority, but to prevent even greater sacrifices to the members of the national minority.

Economics

This policy study also views black male enrollment from an economics standpoint by examining rates of return from investing in human capital. In recent years, economists have shown a great interest in “human capital.” Certainly it is true that much expenditure on education can be viewed as investments, because these expenditures, like an investment in physical capital, results are deferred increases in income. In other words,
just as a firm investment in a machine in order to increase its future earnings, so a student may invest in his education to increase his future earnings. Moreover, just as a firm can estimate the rate of return from its investment in the machine, so the student can estimate the rate of return from his investment in his education. In this way the student, like the firm, can determine whether his investment is more profitable than others he might make instead are.  

Economists have calculated that the rate of return on the investment in a college education is about 10 to 12 percent per annum. This is an interesting result, both for private decision-making and for public policy, but it is important to note its limitations. First, this is an average figure for white males only, which may differ a great deal from the figures for Black males. The idea of viewing education as a form of investment in human capital is a potentially fruitful one. This concept is useful in analyzing ways in which a society can increase its level of per capita income. Clearly, one way may be to increase its investment in education. Increasing the level of participation by black males may be a mechanism the State of Georgia can use to increase its level of per capita income. With the perception of African-American males an issue, contradictory policies, human capital investments and increasing the state’s per capita income, are all linked together in the lenses of affirmative action, Afrocentricity, and multiculturalism when the politics of black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities.

Major Concepts

**Diversity** as a concept, focuses on a broader set of qualities than race and gender. In the context of the workplace, valuing diversity means creating a workplace that
respects and includes differences, recognizing the unique contributions that individuals with many types of differences can make, and creating a work environment that maximizes the potential of all employees. A. Barry Rand, (a former executive for Xerox Corporation), stated “If diversity is the reality, it is our biggest strength, in American society and in the American economy. And if affirmative action helps achieve diversity, then affirmative action is worth the effort.27

Egalitarianism is any belief that emphasizes some form of equality between morally significant beings. Such views hold that political, economic, social, or civil equality should prevail throughout human society. One can best understand various types of egalitarianism by asking, “Who is suppose to be equal?” and “In what respect are they supposed to be equal?”

Equal opportunity is a descriptive term for an approach intended to give equal access to an environment or to ensure that people are not specifically excluded from participating in society such as education on the basis of immutable traits. Equal opportunity practices include policy measures taken by organizations to ensure fairness in the employment process.

Equity: People must have access to equal opportunities. All barriers to economic and political opportunities must be eliminated so that people can participate in, and benefit from these opportunities.28

Inclusion in education means that all students in a school regardless of their strengths or weakness in any area become part of the school community. They are included in the feeling of belonging among other students, teachers, and supporting staff.
The federal Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) and its 1997 amendments make it clear that schools have a duty to educate children with disabilities in general education classroom.

**Legacy preferences** is a type of preference given by educational institutions to certain applicants on the basis of their familial relationship to alumni of that institution. There is a long history of this practice at American universities and colleges. In 1925, Yale University instituted a system of legacy preferences in order to stem the increase in Jewish enrollment. Peter Schmidt discusses legacy admissions in his book, *Color and Money: How Rich White Kids are Winning the War Over College Affirmative Action*, and states:

Much of the controversy surrounding legacy preferences stems from the advantages that they provide the already advantaged. One study of selective colleges found that their legacy applicants were about a fourth again as likely as other applicants to come from the wealthiest fourth of society, and that blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans were about half as represented among legacy applicants as they were in the overall applicant pool. The dearth of minority applicants in the legacy pool is especially an issue at college that were off-limits to blacks under Jim Crow. Although the University of Virginia has become much more integrated in recent decades, its pool of legacy applicants is not expected to mirror the racial diversity of its student body until 2020.29

** Preferential treatment:** Giving preference to any group or individual. Barbara A. Perry in her book, *The Michigan Affirmative Action Cases*, discusses preferential treatment by referencing a 2003 Pew Research Center survey, which discovered that Americans approved 2 to 1 "programs designed to increase the number of black and minority students." Yet the same survey reported that Americans disapproved 3 to 1 giving [minorities] preferential treatment.30
Set-aside programs were adopted by the federal government to support the development of underutilized businesses owned by minorities and women. These programs are designed to benefit small businesses that are owned by socially and economically disadvantaged individuals who have been subjected to racial or ethnic prejudice or cultural bias and who have limited access to capital and credit opportunities. Federal assistance to minority owned small businesses includes contract set-asides and procurement goals, management and technical assistance, grants for education and training, surety bonding assistance, and loans.

Methods: Data Analysis Steps and Procedures

This study analyzes existing education policies with the intention of improving the social welfare of black males. Because this study is a policy analysis, it uses a combination of methods to collect and analyze data. These methods include: focused synthesis, secondary analysis, interviews, surveys, and focused groups. It also combines a number of research methods and uses both qualitative and quantitative methods. The rationale behind combining these methods is to provide the advantage of increasing the perceived validity of the study when the two methods yield corroborating results and provide additional insight that one method alone could not provide.

Methods for Technical Analysis

Focused synthesis: The study includes discussions with experts and stakeholders and published materials. The limitations of using this method are the availability and timeliness of the information. The advantage of using this method for technical analysis
is that it provides an advantage over the other methods in that it can be performed in an efficient and opportune way.

**Secondary analysis:** The study assesses simple two-variable relationships to modeling of projected enrollment numbers into the future. The simple two variable relationships examines the USG’s fall 1998 enrollment until 2008 enrollment. The study closely examines the years 2003 until 2009 enrollment, which marks the implementation of the African-American Male Initiative (AAMI). The study examines the USG’s black male enrollment and isolates and focuses on the following institutions: Albany State University (it has the highest black male enrollment of the state’s supported HBCUs) and Georgia Perimeter College—Decatur Campus (it is the two year college with the highest black male enrollment).

The study also highlights the following three institutions: (1) University of Georgia (to examine the impact of the court ruling in 2001), (2) University of West Georgia (it is a regional university with a successful AAMI model), and (3) Georgia State University (it is located in a metropolitan area with a high African-American population.)

The model attempts to project enrollment numbers based on current trends in regards to policies that impact enrollment figures. This includes variables such as high school graduation rates, incarceration rates, and a trend analysis measuring the impact of AAMI on enrollment.

**Interviews:** The study includes interviews with actors such as (1) the Director of the University System of Georgia’s African-American Male Initiative Program, (2) the Director of Albany State University’s Center for African American Males, (3) Policy
Analyst with the Georgia Student Finance Commission, and (4) the Coordinator of the Georgia Perimeter Leadership Academy. Copious notes were gathered in writing as well as tape recorded sessions were taken during the interviews and analyzed later.

**Surveys** were used to determine the impact of community based organizations on politics that affect black male enrollment. This determined the effectiveness of the programs they administer, as well as learn more about the techniques that are effective in influencing policies that impact black male enrollment. The use of the survey method also allowed the opportunity to address the broad economic and political factors that may underlie which factors are the catalyst for certain trends in black male enrollment.

**Focus Groups:** This technique involved intensive discussions about a set of issues with a small group of participants (8 – 10). The main advantage of this technique was to allow the opportunity for the interviewer to interact in a discussion on black male enrollment, as well as raise new issues and concerns. This was an interaction between all of the participants in a quasi-naturalistic setting—that is not too far removed from everyday group conversations—that is unique to the method. The two groups that were interviewed using this process were: (1) Members of the Georgia Perimeter College Leadership Academy and (2) Policy Analysts with the Georgia Student Finance Commission.

**Methodology of the Study**

The survey used for this study consisted of twenty-five questions that went to 200 respondents that included, but were not limited to: Members of the Board of Regents (18), Presidents of Georgia’s Public Colleges and Universities (35), admissions officers
members of the General Assembly House and Senate Education Committees (39), Presidents of black community based organizations (38), and Presidents of black fraternities and sororities (35). The goal of the survey was to assist in providing a detailed understanding of what ways educational policies impact black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities. The survey also helped to determine the following: (1) Attitudes towards African-American Male Initiatives and the level of spending on such programs, (2) Ideas about the relationship between affirmative action admissions policies and black male enrollment, and (3) Determining if financial assistance an important area issue in impacting black male enrollment. The number of people that responded to this survey: N = 28 or 14 percent of the surveys returned.

Data Analysis

Data Processing

The research design used Excel for entering, processing, and tabulating survey data. Excel was needed to enhance the collection, analysis, and dissemination of the data from the surveys returned by the respondents. This is based on the 28 surveys returned.

Analyzing Survey Data

Descriptive data were used to mathematically summarize the numerous observed values in a clear and meaningful fashion to represent a distribution of observed values on a variable. Two different types of descriptive statistics were used to summarize the data in the research design: Measures of central tendency (what values are most frequent, middle or central in the distributions of data values—mean, median, mode), and dispersion—how closely or remotely data values are distributed around the most
frequent, middle, or central value—standard deviation, percentiles). Measures of the
dispersion of the data were expressed by using percentiles (i.e., the percentage increase or
decrease in black male enrollment over a given time period?). The goal of the survey was
to gain an in-depth understanding of how education policies affect black male enrollment
in Georgia’s public colleges and universities.
NOTES


7. Ibid., 68.


10. Ibid., 41.


16. Ibid., 2-3.

17. Ibid., 134.

18. Ibid., 134-135.


20. Ibid., 10.


22. Ibid., 18.

23. Ibid., 122.
24. Ibid., 122.


26. Ibid., 569.


CHAPTER IV

HISTORY OF BLACKS IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN GEORGIA

Introduction

Before the Civil War in 1861, there were no institutions for the education of “Negroes,” and in that day as well as for a long time after the war, “Negroes” were not allowed to attend the white institutions. Nor were white Georgians eager to provide the opportunity for higher education for blacks; elementary education was controversial enough. Not until 1890 was the first state-sponsored institution of higher education for “Negroes” founded the Georgia State Industrial College for Colored Youths, now known as Savannah State University, located in Savannah. And, had it not been for the pressure of the federal government, this institution would have not been chartered when it was. In 1890, the second Morrill Act made available to all the states additional funds from the sale of public lands, but only if the state provided for agricultural and mechanical education for all its citizens. Savannah State was quickly authorized.¹

History

Until after 1890, black Georgians who aspired to more than the rudimentary education available in the four-months-a-year common school had to look to private institutions if they wanted to remain in the state. Fortunately, there were a number of these, most of which were founded and largely supported by outside capital. Among them was Atlanta University, chartered in 1867 and sponsored by the American Missionary
Association. It was in 1872, however, before the college department opened, with the first bachelor’s degrees awarded in 1876. Morehouse College was founded in 1867, by the American Baptist Home Missionary Society in the city of Augusta, under the name Augusta Institute. It was moved to Atlanta in 1879 and awarded its first college degree in 1883. Clark College was founded as Clark University in 1870 under sponsorship of the Methodist Episcopal Church, North, and commenced offering college-level work in 1879. Spelman College was created in 1881 as the Atlanta Baptist Female Seminary by Miss Sophia B. Packard and Miss Harriet E. Giles, but not until 1897 did it become a full-fledged college, after John D. Rockefeller had befriended it. Morris Brown College was founded in Atlanta in 1881 by the African Methodist Episcopal Church of Georgia and began offering college-level work in 1894. Paine College was established in Augusta in 1881 as the Paine Institute, sponsored by the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, as an interracial endeavor but was named after a white man and long dominated and largely supported by whites. Finally, in the period prior to 1890, there was the Gammon Theological Seminary, established in 1883 as a part of Clark University but made a separate institution in 1886 with the impressive endowment, for a black institution in that day, of $200,000. In 1890 that amount was doubled, to $400,000, nearly all of the entire amount coming from Elijah H. Gammon of Batavia, Illinois.²

In sum, blacks in Georgia found that it was often years after their founding before their “colleges” offered college-level work, and that, unlike the whites for whom the state was providing higher education closer to home on a regional basis—excepting one
private institution, Paine, in Augusta—it was necessary for them to go Atlanta to private institutions until classes commenced at Savannah State in 1892. Also, until Savannah State was founded, the only support the state provided for Negro higher education was $8,000 yearly from the Morrill Act funds, which after 1874 was assigned to Atlanta University. Beginning in 1891, these funds, or a total of one-third of all Morrill Act funds were assigned to Savannah State instead.3

Adolph L. Reed, Jr. cites Carol S. Gruber in his book *W.E.B. DuBois and American Political Thought: Fabianism and the Color Line*, when he states:

Carol S. Gruber has noted that in the decades following the Civil War, the structure of higher education in America underwent a major reorganization. The related dynamics of urbanization and industrialization increased the social need for scientific and technical knowledge; simultaneously, original and experimental work in science and engineering increasingly commanded more respect from students and others than the classical curriculum. At the same time growing economic concentration increased the demand for mechanization in industry, and the status of technical and scientific education rose from rising demand. Those factors combined to create a perceived need among practitioners to professionalize the technical fields, especially engineering. The desire to regulate entry to the field and to further enhance the status led to establishment of licensing requirements and of intensification of university courses of study. However, the guild activities of the nascent technical professions were not alone sufficient to reshape higher education. Professionalism was one of the several currents in the society that happened to flow together into a tide of higher education reform.4

**Acts and Associations**

**The Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1862**

The National Land Grant Colleges Act commonly referred to as the first Morrill Act of 1862 revolutionized American higher education. It was one of the first congressional acts to benefit from the amendments passed during the Civil War. With federal funds being distributed to the states for the purpose of making higher education
available to everyone, especially freed slaves, blacks expected to benefit from these funds. The states did not admit black students to these new land-grant institutions. Blacks would have to wait another twenty-eight years before they could partake in state-funded educational institutions. Alcorn State University was the lone exception. Founded in 1871 in Mississippi, Alcorn was the only black school started under the first Morrill Act.⁵

Thomas Dye discusses the growth of public universities in his text *Understanding Public Policy*, in which he states:

It was not until the Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862 that public higher education began to make major strides in the states. Interestingly, the eastern states were slow to respond to the opportunity afforded by the Morrill Act to develop public universities; they continued to rely primarily on their private colleges and universities. The southern states were economically depressed in the post-Civil War period. The philosophy of the Morrill Act emphasized agricultural and mechanical studies rather than the classical curricula of eastern colleges, and the movement for “A and M” education spread rapidly in the agricultural states.⁶

**The Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1890**

The Morrill Act of 1890 sought to redress the failings of the first Land Grant Act. This second act required states to provide assistance to land-grant institutions that benefited both races in the segregated educational system. Nineteen black colleges and universities were founded as a result of this legislation, although the black schools that were started did not initially grant college degrees. The U.S. Bureau of Education undertook a study in 1915, revealing that of the thirty-three black schools providing college-level curricula, a sizable amount of the instruction at these schools was at the elementary and secondary school level. These institutions were designed to be social equalizers that would give blacks the opportunity to rise above the vestiges of two and a
half centuries of slavery, but the funding required to make them a vital link in the economic prosperity of the nation has continued to be a struggle to this day.\textsuperscript{7}

\textbf{American Missionary Association}

Groups such as the American Missionary Association (AMA) established hundreds of schools serving tens of thousands of black students. AMA assisted in establishing private colleges and universities for the education of blacks. African-American churches ran their own elementary and secondary education institutions for southern blacks preparing them for vocations or advanced studies. This created a demand for higher education, particularly for the institutes to train teachers to work in black schools. Between 1861 and 1879, the AMA founded seven black colleges and 13 normal (teaching) schools, including Atlanta University.\textsuperscript{8} This nondenominational society originally grew out of a committee organized in 1839 to defend a group of African slaves who had mutinied against their Spanish owners and had brought their slave ship \textit{(Amistad)} into U.S. waters to seek protection there. The AMA itself was incorporated in 1846 by the merger of three missionary antislavery societies whose goal was to establish missions for free slaves overseas. After 1850, the AMA turned primarily to abolitionist activities.\textsuperscript{9}

The American Missionary Association was founded in 1846 in Albany, New York, with goals of educating the masses, fostering equality of the races, and spreading a liberalized, tolerant form of Christianity. Among the organization's notable contributions is the creation of more than 500 schools and institutions of higher learning for African-Americans. The founders officially came together at an 1845 missionary convention.
They were staunch abolitionists who relinquished memberships in more influential missionary organizations to establish one that vigorously engaged in antislavery activities. Though the AMA was primarily white, blacks sat on the board and worked to execute many AMA programs. Among the founding leaders were New York City merchant and former Amistad committee member Lewis Tappan, renowned abolitionist George K. Whipple, Samuel Ringgold Ward, and the Reverend James Pennington, founder of the Union Mission Society, a black benevolent organization. The AMA was among the first benevolent societies to support schools for the newly freed blacks in Port Royal, South Carolina, during the Civil War. The organization worked to establish and educate black leadership who could teach and uplift the masses of African-Americans. By 1879, AMA normal school and college graduates were educating more than 150,000 southern black students. The organization had trained 7,000 black teachers by 1888. All of the AMA’s primary and secondary schools were either taken over as, or absorbed by state government schools by the mid-1940s.10

State Supported Historically Black Colleges and Universities in Georgia

Savannah State University

Savannah State University (SSU), founded in 1890, is the oldest public historically black college in Georgia. Originally named Georgia State Industrial College for Colored Youth, SSU was located in Athens, Georgia for several months in 1891. On October 7, 1891, Savannah State University moved to its permanent location in Savannah. Major Richard R. Wright Sr. served as the institution’s first president from 1891 through 1921. Under the administration of the school’s third President, Benjamin F.
Hubert, the college became a full-time degree granting institution in 1928. Four years later, Georgia State Industrial College for Colored Youths was renamed Georgia State College. During the tenure of the college’s fifth president, Dr. William K. Payne, the school became Savannah State College. In 1996, the Board of Regents of the University System of Georgia granted the school university status and the institution was renamed Savannah State University. The enrollment level according to the Office of Institutional Research and Planning for the academic year was 2008–2009 was 3,456 students.  

The mission of Savannah State University is to graduate students prepared to perform at higher levels of economic productivity, social responsibility, and excellence in their chosen fields of endeavor in a changing global community. The curricular strengths include Marine sciences, mass communication, social work, and information technology. In 1921, the institution opened its doors to women, who were admitted as boarders. In 1979, desegregation mandates caused a merger between the education department at Savannah State and the business department at Armstrong State College, which evolved into a new School of Business at Savannah State College. Savannah State still strives to set a precedent as Georgia’s oldest public historically black college. The university offers twenty-five undergraduate programs and graduate degree programs in business administration, liberal arts, social sciences, and sciences and technology.  

Fort Valley State University  

Fort Valley High and Industrial School, chartered in 1895, and the State Teachers and Agricultural College of Forsyth, founded in 1902, were consolidated in 1939 to form Fort Valley State College. It became Fort Valley State University in June 1996. The only
1890 land grant school in Georgia, Fort Valley State University is a comprehensive institution providing an educational experience of exceptional quality. The university is located in the town of Fort Valley in Peach County, the original site of the nation’s peach industry. Its 1,365-acre campus is the second largest (in acreage) public university in the state. The university’s 2,562 students represent 130 of Georgia’s 159 counties, more than 30 states and about 10 foreign countries. Ninety-four percent of the student body is African-American. The average age is 24 for undergraduates and 33 for graduate students. About one-third of students live on campus, and 85 percent attend college full-time. 

The university offers bachelor’s degrees in more than 50 majors—education, business administration and agriculture are particularly popular—as well as master’s degrees in education and counseling. An education specialist degree is also available. In an effort to accommodate its graduate and non-traditional students, external degree program courses are also being offered at off-campus sites in Macon, Warner Robins, Cochran and Dublin. Fort Valley State’s Cooperative Developmental Energy Program (CDEP) is the only one of its kind in the nation, preparing students for energy-industry careers in science and geology. Outreach services include Fort Valley’s Cooperative Extension Program, extension where specialists operate in 42 counties and the Pettigrew Conference Center, which hosts more than 500 courses and events for 51,000 patrons each year.

In 1895 prominent white and black citizens formed an alliance to create an institution of learning for blacks in the South. Through their labor and determination, Fort
Valley High and Industrial School was created. The school continued to grow through donations, and students contributed to the construction of new buildings. Fort Valley became affiliated with the American Church Institute of the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1919, a union that lasted until the state assumed management of the school in 1939. Mr. William Merida Hubbard founded the State Teachers and Agricultural College of Forsythe in May 1902, and classes began with seven pupils. The school evolved into a high school, and in 1922, the school was renamed the Agriculture and Mechanical School as a result of the State of Georgia legislation. In 1941, the college awarded its first bachelor’s degree. In 1949, the Georgia legislature adopted Fort Valley as a land-grant college, making it one of only two land-grant schools in the state of Georgia. The mission of the university is to provide a learning and living environment for critical thinkers, problem solvers, and responsible citizens.15

Albany State University

Albany State University was founded in 1903 as the Albany Bible and Manual Training Institution by Joseph Winthrop Holley. The institution provided religious and industrial education for African-Americans in southwest Georgia. In 1917, the institution became a state-supported, two-year college with a board of trustees. The school was known at that time as Georgia Normal and Agricultural College and offered programs in agriculture, industrial education and teacher training. In 1932, the college became a part of the University System of Georgia, under the jurisdiction of the Board of Regents, and in 1943, it became a four-year, teacher-training institution and assumed the name Albany
State College. Albany State grew tremendously from 1943-1996 when it became Albany State University. The university currently has an enrollment of 4,033 students.

The primary mission of Albany State University is to educate students to become outstanding contributors to society. Offering Bachelor’s, Master’s and Education Specialist degrees and a variety of non-degree educational programs, the University emphasizes the liberal arts as the foundation for all learning by exposing students to the humanities, fine arts, social sciences and the sciences. Global learning is fostered through a broad-based curriculum, diverse University activities and the expanding use of technology. A leader in teacher education, nursing, criminal justice, business, public administration and the sciences, Albany State provides a comprehensive educational experience with quality instruction as the hallmark of all its academic programs. The University embraces the concept of “students first” as a core institutional value. The University advocates the total development of students, especially the under served, and provides a wholesome academic environment in which students can study, learn and develop through their interaction with fellow students, faculty, staff, administrators, visiting scholars and community leaders.

Consistent with the core mission of the University System of Georgia, Albany State University exhibits the following characteristics: (1) A supportive campus climate, necessary services, and leadership and development opportunities, all to educate the whole person and meet the needs of students, faculty and staff, (2) Cultural, ethnic, racial, and gender diversity within the faculty, staff and student body, supported by practices and programs that embody the ideals of an open, democratic and global society, (3)
Technology to advance educational purposes, including instructional technology, student support services and distance education, and (4) Collaborative relationships with other system institutions, state agencies, local schools and technical institutes, and business and industry, sharing physical, human, information, and other resources to expand and enhance programs and services to the citizens of Georgia.\textsuperscript{18}

While Albany State University shares much in common with other state universities, it is dedicated to preparing leaders for under served populations and it is committed to the following distinctive purposes: (1) Providing quality educational experiences for under served populations in the region, state and nation, (2) Promoting and preserving the historical and culturally distinctive traditions which define African-American culture, (3) Offering of a comprehensive array of programs in health care services, community development, international trade and entrepreneurship, (4) Graduating marketable students not only through technologically advanced academic programs but also through undergraduate research, studies abroad, internships, service learning and developmental pre-professional experiences, and (5) Improving the quality of life of African-American males via the educational, research, intervention and service programs coordinated through the Center for the African-American Male.\textsuperscript{19}

**Policy Implications of Black Institutions**

Lorenzo Morris explains in his book *Elusive Equality: The Status of Black Americans in Higher Education*, the basic policy implications that impact black institutions. Morris explains that obstacles Traditionally Black Institutions (TBIs) have faced, and continue to face, extend as far into their social environments as the effects of
racial inequality on their students. These obstacles are too far-reaching, in their direct and indirect impact on TBIs, to be easily quantified. Nevertheless, the directly observable impediments to the effectiveness of these institutions are sufficiently strong to justify special public support of TBIs.\textsuperscript{20}

In his examination of TBIs, Morris further explains that similarly, the special services and success of TBIs are observable in their unique contribution to the education of black Americans, as well as the education of African and Caribbean students. Yet, simple observation cannot readily detect all of their special contributions because these contributions are, in part, submerged in “traditions,” and because there has been no racially neutral end-point at which to measure these contributions. What makes a black institution “traditional,” in a fundamental sense, is its past and present capacity to build in its students a creative, multifaceted orientation toward equality. Still, as with most traditions, we are a long way from knowing in detail how the special black institutional tradition is manifested on a day-to-day basis. Until these institutions are better understood, education decision makers would be on safer ground supporting them because of their contributions than penalizing them for their traditional differences from the majority of institutions of higher education.\textsuperscript{21}

Lorenzo Morris states that policy initiative at the federal level has been impaired by two contradictory views of TBIs. On the one hand, TBIs are seen as the byproducts of isolation and the antithesis of racial integration. On the other hand, they are viewed as the institutions most responsible for making progress toward equal educational opportunity and most deserving of reward for the progress made. Whether that reward will come at
all, and whether TBIs will be its beneficiaries, will depend on public support, particularly federal. This contingency means, first, that the federal government must explicitly support continuation and development of TBIs if it does not want to contribute to their dissolution. Second, and equally important, federal policy can only be meaningfully supportive of TBIs if it is based on recognition that these institutions serve a higher purpose than simply providing a second choice for blacks when the presumed first choice, enrollment at traditionally white institutions, proves elusive.22

Morris takes a closer look at black institutions by highlighting that a special mission, as has been observed, cannot be defined succinctly until there is a broader consensus on the missions and limits of all other institutions, compared to that of other institutions, is their commitment to educational and social equity. Their specific concern with black students has never permitted them the luxury of indifference to equal opportunity for all.23

Finally, Lorenzo Morris argues that although the special functions of TBIs have not been fully described here; some of them should now be evident. Those functions, essential to equal educational opportunity for blacks, which black institutions have traditionally served and continue to serve more effectively than others, involve: (1) educating economically disadvantaged groups, (2) educating black professionals, (3) retraining and graduating black students at all levels, (4) providing a sympathetic, sociopsychologically supportive environment for black students, and (5) setting admission standards which are as sensitive to the potential of black applicants as they are to the limitations of the others. The overall orientation of these institutions is toward
developing in their students a capacity to deal with racial and nonracial barriers in society—society as it is, rather than as it might be.24

**Court Cases**

Several court cases have impacted blacks in higher education in the state of Georgia, but none have played a substantial role as the following: *Holmes v Danner*, *Adams v Richardson* and *Wooden v Board of Regents*. Issues that these cases targeted included the admission of the first African-Americans into the University of Georgia, requiring federal education officials to monitor the desegregation of public colleges in states with separate higher education systems for blacks and whites, as well as a challenge to the University of Georgia’s admissions policy used from 1990 to 1995 to foster diversity on its campuses.

*Hamilton E. Holmes v. Walter N. Danner*: Until 1961 the University of Georgia, like all Georgia state institutions of higher education, was segregated by state law which read as follow:

Article VIII Education Section 1. Chapter 2 – 64. Common Schools. Sec. 2 – 6401. System of common schools; free tuition; separation of races. 2 – 6401. (6576) Paragraph I. System of common schools; free tuition; separation of races– The provision of an adequate education for the citizens shall be a primary obligation of the State of Georgia, the expense of which shall be provided for by taxation. Separate schools shall be provided for the white and colored races. (Article VIII of the Georgia Constitution of 1945, as codified in Sec. 2 – 6401 of the Code Annotated.25

In this decision, a U.S. district court issued an injunction to enjoin officials at the University of Georgia from refusing to consider African-American applicants for admission to a state-funded institution of higher learning. The court held that four academically qualified African-American applicants had been denied admissions to the
University of Georgia under a tactic to exclude them solely on the basis of their race. By contrast, the court found that white students had been admitted even though they had not fulfilled admission requirements demanded of African-American applicants.26

At trial, the plaintiff asked the court to determine whether the university, a public, tax-supported educational institution of the state, could deny African-American admission solely on the basis of race. In making its determination, the court reviewed the General Appropriations Act of 1956 and held that the maintenance of separate schools and colleges for African-Americans and whites was a condition precedent to the state’s appropriation of funds to public universities. The court found that university officials were bound by the mandates of this act in order to receive funding. The court also reasoned that the administrative remedies provided to African-American applicants by university officials were inadequate, as the administrative officials to whom appeals were made were not free to admit African-American to the university under the General Appropriations Act of 1956. Furthermore, the court held that administrative remedies enacted by the state to respond to the plaintiffs’ appeals were also inadequate, as administrative officials were not required to respond to appeals within any prescribed period of time. The court concluded that the plaintiff could possibly graduate from another college before securing final administrative action from the University of Georgia. Moreover, the court ruled that although the university had the primary right to establish admission requirements and to determine if applicants were qualified for admission, the court had the power to forbid admission policies that denied African-
Americans due-process rights and equal protection of the law. In accordance with its ruling, the court issued a decree that plaintiffs were to be enrolled in the university.27

On 9 January 1961, the governor of the state of Georgia issued a public statement averring that all funds appropriated to the university under the General Appropriations Act were to be cut off on the following day, as the court had entered its order on 6 January, directing admission to the plaintiffs by 11 January 1961. Plaintiffs sought a temporary restraining order to inhibit state officials from refusing to furnish funds to the university. The court granted plaintiffs’ motion for a preliminary injunction based on its conclusion that plaintiffs and the other 7,500 students enrolled at the university would suffer irreparable harm to their constitutional rights if the state’s refusal to appropriate funds should force the university to close.28

Plaintiffs were then admitted and enrolled at the university on 11 January 1961. That evening, after violent demonstrations, the university’s president suspended the plaintiffs from the university “in order to protect all students.” The court, however, ordered that the students’ suspension be lifted, as the law enforcement agencies of the state could adequately maintain law and order at the university. The court enjoined the university from suspending or withdrawing the plaintiffs from the university and declared that neither could the constitutional rights of the plaintiffs be sacrificed to violence and disorder nor could the lawful orders of the court thereby be frustrated. Consequently, this decision represented a significant step in breaking down barriers for African-Americans in obtaining full access to state-maintained institutions of higher learning.29
In accounts taken from the University of Georgia's student newspaper The Red and Black, staff writer Tommy Johnson gave his account of the ruling in an article published on Thursday, January 5, 1961, titled "Bootle Orders University to Admit Negro Students: Friday Ruling Sets Precedent in State Desegregation Battles. The article states that Federal Judge William A. Bootle of Macon, Friday ordered University of Georgia officials to admit "immediately" two black students, thus opening the doors of the nation's oldest chartered university on an integrated status for the first time in the 175 year history of the university. The federal court order enjoined the university from refusing to enroll Charlayne A. Hunter, 18, and Hamilton Holmes, 19, of Atlanta at winter quarter starting Monday or at spring, summer or fall if they elected to defer their appearance. University President Dr. O.C. Aderhold said he has not received a copy of the judge's ruling and, "as yet, all we know is what we hear on the radio. We do not know what we will do until we receive it. We do not know when we will get this ruling."

"If the two Negroes enter, they will become the classmates of approximately 7,000 white students. Charlayne Hunter is now attending Wayne State University at Detroit and Holmes is enrolled at Morehouse College in Atlanta."

Bootle ruled that University officials had discriminated against the Negroes on account of their race since they had applied for admission in July 1959. "It is found by the court," Bootle said, "that the two plaintiffs are qualified for admission to said university and would have been admitted had it not been for their race and color." The decision brought the South's battle on the school racial issue abruptly and forcefully into Georgia, which had numerous laws prohibiting the use of state funds for operations of
integrated state schools and colleges. The Red and Black contacted the office of leading state counsel B.D. (Buck) Murphey in Atlanta Friday, but no statement was released regarding a possible appeal from Murphey’s office. Murphey himself was unavailable for comment.31

The plaintiffs were represented by the Civil Rights Attorney Donald Lee Hollowell. He was also assisted by Horace T. Ward, Constance Baker Motley, and Vernon E. Jordan, Jr. In his autobiography, Vernon Can Read: A Memoir, Jordan explains:

It took more motions, more threats from the state, more action from the federal courts, but Hamilton and Charlayne finally took their place at the university, and they both graduated. Charlayne became a widely known journalist under the name Charlayne Hunter Gault and Hamilton Holmes became a physician. It’s amazing to think that a proposition so simple and right – that those two young Georgians should have been allowed to enter their state’s university – provoked so much angst, energy, and opposition at the time. If I learned from State v. Johnson the limits of law in a society unwilling to do justice, Holmes v. Danner taught me that sustained social agitation, moral suasion, and political action can create an environment in which people in power feel compelled to do the right thing.32

John Quincy Adams v. Elliot L. Richardson: Although the Title VI guidelines and the threat of loss of federal funding existed for several years, by 1970 it was generally conceded that the federal government was reluctant to use its Title VI enforcement powers in certain states where it had been found that higher education discrimination clearly existed. As a result, a group of black students filed suit against the federal government charging that the federal agency with the power of enforcement had failed to enforce Title VI. This case, Adams v. Richardson, spawned eighteen years of litigation, affecting thirteen statewide systems of higher education, and the litigation continues despite a ruling that the original case can be dismissed because the original plaintiffs no
longer could claim for a relief against the government (Adams v. Bennett, 675 F.Supp. 668 [D.D.C. 1987], which was under appeal). The Adams litigation has been both misunderstood and maligned for the obligations it imposes on states to provide minority access and for weakening “traditionally black” colleges.\(^{33}\)

*Adams v. Richardson* originally had as its purpose to force the federal government to take enforcement action against states that were practicing discrimination in higher education. Thus it was not a suit aimed directly at state systems of higher education to force them to undertake remedies to achieve integration. Rather, it was a suit in which the court found that the federal agency charged with Title VI enforcement in higher education had abused its administrative discretion by failing to take any enforcement action against states that had been found to have dual systems of higher education.\(^{34}\) As the court noted: “Having once determined that a state system of higher education is in violation of Title VI, and having failed during a substantial period of time to achieve voluntary compliance, defendants have a duty to commence enforcement proceedings” [Adams v. Richardson, 356 F. Supp. 92 (D.D.C. 1973), affirmed 480 F.2d 1159 (D.C. Cir. 1973)].\(^{35}\)

Subsequent attempts to produce enforcement efforts resulted in little gain, and the court was forced to order the federal government to establish deadlines, time frames, and criteria for resolving complaints of discrimination against offending states. The time frames required the Office for Civil Rights of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to determine within ninety days of receiving any complaint whether discrimination had occurred, and further time to achieve voluntary compliance. If
voluntary compliance could not be reached, then formal enforcement mechanisms could be undertaken, including a cutoff of federal funds to offending states. The criteria for resolving complaints set forth the specific ingredients that states should strive for in desegregating statewide systems of higher education.\textsuperscript{36}

As a result of the \textit{Adams} litigation, the federal government undertook a series of enforcement measures in sixteen states, including Alabama, Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, Texas, and Oklahoma in which statewide desegregation plans were adopted. Such plans, while not part of the \textit{Adams} litigation per se, have established a series of obligations by which statewide systems of higher education must be integrated. At the same time, the \textit{Adams} decisions were criticized for undermining the existence of black colleges, and both the Department of Education and the trial court in \textit{Adams} were urged in a series of amicus briefs by the black colleges to strengthen “black colleges” so that a truly integrated higher education system can develop.\textsuperscript{37} It is also noted that five states submitted plans that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare declared unacceptable, which included Arkansas, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Georgia. Five other states merely ignored the request to submit a system wide higher education unification plan. The states included Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Oklahoma.

These criticisms came mainly from a consortium of public black colleges and universities that were justifiably concerned about how the resolution to the \textit{Adams} case would affect their continued existence. In several amicus briefs to the court they argued that states threatened by court order to integrate systems of higher education could very
easily dismantle or terminate black institutions of higher education, forcing black students to seek out white colleges or universities. The danger in doing so, it was argued, was twofold: first, black colleges should not bear the burden of integration, and second, the traditionally black colleges have been and continue to be the greatest provider of undergraduate and graduate degrees for black students. As a result of these briefs the *Adams* litigation was careful not to usurp the role of black colleges and the guidelines issued thereafter by the federal government admonished states to upgrade black colleges so that they could be “attractive” institutions to all students.38

In an article titled *Adams v. Richardson: Can Separate Be Equal?* published in the *Change Journal*, John Egerton highlights that District Judge John H. Pratt ruled in the fall of 1972 the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare had indeed failed to enforce compliance with Title VI, and the following summer his decision was upheld by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. The 10 states were ordered to produce comprehensive plans for desegregating their college and universities, and the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was given until June of 1974 either to approve those plans or to begin court action to cutoff federal assistance to the institutions.39

Louisiana refused to submit plans and has been sued by the Department of Justice, Mississippi presented only a partial plan, and also faced court action. The U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare accepted the plans of the other eight states, including Arkansas, Georgia, Florida, Maryland, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.40
Thus, ostensibly, four years of litigation produced a major decision in the interest of equal educational opportunity. But a closer examination of the case yields as many questions as answers. In terms of its magnitude, its complexity, and its potential consequences, Egerton reports that "Adams may be as important to higher education as the Supreme Court's *Brown versus the Board of Education* by signaling the beginning of a lengthy, controversial, and ultimately inconclusive struggle for racial equality in education."\(^{41}\)

Until the late 1960s, virtually all litigations on racial issues in higher education concerned the right of blacks to enroll in previously all-white institutions. But a Tennessee case filed in 1968 and similar cases in Alabama and Virginia went beyond the issue of access to address larger questions, and in the process of the logic and language of *Brown* inevitably entered the debate. In *Adams v. Richardson*, the shift of concern from access to equity was completed. The significance of *Adams* for public colleges and universities seems deeper and more far-reaching now than it did when the suit was first filed. It has prompted serious debate on fundamental issues, including the future of public black colleges and universities, the alternative facing black students and professors, and the capability of formerly all-white institutions to serve the needs of racial minorities.\(^{42}\)

In 1987, the *Adams* litigation took a strategic turn when the district court supervising the numerous court decrees indicated that the original plaintiffs and the class of students they represented were no longer suffering injuries as a result of federal activities and dismissed the case (cited previously, *Adams v. Bennett*, 675 F.Supp. 668 [D.D.C. 1987]). While the ultimate resolution of the *Adams* case is still many years away,
the focus of providing an integrated equal education in higher education has shifted from the federal and state governments to individual colleges, to determine what they must do to increase minority access.43

In the November 13, 2009, in an article in a magazine titled *Diverse Education* an article titled, “The Unfinished Business of HBCUs,” Karen Shih reports that public historically Black colleges and universities have served the under-represented well in the years since *Adams v. Richardson*, but states can no longer continue to under fund HBCUs if these schools are to become “comparable and competitive” with traditionally white institutions, a panel of former and current HBCU leaders concluded at a conference at Morgan State University. Lezli Baskerville, president and chief executive officer of the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education, the facilitator of the Presidential Round Table panel entitled, “The Unfinished Business of Parity in the Adams States: The Promise and the Perils,” states that the magnitude of disparity between public HBCUs and historically white institutions remains particularly great. She further implies that the problem is, “public higher education is disengaging from educating the growing populations in their states,” she said, referring to African American, Latino and Asian American populations. In the nearly 40 years since the *Adams* case, which required federal education officials to monitor the desegregation of public colleges in states with separate higher education systems for Blacks and Whites, little has been done to make HBCUs truly competitive. Inequitable public funding, program duplication at nearby schools, and a reluctance to fully integrate the student bodies are among the problems holding back HBCUs, the panel said.44
A lack of funding has been an acute problem, said the panelists—Julius L. Chambers, former chancellor of North Carolina Central University; John J. Oliver, former chair of the Maryland Higher Education Commission (MHEC); and Dr. Mary Sias, president of Kentucky State University—with each giving examples from their own struggles. Chambers said he watched money go to schools like the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, with its impressive and profitable athletic program, as NCCU struggled to make ends meet. Trying to divert funding for his school, especially when he suggested it come from athletics, was nearly impossible. Chambers stated, “We watched as North Carolina deprived our young children of opportunity, when they told us we couldn’t get dollars for the program.” Recounting his battles as MHEC chair from 1999 to 2005, Oliver said Maryland fell short in trying to address the disparity between black and traditionally white institutions (TWIs), saying it was the worst he had seen in any state. “It’s like the Grand Canyon is in the front of you and you’re going to throw a bucket of sand and think that solves the problem,” he said, referring to the few million dollars the legislature ultimately allocated.45

At Kentucky State, Sias tried to scrounge money to fix leaky roofs and provide residential housing while beating back the state’s attempts to convert the university, which legislators did not think could grow, into a community college. Since Sias became president in 2004, she secured some extra state funding, which has resulted in a 300-student jump in enrollment at the 2,500 student school. Sias states, “It’s not enough to do everything that needs to be done. A lot of people are dragging their feet and holding us back. States must provide extra funding, and not just matching the money going to
flagship and other institutions, in order to help mitigate years of neglect and to make HBCUs truly competitive.\textsuperscript{46} Julius Chambers states, “We have been spending less money more efficiently, more effectively than any other. We ought not hesitate to ask [for more].” But funding issues are not the only ones holding HBCUs back. The panel lamented the duplication of academic programs at nearby TWIs that siphon students away from HBCUs. John J. Oliver states, “You need to take the dollars and invest in the existing institutions, which will promote diversity.” Another problem may simply be reluctance on the part of HBCUs to embrace what it means to become a fully competitive, integrated institution.\textsuperscript{47} Chambers stated, “Most black people I know don’t want to talk about this issue.” Some fear that this means they will lose their character as an HBCU if they develop a predominantly non-black student body. Others worry that this will lead to fewer black presidents and fewer opportunities for faculty of color, he added. But the most important thing is to “develop an institution that will provide an education for all people,” John Oliver closes out the discussion by stating, “But the most important thing is to develop an institution that will provide an education for all people as Morgan State and other HBCUs have done for African-Americans and other disadvantaged, under-represented students for decades, some for more than a century. You can never take away the fact that Morgan will always be historically black, Oliver said. “I don’t think that Morgan will lose its identity, ever.”\textsuperscript{48}

\textit{Michael Wooden v. Board of Regent of the University System of Georgia:} During the Institute for Higher Education’s 30\textsuperscript{th} Annual Conference held July 19–20, 1999 in
Athens, Georgia, Robert W. Rieder, University Counsel for the University of Alabama in Huntsville, presented a paper titled “Legal Challenges Facing State Colleges and Universities,” he discusses that public four-year institutions continue to be confronted with a variety of legal issues as the year 2000 approaches. Many of these issues are shared with private institutions. Because state institutions are considered a public entity, however, they also face unique constitutional and statutory limitations imposed on the state and its instrumentalities.49

He further discusses the number of cases that were presently in litigation or recently concluded during the writing of his paper, in which challenges were being raised to affirmative action activities of colleges and universities. In Georgia, a federal district court judge held in January of 1999 that the University of Georgia’s admissions policy that gave a preference to black applicants was unconstitutional. The suit had been filed in 1997 by a group of white and black students and parents opposed to affirmative action; they charged that the state had failed to desegregate the system of higher education. The policy, which had been dropped by the University in 1996, used two tracks, one for black applicants and one for all others; standards in the first track were lower than standards in the second. The judge rejected the diversity defense, stating that any benefits it might bring were outweighed by “stigmatizing, polarizing costs imposed by racial classifications.” The University now uses race as one of fifteen factors.50

In a ruling issued July 6, 1999, the same judge dismissed a claim brought by a white applicant challenging racial preferences used by the University of Georgia to admit minority students. The University admitted from 10–20% of the class by considering one
or more non-academic factors, including race. The dismissal was based on the fact that
the plaintiff would not have qualified for admission even if the racial preferences had not
been used. While the judge did not rule on the University’s affirmative action admissions
program, he was sharply critical of it: “UGA cannot constitutionally justify the
affirmative use of race in its admissions decisions.” The use of diversity as a justification
is insufficient, he said, as it is not a compelling interest and derives from stereotypical
thinking about race (i.e., those of one race are assumed to think differently from those of
another race).51

Keith E. Sealing, a Professor of Law at John Marshall Law School (Atlanta),
discusses in his article titled “The Myth of a Color-Blind Constitution,” the dynamics of
the Wooden case. Sealing opens his discussion by commenting that the frenzied rush to
stamp out affirmative action in all of its manifestations, through the courts and
legislatures are losing sight of fundamental realities. A key weapon in the destruction of
affirmative action is the myth that the Constitution requires a color-blind approach to all
but a very narrowly excepted class of race-based problems. Indeed, if the trend in recent
state referenda cases such as the Proposition 209 which amended the California
Constitution during the fall of 1996 and others continues, we soon will have the mythical
color-blind Constitution that Justice Harlan first described in his dissenting opinion in
Plessy v. Ferguson.42

Sealing gives a background of the Wooden v. Board of Regents case, in which he
highlights that eleven plaintiffs filed suit in the United States District Court for the
Southern District of Georgia, seeking injunctive relief against the University of Georgia.
The plaintiffs requested that the court order Georgia’s university system to cease using race as a factor in admissions, faculty hiring, faculty promotions, and faculty assignment decisions. All of the University’s facilities would be affected, from the more than ninety percent white flagship University of Georgia at Athens, to the University’s three predominantly black colleges. The plaintiff’s brief argues that the three predominantly black colleges are academically inferior because of the large number of remedial classes they offer, and that this inferiority creates a “separate but” system in Georgia.53

Keith Sealing further discusses that three aspects of the case were of particular interest. First, the plaintiffs’ brief followed the Fifth Circuit’s holding in Hopwood and rejects Justice Powell’s dicta in Bakke, to argue that racial diversity can never be a compelling state interest. Second, the suit asked that the University give preferences to those from disadvantaged backgrounds, rather than just those of a certain race. Finally, the suit demanded that any University of Georgia plan should seek to achieve desegregation and not be race-based. However, the suit failed to suggest a methodology for accomplishing desegregation without taking race into consideration.54

In the February 4, 1999 edition of Black Issues in Higher Education an article titled “Texas, California, and now Georgia: Federal Judge Sides with White Student in Admissions Dispute,” Doug Cumming reports that a federal judge has ruled that a University of Georgia (UGA) admissions policy used from 1990 to 1995 to foster diversity on its campus was unconstitutional. The article reports that U.S. District Court Judge B. Avant Edenfield of Savannah, rejected diversity as too abstract a goal to justify the “concrete constitutional injuries” caused by race-conscious admission. The ruling
covers only part of a much larger lawsuit filed against the board of regents in 1997 by a
group of students and parents. The lawsuit targeted admissions policies at the University
of Georgia and a lack of racial diversity at Georgia’s three historically black
universities—Albany State University, Fort Valley State University, and Savannah State
University. Edenfield put off ruling on admissions at the University of Georgia.
“However noble this general goal is, a court must scrutinize the specific policies which
seek to achieve diversity,” Edenfield wrote. “Abstractions aimed at marginally increasing
diversity simply cannot carry the day because such benefit is far outweighed by the
stigmatizing, polarizing costs imposed by racial classifications.” Edenfield’s ruling
focused on Kirby Tracy, who filed suit after being denied admission to UGA. From 1990
to 1995, UGA admitted Blacks with lower test scores and grade point averages than non-
Black students.55

Black students could be admitted if they scored a minimum score of 800 on the
SAT and a grade-point average of 2.0. Non-black applicants needed a minimum of 980
and a minimum Grade point average (GPA) of 2.5. Tracy had a 3.47 grade-point average
and scored 830 on the SAT when he applied in the fall of 1995. Tracey was prevented
“solely on the basis of his skin color from competing on equal footing for a spot in
UGA’s 1995 freshman class,” the judge said. The Athens school escaped a ruling on its
current policy, which uses race as one of several factors in admission of borderline
applicants, when the judge dismissed the claim of a second White applicant who was
denied admission in 1996. The white Atlanta attorney who brought the suit on behalf of
five white and two black plaintiffs welcomed the recent ruling as a barometer indicating
that the judge does not buy diversity as a satisfactory rationale. "I don't think the court is willing to use race solely to enhance diversity, when [diversity] has been so ill-defined," said A. Lee Parks Jr., who filed Wooden v. Board of Regents in 1997. "Diversity of what? The court said if it's just skin color, that won't get it."56

Kenneth Dious, an Athens, Georgia. attorney for the Georgia Conference of the NAACP—which has been allowed to join on the state's side of the case, says the NAACP will appeal if the overall ruling goes against Georgia. He said he will take it to the U.S. Supreme Court if necessary. The board of regents did not try to defend the dual-tract admissions policy, which it had abandoned at the recommendation of the state's attorney general. Instead, it argued that Kirby had no standing to sue since the policy was no longer in effect and because Kirby was later admitted. But the president of UGA issued a statement pointing out that this partial ruling is the first in a multifaceted case, and only addressed an admission policy the university abandoned after 1995 at the recommendation of the state attorney general. "We have respect for the law and the courts and believe that our current policies are legal and reflects a desire to continue to aggressively recruit qualified African American students," says Dr. Michael F. Adams, president of the university. Tracy was admitted to the Athens school as a transfer student in 1997 after spending two years at Georgia College and State University in Milledgeville. He sued for unspecified damages. Worried about the constitutionality of its admissions policy, the university stopped using different standards for Blacks and Whites in 1996.57
Ashley Davis was denied admission under the new policy in 1996. Davis joined Park’s suit, claiming she was denied admission because she is white. Edenfield dismissed her claim after the university showed that Davis failed to meet minimum academic requirements and was never considered as a borderline case, the only point where race is a factor. “The record shows that UGA denied her application solely upon her grades and test scores, not on her race or gender,” Edenfield wrote. Judge Edenfield’s ruling could further weaken the diversity policy that the system is trying to promote. Georgia’s lottery-funded, full-tuition HOPE scholarship, given to every in-state “A” or “B” student at every state campus, continues to heat up the competition for slots at the flagship UGA while the percentage of black students there—currently 6.2 percent—steadily falls. The state’s school-age population is about 37 percent black. The average SAT score of the entering freshman class at UGA has sky-rocketed 100 points to about 1,190 in the five years since HOPE began.58

Edenfield did not rule on the validity of the university’s policy, but determined that his ruling against the 1995 policy was not moot because UGA could revert to the old policy at any time. The university system’s chancellor, Dr. Stephen R. Portch, “has announced his intent to continue using race as a factor in admissions until otherwise directed by a court order,” Edenfield wrote. Portch may have taken such a position, but he had bigger fish to fry. The British-born chancellor, as he institutes tougher admission standards throughout the system, is busy with efforts to see that all students get the background they need in school to reach those standards. Since arriving from Wisconsin in 1994, he has launched two initiatives to address weaknesses in Georgia schools that
hinder many poor students — especially poor, black students. One is called the Georgia P-16 Initiative, so called because it attempts to bring to the same table leaders from preschool to college, or “grade 16.” His other initiative is called the Post-secondary Readiness Enrichment Program (PREP) and identifies middle school students who lack aspirations for, and awareness of, college because of family background. Portch has called both programs alternatives to affirmative action. But because they do not rely on race, they do not present any thorny legal problems. How effective they will prove to be is yet to be seen, Portch admits. 59

The second group of Plaintiffs—Wooden, Jarvis, and Bratcher (collectively, “Wooden Plaintiffs”)—is composed of individuals with ties to three historically black institutions (HBIs) in Georgia’s university system; they allege that operation of the HBIs unlawfully discriminate against non-blacks. The claims of the Wooden Plaintiffs relate to an entirely different set of facts. These Plaintiffs object to Defendants’ alleged failure to “desegregate” adequately three HBIs: Fort Valley State University, Savannah State University, and Albany State University. Plaintiff Wooden, who is black, asserts that although he would have liked to enroll his daughter at nearby Savannah State, he refused to allow her to attend a segregated campus. Plaintiff Jarvis, who is white, is a former student at Fort Valley; he alleges that the school’s continued segregation adversely affected his educational experience and undermines the reputation value of his degree. Plaintiff Bratcher, who is white, is on the faculty at Fort Valley University; she contends that the school’s hostility to whites adversely affects her work and makes the school inferior. None of these Plaintiffs were currently a student or employee at an HBI during
the ruling, which all parties concede remained predominantly black in 2001 and
Plaintiff's contentions are de facto bastions of segregation (for example, they observe that
there are separate student unions for white and black students). Wooden v. Board of
Regents of the University System of Georgia, 32 F. Supp. 2d 1370 (S.D. Ga. 1999), in
which subsequently, on March 12, 1999, the district court entered summary judgment
against the Wooden Plaintiffs on lack of standing grounds.60

With respect to the Wooden Plaintiffs, the court found that their alleged
grievances were too attenuated to constitute the “injury-in-fact” necessary to have
standing. Finally, on the issue of class certification, the district court ruled that Tracey –
the only Plaintiff found to have standing in the case – was not an adequate class
representative because of his individual request for prospective injunctive relief regarding
the freshman admissions policy become moot. The court also concluded that the need for
individualized analysis of class members’ claims made class treatment inappropriate. The
court did not separately consider the ability of Green or any other Plaintiff to serve as a
class representative, apparently because the court had previously decided that those
Plaintiffs lacked standing to pursue claims on their own behalf.61

The Wooden Plaintiffs were in a different posture. The did not join in the
reconsideration motion of the Tracy Plaintiffs, and thus were required to, but did not, file
a notice of appeal with respect to the dismissal of their claims within 30 days of the
June 16, 2000 order. Both the docket sheet and the pleadings themselves indicate that
only the Tracy Plaintiffs moved for reconsideration. According to the 247 F.3d 1262 (11th
Cir. 2001) document, the first line of the motion reads:62 “COMES NOW the Plaintiffs
ASHLEY DAVIS (Davis), KIRBY TRACY (Tracy) and CRAIG GREEN (Green) [collectively the UGA Plaintiffs] and respectively request that the Court reconsider its June 16, 2000 Order."63

In a footnote, the Tracy Plaintiffs explained that the Wooden Plaintiffs had no part in the motion for reconsideration. The footnote reads: 64 "The remaining Wooden plaintiffs who challenge defendants' continued maintenance of racially segregated 'historically black' universities will file a separate motion and brief seeking consideration of their standing, and take no part in this motion."65

A review of the docket sheet and the record reveals that the Wooden Plaintiffs never filed any motion or brief seeking reconsideration of the June 16 order. Plaintiffs do not suggest, nor could they, that the Tracy Plaintiffs' motion by definition encompassed the Wooden Plaintiffs. Not only did the motion state specifically that the Wooden Plaintiffs would be moving separately, the claims of the two groups of Plaintiffs were litigated on an individual basis and are analytically distinct. At least in this context, the filling of a joint notice of appeal from a final order resolving a group of individual claims does not relieve each plaintiff of his obligation to file a timely notice of appeal with respect to his own particular claim; the fact that the notice may be timely for some other plaintiff is immaterial. Inadvertent or not, the Wooden Plaintiffs did not move for reconsideration, and therefore were not entitled to an automatic extension of the otherwise applicable 30-day deadline for filing a notice of appeal regarding the dismissal of their claims.66 In conclusion, the Wooden case ended as follows:

In summary, we dismiss the appeals of Wooden, Jarvis and Bratcher, and affirm the district court's dismissal for lack of standing of the claims brought by Davis
and Tracy. We reverse the district court’s order entering summary judgment on Green’s claim for lack of standing, and vacate the denial of class certification to the extent it was based on the mistaken premise that Green wholly lacked standing. The case is remanded to the district court for further proceedings regarding Green’s claim consistent with this opinion.67

Appeal dismissed in part, Affirmed in part, Reversed and Vacated in part, and Remanded.68

**Philosophy of Influential Men**

Several men have affected blacks in higher education in the state of Georgia, directly and indirectly through their philosophy that have had an impact on public policy. Some of these men have played a substantial role by serving in the following capacities: Scholars and United States Presidents. Issues that these men targeted included the education of black people, black educational establishments, as well as the challenge the United States face today in attempting to incorporate education in stimulating the economy. This section explores the educational philosophies of W.E.B. DuBois, Carter G. Woodson, President Dwight Eisenhower, and President Barack Obama. Their philosophies were developed from the late nineteenth century through the early twenty-first century.

**W.E.B. DuBois**

W.E.B. DuBois was a college professor, historian, sociologist, and one of the most influential African-American leaders in the movement for racial equality in the United States during the first half of the twentieth century. His linkage to the State of Georgia was during the period from 1897 to 1910, when he chaired the sociology program at Atlanta University, and in 1934, when he left the National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People, and returned to Atlanta University, where he taught history and economics.

DuBois reflects in *The Souls of Black Folk* in the chapter titled “Of the Training of Black Men,” his philosophy of the Negro college. In this chapter he states that the function of the Negro college is clear:

> It must maintain the standards of popular education, it must seek the social regeneration of the Negro, and it must help in the solution of problems of race contact and co-operation. And finally, beyond all this, it must develop men. Above our modern socialism, and out of the worship of the mass, must persist and evolve that higher individualism which the centres of culture protect; there must come a loftier respect for the sovereign human soul that seeks to know itself and the world about it; that seeks a freedom for expansion and self-development; that will love and hate and labor in its own way, untrammeled alike by old and new. Such souls aforetime have inspired and guided worlds, and if we be not wholly bewitched by our Rhine-gold, they shall again. Herein the longing of black men must have respect: the rich and bitter depth of their experience, the unknown treasures of their inner life, the strange rending of nature they have seen, may give the world new points of view and make their loving, living, and doing precious to all human hearts.⁶⁹

DuBois wrote in 1933 an article titled “The Field and Function of the Negro College” which was published in the book *The Education of Black People*. In this article, he discusses that:

> No matter how much we may dislike the statement, the American Negro problem is and must be the center of the Negro university. It has got to be. You are teaching Negroes. There is no use pretending that you are teaching Chinese or that you are teaching white Americans or that you are teaching citizens of the world. You are teaching American Negroes in 1933, and they are the subjects of a caste system in the Republic of the United States of America and their life problem is primarily this problem of caste. Upon these foundations, therefore, your university must start and build. Nor is the thing so entirely unusual or unheard of as it sounds. A university in Spain is not simply a university. It is a Spanish university. It is a university located in Spain. It uses the Spanish language. It starts with Spanish history and makes conditions in Spain the starting point of its teaching. Its education is for Spaniards, not for them as they may be or ought to
be, but as they are with their present problems and disadvantages and opportunities."  

W.E.B. DuBois goes on to say that:

A Negro university in the United States of America begins with Negroes. It uses that variety of the English idiom which they understand; and above all, it is founded, or it should be founded on knowledge of the history of their people in Africa and in the United States, and their present condition. Without whitewashing or translating wish into facts, it begins with that; and then it asks how shall these young men and women be trained to earn a living and live a life under the circumstances in which they find themselves or with such changing of those circumstances as time and work and determination will permit. Is this statement of the field of a Negro university a denial of aspiration or a change from older ideals? I do not think it is, although I admit in my own mind some change of thought and modification of method. The system of learning which bases itself upon the actual condition of certain classes and groups of human beings is tempted to suppress a minor premise of fatal menace.

It proposes that the knowledge given and the methods pursued in such institutions of learning shall be for the definite object of perpetuating present conditions or of leaving their amelioration in the hands of and at the initiative of other forces and other folk. This was the great criticism that those of us who fought for higher education of Negroes thirty years ago, brought against the industrial school. The industrial school founded itself and rightly upon that actual situation of American Negroes and said: "What can be done to change this situation?" And its answer was: a training in technique and method such as would incorporate the disadvantaged group into the industrialized organization of the country, and in that organization the leaders of the Negro had perfect faith. Since that day the industrial machine has cracked and groaned. Its technique has changed faster than any school could teach: the relations of capital and labor have increased in complication and it has become so clear that Negro poverty is not primarily caused by ignorance of technical knowledge that the industrial school has almost surrendered its program. In
opposition to that, the proponents of college training in those earlier years said: “What black men need is the broader and more universal training so that they can apply the general principles of knowledge to particular circumstances of their condition.” Here again was indubitable truth but incomplete truth. DuBois further explains to his audience that the university must become not simply a center of knowledge but a center of applied knowledge and guide of action. And this is all the more necessary now since we easily see that planned action especially in economic life going to be the watchword of civilization.

W.E.B. DuBois addresses the issues of black public colleges in his 1941 piece titled “The Future of the Negro State University.” In this article, he says that:

The new state system of education, therefore, is faced first of all with this question of income, this question which the democratic experiments following the Civil War attempted to meet and failed. It is all well enough to talk about equality of human beings and their liberty to act; the real fact of the matter, as we have known for generations and as we are beginning to admit today, is that a man who does not have enough to eat or the clothing and shelter necessary for health, and who is uncertain as to how long his present meager income is going to last, is not free, and cannot be called the equal of the man with sufficient and assured income and security of status. The comfortable solution of this economic problem which regards this situation as largely inevitable and which looks upon poverty as the permanent accompaniment of civilization is not only being questioned today, but is the real burning problem which lay at the basis of the last World War and is the cause of this present World War and of other revolutions to come. The solution of attitudes toward this economic problem is in the long run in the hands of our educational system is not deigned to meet it.

If this were all, the problem of state education would be a most difficult one. But, in addition to this, we have here in the United States problems of race and culture concentrated in our vast cities, concentrated in the rural districts of the Southern South and forming a considerable and difficult problem in border regions like this. This set of problems includes minorities of various types, vestiges of religious controversies stemming from other days, remainders of extreme economic inequalities as represented by various migratory groups, differences due to physique and appearance and, above all, differences due to cultural history.
DuBois further detailed his vision of the future of the Negro State University by stating among these:

You and I especially are victims of those so called racial problems which range themselves about the history of slavery in this country, and which have left us, some twelve or more millions of people more or less of African descent, of varying cultures and different degrees of education, who stand out, not simply because of visible differences in appearance, but because of historical differences due to their cultural and economic inheritance. They are, for instance, in large majority, poor people having been until quite recently deprived of education; and they are associated in the public mind, through the reiteration of the printed word and the pictured fact, with inferiority and lack of ability.76

W.E.B. DuBois further explains:

So submitting today that the state system of education has got to regard the different elements in the state as an inescapable part of its problem, we come to the second situation: namely, that as an heritage from slavery and the Civil War we are required by state law to carry on separate institutions for persons of Negro descent. There is no doubt that this is unfortunate and even idiotic. It is needlessly costly and it is a direct contravention to that democratic equality toward which all education in the end must strive.77

David Levering Lewis discusses this question in the book W.E.B. DuBois: The Fight for Equality and the American Century, 1919-1963 in the chapter titled “Rearranging Ethiopia Abroad and at Home,” DuBois’s thoughts on “Negroes in College.” This piece appeared in the March 1926 issue of The Nation. In this chapter, DuBois began with a recitation of infamies inflicted upon Howard: “The forced resignation of Carter Woodson, wholesale faculty firings, racial epithets and rumbles in the president’s office, and the “almost total lack of social contact” between the white president and the black faculty and students. DuBois thought it scarcely conceivable that such a deplorable record would have survived a vote at Yale or Harvard, yet Howard’s trustees had reaffirmed their “confidence in President Durkee’s character and purpose” in
a special meeting at the close of 1924. Moving on to the various predicaments at Atlanta, Hampton, Lincoln, and Wilberforce, “Negroes in College” introduced the magazine’s bien pesant readers to a history of betrayed idealism, bigotry, and incompetence. Atlanta “was starving to death.” DuBois lamented. Hampton had instituted a “system of racial segregation upon its own campus.” Lincoln remained without a single black professor on its bucolic Pennsylvania campus and “never had a colored member on its board of trustees.” Wilberforce, where DuBois had begun his teaching career, was provincial, narrow, “vindictive, and without discipline or ideal.”

Lewis further explains that DuBois’s stark narration of exclusion from “white” institutions flickered past like frames in a newsreel: Georgia (a typical Southern example) spending $655,135 a year on higher education of whites and $10,000 for its black citizens; Bryn Mawr, Radcliffe, Wellesley, and Smith excluding virtually all women of color except those admitted accidentally; Princeton barring black men from its undergraduate college; Yale and Harvard discouraging applications; and John Hopkins going so far as to have Jim Crow extension courses for teachers offered in Washington and Delaware where no laws required its imposition. Among Catholic schools only Fordham and Detroit accepted blacks. The nation faced a simple choice. “Do we want Negroes educated according to their ability” in order to become independent, “self-directing, modern men,” DuBois demanded, or did white people intend for them to be educated only “as a subordinate caste?” The editor would have heard a qualified “yes” to the training of “self-directing, modern men [and women]” in the news of Stanly Durkee’s resignation a few days after the appearance of his essay in The Nation.
Carter G. Woodson

In 1933, American historian and educator Carter G. Woodson delivered a powerful and prophetic denunciation of “Euro-centric” school curricula that still rings true. In his book *The Mis-Education of the Negro*, in chapter three where he discusses “How We Drifted Away from the Truth,” Woodson explains that unlike other people, then, the black, according to this point of view, was an exception to the natural plan of things, and he had now such mission as that of an outstanding contribution to culture. The status of the black, then, was justly fixed as that of an inferior. Teachers of blacks in their first schools after Emancipation did not proclaim any such doctrine, but the content of their curricula justified these inferences.80

Woodson’s philosophy of education is further explained when he discussed that an observer from outside of the situation naturally inquires why the Negroes, many of whom serve their race as teachers, have not changed this program. These teachers, however, are powerless. Negroes have no control over their education and have little voice in their other affairs pertaining thereto. In a few cases Negroes have been chosen as members of public boards of education, and some have been appointed members of private boards, but these Negroes are always such a small minority that they do not figure in the final working out of the educational program.81

Woodson continues to highlight his views by stating with “mis-educated Negroes:”

In control themselves, however, it is doubtful that the system would be very much different from what it is or that it would rapidly undergo change. The Negroes thus placed in charge would be the products of the same system and would show no more conception of the task at hand than do the whites who have educated
them and shaped their minds as they would have them function. Negro educators of today may have more sympathy and interest in the race than the whites now exploiting Negro institutions as educators, but the former have no more vision than their competitors. Taught from books containing the same bias, trained by Caucasians of the same prejudices or by Negroes of enslaved minds, one generation of Negro teachers after another have served for no higher purpose than do what they are told to do. In other words, a Negro teacher instructing Negro children is in many respects a white teacher thus engaged, for the program in each case is about the same.82

Woodson examined how to serve the race effectively in his chapter titled “The New Program,” in which he highlights to educate the Negro we must find out exactly what his background is, what he is today, what his possibilities are, and how to begin with him as he is and make him a better individual of the kind that he is. Instead of cramming the Negro’s mind with what others have shown that they can do, we should develop his latent powers that he may perform in society a part of which others are not capable.83

In his critique of school policy in his chapter titled “Vocational Guidance,” Woodson expressed that if schools really mean to take part in necessary uplift they must first supply themselves with teachers. Unfortunately we have very few such workers. The large majority of persons supposedly teaching Negroes never carry to the schoolroom any thought as improving their condition. From the point of view of these so-called teachers they have done their duty when in automatic fashion they impart in the schoolroom the particular facts which they wrote out in the examination when they “qualified” for their respective positions.84
President Barack Obama

Obama’s philosophy of education is highlighted in his book, *Dreams From My Father*, in the chapter titled “Chicago,” discusses questions such as:

Did you dislike yourself because of your color or because you couldn’t read and couldn’t get a job? Or perhaps it was because you were unloved as a child – only, were you were unloved because you were too dark? Or too light? Or because your mother shot heroin into her veins...and why did she do that anyway? Was the sense of emptiness you felt a consequence of kinky hair or the fact that your apartment had no heat and no decent furniture? Or was it because deep down you imagined a godless universe?  

President Obama’s response to this line of questioning is:

That maybe one couldn’t avoid such questions on the road to personal salvation. What I doubted was that all the talk about self-esteem could serve as the centerpiece of an effective black politics. It demanded too much honest self-reckoning from people; without such honesty, it easily degenerated into vague exhortation. Perhaps with more self-esteem fewer blacks would be poor, I thought to myself, but I had no doubt that poverty did nothing for our self-esteem. Better to concentrate on the things we might all agree on. Give that black man some tangible skills and a job. Teach that black child reading and arithmetic in a safe, well-funded school. With the basics taken care of, each of us could search for our own sense of self-worth.

In an April 24, 2009 article published in *The Washington Post*, President Obama’s remarks on higher education are highlighted. In this article, President Obama comments that there are few things as fundamental to the American dream or as essential for America’s success as a good education. This has never been truer than it is today. At a time when our children are competing with kids in China and India, the best job qualification you can have is a college degree or advanced training. If you do have that kind of education, then you are well prepared for the future because half of the fastest-growing jobs in America require a bachelor’s degree or more. And if you don’t have a college degree, you’re more than twice as likely to be as unemployed as somebody who
does. And yet, in a paradox of American life, at the very moment it’s never been more
important to have a quality higher education, the cost of that kind of education has never
been higher. Over the past few decades, the cost of tuition at private colleges has more
than doubled while costs at public institutions have nearly tripled. Compounding the
problem, tuition has grown ten times faster then a typical family’s income, putting new
pressure on families that are already strained and pricing far too much students out of
college all together. Yet we have a student loan system where we’re giving lenders
billions of dollars in wasteful subsidies that could be used to make college more
affordable for all Americans. This trend, a trend where a quality higher education slips
out of reach for ordinary Americans threatens the dream of opportunity that America has
promised to all of its citizens. It threatens to widen the gap between the have and the
have-nots.87

The President further comments that’s the kind of work force and the kind of
citizenry to which we should be committed. And that’s why we have taken and proposed
a number of sweeping steps over our first few months in office, steps that amount to the
most significant efforts to open the doors of college to middle-class Americans since the
GI Bill. Millions of working families are now eligible for a $2,500 annual tax credit help
them pay the cost of tuition, a tax credit covers the full cost of tuition at most of the two-
year community colleges that are some of the great and undervalued assets of our
education system. We’re also bringing much needed reform to the Pell Grants that
roughly 30 percent of students rely on to put themselves through college. Today’s Pell
Grants cover less than half as much tuition at a four-year public institution as they did a
few decades ago. That’s why we are adding $500 to the grants for this academic year and raising the maximum Pell Grant to $5,550 for 2010, easing the financial burden on students and families. And we are also changing the way the value of a Pell Grant is determined. Today, that value is set by Congress on an annual basis, making it vulnerable to Washington politics. What we are doing is pegging Pell Grants to a fixed rate above inflation so that these grants don’t cover less and less as family’s costs go up and up. And this will help prevent a projected shortfall in Pell Grant funding in a few years that could rob many of our poor students of their dream of attending college. It will help ensure that Pell Grants are a source of funding that students can count on each and every year. Now, while our nation has a responsibility to make college more affordable, colleges and universities have a responsibility to control spiraling costs, and that will require hard choices about where to save and where to spend. The President, therefore, offers a challenge to state college and university leaders to put affordability front and center as they chart a path forward.88

The President furthers his comment by discussing graduation rates. He remarks that now, just as we’ve opened the doors of college to every American, we also have to ensure that more students can walk through them. That’s why I’ve challenged every American to commit to at least one year of higher education or advanced training, because, by the end of the next decade, I want to see America have the highest proportion of college graduates in the world. The President further explains we used to have that; we no longer do. We are going to get that lead back. And to help us achieve that goal, we are investing $2.5 billion to identify and support innovative initiatives that have a record of
success in boosting enrollment and graduation rates, initiatives like the I-BEST program in Washington state that combines basic and career skills classes to ensure that students not only complete college, but are competitive in the workforce from the moment they graduate. And to help cover the cost of all this, the President states we’re going to eliminate waste, reduce inefficiency, and cut what we don’t need to pay or what we do, and that includes reforming our student loan system so that it serves the people it’s supposed to serve: our students. President Obama believes right now, there are too many kinds of federal loans. First, there are direct loans. These are loans where tax dollars go directly to help students pay for tuition, not pad the profits of private lenders. The other kinds of loans are Federal Family Education Loans (FFEL). These loans make up the majority of all college loans. Under the FFEL program, lenders get a big government subsidy with every loan they make, and these loans are then guaranteed with taxpayer money, which means that if a student defaults a lender can get back almost all of its money from our government. The President explains that there’s only one real difference between direct loans and private FFEL loans. It’s that, under the FFEL program, taxpayers are paying banks a premium to act as middlemen, a premium that costs the American people billions of dollars each year. The President believes that’s a premium we cannot afford, not when we could be reinvesting that same money in our students, in our economy, and in our country. In the final analysis, President Obama calls for ending the FFEL program and shifting entirely over to direct loans.89

The President closes his argument by citing the Congressional Budget Office, which highlights the money the country could save by cutting out the middleman would
pay for 95 percent of our plan to guarantee growing Pell Grants. This would help ensure that every American, everywhere in this country, can out-compete any worker anywhere in the world. In the end, this is not about growing the size of government or relying on the free market, because it’s not a free market when we have a student loan system that’s rigged to reward private lenders without any risk. It’s about whether we want to give tens of billions of tax dollars to special interests or whether we want to make college more affordable for 8.5 million more students. The President thinks most of us would agree on what the right answer is. He also reminds the audience on how his proposal was greeted by the special interests. The banks and lenders, who have reaped a windfall from these subsidizes, have mobilized an army of lobbyist to try to keep things the way they are. The President states they are gearing up for battle, so is he. He closes out his argument by stating that he is looking forward to having this debate in the days and weeks ahead. He is confident that, if all of us here in Washington do what’s in the best interests of the people we represent and reinvest not only in opening the doors of college, but making sure students can walk through them, then we can help deliver the change that the American people sent us here to make.90

In the continuation of the educational philosophy of President Barack Obama, he highlights that education is a key to economic rebound. On July 15, 2009 in Warren, Michigan, conceding that unemployment will get worse before it gets better, President Barack Obama unveiled a $12 billion plan to help community colleges prepare millions of people for a new generation of jobs. Challenging critics, he said he welcomed the task of turning around the economy. He stated, “I love the folks who helped get us in this
mess and then suddenly say, “Well, this is Obama’s economy,” the president told an outdoor crowd at Macomb Community College. “That’s fine. Give it to me. My job is to solve problems, not to stand on the sidelines and harp and gripe.” The President did not identify his target for those comments, but he has been under increasing fire from Republicans over the pace of the economic recovery and the soaring deficit. He brought this message to a state reeling from the loss of auto jobs. Michigan’s unemployment rate is 14.1 percent, the nation’s worst. “The hard truth is that some of the jobs that have been lost in the auto industry and elsewhere won’t be coming back,” President Obama said. “They are the casualties of a changing economy.”

The program would consist of competitive grants offered to schools to try new programs or expand training and counseling. High dropout rates would be addressed by designing programs to track students and help them earn an associate’s degree or finish their education at a four-year institution. Money would also be spent to renovate and rebuild college facilities, and online courses would be developed to help colleges offer more classes. The White House says the cost would be $12 billion over 10 years; The President says “Time and again, when we have placed our bet for the future on education, we have prospered as a result.” This speech came a day after the White House issued an upbeat report predicting that health care and environment-focused jobs would help drive a jobs recovery but that education and training would have to keep up with a demand for higher-skilled workers.

The eight two-year colleges in Georgia should benefit from this program because their core characteristics include:
• A commitment to excellence and responsiveness within a scope of influence defined by the needs of a local area and by particularly outstanding programs or distinctive characteristics that have a magnet effect throughout the region or state;

• A commitment to teaching/learning environment, both inside and outside the classroom, that sustains instructional excellence, functions to provide University System access for a diverse student body, and promotes high levels of student learning;

• A high quality general education program that supports a variety of well-chosen associate programs and prepares students for transfer to baccalaureate programs, learning support programs designed to insure access and opportunity for a diverse student body, and a limited number of certificate or other career programs to complement neighboring technical institute programs;

• A commitment to public service, continuing education, technical assistance, and economic development activities that address the needs, improve the quality of life and raise the education level within the college’s scope of influence;

• A commitment to scholarship and creative work to enhance instructional effectiveness and meet local needs.

The eight community colleges in the State of Georgia are: (1) Atlanta Metropolitan College, (2) Bainbridge College, (3) Darton College, (4) East Georgia College, (5) Georgia Highland College, (6) Georgia Perimeter College, (7) South Georgia College, and (8) Waycross College.

Laura Fitzpatrick in the July 20, 2009 edition of Time Magazine asks the question in her article “Can Community Colleges Save the U.S. Economy?” In the article, she comments that the President has not forgotten about the 30 or so community colleges he visited during the 2008 campaign. These institutions are our nation’s trade schools, training 59% of our new nurses as well as cranking out wind-farm technicians and video-game designers, jobs that despite ballooning unemployment overall, abound for
adequately skilled workers. Community college graduates earn up to 30% more than high school grad, a boon that helps state and local governments reap a 16% return on every dollar they invest in community college. But our failure to improve graduation rates at these schools is a big part of the achievement gap between the U.S. and other countries. As unfilled jobs continue to head overseas, Obama points to the “national-security implication” of the widening gap. Closing it, according to an April report from McKinsey & Co., would have added as much as $2.3 trillion, or 16%, to our 2008 Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Those lost jobs are why Education Secretary Arne Duncan declared in March that two-year schools “will play a big role in getting America back on its feet again.” Obama tapped two former community-college officials for top posts in the Education Department and in May announced a public relations campaign, headed by Jill Biden, the Vice President’s wife and a longtime community-college professor, to raise awareness about the power of these schools to train new and laid-off workers.93

Fitzpatrick also reports that the 1,200 community colleges in the U.S. are especially suited to helping students adapt to a changing labor market. While four-year universities have the financial resources to lure top professors and students, they are by nature slow-moving. Community colleges on the other hand, are smaller and able to tack quickly in changing winds. They often partner with local businesses and can gin up continuing-education courses mid semesters in response to industry needs, getting students in and out and ready to work—fast.94

Laura Fitzpatrick indicates that while the U.S. ranked a respectable second (after Norway) in producing adult workers with bachelor’s degrees, it has slipped to ninth in
producing working-age “sub-bachelor’s” degree holders, which is one reason Obama is working on a plan to help every American get at least one year of college or vocational training. “If you’re going to increase the population that has some college, it isn’t going to be among upper-middle-class white people,” says Thomas Bailey, director of Columbia University’s Community College Research Center. “Community colleges will have to play a central role.” That is, if they have enough resources to handle all the students. Chronically cash-starved, two-year schools pull in an average of just 30% of the federal funding per student allocated to the state universities – though they educate nearly the same number of undergraduates. (Even after you account for the academic research that goes on at four-year schools, experts say community colleges still get shafted.) Two-year schools have been growing faster than four-year institutions, with the number of students they educate increasing more than sevenfold since 1963, compared with a near tripling at four-year schools. Yet federal funding has held virtually steady over the past 20 years for community colleges, while four-year school’s funding has increased.\textsuperscript{95}

Fitzpatrick summarizes her article by commenting that ultimately, community-college administrators hope their schools will emerge stronger from the downturn as it highlights their potential for juicing the economy. Stephen Kinslow, president of Texas’ Austin Community College (ACC) states, “In some ways, the terrible nature of the economic recession will actually help people understand [community college]. People are going to be forced into looking at it more carefully.”\textsuperscript{96}

Ronald Roach discusses the role of community colleges in President Obama’s higher education agenda, which has the potential to expand the federal role according to
education experts in his article titled “A New Deal for Higher Education?” Roach cites Dr. Carl Bankston, chair of the Tulane University sociology department, who states:

It’s notable that Obama has urged making the attainment of at least one year of postsecondary education in addition to having a high school diploma the education standard for all Americans. It’s significant for a federal executive to lead the effort in establishing a standard that may become as much of a social and cultural norm as one meeting economic needs for American prosperity.” It wasn’t until the 1950s and 1960s that earning a high school diploma was seen as a universal goal for American citizens. I don’t know that federal officials took the lead in helping in make that a social norm. Obama’s college-completion agenda can be characterized as less a matter of changing the relationship of the federal government to higher education than continuing a line that has been in progress through various administrations, both Democratic and Republicans, that is increasing the federal role in education at all levels. (What) you might call the ‘federalization’ of education is something that’s been happening at least since the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) and probably you can date it back to the late 1950s when the Eisenhower administration first started investing education. It seems to me, in general, less of a change than continuing along a line of ever-increasing involvement by the federal government.97

Roach goes on to say that with community colleges taking center stage in the administration’s college-completion agenda, experts say this emphasis represents a radical shift in federal higher education policy, which many characterize as having been traditionally focused on four-year institutions. In the proposed American Graduation Initiative, the administration wants to spend $12 billion on community colleges over the next decade to support facility improvements, work-force development programs and an expansion of online instruction so students can have access to courses whenever they need them. He cites Jane Wellman, executive director of the Delta Project on Postsecondary Education Costs, Productivity, and Accountability, who states:

The fact that (the administration is) setting federal goals and national goals is in itself innovative. They’ve also been the first administration that I can think of ever that has put their highest-funding priority around the institutions that serve the majority of low-income students. One of the biggest performance problems we’ve
got in higher education, which isn’t talked about enough, is the huge degree of stratification. We have a handful of rich institutions and an awful lot of poorly financed institutions that serve the majority of the students.98

In recent years, community college certificate and degree completion rates as well as transfer rates have come under national scrutiny. Nearly 60 percent of students entering four-year institutions earn a bachelor’s degree in six years, while only 31 percent of students who begin their academic careers at public community colleges complete either an associate or a bachelor’s degree in six years, according to U.S. Education Department data. With community colleges typically seeing lags in degree completion rates when compared to four-year institutions, public officials and foundations such as the Gates Foundations, have stepped up efforts to improve the capacity of community colleges to better help their students attain educational success.99

Conclusions

The history of blacks in higher education in the State of Georgia is a very complex one that consists of several components. That history began to take shape after the Civil War and began its public foundation in 1890 with the founding of Savannah State University, It is possible that two Georgia’s HBCUs may be merged with two traditionally white colleges in the not-too-distant future. This idea is being developed by policymakers as an attempt to save money during the current budget crisis.

Georgia has had a few landmark court cases that have also affected the politics of the enrollment of black males in Georgia public colleges and universities. One case of importance is Holmes v Danner, which afforded the opportunities for blacks to attend Georgia’s flagship university, the University of Georgia.
The philosophy of influential men in the United States that have had or currently have an impact on the State of Georgia include: W.E.B. DuBois, one of the most influential African-American leaders in the movement for racial equality to President Barrack Obama, who is attempting to use education policy to move the United States into job creation, plays an instrumental role in the past, present and future role of history of blacks in higher education in Georgia.

To summarize the history of blacks in higher education, Sarah Susannah Willie makes an observation in her book titled Acting Black: College Identity and the Performance of Race when she states:

I have observed that predominantly white colleges—especially those that are elite—need to examine the ways in which their admissions policies, assumptions held by faculty and administrative staff, and campus cultures retain vestiges of exclusive social clubs and continue to perpetuate institutional racism. As most of these institutions have become more diverse in terms of the race and class backgrounds of their students, they have already begun to change for the better. Though a diverse learning community is sometimes painful and often exhausting, the challenge is never gratuitous, and social heterogeneity makes for a more vibrant and genuine intellectual environment.100

In contrast, black colleges are crucial sites in which African-American students are assumed to be capable, and all students who attend them can observe governance by faculty and staff that are among the most multiracial in the country. Historically black college and universities, too, face the challenging of teaching black students how to build coalitions with those unlike themselves and how to handle majority status responsibly when such a situation arises. They are charged with the complex task—which they do not always accomplish—of teaching their students to be critical of all systems of oppression, not just racial ones.101
Finally, the politics of black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities may be summarized by a theory conceptualized by Dr. Frances Cress Welsing in *The Isis Papers: The Keys to the Colors*, when she states:

The system of racism in the U.S. specifically has labeled its number one target of attack as the black male. The black male is not only to be intimidated and oftentimes physically destroyed, but more importantly, he must be destroyed functionally through the negation of his major breadwinning activity for the Black family. When men are not permitted to become the major breadwinners and true functional protectors for their families, a major imbalance is created between the importance of the adult black male and adult black female roles. Likewise, the importance of making male functioning is discredited and thus subtly disrespected.”¹⁰²
NOTES


2. Ibid., 243-244.

3. Ibid., 244.


7. Ashley and Williams, *I’ll Find a Way or Make One*, 97-98.


10. Ashley and Williams, *I’ll Find a Way or Make One*, 61-62.


12. Ashley and Williams, *I’ll Find a Way or Make One*, 393.

13. Fort Valley State University (History), http://www.fvsu.edu/about/history (accessed March 31, 2009).

14. Ibid.

15. Ashley and Williams, *I’ll Find a Way or Make One*, 345.


17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid., 200.

23. Ibid., 200 - 201.

24. Ibid., 201.


27. Ibid.

28. Ibid., 212 - 213.

29. Ibid., 213.


31. Ibid.


34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid., 21.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid., 21-22.


40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.


45. Ibid.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.


50. Ibid., 2.

51. Ibid.


53. Ibid., 192-193.

54. Ibid., 193-194.


56. Ibid.

57. Ibid., 1-2.

58. Ibid., 2.

59. Ibid.


61. Ibid., 6.

62. Ibid., 8.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid.
67. Ibid., 20.
68. Ibid., 20-21.
71. Ibid., 93-94.
72. Ibid., 94.
73. Ibid., 96.
74. Ibid., 131.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid., 132.
77. Ibid., 133.
79. Ibid.
81. Ibid.
82. Ibid., 14-15.
83. Ibid., 97.
84. Ibid., 103.
86. Ibid.
88. Ibid., 1–2.
89. Ibid., 3-4.
90. Ibid., 4.

92. Ibid.


94. Ibid., 50.

95. Ibid., 51.

96. Ibid.


98. Ibid.

99. Ibid.


101. Ibid.

CHAPTER V

DATA ANALYSIS: PART I

Introduction

This attitudinal case study was designed to examine the relationship between African-American Male Initiatives, affirmative action policies, and the HOPE Scholarship. Survey questionnaires were administered during the months of April through July of 2008. Out of the 200 questionnaires administered, 28 were returned and all were valid for evaluation in the study. Questionnaires that would have been excluded would have been either less than half completed or from respondents who resided outside of the State of Georgia, which is the territory under evaluation. In this chapter, data collected were analyzed to answer the research questions and evaluate the research suggestion as it relates to African-American Male Initiatives.

Overview of Sample Population

All of the survey respondents considered in this study resided in the State of Georgia as designed by the study, and this was determined by the postal ZIP codes provided by the respondents. All twenty-eight of the respondents provided postal ZIP codes and therefore were included in the study based on the postal cancellation stamp on the return envelopes. Eight of the respondents were female (a valid percentage of 28.6) and 20 of the respondents were male (a valid percentage of 71.4). All of the respondents
did indicate gender. This study's high number of male respondents may show a tendency to skew the study toward a male bias.

The utilization of percentages for analysis reveals that 75 percent of the respondents indicated that the highest level of formal education they have completed is a graduate/professional degree; 25 percent had bachelor's degrees. Finally, in regards to political classification/categorization, 14.3 percent indicated they identified themselves as Liberals. A little over 39.3 percent indicated they identified themselves as middle of the road, 14.3 percent Conservative, and 32.1 percent of the respondents stating they do not think of themselves in those terms.

**Bill Cosby's Position of Cultural Bias against Education**

The African-American Initiative is a program that can be deemed as a necessary solution to the ills that black males face in the context of education. This discussion became a highly publicized debate between Dr. Bill Cosby and Dr. Michael Eric Dyson, and those that took various positions after Cosby's address at the NAACP on the 50th Anniversary of Brown v. Board of Education delivered 17 May 2004, at the Constitution Hall in Washington, DC.

The literature of the debate details the speech that began the entire discussion, in which Dr. Cosby states the following:

Brown versus the Board of Education is no longer the white person's problem. We've got to take the neighborhood back. We've got to go in there. Just forget telling your child to go to the Peace Corps. It's right around the corner. It's standing on the corner. It can't speak English. It doesn't want to speak English. I can't even talk the way these people talk: "Why you ain't where you is go ra?" I don't know who these people are. And I blamed the kid until I heard the mother talk. Then I heard the father talk. This is all in the house. You used to talk a certain way on the corner and you got into the house and switched to English.
Everybody knows it's important to speak English except these knuckleheads. You can't land a plane with, 'Why you ain't... ' You can't be a doctor with the kind of crap coming out of your mouth. There is no Bible that has that kind of language. Where did these people get the idea that they're moving ahead on this. Well, they know they're not; they're just hanging out in the same place, five or six generations sitting in the projects when you’re just supposed to stay there long enough to get a job and move out.¹

Through a review of the literature, the information profiles how cultural bias against education, a theoretical framework that was crafted to show how bias affect how people perceive the importance of education, in particular minority groups, has resulted in the unintended stereotyping of these groups, by those who believe they do not take education seriously, and the counterarguments by those who believe these people are impacted by issues beyond their control. Bill Cosby continued his argument during his speech by stating:

I’m saying Brown versus the Board of Education. We’ve got to hit the streets, ladies and gentlemen. I’m winding up, now – no more applause. I’m saying, look at the black Muslims. There are black Muslims standing on the street corners and they say so forth and so on, and we’re laughing at them because they have bean pies and all that, but you don’t read, ‘black Muslim gunned down while chasing drug dealer.’ You don’t read that. They don’t shoot down black Muslims. You understand me. Muslims tell you to get out of the neighborhood. When you want to clear your neighborhood out, first thing you do is go get the black Muslims, bean pies and all. And your neighborhood is then clear. The police can’t do it.”²

Cultural bias against education produces the stigmatization of the minority groups and the creation of negative perceptions, and self-perceptions, as unintended consequences. Bill Cosby puts this in perspective when he argues in his speech:

So, ladies and gentlemen, I want to thank you for the award—and giving me an opportunity to speak because, I mean, this is the future, and all of these people who lined up and done—they've got to be wondering what the hell happened. Brown v. Board of Education — these people who marched and were hit in the face with rocks and punched in the face to get an education and we got these knuckleheads walking around who don't want to learn English. I know that you
all know it. I just want to get you as angry that you ought to be. When you walk around the neighborhood and you see this stuff, that stuff’s not funny. These people are not funny anymore. And that’s not my brother. And that’s not my sister. They’re faking and they’re dragging me way down because the state, the city, and all these people have to pick up the tab on them because they don’t want to accept that they have to study to get an education.³

According to the renowned comedian and Honorary Chairperson of the “Call Me Mister” program at Cheyney University, a teacher leadership program headquartered at Clemson University aimed at training and placing more teachers from diverse backgrounds in at-risk communities:

Basketball players—multimillionaires can’t write a paragraph. Football players, multimillionaires, can’t read. Yes, Multimillionaires. Well, Brown v. Board of Education, where are we today? It’s there. They paved the way. What did we do with it? The white man, he’s laughing—go: to be laughing; 50 percent drop out—rest of them in prison.⁴

Finally, Cosby sums up his speech declaring:

Therefore, you have the pile up of these sweet beautiful things born by nature—raised by no one. Give them presents. You’re raising pimps. That’s what a pimp is. A pimp will act nasty to you so you have to go out and get them something. And then you bring it back and maybe he or she hugs you. And that’s why pimp is so famous. They’ve got a drink called the ‘Pimp-something.’ You all wondering what that’s about, don’t you? Well, you’re probably going to let Jesus figure it out for you. Well, I’ve got something to tell you about Jesus. When you go to the church, look at the stained glass things of Jesus. Look at them. Is Jesus smiling? Not in one picture. So, tell your friends. Let’s try to do something. Let’s try to make Jesus smile. Let’s start parenting. Thank you, thank you.⁵

John Michael Jocelyn, the founder and president of Fathers from Heaven a child advocacy group defending the rights of children, writes in his book Bill Cosby is Right: A Dad’s Guide to Caring, believes that the vain hope of protecting a secret causes many people to chastise and verbally abuse Bill Cosby. The main theme of their argument is that Cosby is releasing some internal secret that the world is unaware of. The failure of
many parents in New Orleans and other parts of our country to live up to their obligations is not a mystery. The fact that more than 50 percent of the children in New Orleans live in single-parent households and are often living in agony and despair is not a hidden secret. The reality that many fathers are absent from their homes and have given up on their obligations is also well-known. As Cosby points out, there are no secrets about poverty, suffering, and the lack of parental responsibility in our communities. In New Orleans, poverty and parental neglect surround many children. The absence of parental participation has reached a shameful proportion and is well documented. The fact that more than half of the children in New Orleans reside in single-parent households enveloped in poverty, reveals a glimpse of the suffering.6

Jocelyn believes that the failures in our society are by no means new discoveries. Those in our neighborhoods who fancy an internal debate are sadly mistaken. Unfortunately, children do not have the luxury of allowing parents to assume responsibility only on certain occasions, while their community nurtures suffering and irresponsibility. The blame remains squarely on the parents and on those who favor the idea of concealment. The ludicrous idea of the need to maintain some sort of internal debate is a great fairy tale. Our influential sect knows about the suffering and has done little but play lip service to the agony. The cause of the distress among children is not an African-American issue. It is an American concern. Suffering children exist in many other segments of our nation, and the serious need to challenge this problem is a God-given duty and the responsibility of all caring people.7
Bill Cosby’s argument focuses on the increased presence of parents in minority and/or perceived low status groups and the corresponding failure level would be proportional to the amount of attention that is levied on stressing the importance of education in the household. In the book, *Come on People: On the Path From Victims to Victors*, Bill Cosby and Alvin F. Poussaint, M.D., discuss in the chapter titled “What’s Going on With Black Men,” as these boys move through school, their behavior goes from bad to worse. The schools do not help much because they are often of terrible quality. Even the good schools are designed to favor girls, whose language skills tend to develop earlier than boys. The boys are more likely to end up in special education programs than girls, or white boys for that matter. Special education at its best is helpful for kids who need it, but too many kids are warehoused in these classes and never make it back to the mainstream. And if the drugs or the warehousing doesn’t work, the schools finally just suspend the kids or expel them. Troubled black boys in schools are more than twice as likely to be suspended as whites or Hispanics, and this does no one any good except the neighborhood drug dealers. When the boys get suspended or expelled—admit it, parents—there is usually a good reason.⁸

When taken as a helping behavior, support for sound parenting is likely to increase, which is highlighted when Cosby and Poussaint explain:

To be sure, the justice system disfavors black males, and some are in the system who should not be. But tragically, too many of our sons deserve to be right where they are. Those black boys who do make it to high school, drop out more often than they graduate. Without a working dad in the home, or in their lives, most of them fail to learn the kind of basic hands-on skills that would help them find an entry-level job. Working fathers can teach their sons about the necessity of hard work and about the need to show up on time and stick to a job. A working parent can also introduce them to a rather simple device that all of us have but most of us
have learned to live with—an alarm clock. Getting up when you’re tired and going to school or work is not something that comes naturally to anyone.⁹

Dr. Ben Carson, professor and director of pediatric neurosurgery at the John Hopkins Medical Institutions, discusses the victim mentality, which is parallel to the argument of Bill Cosby’s, and in contrast highlights that cultural bias of education may only be supported when certain conditions are met. In his book The Big Picture: Getting Perspective on What’s Really Important in Life, Dr. Carson states:

The basic problem is one of attitude. That is always key. The first step to overcoming hardship has to be a change in attitude. Far too many people today have a victim’s mentality. They have a small-picture perspective on hardship—because that is what a victim mentality is. It is a short-range, self-centered, limited outlook, where the zoom lens of your attention stays so focused on the closest, most immediate obstacles that nothing else can be seen. People with this focus get so overwhelmed by their hardship that they feel paralyzed and powerless. Then, since they aren’t responsible for the seemingly insurmountable obstacles surrounding them, they assume little if any responsibility for tackling those problems. After all, they are ‘victims’—so someone else has to set things right. I saw this victim mentality epitomized a few years ago at one of the televised ‘town meetings’ conducted by President Clinton during his first term of office. During the question-and-answer time, a woman stood up to announce that, due to circumstances beyond her control, she had recently lost her job. She had a family to feed and no income. And she wanted to know what the president could do for her. The President of the United States could have encouraged, challenged, maybe even inspired and empowered this woman if he had told her she seemed to be an able-bodied individual, that she was obviously an intelligent and articulate person, and that he felt confident that given a little time, effort, and determination she would find another job—possible a better one. Did he say that? Of course not. In our day, few politicians would. The media would probably have a field day if they did. An answer like that from a politician would be viewed not as encouraging but uncaring.¹⁰

In Marian Wright Edelman’s Op-Ed piece titled Losing Our Children in America’s Cradle to Prison Pipeline, she highlights a well-established view that the prison pipeline must be demolished. In this piece she states:
The Cradle to Prison Pipeline must be demolished along with the structures and policies that feed and support it. This will require an active, vocal and persistent commitment from families, community organizations, faith networks and policy makers from every segment of our society. First, adults must take responsibility for children and provide positive role models and alternatives to the streets. And adults must stand up for children when political leaders slash essential investments in successful programs for children and youth. We must speak out against policies that contribute to criminalizing children at younger and younger ages, and fight for policies that put children on a trajectory to productive adulthood. The costs are too great.” In dollars alone, we save more than $1.5 million for each child we divert from the criminal justice system, states the Department of Justice report, ‘Treatment, Services and Intervention Programs for Children Delinquents.’ This year, we should stand together and insist that our Congress and President guarantee health and mental care in 2007 for all children and pregnant women in America. The reauthorization of the State Children’s Health Insurance Program (SCHIP) presents an opportunity to finish the job of insuring all of our nation’s children. God did not make two classes of children and we should not permit America to. And shame on us if Katrina’s children continue to be abandoned by adults in positions of responsibility who are entrusted with their care, protection and education. We must invest far greater resources in proven early childhood development programs that build healthy bodies and minds including Early Head Start and Head Start as well as home visiting and other parent supports that prevent children from going into the child welfare system. Zero tolerance school discipline that is escalating suspensions and abusive treatment of young children must be terminated. Education must be better funded and teachers better prepared to support children—including the 80 percent of black children who do not read at grade level in fourth grade.¹¹

Juan Williams defends Bill Cosby’s position in his book Enough, in which he states:

But even if he was a flawed messenger—and inexact about statistics in his presentation of the message—Cosby had been on to a real issue. Osceola McCarty lived the truth he spoke. Cosby had the spirit of Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington and Mary McLeod Bethune in his mouth when he began speaking against lost opportunities in modern black America and the accepted wisdom, fifty years after the Brown decision set fire to the great civil rights movement, when black people were victims. And, most powerfully, the truth backed him up. Skyrocketing rates of black people in jail or locked into an achievement gap in schools, low rates of wealth formation, and low expectancy rates are all facts for black America. In March 2006, the New York Times reported on its front page that a ‘huge pool of poorly educated black men are becoming ever more disconnected from mainstream society and to a far greater degree than comparable white or
Hispanic men.' Most damning of all is the acceptance of the idea that black people are weak and powerless, victims of American society instead of heroes who prove the virtue of America's promise of justice for all. Cosby struck an important blow against the knee-jerk defense of destructive elements in contemporary black culture. He was on the verge of reclaiming the strength black America had in its heritage of overcoming even the worst of slavery, and harnessing that culture and historical strength to deal with today's problems. Since the days of Dr. King, no prominent black American had dared to stand apart from the civil rights groupthink and ask, 'Where do we go from here?' (which was the title of King's last book). That self-imposed censorship shows in the stagnant pool of ideas from which we black people draw when looking for solutions. It shows in the tired arguments rehearsed from the same predictable ideological positions."

Williams also suggests that Cosby, of course, did not get to talk about strategies for black progress. But someone needs to. We are so trapped in anachronistic arguments and intimidated by ideology that we have rendered our own history useless to us. It is time to explore whether Dr. King and Malcolm X, so often portrayed as two sides of a debate over dealing with race, might today have some complementary strategy for getting black America to move forward in the twenty-first century. How about Booker T. Washington's ideology of black self-reliance and W.E.B. DuBois's call for the best educated black Americans to show the way for all black people? Is there common ground in their thinking when dealing with the problems holding black America from soaring today? Cosby was right. We are facing a series of crisis in the black community today. A century's worth of progress seems suddenly in peril. The lessons and values that carried an oppressed people from slavery to freedom seem in danger of being forgotten. Hard-won victories seem in danger of being squandered. There are villains in this story: politicians drunk on their own rhetoric and power; the purveyors of a sick and destructive strain in our popular culture; and our complacent and self-isolated academic community.
But there is also hope. Because we have within our culture what we need to move forward. We have a history of brilliantly effective politicians, grassroots activists, world class scholars, life-affirming artists, and determined, hands-on educators who have moved millions around the world. We have Osceola McCarty. Cosby was right, but he only told a portion of the story.13

Dawn Turner Trice enlightens our understanding of how cultural bias is not the only cause of poor grades in her Chicago Tribune article of the December 4, 2006. In this article, Trice states:

Ever since a May 2004 event commemorating the 50th anniversary of the U.S. Supreme Court’s Brown vs Board of Education decision, entertainer Bill Cosby has been a traveling salesman of sorts flying around the country trying to sell his ideals on blacks and parental responsibility, conspicuous consumption and education. Cosby is coming to McCormick Place on Wednesday for a free event at the invitation of the Chicago Public Schools system. And you can bet that his message will be just as firebrand as it has been in other cities. One of the topics no doubt will hit on the idea that among young blacks, there’s a gross devaluation of education. Put another way: High-achieving blacks are often derided for being smart. You’ve heard that before, right? In a 2004 interview with me, Cosby said that in some parts of the black community, education had fallen so far from favor that African-American teens who are studious often have to contend with peers who suggest they’re ‘acting white.’ ‘They should calmly ask that kid: What is acting black?’ Cosby said. ‘They won’t get an answer. The kid won’t know what acting black is. They don’t know their history.’ University professors have attempted to study what role peer pressure has on black achievement. In the 2004 report, ‘New Evidence about Brown v. Board of Education: The Complex Effects of School Racial Composition on Achievement,’ Stanford University researcher Eric Hanushek and co-authors wrote: ‘While any interpretation would be speculative, the results are consistent with the views that blacks impose peer pressure on other blacks not to achieve’ in school. The researchers suggested in part that high-achieving inner-city blacks would be better off in more racially integrated suburban schools than they would be in all-black schools. That’s true, even with the black-white achievement gap in suburban schools.14

Trice mentions a colleague whom she called Mr. Numbers Cruncher. He often challenges anecdotes by analyzing empirical evidence. Mr. Numbers Cruncher looked to
the Illinois Standards Achievement Test for answers. He believed that if there were this huge cultural bias against education, he would find that not only would blacks do poorly in majority black schools with high poverty rates, but they’d also do poorly in majority black schools with low poverty rates. He decided to look at the reading scores of elementary school children who attended schools where poverty was less than 50 percent but the racial makeup was at least 75 percent black. According to data taken from 2004, the low-income and middle-class students did very well, but the middle-class students had ISAT scores an average of 20 percentage points higher than the average of other blacks around the state, many of whom come from high-poverty schools. Trice summarizes the article by stating:

Certainly there are some knuckleheads who, as Cosby suggested, taunt black kids. But brainy kids from other racial groups also are taunted. In the black community, race is often a proxy for poverty. It’s painfully hard to tease out whether black achievement among youths is more a function of being poor or a cultural bias. But it’s also far too easy to keep repeating the same message without attempting to turn it on its head.13

**Bill Cosby’s Critics**

To discuss the countervailing arguments of Bill Cosby’s viewpoint, Juan Williams writes how black academics and self-styled black radicals were left to pick up the attack. Cosby was not their hero, on TV or in person. The starting point for the critics was that he should not have said it in public, on the fiftieth anniversary of the *Brown* decision. And he really shouldn’t have said it without explaining to white people—especially conservative white people—that he wasn’t talking about all black people, but just some black people. Author Earl Ofari Hutchinson wrote in the *Los Angeles Times* that, “Cosby didn’t invent the shopworn stereotype that poor blacks are their own worst
enemy...but what [people] heard from him only reinforces negative beliefs about the poor.” In a black paper, the Los Angeles Sentinel, a writer named Larry Ashby accused Cosby of “Callous insensitivity.” The bottom line, Ashby wrote, was that Cosby’s “tirade failed to cite racism and related systemic factors that clearly provided the context for poor education, excessive poverty, violence, and hopelessness. Bill Cosby surely knows that minimizing the continuing impact of race is too dangerous a game for blacks to engage in.” Michael Males, a sociologist, argued that Cosby had few statistics to support his fierce opinions. If the comedian used statistics honestly, Males said, he would have had to talk about recent declines in teen pregnancy, violent crime, and spousal abuse among black people. Males said Cosby ignored the fact that there were now more black Americans in college than at any other time in history.¹⁶

There are others who call Bill Cosby’s viewpoint into question, including Ta-Nehisi Coates of the Village Voice, who said Cosby was guilty of directing “invective” against black people that normally would prompt the NAACP to start boycotts and picketing. He said no white person could get away with a speech attacking low-income blacks, maybe not even a black person could get away with it, with one exception. That exception, he said, was Cosby. Coates argued that Cosby was insulated from proper rebuke because of his long history of giving money to black organizations and politicians. He concluded, however, that Cosby was just another old man “showing his age.” He wrote that Cosby was “no more insightful than your crotchety old uncle standing on the corner shaking his cane, ranting to no one in particular: ‘Damn kids!’ Of course, no one in his or her right mind would hand your uncle a bullhorn.” One of the few white writers
to take on Cosby was Barbara Ehrenreich. In a column in the *New York Times*, she explained that she almost missed the controversy over Cosby's comments because it was another billionaire bashing poor blacks: "The only thing that gave this particular story a little piquancy is that the billionaire doing the bashing is black himself." She dismissed the whole episode as the latest version of attacks on poor black women as lazy and promiscuous baby machines, and black kids as a "generation of 'super-predators,' gang-bangers, and thugs." One Cosby critic pointed out that Cosby had once created a lovable but street-wise character, Fat Albert, who sometimes spoke in a black dialect. Yet here he was, criticizing people for engaging in the same kinds of behavior as Fat Albert. A chorus of critics came together to accuse Cosby of hypocrisy. Christopher Farley, a *Time* magazine cultural critic, also complained about Cosby scolding young black people for not speaking proper English. Great black writers, ranging from Zora Neale Hurston to Langston Hughes, wrote literature using black dialects.¹⁷

The most significant challenge to Bill Cosby's argument that there exists an African-American cultural bias against education comes from Professor Michael Eric Dyson, who wrote a response to Cosby's speech in a book titled *Is Bill Cosby Right? Or Has the Black Middle Class Lost its Mind?* In explaining his chapter "Classrooms and Cell Blocks," Dr. Dyson states:

The wide resource gulf between suburban and urban schools is exacerbated by the profound resegregation of American schools. Although *Brown* was to have destroyed the vicious segregation of American schools, patterns of disturbing neoapartheid have endured, bringing in their wake substantive inequalities. More than 70 percent of black students in the country attend schools that are composed largely of minority students. Even though the segregation of black students falls more than 25 points below its level in 1969, the existence of financially strapped, resource-starved, technologically underserved predominantly minority schools is
a rebuke to the judicial mandate to integrate students, and, it was thought, resources, in schools attended by all races. But the mythology of either resource sharing or true integration lapses in the face of current trends. White students usually attend schools where less than 20 percent of the student body is drawn from races other than their own, while black and brown students attend schools composed of 53 to 55 percent of their own race. In some cases, the percentage is much higher, as more than a third of them attend schools with a 90 to 100 percent minority population. As black and brown students get concentrated in knots of ethnicity, and often poverty, in central city schools, their educational resources are, likewise, increasingly depleted, resulting in gross inequities between white students and their black and brown peers. If Cosby was aware of this disturbing trend, he gave little indication as he railed against poor parents and their children who are victims of resegregation.6

Much of Dyson’s information seems to suggest that Cosby’s lack of data dilutes the quality of his argument except when he cites certain aspects of his dissertation in which he further argues in this section that it was not always the case that Cosby blamed poor parents and students for their plight while ignoring the structural features of educational inequality. In his doctoral thesis, entitled, An Integration of the Visual Media Via Fat Albert and the Cosby Kids into the Elementary School Curriculum as a Teaching Aid and Vehicle to Achieve Increased Learning, Cosby got right to the heart of the matter as he argued that two fundamental issues had to be addressed if educators were to ensure equal education for all students: the development of a curriculum that would help students: the development of a curriculum that would help students reach their full potential, but before that, “The need to eliminate institutional racism.” Cosby lucidly characterized his view of institutional racism when he elaborated on how schools instill harmful beliefs in black children. Dyson further explains it is evident from his dissertation that Cosby saw schools as hotbeds of ideology and politics that are transmitted through the curriculum, and more subtly through the attitudes of teachers as
they interact with black students. Cosby also insisted on the link between systematic inequities and the diminished self-esteem of the student; he refused to unfairly blame black children for lacking the desire to succeed when the classroom passed along diseased ideas about black identity.19

Conclusion

Cultural bias against education has been a topic of intense debate for a very long time. The issue has been passionately supported by advocates and reviled by opponents. It is mentioned in an article published in Diverse Issues that Bill Cosby dismisses the criticism he has received over the years from Black scholars like Georgetown University professor Dr. Michael Eric Dyson and Columbia University’s Dr. Marc Lamont Hill, who fault him for promoting a rhetoric that demonizes poor people. Bill Cosby calls these scholars “excusionists,” a word he created, and “protectionists” and criticizes mainstream media for its failure, he says to report on issues that impact Black families for fear of being branded as racist. Cosby states, “They [the media] seem to be afraid to look like they are telling Black people what to do, so they would rather look at it with controversy.” For his part, Hill, an associate professor of education, notes that Cosby has “toned down his rhetoric” since that 2004 speech, but he’s not convinced Cosby recognizes the “structural issues” that contribute to Black poverty.20

Cosby says parents have to become more involved in their children’s lives.

“You’re supposed to go and see the teacher of your child. You’re supposed to check on your child’s homework. Now, there may be some exception to the rule for why someone couldn’t but there’s no exception to the rule if I say to you:
‘Don’t you have a cousin, an aunt, somebody you can trust to talk to and look at your child’s homework while you’re running down three jobs.

Cosby ends his argument by stating:

The fact that you’re holding down three jobs and your health is not that good and you don’t have enough money to pay your bills, isn’t that even more of a reason to try and make sure that your child goes for an education to get into some kind of career? It’s not a guarantee that your child won’t be laid off. Excusionists say that I’m saying, ‘You’re broke because you’re too lazy.’ No, I’m saying: ‘Get up. It’s not the time to give up.’

The cultural bias against black education discussion can play a pivotal role in helping to define the conditions for African-American Male Initiative programs, which actively set the agenda for public policy, and help to chart the course for future debates. As it now stands, the data collected on such programs is still in its infancy stage and is left up to using case studies from program directors that have developed models that have been deemed successful over the course of the past seven years. Failure of politicians to engage in such discussions as the cultural bias against education could amount to a missed opportunity for public policy in influencing African-American Male Initiative programs and likewise may jeopardize the loss of perceived legitimacy of the need to increase black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities.

African-American Male Initiative Survey Results

When respondents were questioned about their familiarity of the African-American Male Initiative program established by the University System of Georgia Board of Regents, 25% stated “no,” they are not familiar with the initiative, while 75% stated “yes,” they were familiar with the initiative. This is an indicator that the initiative’s program directors were provisionally instrumental in getting the program information out
to the audience that was addressed in the survey. The respondents that responded “yes” were asked did they feel the initiative can be an effective program to increase black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities and the following responses were given:

One respondent answered that the program is bringing awareness of this important issue to campuses, then campuses are developing programs to assist students. Another respondent believes that the program needs more financial support. A respondent who described herself as a college president, believes that the program can be deemed effective because it provides resources, preparation and encouragement to attend college so that participants can pursue meaningful careers. One respondent seemed to concur with the cultural bias in education preview when he responded that he was unsure that the program will work, because the main problem is peer pressure and parents’ lack of motivation. Another respondent offered recommendations such as the need to provide academic enrichment and college and life prep skills. The respondent stated that the program must also provide financial incentives and scholarships. One respondent believed that the program will have little impact, but did not explain why, which is subject to be on trail, if this person is a decision-maker that may have control over the budget for such programs. This is similar to a respondent that believes the program has difficulty reaching the core of the problem.

A respondent who identified himself as the president of a public HBCU recommended developing mentoring programs at all the institutions, which focuses on performing well in college, retention, career commitment/development, graduation and
beyond. Another respondent recommended providing support services, mentoring and coaching. One respondent uses the reoccurring theme of mentorship and tutoring as well as lots of encouragement. This is similar to a respondent who believes the program provides a role model for peer group and encourages excellence. Another respondent believes that the program can be effective if it reaches the target population at the seventh grade level and engage them through high school graduation. A respondent who is a member of the University System Board of Regents, believes the initiative is geared more towards retaining the black male once they attend, but more emphasis should be placed at the middle school and high school levels. Another college president has a similar view point, when he states that the program can provide a system of motivation and support at early levels of schooling. This is another reoccurring theme, which is used by one respondent that believes there has to be an aggressive approach to this problem through early grade level intervention. And finally, the registrar from a traditionally white public institution responded that the initiative can be effective if it invited members of the business, civic, and community to assist in developing it. Also follow up programs need to be implemented to show success or failure of programs.

This part of the survey highlights two main themes open to consideration that have come from the respondents, one is the need for a mentor component to make the program effective and the need to reach African-American males at the middle school level to be deemed as useful tools to increase African-American males in Georgia public colleges and universities.
The next section of the survey results examines three important issues in reviewing how African-American Male Initiatives compare with other methodologies that can be deemed conditionally useful in increasing black male enrollment in Georgia's public colleges and universities. First, the respondents' views on spending levels are examined. Second, the respondents' views on the level of importance of various programs, and finally, how the respondents views on ranking the importance of the various programs.

The first question measured how did the respondents feel the spending for the issues listed based on the following levels: Should increase, should remain the same, should decrease, or no opinion (see Table 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Level of Spending</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Should increase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Should remain the same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>No opinion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As far as recruiting efforts to increase the number of black male applicants, 89 percent or 24 of the applicants felt that the level of spending should increase, while 7 percent or 2 of the applicants felt that the level of spending should remain the same, and 4 percent or 1 respondent had no opinion of the issue.

In regards to question 20(c), the availability of financial aid as a spending priority, provided a forum in which the respondents were allowed to express their opinions on the
level of spending. This was based on whether the level of funding for this issue should increase or whether no opinion was offered (see Table 2).

Table 2. The Availability of Financial Aid as a Spending Priority

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Level of Spending</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Should increase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Should remain the same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>No opinion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question 20(d) asked about academic enrichment programs, in which 25 respondents or 93 percent of the respondents felt that the level of spending should increase, while 3.5 percent or one respondent felt that the level of spending should remain the same, and 3.5 percent or one respondent had no opinion. And finally, question 20(e) when asked for recommendations for other issue areas, 21 percent or six respondents offered ideals, while 14 percent or one respondent offered no opinion. The opinions that were offered included parental engagement increased spending for high school counselor training, follow-up programs for middle school through high school aged students, mentoring programs, and more marketing of Georgia public colleges and university programs. The analysis of the results show that the respondents have a probationary feeling that the level of spending for academic enrichment programs should increase, while the level of spending for African-American Male Initiative programs finished equivalent to how the level of spending should be resolved. Although based on small number of survey responses, this unconfirmed finding signifies that spending levels for
academic enrichment programs may be deemed more important than the spending levels for African-American Male Initiative programs.

Question 21(a) addressed the issue of importance of programs designed to increase the level of black male enrollment in Georgia’s public college’s and universities when examining programs such as the African-American Male Initiatives (see Table 3).

Table 3. The Importance of Programs Designed to Increase the Level of Black Male Enrollment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>The Importance of the Programs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Very Important</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Somewhat important</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>No opinion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question 21(b) addressed the impact of black male enrollment in regards to recruiting efforts to increase the number of black male applicants, 81 percent or 22 respondents felt that this issue was very important and 19 percent or five respondents thought that the issue was somewhat important. Question 21(c) represented in Table 4, explains how the respondents of the survey felt about the importance of the availability of financial aid.

Table 4. The Availability of Financial Aid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Availability of Financial Aid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Very important</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Somewhat important</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>No opinion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When measuring the importance of academic enrichment programs, which was represented in question 21(d), 74 percent or 20 respondents felt that the program was very important.

Finally, under other or question 21(e), 67 percent or 2 respondents felt that their ideals were very important and 33 percent or 1 respondent had no opinion. Of the 2 other options given, 1 respondent felt that mentoring programs were important, and the other felt that academic enrichment at an early age was important (see Table 5).

Table 5. The Importance of Academic Enrichment Programs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mentoring Programs/Academic Enrichment Programs at an early age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>No opinion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question 21, although not final in its conclusion, shows that a majority of the respondents view the availability of financial aid as being very important, while African-American Male Initiatives finishes tied for third in its level of importance.

Finally, in question 22, the respondents were asked to rank the issue areas in order of importance, with one (1) being ranked most importance and five (5) being ranked as least importance. When ranking the importance of Academic enrichment programs issue area (22-1), 33 percent or nine respondents ranked it as being most important while the other 67 percent or 18 ranked it otherwise, and 0 percent of the respondents ranked it as least important. In regards to African-American Male Initiative programs, issue area (22-2) 37 percent or 10 respondents ranked it as most important, while 52 percent or 14
respondents ranked it at other areas of importance, and 11 percent or 3 respondents ranked it as least important. Relative to financial aid, issue area (22-3), 11 percent or 3 respondents ranked it as being most important and 78 percent or 21 respondents ranked it in other areas of importance, while 11 percent or 3 respondents ranked it as least important. When the respondents ranked the issue area (22-4) of recruiting efforts to increase the number of black male applicants, 11 percent or 3 respondents viewed it as most important, 74 percent or 20 respondents viewed it in other areas of importance, while 15 percent or 4 respondents viewed the issue as least important.

Finally, issue area (22-5), which examined the issue of other programs or ideals that would increase the black male enrollment level in Georgia’s public colleges and universities, 50 percent or four respondents viewed them as most importance and 25 percent or two respondents viewed the issues in lower levels of importance and the other 25 percent or two respondents as least importance. The respondents that included other in their rankings, thought that high school counselors and teachers, as well as peer mentoring as important factors. In analyzing the results for this section, the findings show that the respondents view African-American Male Initiative programs as most important and recruiting as least important. If the analysis is used to develop a comprehensive holistic approach to increasing black male enrollment in Georgia public colleges and universities, the following approaches would probably be highly recommended:

Academic enrichment programs, availability of financial aid, and African-American Initiative programs.
African-American Male Initiative Programs Interviews and Focus Groups

This section of the data analysis focuses on three components. The first highlights the recent results of the African-American Male Initiative program and an interview with Arlethia Perry-Johnson, who formed a 52-member task force composed of state and national higher education and K-12 leaders. She also coordinated the collection of extensive qualitative research conducted with the target audience of black males, and quantitative telephone surveys conducted with more than 700 18–25 year old males and key influencers of their educational choices. Second, this section highlights the African-American Male Initiative program established at the historically black Albany State University, with an interview with W. Frank Wilson, the Director of the Center for the African-American Male (CAAM) program. Finally, this section will feature an interview with Sarah Vaughn, the Coordinator of the Georgia Perimeter College Leadership Academy as well as a focus group with the Academy's with participants from 17–23 years old. The results of the interviews and focus groups discussions are found in Appendix A.

Arlethia Perry-Johnson: African-American Male Initiative Program Project Director

In a brochure published in 2008 by the Board of Regents of the University System of Georgia titled “African American Male Initiative,” under the article AAMI is Yielding Results the report highlights the findings of the program over a six year period from 2003 through 2008. The article states:

Marking its six-year milestone, the University System of Georgia’s African-American Male Initiative (AAMI) was launched in the summer of 2002 as a research and marketing project aimed at identifying the barriers to college
attendance by African-American males within the University System of Georgia. With the assistance of external researchers and a 52-member task force comprised of academics, educators, civic and business leaders from across the state and nation, extensive quantitative research and qualitative analysis was submitted to the Board of Regents of the University of Georgia in May 2003. As a result, the Board committed to funding several pilot projects targeting the challenges and recommendations identified in the report. From 2003 to 2008, the University System of Georgia (USG) invested nearly $625,000 in AAMI pilot programs that have served more than 2,000 of Georgia’s black male middle-school, high school and college students. In addition, many institutions within the USG implemented self-funded efforts in support of the initiative’s goals.

In July 2002, three known programs in the USG focused on improving educational outcomes for African-American males. In 2008, more than 19 USG institutions were operating 25 different AAMI programs focusing on the K-12 pipeline, college retention and student life. AAMI is yielding results. Between fall 2002 and 2007, African-American male enrollment in the USG increased from 17,068 to 21,249—an increase of 24.5 percent. During 2007 alone, African-American male enrollment increased by 7.4 percent—the largest ever single-year percentage increase—resulting in 1,465 new African-American male students enrolled in USG college and universities. Since the program’s inception, the gap has closed between African-American male and African-American female enrollment growth within the USG. In fall 2002, black female enrollment growth increased 9.5 percent over the previous fall, compared to an enrollment growth of 7.2 percent for black males for the period. By fall 2004, the black female enrollment growth was 2.8 percent, nearly on par with the percentage increase of 2.9. In fall 2005, black male enrollment growth of 3.1 percent nearly tripled that of the Black female enrollment increase of 1.4 percent. The closing of the gap continued in fall 2007, when the black female increase was 4.4 percent compared to the Black male increase of 7.4 percent, significantly reversing the negative trend.22

The article further explains that:

The USG’s AAMI efforts have garnered significant attention, including inquiries from other academic entities, presentation at national conferences, statewide and national media coverage, positioning the Georgia’s system’s work in improving educational outcomes for black males as a national benchmark. In July 2006, AAMI was awarded a $100,000 grant from the Lumina Foundation for Education’s McCabe Fund. These funds were used to support AAMI programs at three USG institutions and a graduate student in the Board of Regents’ Office of Strategic Research and Policy Analysis. In August 2007, AAMI hired its first full-time employee. Betsy Green serves as assistant project director, supporting Arlethia Perry Johnson, who serves as project director on a part-time basis. AAMI
convened its first-ever University System-wide AAMI Best Practices conference in November 2007 at Kennesaw State University’s campus.23

Finally, the article highlights accomplishments that occurred during the spring of 2007, which include:

A Request for Proposals (RFP) process was conducted within the USG to fund 2008 summer and 2008–2009 academic-year best-practice AAMI initiatives. As a result, $200,000 was awarded to 11 USG institutions in the fourth round of AAMI pilot grant funding. Also during the 2007 – 2008 year, AAMI officials worked on collaborative efforts with the Board of Regents and GA College 411 officials to build a collaborative Web site aimed at young black males and designed to provide them and their parents targeted information regarding the path to college admission, standardized test preparation and financial aid. The Web site is supported by a statewide radio and television marketing campaign called 'Million Dollar Player' that is designed to communicate that college graduates earn $1 million more in income over their lifetimes than high-school graduates. The Web site, www.aaimi-mdp.usg.edu, was launched during Fall 2008.24

On July 2, 2008, the author conducted an interview at Kennesaw State University with Arlethia Perry-Johnson, project director of the University Systems nationally recognized African-American Male Initiative, aimed at enhancing black male participation in college. Arlethia Perry-Johnson, also serves as special assistant to the President of Kennesaw State University (KSU) for external affairs. She joined Kennesaw State University in October 2006 after serving nearly 12 years as associate vice chancellor for media and publications with the Board of Regents of the University System of Georgia. Her current responsibilities at KSU include serving as a member of the President’s Cabinet, supervising the University Relations department, and managing the university’s legislative, community and public affairs. Perry-Johnson has enjoyed more than 25-year communications career that spans public, investor and media relations, launched after early success in print journalism and commercial and cable television.
Perry-Johnson joined the Board of Regents of the University Systems of Georgia in February 1995 as an assistant vice chancellor, charged with building a new public relations operation and with elevating the university system’s national profile. Named associate vice chancellor for media and publications in September 2002, she developed and implemented communications strategies that impacted, positioned and marketed the state’s 35 public colleges and universities. Among her duties, Perry-Johnson served the Board of Regents as chief spokesperson, working daily with local, regional, national and international media, campus presidents and a wide array of statewide constituents.

**Center for African-American Males: Albany State University**

The Center for the African-American Male (CAAM), formerly addressed as the Center for the Study of the Black Male, was established at a time when there was an overt cry for knowledge about a misunderstood being. Albany State University answered that cry when their late president, Dr. Billy Black, and his colleagues in 1988 designed this organization to promote positive influence, education and growth. Albany State College, (now Albany State University) took upon the task. For over 20 years, CAAM has been a beacon of light that has helped to minimize the misinformation about African-American males, their families, lifestyles, education, and future generations. Constantly nurtured and supported in positive ways, members of the Center for the African-American Male may become successful leaders and contributors to a more just society.

The Center for the African-American Male, CAAM at Albany State University, is dedicated to developing African-American men to be leaders in the community, the state of Georgia and the nation. The program’s focus has been on cultivating a culture of
change through mentoring and educational programs to assist students in advancing to the
next level of maturity into manhood, when they can mentor others toward success. The
program further strive to develop the image as well as the quality of life of African-
American families by addressing developmental needs, interests and talents of male
colleigate students and youth.26

On May 9, 2008, the author conducted an interview at Albany State University
with W. Frank Wilson, Director of the Center for the African-American Male.

The Leadership Academy: Georgia Perimeter College

The Leadership Academy at Georgia Perimeter College is an innovative
scholarship and retention program that provides opportunities for students who are
underrepresented in higher education. The program focuses predominately on African-
American males, and has its goal to increase retention and graduation/transfer rates of
this group by offering individualized academic and personal support. Located on the
Clarkston Campus, this program is designed to improve post-secondary access. The
Leadership Academy provides experiences to help support the success of students in
college.

The Leadership Academy at Georgia Perimeter College was formed in 2005 to
enhance the college experience and increase retention and graduation of African-
American males, a group that, according to the University System of Georgia’s
African-American Male Initiative, has been underrepresented on many Georgia
campuses. ‘The program was the brain child of faculty members at Georgia
Perimeter College who saw a need to increase the chances of success of black
male students,’ says Sarah Vaughn, program director. The Leadership Academy
has been supported by private donations from the Georgia Perimeter College
Foundation trustees such as Carolyn Glenn and Tommy Dortch, as well as
corporate and foundation support from the John and Mary Franklin Foundation,
Georgia Pacific Foundation, AGL Resources and Georgia Power. The program
also is widely supported through private donations from Georgia Perimeter
College employees. The Leadership Academy is both an intervention and a retention program. The program boasted a retention rate of 78 percent for the first-time in 2008, full-time freshmen enrolled in the academy its first year versus a 50 percent retention rate for Georgia Perimeter College African-American males not enrolled in the program. Among the services provided that are helping the students to succeed are scholarships, mentoring, leadership development, team building, tutoring, college visits, academic advisement, weekly workshops and group discussions.27

On October 13, 2008, the author conducted an interview at Georgia Perimeter College with Sarah Vaughan, Coordinator of the Leadership Academy.

**Georgia Perimeter College Leadership Academy Focus Group**

On October 13, 2008, a focus group discussion was conducted with ten members of the Georgia Perimeter College Leadership Academy. The following are findings from the focus group discussion. Table 6 was addressed in the focus group questionnaire in question two, in which the findings show the approaches that influenced the participants of the Georgia Perimeter College Leadership Academy to attend college.

Table 6. Approaches that Influenced Respondents to Attend College

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Influences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Academic enrichment programs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Scholarships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>“Myself”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This question points to the importance of financial aid in improving black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities, but due to the lack of sufficient data from only ten participants from the Leadership Academy, the study cannot be settled on these figures.
The response to focus group question four: Who would you say makes the most important impact on black male enrollment in Georgia's public colleges and universities, 60 percent of the respondents replied leaders of Black Community Based Organizations, while the other 40 percent respondent replied Others, including peers, parent and teachers, as well as family members.

In focus group question five, which addresses, the level of problem that low enrollment of black males in Georgia’s public colleges and universities, 70 percent of the respondents replied it was a serious problem, while to other 30 percent thought it was a moderate problem.

The focus group was asked in question six a question related to the issue of ending Affirmative Action admissions policies and how likely are they to have an adverse effect on black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities. 80 percent of the respondents replied yes, while the other 20 percent replied no. This answer might be deemed as slightly skewed due to the racial composition of the focus group, which was 100 percent black. In other words, the results are indefinite because of the lack of a wide variety of participants in the study.

Focus group question seven, which addresses the implementation of policies to improve the availability of financial aid programs which would allow Georgia’s public colleges and universities to experience an increased level of black male enrollment was discussed. The focus group answered an overwhelmingly 90 percent rate of yes to the question, while the other 10 percent had no opinion, once again pointing towards evidence that participants in this study have a strong, but somewhat makeshift opinion
about financial aid and the enrollment rates of students and their tendency to attend college. The focus group was asked in question one, why they decided to enroll at Georgia Perimeter College? Table 7 attests the rationale behind the respondents’ answers.

Table 7. What Influenced Respondents to Enroll at Georgia Perimeter College (GPC)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Why did you decide to enroll in GPC?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>To adjust to college life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>To transfer to a four-year college</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Thought GPC was the right fit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Affordability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>To stay close to family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>The opportunity to further my education</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The focus group was asked in question three, what groups and individuals had a significant impact on their enrollment decision? When given the selection of parents, the respondents overwhelmingly at an 80 percent response rate stated parents had a lot of impact, while the other 20 percent stated some.

In regards to fraternities and sororities, only 10 percent stated their role had a lot of impact, and the other 90 percent stated they had none. Without further evaluating the data, our findings from this focus group allow us to see that they believe that their parents had a lot of impact on their enrollment decision, while fraternities or fraternities had almost none.
Question 3(c) which is illustrated in Table 8, gives particulars the influence the church had on respondents attending college.

Table 8. Influence Church Had on Respondents Attending College

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Impact of Church</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>A lot of impact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Some impact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>No impact</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results from civic organizations was similar to that of the fraternities and sororities, for example none of the respondents felt that civic organizations had a lot of impact, but 40 percent felt they had some and the other 60 percent felt they had no impact. Question 3(e), which is illustrated in Table 9, gives evidence the impact that the role of guidance counselors has on focus group members.

Table 9. The Impact of the Role of Guidance Counselors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Impact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>A lot of impact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Some impact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>No impact</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The focus group also felt that the University System Board of Regents did not have a lot of impact on their enrollment decision, while only 10 percent stated some and the other 90 percent stated no impact. The focus group's answers to question 3(g) are depicted in Table 10, which focuses on the impact of the university presidents.
Table 10. The Impact of the University Presidents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Impact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>A lot of impact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Some impact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>No impact</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question 3(h) addresses the amount of impact that admissions directors had on the focus group which is illustrated by the results portrayed in Table 11.

Table 11. The Role of Admissions Directors Had on the Focus Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Impact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>A lot of impact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Some impact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>No impact</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

State Legislatures also had similar outcomes to those of University System Board of Regents and college presidents, in which the focus group responded that their impact on their enrollment decision was not a lot, and only 10 percent stated that their impact had some impact and 90 percent answered no impact. The final results is split evenly between a lot of impact and no impact, in which some of the answers included teachers, self-fulfillment, and people I look up to as answers to groups or individuals that have significant impact on the focus group's enrollment decision.

The focus group was given the option in question eight to create their own concept of what they believed would be the best methodology for creating a blueprint for
addressing black male student enrollment in Georgia's public colleges and universities. Seventy-percent of the respondents did not have an opinion or solution for this question, while the other 30 percent gave responses such as going out and talking to black males and telling them why they should attend college. Designing more tours for black males to stay at universities for a week, and an intergenerational statewide forum that involves parents, teachers and counselors.

The group was asked in question nine when thinking about issues that need to be addressed to increase the level of black male enrollment in Georgia's public colleges and universities how important do you think the issue areas are? Sixty-percent responded that African-American Male Initiative programs were very important and the other 40 percent thought that it was somewhat important. While analyzing question nine, the leading issue area was financial aid, in which an overwhelming 90 percent thought it was very important and the other 10 percent thought it was somewhat important. Academic enrichment programs were split at 50 percent for very important and 50 percent for somewhat important. Finally, the focus group responded that 20 percent of other was very important, 30 percent was somewhat important and the other 50 percent they had no opinion. The responses under other included answers such as parents and study abroad programs.

In question 10(4) the focus group was asked how important were recruiting efforts in increasing the number of black male college applicants? The outcome is illustrated based on percentage rankings in Table 12.
Table 12. Recruiting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Importance of Recruiting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>A very important issue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>A somewhat important issue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Was not important</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The leading issue area was financial aid, in which an overwhelming 90 percent thought it was very important and the other 10 percent thought it was somewhat important. Academic enrichment programs were split at 50 percent for very important and 50 percent for somewhat important. Finally, the focus group responded that 20 percent of other was very important, 30 percent was somewhat important and the other fifty percent they had no opinion. The responses under other included answers such as parents and study abroad programs.

Finally, in question ten, the focus group was requested to rank the issue areas in order of importance, with 1 being most importance and 5 being least importance. In the category of academic enrichment programs, 20 percent responded they were most important, 70 percent thought they were somewhat important, and 10 percent responded that they were least important. In regards to African-American Male Initiative Programs, 50 percent responded they were most important and the other 50 percent responded they were somewhat important. The results for the availability of financial aid were similar, in which 50 percent of the respondents stated that it is most important and the other 50 percent responded that the issue is somewhat important. Finally, when asked about
recruiting efforts to increase the number of black male applicants, 30 percent responded
that it was most important and 70 percent thought it was somewhat important.

At the end of the focus group, the participant where asked to add any additional
comments they have regarding their participation in Georgia Perimeter College’s
Leadership Academy. Some of the comments included that parents and guardians should
become more involved. One participant added that the Leadership Academy has shown
him that black men can work together as a group. The Leadership Academy has
introduced him to new people. He has even come in contact with good mentors,
informative information and open discussions. And lastly, a participant stated that the
Leadership Academy provides a lot of opportunities and has helped him and other
members a great deal.

**Programs of Excellence: Introduction**

This section focuses on three programs of excellence at selected Georgia public
colleges and universities. The first is located at the University of Georgia (UGA) called
“Project Gentlemen on the Move,” a partnership effort between and the Clarke County
School district, targeting black males to increase their enrollment and retention in high
school preparatory courses and their academic success in those courses. The second is
located at the University of West Georgia called “Center for African American Males:
Research, Success and Leadership, which is targeted at the retention, leadership
development and black males at the university. The program is also designed develop
programming with local middle and senior high school to increase the graduation rate and
post-secondary admission potential of African-American males in the western region of
Georgia. Finally, this section will focus on Georgia State University and its Developing Relationships that Enhance African-American Males’ Scholastic Success (DREAMS).

This program partners with three Atlanta-area high schools, the Atlanta Housing Authority, and the Georgia State African-American male student organization Tighter Grip to target black male students and parents in low-performing K-12 schools in metro Atlanta.

University of Georgia Project: Gentlemen on the Move

The goals of this mentoring and academic-support program are to develop and nurture academic and social excellence in African-American male adolescents. More specifically, the program aims to increase the number of college preparatory and advanced college courses successfully completed by program participants, thereby equipping them with the necessary academic and social skills they will need to be successful in institutions of higher learning.

Deryl Bailey, Ph.D., a professor of counseling and human development services in the University of Georgia, College of Education is the founder of the program. The program consists of volunteers who handle classes from 8:30 a.m. to 1 p.m. every Saturday morning in which the students study math, science and reading, as well as discuss character building. Activities include field trips to various exhibits, including places such as the Tennessee Aquarium. The program began in 2000 with approximately 25 high school participants, and then it was opened up to the elementary and middle schools, and the number increased to 85 participants. Dr. Bailey dispels the myth about
black parents that they do not care about their children. He notes that the program has 20 to 30 parents who come to the meetings.28

Bailey notes that students in the program are expected to do well academically and socially and his presence at the schools represented not only shows that expectation, but it also shows he cares. Bailey believes that regardless of where they start, they will (improve) if they stick with the program. He also states they will do even better if their parents are supportive. The program has 100 percent retention of its participants. They either stop coming or they are suspended. On Saturdays, they only thing that matters is the program is here for those who participate. He notes that it is about studying when nobody else is studying. In his job at UGA, Bailey emphasis the importance of guidance counselors in school systems. His philosophy is that the way to have a greater impact on students is to train the people who do what he loves to do (counseling). He notes that counselors play a critical role in the success of students. His data cites that in some schools, the ratio of counselors to students is high; sometimes 500 to 600 to one. So counselors are trained to be advocates for all students. Dr. Bailey feels he has a large indirect impact on children through his work teaching counselors at UGA. And he feels a more direct impact through his work in the community.29

University of West Georgia: Black Men With Initiative

This program was initiated and led by a graduate of Clark Atlanta University's political science Ph.D. program, Said Sewell III, who is currently serving as an associate professor of political science and executive director of the Academic Success Center at Fort Valley University. He was the 2007 recipient of the University System of Georgia's
African-American Male Initiatives Best Practices Leadership award. The University of Georgia’s program focuses on creating a brotherhood of successful black male students. The students begin during their freshmen year as cohorts, live together, counsel together and reinforce one another in the effort to learn, achieve and graduate. Called the West Georgia Learning Community, the students learn to trust on another, almost as brothers, and then are learning to care about one another’s success. These are the rudiments of cooperation that so many other students take for granted. The program is about the mentorship of brothers supporting one another. It has high expectations of the participants, and they are told not to lower them. The hands-on cooperation of this particular group of young men is evident in many ways. During 2005, one of the students, for example, had a tendency to be late. Other students “adopted” him and called him well before hand to make sure he was out of bed and was underway in time to make his appointments. What makes participants in the Black Men With Initiative Program unique is that they represent a cross section of the school’s Black population. They were not selected by grades or academic records. They come from a volunteer group of about 15 percent of the number of African-American men admitted each year. The group activities include a class on black male issues and another on critical thinking. Along with these self-contained studies, the students take courses in American history, English and communications with the rest of the general student population. The West Georgia Learning Community comprises of one of the latest attempts in an anti-affirmative action environment to overcome a problem that has concerned educators not only in Georgia but across the country over the past two decades—how to help black men get in step with
other students when it comes to college attendance and college graduation. It costs approximately $25,000 to run the program, which operates out of the Center for African-American Male Research, Success and Leadership. The center has received funding from outside sponsors such as the United Parcel Service (UPS) Foundation, Georgia-Pacific Foundation and Wal-Mart just to name a few.30

Like any bold effort, the West Georgia program has drawn its critics, who mainly ask why such a narrow population group should be singled out for special favors when there are problems of lagging students throughout the educational system. The university’s response is that the state has examined the figures and found that black men specifically have had specially problems in the education process. Follow-up studies show that in Georgia, black male students trail other groups from elementary through high school. And in a state where black males comprise approximately 16 percent of the general population, they are only 7.2 percent of the college population. Black women on the other hand, make up 15 percent of Georgia’s college population. Moreover, college graduation rates showed dramatic differences: Forty-seven percent for white females, 42 percent for white males, 35 percent for black women and just 21 percent for black men.

The Black Men With Initiative began in 2001, as a program to guide students by using counseling, mentoring and encouragement. It was helpful according to statistics. In 2004, the class of 2008 had an average grade point average of 2.63 compared to 2.14 for the rest of the university’s black men. The student population of West Georgia, located in Carrollton an hour west of Atlanta, is about 20 percent African-American. Built into the program is a system for measuring results and in compiling things learned that can be
used more broadly in meeting the needs of all West Georgia students. In addition to their own quest for self support and self improvement, the West Georgia students have adopted a middle school, where they act as big brothers and mentors of young boys at a critical time in their development.\textsuperscript{31}

The University of West Georgia President Beheruz Sethna has made it his mission to get more black men into college and keep them there until graduation. He hammers home the facts: College educated people get better jobs, make more money and create better lives for their children. “Even if you don’t believe in helping African-Americans, you should support this because it’s good for the state,” Sethna said. The learning community was a natural next step to build on the success of the “Black Men With Initiative” program. Research has shown that students in learning communities do better in academics and have a more positive college experience than other students. Participants as freshmen room together in the same residence hall. They enroll in common courses and participate together in events outside the classroom. It is emphasized that the idea of the program is to never keep the program’s participants from being a part of the broader population. The students in the program often come from similar backgrounds. Most are first-generation college students, and many are from single-parent families. There are seldom role models in their lives encouraging them to pursue an education. The program brings in successful black men to show the students what they can achieve through education. Some of the speakers that the program has encountered over the years included civil rights leader and former Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young and Cornel West, a nationally known professor of religion and African-American
studies at Princeton University in New Jersey. The principal credo of the program is to put the mentoring in place and put high expectations in front of them. Give them love. Give them support. They will succeed. One of the many success stories included the founding member of “Black Men With Initiative” serving as president of the group, while at the same time serving as the vice president of the University of West Georgia student government. “Black Men With Initiative” helps create a positive image of black men on campus and in life. Its goal is to change the image of black males and let society know that black males can be doctors, lawyers, leaders.32

Conclusion

This section of the data analysis illustrated various opinions of the survey respondents and how they differ on solutions to increase the enrollment levels of black males in Georgia’s public colleges and universities. One of the key questions addressed in the survey is “What do you feel would be the best methodology for creating a blueprint for addressing black male student enrollment in Georgia’s public college and universities?” One solution was utilizing community-based organizations is where it should start, which emphasis on a positive attitude towards education, in which eight or 30 percent of the respondents believed this would be a good option. Three or 11 percent of respondents believed that an engagement of positive reinforcement programs and more recruitment and encouragement beginning in the elementary and middle school levels can be deemed as a viable option. Another solution, which included two or seven percent of the respondents offered the solution that included parents to include urging marriage and methods to keep parents together. Mentorship programs were suggested by one or 4
percent of the respondents. It was suggested that they focus on exposing youth to a better world and explaining to them there is a better alternative than settling for a mediocre life, that also provide financial support to help ease the financial burden of higher education. Four percent or one respondent offered financial aid as a solution, such as a program called the HOPE Plus, which pays for the financial shortfall not covered by the HOPE Scholarship or Pell Grant. Under the category of Other, 14 percent or 4 respondents offered suggestions such as a forum including several intervention groups at the same time involving parents, K-12 schools, civic and religious organizations and governmental influences, or in essence a multi-group approach. Another option included solid program implementation such as establishing a forum where admissions representatives, parents, and high school counselors can discuss why black male enrollment is low. Finally, similar to the number of respondents that answered community-based organizations, another eight or 30 percent had no opinion about this issue.

Due to the State of Georgia's budget crisis, African-American Male Initiative Programs are going to have to focus on doing more with less and providing their worthiness to politicians. What we have seen based on data since its inception are programs designed to increase the retention level of the University System of Georgia's colleges and universities, but no real facts on whether or not the same energy is used on the recruitment aspect, which is what is being suggested by the respondents of the survey. A few of the African-American Initiative programs combine networking activities with current college students partnering with middle through high school aged students and in some instances earlier. To make an impact in increasing the enrollment level of black
males in Georgia’s public colleges and universities, more of these programs should have interaction with current college students and black males in middle and high school.
NOTES


2. Ibid., 4.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., 4-5.


7. Ibid.


9. Ibid., 6-7.


13. Ibid., 24.


15. Ibid., 1-2.


17. Ibid., 14-15.


19. Ibid., 68-69.

21. Ibid.


23. Ibid., 3-4.

24. Ibid., 4.


26. Ibid.


29. Ibid.


31. Ibid., 2.

CHAPTER VI
DATA ANALYSIS: PART II

Introduction

This section discusses the impact of the public policy affirmative action and the HOPE Scholarship program. The affirmative action component focuses on how affirmative action impact black male enrollment at public colleges and universities in the State of Georgia, as well as California, Michigan and Texas. The HOPE scholarship section discusses the inception of the program, changes over the years of existence, and some of the struggles the program may face, because the funding is facing a shortfall because of the drop in sales of lottery tickets and the increase in the number of students using the funding to attend college.

Affirmative Action Policies

According to G. L. A. Harris of Portland State University, the heated debates during the past 40 years over affirmative action have done more to generate acrimony than to settle attitudes about the policy. Proponents argue emphatically for the merits of affirmative action, without which, little, if any progress, might have been made. Critics assert to the rationale for affirmative action as an unsound measure that risk harming the American psyche in the process. While these debates have tended to fall within the for and against camps on affirmative action, little is known in the public administration literature about the effects of the policy on the psyche of its beneficiaries, namely,
women and underrepresented minorities although Von Bergen et al discuss the
demoralization of these effects in the context of diversity management.¹

University System of Georgia

Robert L. Woodson, Sr. discusses in the book *The Affirmative Action Debate* in
his chapter titled “Personal Responsibility,” Georgia Tech’s Challenge program. The
program was originally conceived as a remedial program for disadvantaged incoming
freshmen. Based on a “deficit” model, it sent the message that there was something
wrong with the minority students that had to be fixed. Initial studies showed that the
youths who were enrolled in the program did not better academically than their
counterparts who were not. An astute assistant to the college president pointed out that
the lack of results did not indicate a problem with the students but a problem with the
program. Under his guidance, the program was recast not as a remedial course but as
something akin to the preseason training of athletes. It was touted as a program designed
to hone the skills of the best and brightest through five weeks of intensive math and
chemistry studies. In its first year, this new version of the program produced significant
results. Ten percent of Georgia Tech’s minority students (as compared to 5% of its white
students) finished with a 4.0 grade point average. In this one year, more blacks achieved a
perfect grade point average than in the entire preceding decade. Retention rates for
minority students in the engineering school approached 100%. In 1995 in response to
requests that were made by white freshmen, the course was being offered to all students.²

This is not to deny that, in some cases, preparation is needed if some students who
have suffered social and economic disadvantages are to compete successfully, but it is to
stress that the preparation should be given with a goal of high standards of performance. Exceptions, high or low, can become self-fulfilling prophecies. Rather than demanding concessions and special exemptions from standards, we should return to focus on practice, performance, and personal responsibility. “Affirmative action” should no longer be equated with demands for special treatment.\(^3\)

Barbara A. Perry writes in her book *The Michigan Affirmative Action Cases*, discusses *Bakke* to the future, in which the focus is on how racial preferences in higher education were percolating through the courts of appeals. She asks, “Would the U.S. Supreme Court accept a case on appeal that might revisit the *Bakke* precedent, which was almost two decades old?” The Fourth Circuit declared unconstitutional a University of Maryland scholarship designated for blacks only. In a lawsuit filed by the Center for Individual Rights (CIR), a conservative public interest law firm, the Fifth Circuit invalidated a University of Texas Law School affirmative action policy that gave special admissions preferences to minorities, and the Eleventh Circuit did the same for a University of Georgia affirmative action plan for admitting minorities. The Supreme Court denied review in the Maryland and Texas cases; Georgia decided not to appeal. Twelve years of Reagan-Bush appointments, in which they replaced more than half the federal judiciary with primarily conservative judges, was having an impact on civil rights laws.\(^4\) The University of Georgia opted to take other steps such as ending preferences for the children of alumni, increasing its minority recruitment efforts, and putting more money into need-based financial aid after losing this federal lawsuit changing its policies of 2001.\(^5\)
According to the University System of Georgia’s Information Reporting System, five years after the Eleventh Circuit’s decision, there has been some fluctuation in the enrollment levels of black, Non-Hispanic origin males. During the fall of 2002, the enrollment level at the University of Georgia was 595, but decreased to 587 during the fall of 2003 and remained the same during the fall of 2004. There was a sign of improvement during the fall of 2005 with an enrollment level of 688, and a slight dip of 682 during the fall of 2006. The analysis shows that there may be a combination of the impact of the new admissions policy and the implementation of the African-American Male Initiative program.

University of California Board of Regents

The University System of California has set the precedent for the elimination of affirmative action policies. Lawsuits were not the only avenue for trying to get racial, ethnic, and gender preferences abolished. The opponents of these policies also had the option of trying to get the law changed to explicitly ban them, leaving their illegality in no doubt. Efforts to persuade federal and state lawmakers to adopt such measures have generally faltered, but state ballot measures calling for bans on preferential treatment have yet to fail at the polls. It probably was no accident that the movement to ban affirmative action through popular referendum arose in California. No other state is as multiethnic, and in no other state are whites being squeezed as tightly in competition for seats at top universities and professional schools. Although the total enrollment of the University of California system grew substantially during the 1980s, there were fewer whites on its campuses at that decade’s end than at its start, mainly as a result of huge
increases in Asian enrollments, especially at the system's most elite campuses. At the University of California at Berkeley whites accounted for 66 percent of enrollment in 1980 and just 42 percent in 1990, even though the state's population remained 58 percent non-Hispanic white. Although the Hispanic share of Berkeley's enrollment had more than tripled to 14.4 percent, they remained even more underrepresented, considering that they accounted for more than a fourth of all Californians. Blacks accounted for 6.8 percent of the state's population and about the same share of Berkeley's enrollment, while the share of students there who were Asian Americans or Pacific Islanders had climbed from 20.7 percent to 28.6 percent, making them three times as prevalent on that campus as they were throughout the state. Competition for a spot at Berkeley had grown so intense that about 21,300 high school graduates—5,800 of them with straight A averages—applied for 3,500 open spots every year. The campus had no choice but to turn away many more than that to make room for less-stellar applicants who had some hook, such as racial or ethnic background that enabled them to contribute to campus diversity. While the median GPA for white and Asian admittees was a 4.0, the median for black and Hispanic admittees was just over 3.5.6

Among the populations jockeying for a place on the University of California campuses were people who were multiracial and did not fit easily into any classification scheme. As their numbers had grown in recent decades, they had established their own advocacy groups to promote their interests but had become divided over exactly what their goals should be. One faction wanted colleges and government agencies to place them in a distinct "multiracial" minority category and afford them the same preferences
and benefits as other minority groups. Others, however, saw themselves as living testament to need for American society to stop asking people to check such boxes, to move beyond classifying people by race. In the latter camp was Ward Connerly, a Sacramento businessman whose blood is roughly equal parts French Canadian, black African, Choctaw Indian, and Irish. He was destined to become the leader of a national movement to abolish racial preferences through ballot referenda. Although generally regarded as black—a fact of his existence that he angrily attributes to “racial ideologies” who perpetuate the “one drop rule” of the Old South where he was raised—Connerly is more politically conservative than most African Americans. He considers himself someone who has made it in life through hard work, and he expresses disdain for liberal social policies that he sees as rooted in white guilt and a vision of race relations in America that is deeply assimilationist, holding that people here should be color-blind and that public colleges and government agencies encourage Balkanization and undermine the common good by categorizing people by race of ethnicity and treating them accordingly. He has written that, “Left to their own devices, Americans will merge and melt into each other.” He has contributed generously to the political campaigns of his old friend Pete Wilson, a Republican who was San Diego’s mayor and a member of the U.S. Senate before serving as California’s governor from 1991 through 1999.7

In 1999, in an effort to work out its admissions policies, California passed a law allowing the top four percent of high school graduates to attend one of the campuses of the U.C. system if they met eligibility requirements, and by 2000 minority percentages were again at levels not seen since the regents banned affirmative action in admissions—
but not at Berkeley or UCLA. There, whites and Asians dominated freshman classes, as minorities were reshuffled to the other campuses in the system, especially to Irvine and Riverside. Eventually, as scholars had projected, the real winners of the affirmative action battles at select public universities were Asian Americans. Nationally, they counted for about 4 percent of all citizens in 1988, but they made up about 20 percent of medical students, while at Berkeley they logged in at 40 percent of incoming freshmen.8

Former Governor Pete Wilson wrote in an analysis in the late nineties of the state of the University of California (UC) admissions system, that if he had to give it a grade for fairness, he would give it an F. He stated at the time the state had begun making some progress to fix it. The university has acknowledged that some practices are unfair, and they’ve vowed to do better. But promises alone are not enough. We need fundamental change in policy. The current system isn’t just unfair to the more-qualified candidates who are turned away. It’s also unfair to the students who are admitted, because the system breeds resentment and divides students by race and ethnicity. As Berkeley student Kevin Nguyen, who came to America from South Vietnam in the 1970s, recently told the San Francisco Chronicle, rather than breaking down racial stereotypes on campus, affirmative action is actually building them up.

The bottom line? The system isn’t fair, and Californians who work hard, pay their taxes, and raise their children to obey the law deserve better. So I decided to urge my fellow regents not to simply tinker on the edges of this morass, but to overhaul the admissions process to ensure that every student, regardless of race or ethnicity, gets equal treatment in admissions. Rather than sacrifice fairness on the alter of diversity, we need
to achieve diversity by ensuring that more minority students graduate from high school qualified to attend college. The real outrage is that many do not. UC can’t solve that problem alone. We need fundamental educational reform to overhaul our public schools — to get guns and drugs out of the classrooms, and parents back in. But UC is uniquely suited to help public schools find new ways to prepare more black and Hispanic students for admission to UC on their individual merits, without preferential treatment. I understand that some are concerned about the turmoil that making these changes will cause.9

In July of 2006, the University of California’s Board of Regents agreed to study how the 10 campus system’s admissions and enrollment have changed in the decade since voters passed a law barring consideration of race and gender in public education. Acting on a request from Regent Fredrick Ruiz and student regent Maria Ledesma, the board decided to reconvene a task force of students, staff and faculty to look at how the university was complying with Proposition 209. Details of the group’s new charge and a timeline for its work were worked out. Several regents said they hoped it would delve more deeply into whether the initiative that required the university to abandon its traditional affirmative action programs undermined efforts to improve student diversity. Regent Eddie Island stated, “African-Americans are disappearing from the UC at an alarming rate. If Proposition 209 brought about this result, we ought to lay it on the table and we ought to know it. The public ought to know it.”10

The study group reported during the summer of 2005 that the university was doing well in admitting students from economically and socially disadvantaged
backgrounds, but lagging in enrolling black and Hispanic students compared to their presence in the population as a whole. Some regents questioned whether another analysis was needed since the university already tracks student enrollment by race. Looking at UC system-wide, admissions for the coming fall 2006 semester were down slightly for black students compared to 1997 and slightly up for Hispanic students. Approved by California voters in November 1996, Proposition 209 banned consideration of race or gender in public hiring, contracting or education. Harold Johnson, a spokesman for the Pacific Legal Foundation, disagreed with UC’s suggestion that the measure has interfered with the university’s goal of promoting a diverse student body. Johnson stated:

The 10th anniversary of Proposition 209 is cause for celebration, not consternation, because it enshrined the principle of equal rights in California law, including at the UC system. That’s Prop 209’s bedrock rule, and any tinkering with UC admissions that would depart from that rule would be immoral and illegal.11

According to the University of California Board of Regents website, in February 2009, they adopted a proposal to change freshman admission to give more high-achieving students the chance to apply to UC and receive a full review of their applications. The new rules will take effect for the fall 2012 entering class. The Academic Senate proposed the changes to address concerns that current policy prevents UC from considering thousands of outstanding students with high GPAs and test scores just because of a technical flaw in their record of a missing test—chiefly, the SAT Subjects Tests, which are not required by any other public university in the country. Under the new policy, all California high school seniors who complete the 15 UC-required college-preparatory
(“a-g”) courses, with 11 of those done by the end of 11th grade, maintain a GPA of 3.0 or better (weighted by honors/AP bonus points) in these courses, and take the ACT with Writing or SAT Reasoning Test will be invited to apply and will be entitled to a comprehensive review of their applications at each UC campus to which they apply. Within this “entitled to review” pool, two categories of applicants will be guaranteed admission somewhere within the UC system: Those who fall in the top nine percent of all high school graduates statewide, and those who rank in the top nine percent of their own high school graduating class. Together, these students are expected to make up about ten percent of the state’s high school graduates. If these students are not admitted to one of the campuses they applied to, they will be referred to a campus with remaining space (currently UC Riverside or UC Merced) and offered admission there, as eligible students are now. The remaining admissions needed to make up the full 12.5 percent pool of top students will be drawn from the broader “entitled to review” pool. All qualified students, whether receiving the referral guarantee or not, will have their application reviewed comprehensively by all UC campuses to which they apply and will compete for those seats. Their qualifications will be assessed using the same campus-based review processes currently in place—ones that emphasize academic achievement, but that also account for a wide range of personal accomplishments and educational contexts.

University System of Michigan

Juan Williams discusses in his book Enough in his chapter titled “The Leadership Gap,” where he analyzes the state of affairs in regards to affirmative action, he states:
Now that the doors are open to global competition, no one is giving away opportunities anymore. If people in power didn’t want to cede opportunity to African Americans when their own positions were secure, they certainly don’t want to do so now that their place at the top of the economic ladder is threatened by a wide-open field of competition from around the world. Beyond jobs, that includes competition to get into school, and competition inside the classroom. The clear fact is that even in the field of education, affirmative action is not long for the United States. Justice Sandra Day O’Connor, in writing a Supreme Court opinion allowing the University of Michigan to use race as a factor in selecting students, said plainly that affirmative action has twenty-five years remaining, at most, as a tool of social policy in the United States—and this before her place on the court was assumed by an even more conservative justice.12

Terry H. Anderson responds to affirmative action in the State of Michigan, by stating:

The Michigan cases closed another chapter—the demise of affirmative action. During the 1990s problems had emerged. Set-asides had too much fraud while the issue of original intent had been complicated by surging immigration. The concept of race itself was becoming increasingly blurry, raising serious questions about who, if anyone, should receive preferences. As for set-asides, the Court mandated strict scrutiny first for cities in Richmond and then federally in Adarand. After the first decision some 230 state and local authorities suspended their programs, reevaluated them, and by 1995 about 100 remained. In response to Adarand, the Clinton administration also decreased the federal program and tightened the criteria for participation. On campus, admission systems that allotted points based on race were tossed out, and colleges revised their processes, but not toward the ‘class-based’ affirmative action. Social scientists had discredited that system because surveys demonstrated that there were not enough poor blacks and Latinos who actually graduated from high school; that policy would eventually result in fewer minorities in college and more poor whites. Voters, governors, or attorneys general in California, Florida, Mississippi, Texas, Washington, and Georgia banned all or part of their state’s programs, and some established percentage plans for college admissions.13

He furthermore explains:

Yet this was not the end of affirmative action in the nation, most states, college admissions, or the private sector. Some Republicans had tried to end the policy in the first half of 1995, and Bob Dole had run against it in 1996. That stand won Dole few votes and it divided his party. Attempts to place ballot initiatives in more states stalled as citizens lost interest. President Clinton had been right. Giving his landmark speech in 1995, he used a simple phrase, ‘Mend it, don’t’
end it,' and that had popular appeal. Before the Michigan decisions, opinion polls found that Americans approved 2 to 1 of 'programs designed to increase the number of black and minority students;' the same people disapproved 3 to 1 of 'giving preferential treatment' to minorities and that included a majority or minority respondents. What 30 years earlier President Lyndon Johnson had called 'a hand up,' President Nixon had labeled a 'little extra start,' Justice Powell said it was a 'plus,' and what Justice Sandra Day O'Connor referred to as 'some sort of bonus' had become the definition of affirmative action. That type of program had become part of the social fabric — and most of Americans considered that fair.  

Peter Schmidt adds his view of the impact of affirmative action policies on admissions practices at the University of Michigan, when he writes that the struggle continues by stating:

Advocates of affirmative action in higher education had known straight off that the Supreme Court’s Michigan rulings contained at least some bad news for them. The *Gratz v. Bollinger* decision, striking down the point-based policy of Michigan’s chief undergraduate program, made absolutely clear that a solid majority of the justices believed admissions formulas that automatically awarded a bonus to minority applicants are too heavy-handed to be deemed acceptable. In the ensuing months, Ohio State University and the University of Massachusetts at Amherst joined the University of Michigan in replacing point-based undergraduate admissions systems with new policies that relied partly on applicants’ answers to essay questions intended to gauge how they will contribute to diversity. What was not immediately apparent when the Supreme Court issued its rulings, but would become clear once lawyers for colleges had taken the time to thoroughly analyze the opinions and compare notes, was how much the decisions had placed new limits on colleges’ considerations of ethnicity and race.

Schmidt further states:

Over the course of the next few months, some lawyers would warn colleges not to even use the term ‘affirmative action’ because it historically had referred to efforts to remedy societal discrimination—a rationale for race conscious admissions policies that clearly was off-limits now, if it had not been off-limits before. Colleges were likewise advised by their lawyers to avoid using the term ‘underrepresented minority,’ could be interpreted as suggesting that they were pursuing the forbidden goal of having a student body that reflected the general population, rather than engaging in the court-approved pursuit of a ‘critical mass’ of minority students that would offer educational benefits. Colleges also were instructed to document the educational benefits of diversity whenever possible—an acknowledgement that they previously had used affirmative action preferences
without having any tangible educational benefits in mind. Many college administrators and lawyers called for much more research on the concept of ‘critical mass’ and on the educational benefits of diversity, neither of which, they now conceded, were very well defined.  

University System of Texas

At the same time California was dealing with the effects of the regents’ preference ban and Proposition 209, Texas was scrambling to find ways to offset the effects of the Fifth Circuit courts’ Hopwood decision, which was causing black and Hispanic enrollment to plunge. None of the new admissions policies adopted in California were as groundbreaking in how they redefined merit as the Ten Percent Plan passed by the Texas legislature in 1997. It would serve as a model for both the percent plan adopted by the California regents in 1999 and a sweeping percent plan implemented in Florida the following year. The Texas Ten Percent Plan was the brainchild of a task force assembled by Democratic state lawmakers and consisting mainly of university faculty members and representatives of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund. Looking around them at a state where only a fourth of high school seniors attended class in truly integrated settings, the plan’s author’s had an insight: By creaming the top of high schools that were overwhelming white, or overwhelming black, or overwhelming Hispanic, colleges could turn K-12 segregation into a source of collegiate diversity. The legislation that they came up with guaranteed young Texans in the top tenth of their high school classes admissions to the state university of their choice, regardless of their SAT or ACT scores. Given Texas’s populist inclinations, the idea was heralded as a political stroke of genius. Among those who got behind it was the state’s governor (future United States President George W. Bush). In signing the measure into
law, Bush said, “This legislation says to Texas high school students, if you work and
study hard enough to rank in the top ten percent of your high school class, you can earn
the right to go to college.” He added, “We want our universities to reach out to students
from all walks of life, and this legislation gives them the flexibility to do just that.”

Schmidt, considers that, as a practical matter, the main public colleges affected by
the plan were the University of Texas-Austin and, to a much lesser extent, Texas A & M.
Many of the students admitted through the plan would have gotten into one of those
institutions anyway, but the plan had the effect of putting those flagships in the sights of
high school students who previously might never have thought of them as an option. In
1996, the last year under the old admissions policy, just 64 Texas high schools, mainly
from wealth suburbs, accounted for more than half of UT-Austin’s enrollment. As of
2000, after three years under the Ten Percent Plan, the grip these schools had on seats at
the Austin campus had loosened significantly. The total number of Texas high schools
sending students to UT-Austin had increased by more than a fourth and most of the new
feeders were either large urban high schools that served mostly white students from
modest backgrounds.

Among the plan’s authors was David Montejano, then an associate professor at
the University of Texas at Austin. He says that his analyses of enrollment numbers show
that most of the racial diversity that Austin achieved under the Ten Percent Plan was not
from low-performing high schools, but from a “second tier of very good schools that
were being squeezed out” Under the old admissions criteria. In keeping with other
research showing the high school class rank in itself is a reliable predicator of future
college success, one study of Austin’s students found that those admitted under the Ten Percent Plan were outperforming their fellow students, in many cases earning the same grade point averages as non-Ten Percenters with SAT scores 200 or 300 points higher.\textsuperscript{17}

In May of 2007, Jason Embry of the Austin American-Statesman News reported on the how the Ten Percent Plan capped admissions but offered scholarships. In this article, he highlighted that Texas students who graduate in the top ten percent of their high school classes would get a scholarship worth about $1,500 per year to any state university but would not be guaranteed admission to the school of their choice under a plan approved by the Texas Senate. The Senate voted 28-2 to cap at 60 percent the portion of a university’s freshmen from Texas who must be admitted under this ten-year old policy that guaranteed a spot for students who finish in the top ten percent at Texas public high schools.

The Senate plan, says no more than 50 percent of a university’s entering class from Texas must be automatically admitted. Schools handed out those automatic slots based on students’ grades. The final ten percent will be awarded based on grades and other factors, such as test scores and school activities. About seventy-one percent of the freshmen entering the University of Texas at Austin in 2006 who went to high school in the State graduated in the top ten percent. School officials called for a cap on that rule to give them greater leeway in deciding who gets in and to increase diversity.\textsuperscript{18}

Some Republican senators said the law needed changing because the rule had denied spots to good students from large, competitive high schools who did not graduate in the top ten percent of their class. Senator Steve Ogden, R. Bryan, said he wanted more,
not fewer, students from the top of their class going to Texas universities. He attached a provision to the Senate plan saying that the state would cover $51 per semester hour in tuition for students who are in the top ten percent of their class, which would be about $1,500 per year for a student taking 15 hours a semester. “It’s a signal the State of Texas is trying to send to its high school students that if you study hard and work hard, there are immediate benefits,” Ogden said. Students would have to carry full-time course loads and maintain a 2.5 grade-point average to keep the scholarship.

The state was responsible for giving schools the money to make up for those awards, which came to an estimated cost of $25 million the first year and eventually $100 million per year. Students who entered school in the fall of 2008 were the first ones affected by the new admission rules and eligible for the scholarships. Top ten percent graduates who did not get into the school of their choice would be automatically admitted to any other school in the same university system. The Ten-Percent policy aimed to ensure diversity on college campuses although some question how effective it has been in doing so.19

In the spring of 2009, the Texas House approved legislation aimed at limiting the number of students with top grades automatically admitted to the University of Texas at Austin. A law passed in 1997 automatically guaranteed that students graduating in the top ten percent of their high school class may enroll at any of the state’s public universities. UT-Austin sought to limit the law after students admitted under the policy filled eighty-one percent of the freshman class in 2009. Admission officials argued that the policy unfairly forces the school to refuse admission to promising students who enroll in art,
music or athletics but may not fall in the top tier. The new measure allows UT-Austin to scale back the number of students admitted under the top ten percent law to 75 percent of the class.

Beginning in 2011, the school will admit the top 1 percent, the top 2 percent and so on until the limit is reached. The bill was sent back for approval to the Senate, which approved a previous bill earlier in the spring of 2009 that set the limit at 60 percent. House members decided to increase the limit because of concerns that the new bill may hamper efforts to enroll more minority students. "This is a balanced approach," said Rep. Dan Branch, who sponsored the bill and was quoted in the Austin American-Statesman. "I think we will improve one of the great universities in this country and in fact the world." Rep. Mike Villarreal pointed out in the Dallas Morning News that the issue is not the rule, but the "undersupply of desirable, top-tier universities."

**Analysis of Admissions Policies**

Although the States of California, Georgia, Michigan, and Texas took different approaches to their admissions policies, they all have similar results in their enrollment levels of minority students—a paltry result. For example, the University System of California is tinkering with its admissions policy, not to focus on the improvement of its minority enrollment, but to reach out to their overall objective of admitting high-achieving students. The University of Georgia, the flagship university of the State of Georgia, has shown a slight increase in its enrollment levels of African American males since 2002 due to its increase in its minority recruitment efforts and the African-American Male Initiative, but there are no overall conclusive indicators that these factors
have worked in conjunction to improve the enrollment level. In regards to the University of Michigan, there is not much data illustrating whether or not the Gratz case has had a positive or negative impact on the enrollment level of minorities, with the exception of John Brooks Slaughter policy perspective on "After Michigan, What?" in which he reports for the fall of 2006, the University of Michigan received 25,806 applications and accepted 12,246 of the applicants. Of the 5,400 freshmen enrollees, black students accounted for 330 of them (6.1 percent). The University of Texas System has been tinkering with the Ten Percent Policy since 1997, but there have been little signs of an increase of minority enrollment at the flagship state school University of Texas at Austin. Examining the roles of the various policies has given little insight as to the best avenue of approach to improve minority enrollment and in particular African American males.

Barbara R. Arnwine best sums up the dilemma several states face in its admissions policies in her article "Affirmative Action: Legal Challenges and Outlook" when she summarizes that in states where anti-affirmative action measures have been adopted, all is not foreclosed, as there are still tools legally available to promote diversity and equal opportunity. Expanded outreach and recruitment efforts to ensure that minorities, as well as non-minorities, are encouraged to apply remain permissible. Moreover, states may still use non-racial characteristics—like socioeconomic status and geographic considerations—as factors in decision-making to promote diversity. Supporters of inclusiveness efforts should not assume that a successful ballot initiative is the end of our struggle. Instead, efforts should be explored to modify or repeal these harmful initiatives by sponsoring future pro-affirmative action initiatives in the affected
states. She further explains, conversely, we must think proactively about advancing programs, policies, and ballot initiatives that facilitate inclusion. An “Equity Agenda” has to be advocated to redress the continuing inequities in our society. Affirmative action is but one very important strategy in achieving a more just and equal society.21

Calculating Lambda to Measure Attitudes about Affirmative Action Admissions Policies

On the survey, the respondents are asked the following question: Do you think the ending of Affirmative Action admissions policies are more likely to have an adverse effect on black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities? Table 13 illustrates the survey’s findings.

Table 13. Affirmative Action Admissions Policies Attitudes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categorize Politically</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liberal Middle of the Road</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative/Don’t think of myself in those terms</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column Total</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Because affirmative action admissions policies attitudes and political category are nominal variables, we need to apply a measure of association suitable for calculating relationships between nominal variables. Such a measure will help us determine how strongly associated affirmative action admission policies attitude is with politically category. Lambda is such a proportional reduction of errors measure. Lambda is an asymmetrical measure of association. Lambda is suitable for use with nominal variables.
and may range from 0.0 to 1.0. It provides us with an indication of the strength of an association between the independent and dependent variables.

As we take a look at Table 13 and calculate the errors or no selection, our column totals show a count of 15 while the number of respondents that classified themselves as conservative or don’t think of myself in those terms totaled to 8 leaving the survey with 7 errors. The total number of errors is equal to conservative yes, which are 5 combined with 7 errors or a total of 12 errors. To find E1, which are the errors of prediction made when the independent variable is ignored. To find E1, find the mode of the dependent variable and subtract its frequency from N. $E1 = N - \text{Modal frequency.} \quad E1 = 28 - 13 = 15$. To find E2, the errors made when the prediction is based on the independent variable. To find E2, find the modal frequency for each category of the independent variable, subtract it from the category total to find the number of errors, and then add up all the errors. Affirmative action admissions policies support errors equal 13 – 8 = 5. Affirmative action nonsupport errors equal 15 – 8 = 7. $E2 = 5 + 7 = 12$. $\Lambda = \frac{E1 - E2}{E1} = \frac{15 - 12}{15} = .2$

Lambda may range in value from 0.0 to 1.0. Zero indicates that there is nothing to be gained by using the independent variable to predict the dependent variable. A lambda of 1.0 indicates that by using the independent variable as a predictor, the calculation is able to predict the dependent variable without any error. In this case, a lambda of .20 is less than one quarter of the distance between 0.0 and 1.0 indicating that for this sample of respondents, affirmative admissions policy attitude and the political categorization are only slightly associated. The proportional reduction of error indicated by lambda, when
multiplied by 100, can be interpreted as follows: By using information on respondents' political categorization to predict how they feel about ending affirmative action admissions policies, the calculations have reduced our error of prediction by 20 percent (0.20 X 100 = 20%).

**Helping Outstanding Pupils Educationally Scholarship (HOPE) Scholarship**

According to the *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, the HOPE Scholarship, which was created under the supervision of Georgia governor Zell Miller, is a state-financed merit-based scholarship program. Funded by lottery-ticket revenues, HOPE pays for four years of full tuition and fees, as well as a $300 per year book stipend at a Georgia public university, college, or technical institution for students who graduate from a high school in the state with a 3.0 or "B," average. Students must maintain this average at the college level to retain the scholarship. The scholarship pays up to $3,000 for students attending private schools. As of 2006, more than $3 billion in HOPE funds had been awarded to more than 900,000 students. In 1991 the Georgia General Assembly passed an amendment to the state constitution designating lottery proceeds for educational purposes only, and voters ratified the amendment in 1992. Concerned with the state of education in Georgia high schools and colleges, Governor Miller allocated much of this revenue to create the HOPE scholarship, with a three-fold purpose. Foremost of these was to improve the quality of education in Georgia by providing an incentive for students to perform better in high school and maintain that performance in college. Miller also hoped that the scholarship program would encourage top-performing high school students to
attend college in-state. Finally, HOPE addressed the disparities between college enrollment of whites and African Americans, and between socioeconomic classes.  

HOPE was not entirely merit-based upon its inception in 1993. It paid for two years' tuition for students who graduated with a “B” average and had a family income of less than $66,000 per year. The success of the Georgia lottery allowed legislators to expand the income cap in 1994 to $100,000, and in 1995 the General Assembly abolished the income cap. As a completely merit-based scholarship, HOPE has enjoyed enormous growth. In 2004, 76.2 percent of all first-time college freshmen from Georgia received HOPE funds, including 97.1 percent of those at research universities (97.2 percent at the Georgia Institute of Technology, 95.4 percent at Georgia State University, and 98.2 percent at the University of Georgia). The HOPE scholarship set off a national debate of the effectiveness of merit-based versus need-based programs. Critics point out the HOPE has actually widened the gap between high-and low-income students, as well as widened the disparities in college-going rates for those other than whites and Asians. Scholars argue that the rise in attendance by high-income students at Georgia’s research institutions has raised requirements and tuition, thereby relegating low-income students to lower-tier state schools.

In the academic year 2004–2005, Georgia distributed $457 million in merit-based aid and just $1.5-million in need based aid. Studies of Georgia’s HOPE program have concluded that ninety percent of its scholarship money is handed to students who would have gone to college regardless of aid, which may help explain why the program is wildly popular among those with above-average incomes. The program has been so successful
in enticing wealthier kids to remain in the state for college that many students at the University of Georgia in Athens jokingly refer to their institution as "the University of Marietta," after the prosperous and conservative Atlanta suburb that served as Newt Gingrich's power base.24

**Current State of Affairs with the HOPE Scholarship**

In a August 2, 2010 article written by Maureen Downey published in the *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, titled "HOPE does not spring eternal. We’re in trouble. Lottery cannot keep up with demand for popular college scholarship," Downey reports on the four-hour hearing on the financial threats to the HOPE Scholarship program. She states that the HOPE hearing at the Legislature began with a caution by state Senator Seth Harp that hard choices are ahead as the demand for the scholarship outstrips the funds. He warned against using the shortfall to sling mud as no one is to blame for the imbalance. Following the Senator's remarks, David Lee of the Georgia Student Finance Commission gives his testimony. He points out that the three goals of the HOPE Scholarship were to improve high school performance, increase college participation and increase college completion. He cited the retention of top students as a byproduct of HOPE, but not one of the initial goals. He showed lots of charts that show a clear and troubling trend: Expenditures are exceeding revenues. He said the prior changes to preserve fiscal integrity of the program, including cutting books and fees and creating earlier checkpoints to retain the scholarship, will not be enough. Despite those cuts, he said we are back to double digit upward-bound trend lines in HOPE spending.25
Afterwards, the president of the Georgia Lottery spoke. Margaret R. DeFrancisco stated “Everything we do depends on people buying lottery tickets.” She said the players tell the lottery that they play because of HOPE and pre-k. DeFrancisco emphasized that all sorts of people play the lottery, likely to stave off the criticism that only poor Georgians play and thus underwrite the college education of more affluent Georgians. She also said, “This organization was set up separate from state government as a public benefit corporation and an entrepreneurial enterprise.” She then elaborated on the great success of the lottery, which has outperformed most other state lotteries. DeFrancisco assumes this was to fend off complaints about the bonuses that she and her team get. Now, she is showing a chart of the 44 state and DC lotteries, again to highlight the success of her program. DeFrancisco noted that Georgia beat out California in sales, even thought that state has four times the population. She is outlining new games, including a music-based one, and her hopes to expand where consumers can buy tickets. When questioned from legislators whether lottery sales improve if the economy improves? DeFrancisco cites the fact that Georgia is likely to come out of the recession slower than other states and the state’s trend is to strive for more certainly, but there may not be any astronomical increases seen anytime soon.26

How Will Governor Nathan Deal Impact the HOPE Scholarship Program

Nancy Badertscher and Laura Diamond of the Atlanta Journal-Constitution, wrote a December 12, 2010 article titled “HOPE won’t end but it will change,” in which they discussed all of the issues impacting the downtrend in sales of lottery tickets. The authors state that:
Georgia students and their families can expect to spend more of their own money on college now that lawmakers and Governor Nathan Deal have put dramatic changes to the HOPE scholarship on the table. Suggestions include decreasing the scholarship’s amount, raising the minimum grade-point average from a 3.0 to a 3.2 and eliminating remedial classes from what’s covered, said Rep. Len Walker, R-Loganville chairman of the House Higher Education Committee. Deal said last week that the intent is to ‘salvage the program.’ Walker expects to have formal recommendations by January 1, 2011. ‘HOPE will continue for our deserving students, but it just won’t be the same HOPE they’ve seen before,’ Walker said. ‘But it is not reasonable for us to expect the scholarship to cover 100 percent of tuition anymore.’

The merit-based program has helped more than 1.4 million Georgians attend college since 1993, but lawmakers say that the state lottery can no longer keep up with rising student enrollment and tuition costs. Students are afraid any changes will make it difficult for them to afford college. The award currently covers tuition and provides some money for books and fees. Joshua Delaney, president of the student body at the University of Georgia, said the scholarship is what kept him in-state for college. “They may be pricing out of college,” Delaney said. “The state made a decision years ago to start this program, and they need to honor that commitment. Why not look for other ways to pay for this? They need to be creative and not just make cuts.” In 2009, for the first time in nearly a decade, the state tapped into a $1 billion reserve to cover costs. At current spending rates, the reserve will drop to about $321 million by the end of the 2012 fiscal year, said Tim Connell, president of the Georgia Student Finance Commission, the agency that oversees HOPE. The dwindling reserve is already triggering a series of reductions that start in July. First, students will see money for books cut from $300 a year to $150, a savings of about $20 million, Connell said. That subsidy will be eliminated the following year. In July 2013, students will no longer get money for mandatory fees.
“Eliminating book and fee money will help, but that isn’t enough,” Walker said. Lawmakers know just how popular HOPE is, not only with parents and students, but with those marketing the state to potential new businesses and industries. When Deal predicted significant changes last week, he said “some of these will have to be statutory changes to salvage the program.” He declined to provide specifics, but he questioned whether remedial courses should be covered. The classes are for students who are not ready for college-level work. Connell said his agency is running data to determine how much that would save. While it might not be substantial, he said it could be a god policy change. Walker said there is a widespread consensus that remedial courses shouldn’t be anymore. Support doesn’t exist for reinstating an income cap, he said. When the program began, only students whose families earned less than $66,000 a year were eligible. The cap was quickly lifted to $100,000 and then eliminated. As for increasing the grade-point average students must earn to be eligible, Walker predicted that would be phased in over four years to give students time to raise their marks. Ali Kamran, the student body president at Kennesaw State University, said raising the GPA to a 3.2 seems like a “quick fix” that would not resolve the scholarship’s long-term problems. “How are we to ensure high schools will not inflate GPAs to get their students on HOPE?” Kamran said.

Why does the program have financial problems? The authors state that money comes from the Georgia Lottery, one of the most successful lotteries in the country. But the program is struggling to keep up with demand as both college enrollment and tuition rise. In 1994, about 42,700 students received HOPE. Now more than 200,000 students receive it annually. Meanwhile, in-state tuition at the University of Georgia, for example,
has increased by 94 percent since 2005 to $3,535 a semester the fall of 2010. The scholarship covers for students at a public university or technical college all tuition and some money for books and mandatory student fees. Full-time students attending private universities receive $4,000 a year for tuition.

**Georgia Student Finance Commission**

The Georgia Student Finance Commission (GSFC) promotes and increases accesses to education beyond high school for Georgians. GSFC has three legal entities: (1) The Georgia Student Finance Commission, the state agency that legally receives funds made available for student financial aid programs by the General Assembly, (2) The Georgia Student Finance Authority (GSFA), the State of Georgia’s higher education lender that administers the Federal Family Education Loan Program (FFELP) and the state-funded scholarship, grant, and loan programs, and (3) The Georgia Higher Education Assistance Corporation (GHEAC), the designated guarantor for the FFELP.

**Georgia Student Finance Commission Focus Group**

On April 22, 2008, a focus group discussion was conducted with two members of the Georgia Student Finance Commission Focus Group. The following are findings from the focus group discussion.

The response to the question: Which approach do you consider the best in influencing black males to attend college, 100 percent of the respondents replied academic enrichment programs. The respondents stated academic enrichment programs can give a student the extra help they need academically and socially to be college ready and the components of an enrichment program that can include scholarships and
mentoring programs. Another key is to provide course work that will prepare students for college. This question supports the importance of academic enrichment in improving black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities.

The response to the question: Do you agree that enough financial aid and scholarship funding exist to encourage black males to complete their high school education and attend Georgia’s public colleges and universities, 50 percent of the respondents replied that they strongly agree, while the other 50 percent said they neither agree nor disagree. One respondent believe that the HOPE scholarship is the only scholarship needed while the other believes that other factors play a much larger role. This question supports that there needs to be a combination of funding factors integrated as well as expanding how will the current economic conditions impact the HOPE Scholarship program in the long-run.

The response to the question: Do you think that the implementation of policies to improve the availability of financial aid programs will allow Georgia’s public colleges and universities to experience an increased level of black male enrollment, 100 percent of the respondents replied yes and stated more policies that help with access are not necessarily available, while there is also another claim that financial aid encourages students to attend college, but if they are not prepared, they are not likely to stay. This question supports that there is a need to improve the availability of financial aid programs.

The response to the question: How do you feel that the level of spending for the availability of financial aid should go, 50 percent of the respondents replied that the level
of spending should increase, while the other 50 percent replied that it should remain the same. This question shows that there are various thoughts on the level of spending for the availability of financial aid.

The response to the question: When thinking about issues that need to be addressed to increase the level of black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities, how important do you think the issue of the availability of financial aid is, 100 percent of the respondents stated that it is somewhat important and that it is important to expose and motivate student, as well as prepare students for college. This answer focuses on college preparation playing a key role and then financial aid as the secondary concern.

In ranking the issues in order of importance, in which 1 = most importance and 5 = least importance, the respondents ranked the following: Academic enrichment programs (1) Availability of financial aid and recruiting efforts to increase the number of black male applicants, (2) African American Male Initiative Programs, (3) and (4) Career/Work counseling. The respondents were also asked why they ranked the availability of financial aid at the level they did. It was stated that without academic enrichment, financial aid is a waste. Without financial aid, initiative programs will not be effective.

This answer focuses on academic enrichment programs playing a key role in increasing the level of black male enrollment in Georgia public colleges and universities. Additional comments stated by the focus group included the input that the State of
Georgia provides enough financial aid. There is a need for better programs to prepare students to be successful in college.  

Final Survey Results

When respondents were questioned about which of the following approaches do you consider the best in influencing black males to attend college, as addressed in question three of the survey, the following results were tallied in Table 14. This is an undecided indicator that mentor programs and academic enrichment programs were deemed very instrumental in getting black males to attend college.

Table 14. Best Approach in Influencing Black Males to Attend College

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage of Respondents</th>
<th>Best approach to influence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Academic enrichment programs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Scholarship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Adopt a school program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Mentor programs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question four, which was the survey respondents' follow-up question, was what groups and individuals have a significant impact on the enrollment level of black males in Georgia's public colleges and universities? Also, how much impact do the following groups or individuals have? Ninety-six percent responded that parents have a lot of impact, while others stated some impact; 64 percent responded that fraternities and sororities have a lot of impact while 18 percent stated they have some and others stated
none; 79 percent of the respondents stated churches have a lot of influence and 21 percent stated some. Question 4(c) of the survey addresses the influence of civic organizations on the enrollment of black males in Georgia’s public colleges and universities, as demonstrated in Table 15.

Table 15. Influence of Civic Organizations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage of respondents</th>
<th>Influence of Civic Organizations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>A lot of influence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Some influence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>No influence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question four, also explains the amount of impact the respondents feel about other groups or individuals. For example, 54 percent of the respondents stated that high school guidance counselors have a lot of impact, 32 percent of the respondents stated that they have some influence, and the other 14 percent responded none. The University System Board of Regents was given credit for a 50 percent of a lot of influence of the impact of black males attending college, 36 percent of respondents credited the University System Board of Regents as having some influence and 14 percent of the respondents stated that the University System Board of Regents had no influence. Only 7 percent of the respondents stated that university presidents had a lot of influence, and 82 percent of the respondents stated that university presidents had some influence; 43 percent of the respondents stated that the admissions officers had a lot of impact and another 43 percent of the respondents stated admissions officers had some influence and
14 percent had no influence. The respondents in regards to the impact of state legislators responded that only 11 percent had a lot of impact, while 82 percent stated they had some impact, and 7 percent had no impact. Finally under other, which included peers, media, and sports, 50 percent of the respondents stated that there was a lot of influence under this category, and 50 percent under the category of some impact. This is an indicator that parents and churches were deemed very instrumental groups/individuals in having a lot of impact in getting black males to attend college.

Question five explains who the respondents believe makes the most important impact on black male enrollment, as exemplified in Table 16.

Table 16. Most Important Impact on Black Male Enrollment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage of Respondents</th>
<th>Makes the Most Important Impact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Board of Regents Members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Admissions officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Leaders of black community based organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Others include family, parents, peers, teachers and counselors. This is an indicator that respondents believe that leaders of black community based organizations and family, parents, peers, teachers, and counselors makes the most important impact on black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities and this indicator could be subject to change based on the number of survey respondents.
Next, in question six, survey respondents were asked whether or not they agree that adequate programs and policies exist to encourage black males to complete their high school education and attend Georgia’s public colleges and universities. Only 7 percent stated that they strongly agree, 22 percent agreed, 14 percent responded neither, 39 percent responded that they disagreed, and finally, 18 percent stated that they strongly disagreed. This is an indicator that respondents believe that there are not enough adequate programs and policies that exist to encourage black males to complete their high school education and attend Georgia’s public colleges and universities.

When asked in question seven do you believe that the University System of Georgia Board of Regents have sufficient power or authority to carry out decisions or policy objectives that may impact the level of black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities, 86 percent responded yes, while 14 percent responded no. This is an indicator that respondents believe that the Board of Regents does have sufficient power or authority to carry out decisions or policy objectives that may impact the level of black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities, but due to the sample of respondents that returned their surveys, the results could be deemed iffy if the validity is challenged.

Those who were surveyed were asked in question eight, which of the following reasons would best describe a motivation for the State of Georgia to implement policies that would focus on increasing the enrollment level of black males in Georgia’s public colleges and universities, 46 percent responded to impact the state’s economic development efforts and other initiatives driven by the desire to have an educated
workforce. Another 29 percent responded by answering to decrease the number of blacks in the state who are living below the poverty level. There were 18 percent of the respondents who stated to increase the number of black males who go on and attain bachelor’s degree, and finally, 7 percent respondent to increase the overall level of enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities. This questionnaire answer indicates that the impact on the state’s economic development efforts and other initiatives driven by the desire to have an educated workforce were a leading factor in the reasons that would best describe a motivation for the State of Georgia to implement policies that would focus on increasing the enrollment level of black males in Georgia’s public colleges and universities.

Respondents were asked in question nine what percentage of the state’s secondary education resources should be used for college preparatory activities for middle school and high school district. In the 10 percent through 24 percent range 18 percent of the respondents stated that this amount should be utilized. 25 percent of the respondents agreed that 25 percent through 39 percent should be spent. Another 18 percent of the respondents concurred that 40 percent through 49 percent should be spent, and finally, the greatest proportion or 39 percent of the respondents believed that greater than 50 percent of the state’s secondary education resources should be used for college preparatory activities for middle school and high school students in each school district.

When asked in question 13, are you familiar with the high school graduation rates of black males in the area of the state you live in and or represent, 82 percent of the respondents stated yes, while 18 percent stated no. Those who stated yes stated that 89
percent graduation rate in the area of the state that they live in and or represent is between 25 percent and 49 percent and the other 11 percent estimated the graduation rate between 50 percent and 74 percent. Recent studies have shown that the graduation rates for black males in the state of Georgia are closer to the 50 percent rate.

Respondents were asked in question 14 of the survey what level they believe that low enrollment of black males in Georgia’s public colleges and universities is a problem. Eighty-nine percent stated that it is a serious problem, while only 11 percent stated that it is a moderate problem. This is an indication that many of those surveyed do believe that they believe low enrollment of black males in Georgia’s public colleges and universities in a serious problem.

Finally, in question 15, respondents were asked if they were aware of the percentage of black males that attend college in the area of that state they live in and or represent. 64 percent responded yes and the other 36 percent responded no. They were also given a chance to estimate what they believe is the rate of black males attending college in the area of the state they live in and or represent, 34 percent of the respondents believed that 2.5 percent or less attended, 39 percent believed that at least 5.0 percent of the black males in their community attended college, and 27 percent of the respondents believed that at least 7.5 percent or greater of the black males in the area of the state they lived in and or represented. Most respondents to this question believed that the estimated rate of black males that attend college in the area of the state they lived in and or represented was at least 5.0 percent of the black males.
Conclusions

This section of part II of the data analysis illustrated the impact of financial aid programs, mentor programs, parents, leaders of black community based organizations and academic enrichment programs and how the survey respondents viewed these approaches and how they differ on solutions to increase the enrollment levels of black males in Georgia’s public colleges and universities. Another of the key question addressed in the survey is what level do you believe that low enrollment of black males in Georgia’s public colleges and universities is? As mentioned earlier, and overwhelming number of the respondents believed that it was a serious problem, which emphasis on the reality that people who responded believe that this problem should be rectified, in which 25 or 89 percent of the respondents believed this is a serious problem; 23 or 82 percent of respondents believed that when thinking about issues that need to be addressed to increase the level of black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities believed that the availability of financial aid was very important.

Another solution, which included 25 or 89 percent of the respondents, asked do they feel that spending for the issue areas listed should be increased pointed to academic enrichment programs as the avenue of approach. When it came to the percentage of the state’s secondary education resources should be used for college preparatory activities for middle school and high school students activities in each school district, 11 or 39 percent of the respondents suggested that greater than 50 percent of the resources should be used for college preparatory activities for middle school and high school students in each school district. In regards to who respondents stated made the most important impact on
black male on black male enrollment in Georgia's public colleges and universities, overwhelming 54 percent or 15 respondent offered leaders of black community based organizations as a solution, versus 0 percent for state legislators. Parents were highlighted as the group that have a lot of impact on the enrollment level of black males in Georgia's public colleges and universities, 89 percent or 25 respondents agreed. Finally, when questioned which of the following approaches do you consider the best in influencing black males to attend college, 50 percent or 14 respondents suggested mentor programs.
NOTES


3. Ibid.


6. Ibid., 122-123.

7. Ibid., 123-124.


11. Ibid.

12. Williams, Enough, 42.


15. Schmidt, Color and Money, 216.

16. Ibid., 146-147.

17. Ibid., 147-148.


19. Ibid.


23. Ibid.


28. Ibid., 2.

29. Nancy Badertscher and Laura Diamond, “HOPE won’t end, but it will change,” The Atlanta Journal-Constitution (December 12, 2010), AJC.com (accessed December 13, 2010).

30. Ibid., 2.

31. Ibid., 3.

CHAPTER VII
FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

This dissertation attempts to contextualize political science within larger contemporary public policy processes by using the roles of politicians and public administrators as creators of public policy that will be eventually used to impact the enrollment level of African-American males in Georgia public colleges and universities. By examining the different issues that impact enrollment levels, the complex areas of processes that bring together African-American Male Initiative Programs, Affirmative-Action policies, and Financial Aid programs such as the HOPE Scholarship are underscored. For political scientists, this research enables us to examine the core of this research, to sift through and sort out the various interests that converge and represent different and potentially conflicting visions about how public policy should impact higher education. Thus, political science offers insight into the public policy process by which decisions are made behind the closed doors of the meeting rooms of the actors involved, before the policy materializes in the varied formats of its eventual scope.

Gender balancing does not provide an adequate explanation about the nature of this problem, because it does not explain the dynamics of what must happen to increase the number of black males enrolling in Georgia’s public colleges and universities. The
focus seems to be on recruiting as priority and not broad role of the public policies. Instead, individual universities shoulder the responsibility of increasing the enrollment.

As stated in Chapter 1, the purpose of this dissertation was three-fold:

1. To examine the relationship between African-American Males Initiative programs and black male enrollment.

2. To examine the answer to whether or not there is a relationship between Affirmative Action admission policies and black male enrollment.

3. To propose if there is a relationship between financial aid availability and black male enrollment.

Before the conclusions are reviewed from each chapter and the main argument summarized, some implications of this proposal need to be considered and suggestions for some solutions for increasing the enrollment levels of African-American males in Georgia public colleges and universities are discussed. In this section, proposals are made for an Advancement through Achievement Academy Model (ATAA) as a way to improve the enrollment levels of African-American Males in Georgia public colleges and universities using resources such as state matching funding and donated resources.

**Findings**

**African-American Male Initiative Programs**

One of the key questions addressed in the survey is “What do you feel would be the best methodology for creating a blueprint for addressing black male student enrollment in Georgia’s public college and universities?” One solution was utilizing community-based organizations is where it should start, which emphasis on a positive attitude towards education, in which eight or 30 percent of the respondents believed this would be a good option. Three or 11 percent of respondents believed that an engagement
of positive reinforcement programs and more recruitment and encouragement beginning in the elementary and middle school levels can be deemed as a viable option. Another solution, which included two or seven percent of the respondents offered the solution that included parents to include urging marriage and methods to keep parents together. Mentorship programs were suggested by one or four percent of the respondents. It was suggested that they focus on exposing youth to a better world and explaining to them there is a better alternative than settling for a mediocre life, that also provide financial support to help ease the financial burden of higher education.

Four percent or one respondent offered financial aid as a solution, such as a program called the HOPE Plus, which pays for the financial shortfall not covered by the HOPE Scholarship or Pell Grant. Under the category of Other, 14 percent or four respondents offered suggestions such as a forum including several intervention groups at the same time involving parents, K-12 schools, civic and religious organizations and governmental influences, or in essence a multi-group approach. Another option included solid program implementation such as establishing a forum where admissions representatives, parents, and high school counselors can discuss why black male enrollment is low. Finally, similar to the number of respondents that answered community-based organizations, another eight or 30 percent had no opinion about this issue. The survey data, interviews, and research conducted on this research question can lead one to believe that African-American Male Initiative programs can serve as a political instrument to help increase black male enrollment in Georgia's public colleges and universities.
Affirmative Action

Although the States of California, Georgia, Michigan and Texas took different approaches to their admissions policies, they all have similar results in their enrollment levels of minority students—a paltry result. For example, the University System of California is tinkering with its admissions policy, not to focus on the improvement of its minority enrollment, but to reach out to their overall objective of admitting high-achieving students. The University of Georgia, the flagship university of the State of Georgia, has shown a slight increase in its enrollment levels of African American males since 2002 due to its increase in its minority recruitment efforts and the African-American Male Initiative, but there are no overall conclusive indicators that these factors have worked in conjunction to improve the enrollment level. In regards to the University of Michigan, there is not much data illustrating whether or not the Gratz case has had a positive or negative impact on the enrollment level of minorities, with the exception of John Brooks Slaughter policy perspective on “After Michigan, What?” in which he reports for the fall of 2006, the University of Michigan received 25,806 applications and accepted 12,246 of the applicants. Of the 5,400 freshmen enrollees, black students accounted for 330 of them (6.1 percent). The University of Texas System has been tinkering with the Ten Percent Policy since 1997, but there have been few signs of an increase of minority enrollment at the flagship state school University of Texas at Austin. Examining the roles of the various policies has given little insight as to the best avenue of approach to improve minority enrollment and in particular African American males. Affirmative Action Admissions policies regardless of their methodology continue to
serve as an obstacle for admissions for African-American males and are still seen as
barriers to some and seen as an equalizer to others. Survey and focus group figures
illustrated those feelings about Affirmative Action policies were basically drawn based
on ideology (conservative or liberal) or race, in which a majority of the focus group
members, all of whom are black, believed that Affirmative Action admissions policy had
an adverse impact on African-American Male enrollment in Georgia public colleges and
universities.

**HOPE Scholarship**

Many of the survey respondents agree that enough financial aid and scholarship
funding exist to encourage black males to complete their high school education and
attend Georgia’s public colleges and universities? Fifty percent of the respondents
replied that they strongly agree, while the other 50 percent said they neither agree nor
disagree. One respondent believe that the HOPE scholarship is the only scholarship
needed while the other believes that other factors play a much larger role. This question
supports that there needs to be a combination of funding factors integrated as well as
expanding how will the current economic conditions impact the HOPE Scholarship
program in the long-run.

The response to the question: When thinking about issues that need to be
addressed to increase the level of black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and
universities, how important do you think the issue of the availability of financial aid is?
One hundred percent of the respondents stated that it is somewhat important and that it is
important to expose and motivate student, as well as prepare students for college. This
answer focuses on college preparation playing a key role and then financial aid as the secondary concern. Because financial aid, and in particular the HOPE Scholarship is a political issue, there are many arguments that the Georgia General Assembly have used to justify how to use the funds, particularly during tough economic times, which have an impact on African-American Male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities.

Conclusion

Advancement Through Achievement Academy Model

My initiative is to establish the Advancement through Achievement Academy for young men, grades sixth through eighth, who live in low-income areas of Southwest and the City of Atlanta. The Academy would focus on academics that will prepare the participants for success in high school and into college, coupled with developing communication and leadership skills and a mentoring component with members of the Atlanta University Center Community and Community Based Organizations in the City of Atlanta. Each mentor-mentee will spend two hours each week together, and at least eight hours monthly. There will also be an emphasis on parent involvement/participation.

The key problem areas this initiative will address are (1) Criterion-Referenced Competency Test (CRCT) improvement, (2) High School graduation rates, and (3) College preparation. In 2008, the average percent of middle school students who failed the math component of the CRCT in the Atlanta Public School system was 40.43% and the science portion was 49.5%. The high school graduation rates according to the 2006 State Report Card published by the Schott Foundation for Public Education reported that
in 2003-2004 the graduation rate for black males in the Atlanta Public School District was 35%. Furthermore, this academy will focus on the preparing of its participants with the skill set necessary to complete more challenging high school curriculum, which must begin at the middle school level. Ultimately, this Academy will address the needs of young men in underserved and underrepresented demographics in Georgia’s College and Universities.

Areas of impact will reach three target areas: (1) Decreased failure rates on high stakes standardized exams (CRCT), (2) Improved leadership and communication skills to improve confidence, and (3) Improved overall academic performance through study skills and tutoring that will increase high school graduation rates. Overall, the goal is to help participants realize the connection between education and success.

Over my fifteen years of living in the State of Georgia and in particular the Atlanta area, I have been inspired to become a change agent in education because of the reports I have read in the newspapers and reports I have studied published by the Schott Foundation for Public Education. The low test scores and graduation rates are systematic from diverse issues such as the lack of preparation, role models and training to build confidence and emphasize the importance of education. These problems seem to occur most often among male students and mainly among African Americans, who are poorly served in our education system. In 2004, I started to work with a local Boys and Girls Club and developed two programs that are specifically designed to address their communication and leadership needs.
One of the key things I desire to result from this research is to analyze the barriers that impact the enrollment rates of African-American males in Georgia’s public colleges and universities and come up with solutions to improve those levels from a political and public policy viewpoint. Most of the results from this study points to the need for initiatives that focus on guiding middle school males to realizing the importance of education and navigating successfully through the graduation process and eventually seeking post secondary education. By reaching my target group, the escalating gaps in education achievement and life outcomes of African-American males in Georgia public schools can be closed.

The mission statement of the Advancement through Achievement Academy is:

“To get participants to believe that determination is a driver to help them succeed, including gaining scholarship through reading and other intellectually stimulating activities. Let those who enter the Academy know that perseverance will carry through hard times and being a people centered person by uplifting and motivating people to be the best they can be.”

Community-Based Efforts

Timothy Etson recommends in his article “Sharing the Responsibility: Increasing Black Male Student Enrollment,” that:

As we develop avenues of approach to increase Black male enrollment, we must focus on developing comprehensive policies that incorporate how grass-roots efforts and university system initiatives can share the responsibility. This holds true for actors such as community organizations, college alumni associations and churches, all of which must be included in order for the Georgia board of regent’s plan to work. As community activists determined to overcome this quagmire, multiple plans must be put into place. At a time when bureaucratic inertia becomes a barrier because of political and economic realities, those of us working
on the grass-roots level must think outside the box to increase Black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities and those around the nation.¹

In conclusion, the findings of this exploratory study, indicates that community based organizations are instrumental in increasing the level of black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities.
NOTES

APPENDIX A

Interview Questions

Center for African American Males: Albany State University Interview Answers

What is the most important issue impacting the enrollment level of black males in Georgia’s public colleges and universities?

1. **Answer:** I think the most important issue would be two – retention and graduation. It has been my unfortunate privilege to be close to the issue and keeping our young men in school. And we are graduating right now at 14% of those who enter as freshmen and we need to do something very significant about those numbers. Now what we have done here at Albany State we are currently two things we have done that seem very minor but I think they will be impactful, we have encouraged the Office of Student Personnel Services and the Counseling Department to employ a black male, because there has never been one there. The other issue is to have a homework hotline, designed specifically for our African American Males.

What is the second most important issue impacting the enrollment level of black males in Georgia’s public colleges and universities?

2. **Answer:** Getting our guys as I have given it the label around here “Keeping the Main Thing the Main Thing”. What I say to them is that most of our guys are not capable of balancing their academics and their social life. They tend to get so carried away into the social and Greek and athletic and intramural parts of their college lives and unfortunately the academics tend to suffer so what I been branding with our guys here is “Let’s keep the main thing the main thing” and I use the analogy that Colonel Sanders sells Cole Slaw and sells biscuits but he markets chicken. And so we are saying we are here for an education. These other things are the side dishes but your education and getting your degree is the main thing, so let’s keep the main thing the main thing. So we hope that that particular branding is resonating with our young men. We have seen some significant increasing of our guys who return from the fall to the spring semester. Usually there is a big drop out especially among freshmen but we saw our numbers hover right around 80% this past academic year of the entering freshmen, about 80% returned for the spring semester.
Appendix A (continued)

What do you consider is the best in influencing black males to attend college? (e.g. academic enrichment programs, scholarships, adopt-a-school programs, mentor programs, or other.)

3. **Answer:** I think that to be honest it is sad but one of the things that attract students initially is athletics and bands. They seem to have a lot of attraction. Of course, I think second to that would certainly be the offering of majors that students are interested in. I do think the appearance of programs like CAAM who gives our males a place of identification – somewhere to be housed sort to speak, certainly does not hurt the ability to have some mentors, especially community mentors as well as campus mentors I think serves us very well because many of these young men we are finding and I was surprised to find that even here now in 2008 we have a significant number of young men who are first of their family to attend college and maybe my naivety shows because I was in total shock because I would have thought that in 2008 that that particular trend that occurred some forty years ago when I went to college would have been broken, but even now we are finding that they are struggling so being away from home, being the first in college puts a tremendous burden because the folks back home are usually looking to that young man to be the one to break to string and so being able to mentor them and being able to put our arms around them I think has had a tremendous impact, positive impact on the young men here at Albany State and its for that reason we have reached out to our sister universities. Fort Valley State in particular, Georgia Southwestern, in Americus to encourage them to get these kind of programs up and running and we are making our expertise available to them in doing so.

What groups and individuals have a significant impact on the enrollment level of black males in Georgia’s public colleges and universities? Also, how much impact do they have? (e.g. parents, fraternities/sororities, churches, civic organizations, or other.

4. **Answer:** I think that it has been my experience that churches have a tremendous impact. I think fraternities have a tremendous impact in that most of the fraternities offer scholarships and without those scholarships I think some of the young men would not be in college. I think that the other group that is emerging as a significant player among African American Males is the 100 Black Men throughout the State of Georgia. I know we here in Albany we offer two scholarships a year. I know that the 100 Black Men in Atlanta, Macon and Valdosta. I am not sure of what they are doing in some of the other chapters, but I know that those chapters are very supportive. As a matter of fact the 100 Black Men here in Albany are partners with the Center for African American Males in everything that we do.

Who would you say makes the most important impact on black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities? (e.g. Board of Regents, Presidents of
Appendix A (continued)

Colleges and Universities, Admissions Officers, Leaders of Black Community Based Organizations or Others).

5. **Answer**: I think admissions offices play a significant role because I think they are the first base of the university. A lot of time young folk get information off line in this era of technology, but I think when it comes down to the face of the university, I think who the university has on the ground greeting that person, or going to the individual schools or the individual communities to represent the university. I think that they have a significant impact. Second to that I think the mandate from the Board of Regents in the State of Georgia of increasing male enrollment and male graduation. I think that mandate certainly puts all of our universities under a tremendous task to make sure that we – I think that we all do a good job of recruiting I think the problem has been the retention and graduation piece and I think that’s why you will find across the state programs like CAAM and here at Albany State we have a program called the Holley Institute and Holley Institute will take a young man who has scored below the standards on the SAT and bring him to the campus for six weeks during the summer and work with him academically so that he can raise that SAT score and thereby be admitted into the university. So I think that you are going to find the universities pulling out the stops to not only recruit but to retain and graduate black males.

Do you agree that adequate programs and policies exist to encourage black males to attend Georgia’s public colleges and universities?

6. **Answer**: I think so. I think what we have is good. Now if I can just kind of talk, one of the things that I am personally involved in and I have made the trip and they have made the trip here I am personally trying to attract the “Call Me Mister Program”. I have had Dr. Roy Jones here on campus about a month ago and we have submitted our assessment and they have been down to visit us and we are poised to become the flagship university to have that “Call Me Mister Program” here at Albany State. I am excited about that for two reasons A) as I look around our public schools, there is a tremendous absence of African American Males in the classroom when you lead band directors and coaches for most part and in some of our academic courses black men are not there and I think its important that they are there because many of our little boys go from 1st to about 8th grade before they encounter a black man in the classroom. And so hopefully this “Call Me Mister Program” when we get it, I think that we will be able to significantly impact males at the high school and middle school level which then I think will have a direct correlation to what we see at the college level because I think that we adopted a theme from the 100 Black Men, “What they see is what they will be”. I think if we can model these men out there and put them in the classroom then I think that will be reflected in our public colleges and universities.
Tell us about the Center for the African American Male at Albany State University.

7. **Answer:** It started out as the Center for the Study of the African American Male and at that point it was designed to look at what were the myriad of issues facing black males coming into college. What was the baggage that they brought and how do we deal with it. In about 1990 it was changed to the Center for the African American Male. What we do is first of all we try to provide academic, spiritual, support for these young men. We also provide them with some modeling so they can take on leadership opportunities. We let them run their meetings, we get involved in community services, we mentor with other high schools and middle schools. I have just got to tell you about a unique program. We got involved this past school term with a group out of Terrell County, they are second graders called Teen 2018. Back in November we assigned each one of those 23 young men a mentor from CAAM. Also the president of the university gave all of those young men a letters of acceptance into Albany State for 2018. Mind you these are 2nd graders. This past Saturday the first of the mentors graduated. And what we did is have his mentee on stage to present him his degree. And that will happen each time a mentor graduates. But the subtle message is this is where you want to be one day. And I am so thrilled about that program because in addition to that, they have also completed a Science, Math and Engineering Program and they have gotten certificates. So what we are doing is we are putting in their mind education college, you don’t have to be a football player, you don’t have to be a basketball player, you can use your mind and still go to college and still make the mega bucks and our young men here at CAAM have embraced that. They stay in touch with these young men, they go over to the school. They travel 18 miles to Dawson, Georgia and they eat lunch with them, they stay in touch and so I think it is a tremendous program because men from our community mentor our college guys and now they are mentoring some other guys so I think the trickle down effect is going to have tremendous dividends for us.

How do you feel that this program has been effective in increasing black male enrolment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities such as Albany State University?

8. **Answer:** Well this program has been a tremendous help. We serve as part of the recruitment team and recruiters go out to recruitment fairs at the different high schools or different regional recruitment fairs, we have a representative from CAAM there. We, right now are in the process of getting information from admissions, and we will be sending out some information to every accepted incoming freshmen, and so we think we do have an impact, because it gives young men a place of identification. You will find that there are similar programs not necessarily called Center for African American Males, but they are similar programs at West Georgia College, at the University of Georgia, at Georgia State
Appendix A (continued)

University, and as I said, there are programs that are in the making at Fort Valley State and at Georgia Southwestern. I think Georgia Southern even has a program. So, I think you are going to find that these specialized programs that are targeting the black male are going to be a force to be dealt with now I will share with you here a group of us are going down to Florida State University in just couple of weeks to visit their CARE program Center for Academic Retention and Enhancement that’s received national acclaim for its retention of African American Students there at Florida State University. I have spoken with Dr. Angela Richardson there and I am taking the Vice President for Academic Affairs, Student Personnel, our Title III, and Ms Carol from the Holley Institute. We are going down to see what tools they are using, what methodology they have used, what’s made them successful. Because we would like to think if they can do that at Florida State University, that we ought to be able to bring something back and retrofit into what we are doing and make it work for Albany State University. Because I think, like I said, 14% is not acceptable. It is very alarming in many ways, because I would like to see us at a point at where we would have to build dormitory rooms on the college campuses as fast as they are building dormitory rooms on the prison settings, So, there is something very wrong when you have almost a three to one ratio of rooms being built for inmates as opposed to academics and it cost much more to house an inmate than it does a college student. So as a taxpayer alone. My profession, not withstanding, as a taxpayer it is something wrong with the math, when we are building prisons at a rate much greater than we are building dormitory rooms for college students.

What is the blueprint for creating the success that you have had in this program, and how would you convince lawmakers to keep funding this program if they considered removing the funding from African American Male Initiatives such as this one. (What are the overall benefits?)

9. **Answer:** I think the overall benefit is the fact that we can show that when these kind of programs are present, there is a steady incline in the number of men who graduate. For instance, Albany State, we are a little above the norm, we are looking at anywhere between 22 and 25% of our males graduating. That’s not an earth shaking number but I think when compared against most HBCUs, I think you will find that we are probably right there above maybe with the exception of Morehouse of course, but I think among public colleges. I think you will find 25% is a good number. Now is it where we would want to be, by no means, we would love to see something closer to 70% ok and we are working there, but I think part of what we have to do and I think that everybody is garnering that we are going to have to do a better job of recruiting, you see one of the jobs of HBCUs and why I think they stay significant we take the coals and turn them into diamonds Lets face it, our competition is no longer each other. In addition to the on-line colleges and the Troy States and the LaGrange Colleges, some of your major institutions can offer
Appendix A (continued)

scholarships and internships and things we do not have, so we have to do a better job of taking that second level student and bringing them to Albany State and keeping them here and nurturing them and I think that’s what we do better than anybody else – we nurture our students in such a way we lead them to graduation. So to answer your question, I think that the one thing we are to be able to convince anyone who would consider the funding, without the presence of these kind of programs like Holley, like CAAM, I think our numbers would go significantly down and I don’t think that’s something that our legislatures even those who don’t see value in them cannot afford. What we have been forced to do is to “Do more with less” each and every year, we have been forced to do more with less and so I think when we can show our ability to bring three hundred young men to campus on a rainy Saturday morning because CAAM is presenting them with the kinds of information that’s going to lead them to college. These were high school young men that we had here. We want to think of the 285 who set foot on this campus, that one in four would come back to Albany State as a student. That’s our goal, that one out of each four that attended that conference will come back here to campus. Because not only was it a program for us to give them information on why they should stay in school and graduate, but it was a recruitment piece for us and we did not shy away from being bold about we want you to come to Albany State University we want you to go to college, but we want you to come to Albany State University and so I think that’s the thing we have to be unabashedly bold about what it is that we want and tell them, no, don’t just start with go to college, come to our college. We can make our case for being able to take the coals from Lizela and from Blakely, GA and from TyTy, Sylvester, GA, and we can turn them into diamonds. Because when you look at where our graduates come from and look at what they accomplish, then you know that we do a good job at taking those little diamonds and working with them in a way, smaller classrooms, knowing you by name, being able to call you by name in a crowd. Those little things play a significant role in students staying in your college. Especially when they come from small towns. Especially, when they are the first ones to go to college, especially when they are having some issues in balancing academics and their social lives. Plus when a kid comes to college and the most freedom they will ever have in their life. Nobody tells them what time to get up, they don’t tell you to go to class, they don’t tell you when you have to do anything, you are left to do it on your own. But when you have a support system like CAAM that’s saying to that young man you have a responsibility to your community, you have a responsibility to some other young man who’s looking at you as a mentor, you have a responsibility to the man from the community or that professor on the campus who is mentoring you, we put it on them, and then give them the tools to accomplish it. And I think that you don’t get that in some of your other universities. You go and it is left up to you. And while that same premise is here its left up to you, we also put our arms around a student in such a way and that’s the argument we can make to anybody who wants to cut the funding from us.
Appendix A (continued)

How do you feel about the level of spending for your program? What type of level of funding would it take to get the program running at optimal level?

10. **Answer**: Well, I think that the state can do more. We have been very fortunate here at Albany State in that Title III has been such a tremendous funding source for what we do at CAAM. I do not know if I could put a dollar figure on what would be, because there are so many things that I see we ought to be doing. I think that there is some money out there for us to do some research, that’s why right now we are trying to make our program in addition to, we are trying to make it data driven, because I think that hopefully by the data we collect, we are able then to take that data and roll it over to grants in the absence of funding from the Board of Regents. That we take data that we garner from the different activities that we do from the surveys that we do and roll it over into grants that will allow us to get the funding we need, because there is nothing that would have me to believe that we are going to get any different kind of funding levels from the Board of Regents, not just now anyway.
Appendix A (continued)

Arlethia Perry-Johnson (African American Male Initiative Program)
Interview Questions

The Politics of Black Male Enrollment in Georgia’s Public Colleges and Universities

1. I understand that you just participated in the John Hope Franklin Symposium and spoke on the issue “How to Recruit and Retain Black and Hispanic Males in Today’s Difficult Environment” What were some of the highlights of that conversation?

The part that I was most impressed by is the different types of approaches that people were taking to the work. The other panelist that I was doing joined with included Dr. Pedro Martinez, from Winston-Salem State University, and he’s really looking at it from the holistic perspective of how you have to look at the student, not in just an academic context, but the climate of support that is needed for them. Dr. Tyrone Bledsoe, who I knew prior to the conference and know quit well, his organization – Student African American Brotherhood, creates climates and circles of inclusion for the young men, where they see others who look like themselves and they kind of move them in tandem towards higher goals, aspirations, and achievement. So you have these various approaches, the holistic approach, and having an element of the campus climate that ensures these students have a sense of inclusion in place in the campus climate, and Dr. Bledsoe’s program creates their own place for them within the larger campus climate by creating that circle through the African American Brotherhood.

The way that we have approached the work from the University System, is we started first from a research foundation to try to hear from the young men in their various voices what their challenges and issues were and then we work on an individual campus by campus basis to do outreach to the various sectors of that general population, either at the K-12 level or the post secondary level and rather than trying to take a “cookie-cutter” approach we asked those institutions to address the specifics and indigenous leads in their region and in their community, so there are as many different approaches to the work, as there are challenges, and I am just always optimistic to hear what’s being done and what’s working and to try to take the best practices from all the different sorts of programmatic activities that are out there.

2. What do you consider as the most important impediment impacting the enrollment level of Black Males in Georgia’s Public Colleges and Universities?

The one item - preparation. What my personal focus is right now and what we try to put a lot of attention in our initiative is getting young men on to the college prep curriculum, and while those grades are 9 through 12, the actual preparation to be
Appendix A (continued)

able to be offered admissions on to the college prep track actually starts much earlier. Like in grades 6th, 7th, and 8th. And it’s whether they are getting the rigorous math courses including the pre-algebra that will allow them to qualify for the algebra, geometry, trigonometry and calculus. And so I would say that preparation is the single issue.

3. What do you consider as the second most important impediment impacting the enrollment level of black males in Georgia’s public colleges and universities?

But running neck and neck with preparation is the tracking and the disproportional tracking our young men into special education and learning disability coursework, which just limits their full participation and the other disproportional issue, is also disproportionate suspensions and expulsions in any state you go to. I have looked at Virginia, I have looked at Minnesota, I have now being asked to potentially work with the North Carolina System, but if you look at the data from Education Trust or The Schott Foundation, every single state in America where Black males are present in the public schools, you will find them disproportional represented in special education and disproportional suspended and expelled, so I would say the disproportional runs neck and neck with the preparation issues.

4. Where (Colleges and Universities) are some of the Centers of Excellence that you have come across since the inception of the African American Male Initiative Program?

I am most intrigued with the work of The Schott Foundation and the work that they did to go state by state, look at the largest districts in the state in terms of where Black males are heavily enrolled and to see this sort of data and then once you have the data, you are armed with the ammunition to start to affect change and force the policy makers and influence the decision makers and educational leaders to implement programmatic activity to address those challenges. So The Schott Foundation’s work and the work of The Education Trust in terms of bringing this data to the spotlight and from a programmatic perspective, I am impressed with programs like we have in the University System at the University of West Georgia, the Black Men with Initiative Program of Dr. Said Sewell, because it takes a multifaceted approach of working with the young men. They bring in high level role models as speakers, they have common reader books that the have to take on, that teach them values as young Black me. They have added an international component, where they take them on an international trip together and expose them to people in the Diaspora that are highly intelligent and in leadership roles. And it also keeps a look on their GPA and their coursework during the advisement process. So it is all of those facets together and having them do this in tandem as a learning community. There is also a learning community cohort where some of the young Black men as freshmen live together in a dorm, so that’s why I am impressed
Appendix A (continued)

with that particular program because its holistic nature. Another one of the programs in the University System that I am impressed with is one headed by Dr. Deryl Bailey at the University of Georgia. His work has been done in three different states. He started out as a guidance counselor in North Carolina, where he first began his program, and then he earned his doctorate at UVA in Charlottesville, so he repeated his program there, and then he was hired for his faculty role at UGA in Athens, he repeated his program again. And so being that he is trained in this area, because his doctorate is in counseling and guidance, he understands the advising and counseling towards the rigorous coursework, so he has young men in advanced placement courses and is now having success with them that enrolled in the college, and he too added an international component to his as well for exposure. He just took a group of kids to Australia this summer. So this is an example of a K-12 program that is very much focused in on a Saturday Lock-In, or Weekend Lock-In, Saturday Academy. It has a parental component where the parent has to stay engaged as a part of the year long academic program.

On a national scale, the Student African American Brotherhood (S.A.A.B.) program, and what Dr. Tyrone Bledsoe is doing in creating these cultures that he’s now created as K-12 components, where you can have an S.A.A.B. chapter on a high school campus, and he is now branching off to add a Latino component, so his work on a national scale he has over 100 chapters and it is starting to have regional conferences of these young men where they come together. The “Call Me Mister Program”, is another great program, because part of what our research identified as a challenge is the paucity of Black males in the classroom as instructors, and so these kids get don’t see teachers whom they view as authority figures in front of them at the head of the classroom. So I believe that the “Call Me Mister” and its emphasis on getting more Black men in the teaching role is another positive Center of Excellence.

5. Out of the list I am about to name, who would you say makes the most important impact on black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities: (1) Board of Regents Members, (2) Presidents of Colleges and Universities, (3) Admissions Officers, (4) Leaders of Black Community Based Organizations, (5) State Legislators, and (6) Others _________?

It really is a confluence of all of them and none of them separately can have as much impact because for example the work we are doing is expanding over to K-12 and that is not our purpose and so you have to have that synergy and collaboration and without which you can’t have any success. Our AAMI programs in the field book have twenty-five different programs throughout the state and the third column shows the grade levels that are served, and you will see many of them are middle school K-12 initiatives, and some may ask why are we involved in this area? One of the things that we do with our programs is we make it mandatory that they have a
Appendix A (continued)

civic partner often times the civic partner are the local school districts or a specific school within a school district so to be able to pull out one in particular if I had to based on what we heard from our focus groups is the Teacher in the classroom. Because they show that student what they believe is possible from them and often times we heard from those young men if the teachers denigrated them, and put them down rather than lifted them up, so on an individual basis, that person has so much power and influence to turn the light bulb on or tell that kid that they have no future. But when you put that collection of people together, they all have to work together to affect policy, and this let it be known is a policy issue, and the teacher can impact policy individually.

6. Do you believe that the University System of Georgia Board of Regents have sufficient power or authority to carry out decisions or policy objectives that may impact the level of black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities? Why or why not?

Yes, we are already doing that. It is evidence by some of the things we have been doing over the past five years. The way that the policy is being carried out is one we conducted the research and two we were able to put funding, and one of the things you will see in our documents is the amount of funding thus far or in the pilot program, so the ability to have impact is affected here at this level.

7. How do you feel that the African American Male Initiative can be an effective program to increase black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities?

Again in terms of the outcome, we can influence K12, by determining the need for the college prep curriculum matriculation by all students, we can have outreach initiatives such as the bridge programs, college visitation exposure, after school mentoring and tutoring, and some of the things listed in the brochure, these are some of the ways that we are improving and having impact.

8. What do you feel would be the best methodology for creating a blueprint for addressing black male student enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities? (For example a community-based, intergenerational statewide forum)

There is no one to do it. I do not believe in cookie cutter approaches, but what I do think is essential is that policy makers not ignore the data and not play ostrich and be aware of it and not stick their heads in the sand and think it is going to go away. It will require systemic programmatic activity it will require multicultural awareness training of teachers of guidance counselors, it will require counseling towards the college prep curriculum and believing that every student is capable of
some type of postsecondary activity, and working with them early enough in their academic track to put them on the path to success, and if additional or extra curriculum intervention is needed, putting the resources into those programs so that students can have whatever highest level of academic achievement they are capable of that they can attain that and whether or not they are postsecondary, or students who are going to be vocational – technical trained rather than bacheloreate pursuit they still need to have some kind of counseling or advisement towards that and not to have to fend for themselves, so those are just some of the programmatic activities that policy makers can mandate.

10. Do you feel that spending for African-American Male Initiative programs should increase, decrease or remain the same, and why do you take this position?

I know the University System has done it out of discretionary dollars, it is not a lot of money, and we basically are operating to the tune of $300,000 a year. But that said, it is a commitment with many competing priorities and they put their money where there mouth is. In addition, there is external funding available and we received $100,000 from Lumina and I am in conversations with them right now at their solicitation about submitting another grant request for $300,000 to $500,000 so the money is also available in the private sector from foundations and other charitable organizations who want to impact social change and make a difference. Also corporations recognize that this is a workforce preparedness issue. So I believe that the funds are there, I believe the interest in having a reform impact is there, but it is incumbent upon organizational entities to make it a priority and to dedicate the staff and focus to this issue. As I mentioned to you, usually the people that are doing the work are overloaded with other priorities and it is going to get to a place where some resources and personnel will have to be dedicated solely to this to have the greatest impact, and that is what Dr Bledsoe was able to do and that is why I so admire his work and his career track, because he has been a Vice President of Student Affairs, and in fact created his program while he was at Georgia Southwestern, which is one of the USG institutions, but it became such a national ground swell that he could no longer continue to be a VP level college administrator and still do this program so, Lumina funded his work, so he could create a national headquarters for his work at the University of Toledo and then become Executive Director of that program and he then relinquished his VP duties for the university.

The work is so all encompassing and the challenge is so big that some organizations are going to have to recognize that you will need specific and solely dedicated personnel to get the list of opportunities accomplished, because I have things that I split out here as Special Assistant to the President for External Affairs, I have a department that has eighteen people, including the university relations department, I handle legislative affairs, and community affairs, so I am essentially the VP for
marketing, communications, legislative affairs and community affairs, it just has this title Special Assistant and people think I am some glorified secretary, but I am essentially a member of the cabinet operating at the VP level and then I do this project as a labor of love on behalf of the University System at a stipend, and so I have a full fledge full time job. We have our first fulltime person to this program Vanessa Green in August of 2007. That was five years in that we got our first fulltime person and so, I was working nights and weekends and so the bottom line is that if I would get everything done in my head that I know could have greater impact I would be doing this fulltime. And so organizations are going to have to recognize if they want those outcomes they are going to have to dedicate their staff to do it.

11. When thinking about issues that need to be addressed to increase the level of black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities, discuss the importance of the African American Male Initiative program as compared to other programs such as (1) Recruiting efforts, (2) Financial aid and scholarship programs, (3) academic enrichment programs, or (4) other?

They all have to work together. You can have the student prepared and if they don’t know the admissions process or the financial aid process, and if someone is not shepherding them through because we all know the reality of that process and who rises to the top of the admissions pyramid, and so our kids can be prepared, if they are first generation, and they have never negotiated that process they still have the potential to fall through the cracks or not land at an institution where their capabilities can be maximized. When ranking other programs, academic enrichment programs are deemed as the most important issue that need to be addressed to increase the level of black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities. Recruitment efforts would be deemed next because these efforts usually get the students in the door but they usually simultaneously tell them the culture of the institution and what to be prepared for and how to navigate it and how to negotiate it. So it is not just trying to get them to apply, but it is telling them this is what this institution is like and here is what you are going to face. Scholarship and financial aid would be the last area of importance, because they do not come into play until you have gotten into the door and you need somebody to help you get through the door.
Appendix A (continued)

Research Questions

1. **Do you have figure on enrollment rates of Black males in USG Schools from 2002 through 2007 itemized by year?**

   The results page has some of the data in the second column. There is also a place on the website, under enrollment data.

2. **Which school had the largest enrollment level of black males since the implementation of the program and which had the least or marginal gain since 2002?**

3. **Do you have a list of the institutions and/or organizations the received grants from the African American Male Initiative since 2002?**

   This is on the website, 11 grants were given during the 2008 year. 2003 was the first year of the program. The first and second years six were funded, the third year they were required to partner, which was a disaster and the fourth year 11 grants were funded.

5. **Do you have copies of the budget from 2002 through 2007?**

6. **Did you use a survey at the end of the African American Male Initiative Best Practices Conference held November 30 through December 1, and do you have a summary of the results?**

   Survey Monkey. The survey data had not been mined yet. You can get further data from the website- go to workshop and this will take you to summary of AAMI conference information
Appendix A (continued)

Leadership Academy – Georgia Perimeter College
Interview Questions

1. What is the most important issue impacting the enrollment level of black males in Georgia’s public colleges and universities?

Some of the things that we found that have impacted students coming here, were that students participating in the Leadership Academy. A couple of the things that I have noticed, not only here at GPC, but at other tertiary institutions is that sometimes the students are not well equipped. They don’t have a strong foundation in academics, and then when they are challenged with college level courses, they don’t seem to do well. And it seems that sometimes a major problem is financial access. The ones who are properly prepared, they come and most times they get through the first semester, or first year, but then there is an issue with follow up in terms of finances, they have no money, they have to work, their classes then suffer, and so on. Therefore, financial support is definitely one of those major issues.

2. What do you consider is the best in influencing black males to attend college? (e.g. academic enrichment programs, scholarships, adopt-a-school programs, mentor programs, or other.)

Other – Parents that is the most important A. Predictor of whether or not they will enroll and B. an indicator of the level of support that they may have and sometimes its not even so much the amount of money the parents may have, but the expectations that they instill in the student, and so if the parents and family are supportive and indicating to the student this is an expectation that they have with them that they will not only enroll, but they will complete the process and do well. I think that that’s a better indicator than any of those other things. The Mentor Program, and so on, those are very useful and very helpful in supporting the student once they get here, but before they can get here to benefit from these programs, they really need to have the prompting and support of the parents.

3. Who would you say makes the most important impact on black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities? (e.g. Board of Regents, Presidents of Colleges and Universities, Admissions Officers, Leaders of Black Community Based Organizations or Others).

It seems to me that very often, peers – students are the ones that have more impact on where students go and what they do, and what they participate in and so it would have to be in my opinion peers, and community based organizations. When students are already participating in community based organizations that let them know for example that such a school has such a program or this school is more known for that
or this school is would help you with such and so then they play a role also. But I think once the student gets here I think the admissions officers, the faculty and staff, and even the president could then impact their perceptions.

4. **Do you agree that adequate programs and policies exist to encourage black males to attend Georgia’s public colleges and universities?**

I don’t think there is enough.

5. **Tell us about the Leadership Academy at Georgia Perimeter College.**

Well this is a fairly new program. It was established in 2005 and as you know it was through the AAMI Program through the Board of Regents. It is a program that seeks to encourage young Black Men, to not only attend college, but to do well while they are here. And so the program encompasses many different aspects to encourage students while they are here. There is an emphasis on the academics that students are required to do at least two hours of study hall per week, (See Brochure) close conference with the student, myself and their instructors throughout the semester, so that they don’t come up to the end of the semester and realize that they are not doing well. So the academic portion is critical so that when the student comes in they do quit a bit of self-assessment, in which the student is asked “How do you think you are doing?” And based on that, that’s part of it, but we also ask the teacher how the student is doing, and then we get a comparison of perception because if the student is thinking they are doing very well, and the teacher thinks a different thing, then clearly there is a difference in perception and we have to address that, and vise versa, if they think they are doing poorly, and the teacher thinks “Oh this is a great student!”, then again the question of perception and how you interpret it. So we try not to be overly intrusive, but we are actively involved with the student and the teacher. So the academics take front and center. Students are required to take at least six credit hours, but they are encouraged to take a full load of courses, so that’s one piece of the Leadership Academy. The other part is that we have a mentoring program and this mentoring program is done with the assistance of Black Male staff and faculty here at GPC, and they are from all different disciplines all different areas, and as of right now, all volunteers. It seems to have a great impact on the students. That they have somebody they can talk with, relate to, interact with and in that sense that have been helpful in giving students not necessarily role models, because role models tend to be in their particular disciplines or so on, but to see there is a figure, a successful male, personality that they can interact with over a period of time. Some mentors have given the students free access to them – their cell phones, e-mail, and so on. There is an ongoing interaction at anytime. The other piece of the Leadership Academy is the scholarship, because as I mentioned, financial concerns are very often one of the major forces impacting Black Male students. And so we offer scholarships or tuition, as well as scholarships for books. And we have what I consider quit an interesting
format for how these scholarships are awarded. Because we recognize that with all the students - we want to motivate them. So the scholarships are partially to motivate, and encourage, and also to "step up" so that it's not that "ok, you are in, you are a Black Male, you get a scholarship, no - and that's why when they first join the Leadership Academy for their first semester, they do not receive scholarships, They do get to participate in the programs, but based on their participation and their commitment so that they have a requirement and they have something that they have to contribute. So it is not just a hand-out, or something that is given arbitrary, no, they have to make a commitment to prove themselves, so in and of itself, the program itself is an important factor, because the participation in the program determines their book scholarship, and to a certain degree, their tuition scholarship, which is a sliding scale, depending on their GPA. We don't let the GPA requirements to cause the scholarship to be unattainable, it ranges from minimum 2.0 to a 4.0, and of course we encourage the students to aim for the 4.0 because the higher their GPA, then the higher the scholarship that they receive. Well it's a fixed amount. The fourth component is one of those areas that is most difficult to measure, is the program component and this is the component that the students participate in an ongoing basis. Right now it is twice a week for sessions, where we have them involved in a group discussion, a topic of interest for them, or in presentations that help them to develop. We had a presenter from the Bureau of Labor Statistics to talk about the economy and not just the economy, but what does this mean for you as a student. So we helping them to broaden their experience here in college to recognize that there is a world out there and what they are doing now, how that will impact them in the future. So those kinds of workshops, such as workshops on the stock market, resume preparation, money management, and all these kinds of workshops are ongoing. Not only is the program piece very important, but this is where it helps knit the young men together. They are a group, a unit, they recognize it. They have to help each other. So whether this is where they recognize it, they can sometimes help each other in classes, or in getting on the spot tutoring or helping somebody recognize how to plan for something. Students who are not necessarily older, but have started before can help the incoming ones, and talk to them. This is part of the development of the recognition of their own self worth or their own self importance in the grand scheme of things. That spills over into the final component - community service where they do various kinds of community service activities where they do various kinds of community services activities, whether its helping with high school recruitment activities, or Habitat for Humanity or working in soup kitchens, whatever it is, we want them to develop that sense of community, and there is no "Black Community" per se they are not required to go into the Black Community. And we are also trying to move away from their well known types of things, for example if their church has been doing a particular community involvement piece, we try to seek ways for them to broaden their experiences and to provide other opportunities, so right now we are working to help them work with Indian Creek Elementary School, where they can be tutors to the elementary school kids, and also at Clarkston High School which is
nearby, to work with the students over there. So reaching back and giving back, builds into the program, and they seem to appreciate it. I like to think of it as a well rounded program. There are no handouts, and students are really encouraged to not only excel but to develop themselves and to take advantage of existing opportunities in their campus and in their community.

6. How do you feel that this program has been effective in increasing black male enrolment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities such as Georgia Perimeter College?

One of the things that we have started doing is to actively seek out community groups that we can partner with to encourage them to get their young men to attend here. For example, we have been working with Project-Grad Atlanta, we have been working with Clarkston High School, and we have been working with individual graduation coaches to encourage them to tell their students about the program, and to apply to the program, and I think that has definitely has helped. This past summer, we conducted a Summer Bridge Program, for high school students to prepare them to take the (COMPASS Test) which is a college entrance exam. This allowed us to partner with groups that already have their hands on the pulse of what to connect with, instead of trying to reinvent the wheel, I think we are impacting how enrollment increases and the way that people perceive GPC and the fact that they can now recognize that there are elements to the system once they get here before they get here.

7. What is the blueprint for creating the success that you have had in this program, and how would you convince lawmakers to keep funding this program if they considered removing the funding from African American Male Initiatives such as this one. (What are the overall benefits?)

The benefits are clearly in the students themselves. It is a direct benefit to students. Not only are they improving their grades, but it is also helping with retention. It is a little early in terms of the numbers we have, but so many, more than 50% Black Males students drop out, so we are having a direct impact on retention, because we try to intervene before a student dropout. We ask, “Why are you dropping out?” “Did you try your best?” “What did you not do?” “How can you improve?” So we challenge the student and get them help. Because tutoring is part of the program pieces, so if the student needs help in their academics, they are able to get tutoring, so the fact that there is a focus on retention. It is not just to bring them in, because that to me is pretty pointless, because they have support systems here to encourage them, so in terms of what’s important, is the fact that this is a comprehensive kind of program, its not one sided. It tries to address all those areas that we know impact college students in general and Black Males in particular and this is where the group sessions and individual sessions with counselors are so important because they have an opportunity, to intervene and be encouraged, or challenged as the case might be. And
mentors again play a role in that. So all the pieces seem to form a united front, and provide a comprehensive kind of approach. And it’s not particularly expensive. I think that is one of the things that we would want to promote that this program is not something that is expensive or draining. It benefits not only the students, but the college, the families, the communities, the economy – it’s an all around benefit.

8. **How do you feel about the level of spending for your program? What type of level of funding would it take to get the program running at optimal level?**

I am glad that Georgia Perimeter really has gone out of its way to support the program. And of course I would like to see additional funding especially in terms of program content. We take trips and so on and so, and those kinds of things. I think that this is where the community at large, businesses and so on could be of particular assistance in funding these programs, because again, it’s not just for a bunch of guys, it is definitely educational and it does have very practical outcomes. I would like to see more funding, but I am glad for what we have.
Appendix A (continued)

The Politics of Black Male Enrollment in Georgia’s Public Colleges and Universities
Georgia Student Finance Commission

Interview Questions

1. Are the changes in the policy achieving the desired goals of the HOPE Study Commission?

Answer: Well we know that the number of students graduating from high school, academically eligible for the HOPE scholarship, we call them HOPE Scholars, that those numbers reduced in the graduating class of 2007 which was the first class under the new requirements. That reduction was about a third. Now we don’t have all the data yet about exactly how many of those received a HOPE Scholarship and actually went to college or how many of them retained it at the end of their first year of college because we haven’t even reached the end first year of college yet, but that certainly is our first indicator that the change in policy did what it was intended. I also want to add that it is my understanding that the intent was not only as you mentioned the concern about cost, but also the concern about making the academic requirements more equitable across the board across the state and basically raising the academic standards because of the concerns of the percentage of the students that were losing their HOPE Scholarships in their Freshman Year, possibly indicating that they were not really prepared for college. It is estimated that approximately 60 percent of the HOPE Scholars lose their scholarships after their freshman year, so it is our hope with the standards now that the students who get the scholarships will be more ready for college and so that number will drop significantly in terms of the number of students who lose their scholarship after their freshman year.

2. What is being done to arrive at the HOPE Scholarship Award Strategies for Institutional Funds and thus arrive at the award policy that best supports the HOPE Scholarship’s enrollment goals?

Answer: If you look at the quality of the schools over time, since the scholarship, the quality of the students in terms of their SAT and grade point averages the school that you often hear about is the University of Georgia and how the average SAT score and grade point average for incoming freshmen has increased through the years which they attribute through the HOPE Scholarship program. Overall, I have seen the quality of the student appears to have improved because better students may have gone to college out of State previously.

3. Since the new policy is in its early implementation stages, what measures are being used to evaluate its effectiveness?

Appendix A (continued)

**Answer:** Well my understanding at the end of this spring term, we will be able to begin to college data and work with the Board of Regents to see if the percentage of students who lost their HOPE Scholarship after their first year of college, if that number has improved, which would indicate that these students were better prepared for college and the policy is doing what it proposes to do. I am not sure when that kind of data will be available and when somebody can study that, but I guess it won't be until sometimes later this summer or early this fall. We are as well as Regents are collecting and analyzing the data on the effects of the change in policy.

4. **Who are the legislators who worked on the HOPE Study Commission?** The HOPE Study Commission has this changed any or was it a one time committee because of the Senate Resolution or was this a standing committee, what is its status?

**Answer:** The committee last met during the summer/fall of 2003, and then presented their recommendations to the Governor and the Georgia General Assembly. To my knowledge they have not met since then.

5. **What the popular non-HOPE Scholarships exists and are there any plans for developing any new funding being established?**

**Answer:** Our bigger programs include the Tuition Equalization Grant program that has been in operation since 1972. This grant is for all residence of Georgia who are full time students at eligible private colleges, you have to be attending a private college in Georgia, for example Emory, Clark Atlanta, and so forth. It is not based on financial need, it is not based on academics, it is just a pure student grant and the current year that we are in now (2007-2008) the award is $1,100.00 per year. We have 15 or more scholarships and grant programs. The Excel Program is a unique program in which students that are still in high school and are still pursuing their high school diploma can go to college part time and receive assistance from the lottery. It is not HOPE, but it is funded by the lottery the same way HOPE is. To help pay for their college course work and they are not only earning college credit hours, but they are kind of getting a head start on their college degree program while they are in high school but those hours are being accepted back by their high school towards the students' high school diplomas. For example instead of taking Senior English, the student takes English 101 at the local community college and gets college credit for it but at the same time, the high school says we will count that as your Senior English. That's an interesting program. Service Cancelable Loans, by that we mean a shortage has been identified or a critical need has been identified in the State for certain types of jobs. For example, teaching, nursing, and so forth. So the State provides what we call a Service Cancelable Loan. If a person is in a program of study to go into that particular career we provide them with assistance and when they graduate, they are expected to work for a period of time in the State of Georgia in that career to cancel
Appendix A (continued)

their obligation or loan. If they don't do that, then it does basically turns into a student loan that they have to repay in cash plus interest. So it is not really a scholarship or grant because there is a string attached, it is not really quit not a student loan but it is between, a scholarship and a student loan, basically you can call it a hybrid. We a have a number of those different programs.

Georgia Student Finance Commission
Data Gathering Questions

1. Can I get copies of the new eligibility rules and the previous eligibility rules?

   Answer: We have a chart on the Web site that parallels the difference in the rules

2. Do you have figures on high school seniors that qualified for the HOPE Scholarship since 2003 – 2007 based on race and gender who attended Georgia public colleges and universities?

   Answer: We do not collect race and gender it is not a part of the process.

3. What are the areas in the state that had the biggest drop-off in hope eligible students in regards to black males (Top five) due to the new eligibility rules?

   Answer: We do not collect this type of data.

4. Do you have copies of the budget for the HOPE Scholarship Program ranging from 2003 – 2007?

   Answer: We can get this information from accounting.
APPENDIX B

Survey Instrument

The Politics of Black Male Enrollment in Georgia's Public Colleges and Universities

1. What is the most important impediment impacting the enrollment level of black males in Georgia's public colleges and universities?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

2. What is the second most important impediment impacting the enrollment level of black males in Georgia's public colleges and universities?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

3. Which of the following approaches do you consider the best in influencing black males to attend college?

( ) academic enrichment programs ( ) Scholarships

( ) Adopt-a-school programs ( ) Mentor Programs

( ) Other ____________________________________________________________________
Appendix B (continued)

4. What groups and individuals have a significant impact on the enrollment level of black males in Georgia’s public colleges and universities? Also, how much impact do the following groups or individuals have? (CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH GROUP OR INDIVIDUAL)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups/Individuals</th>
<th>Amount of Impact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Parents</td>
<td>A Lot 2 Some 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Fraternities/Sororities</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Churches</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Civic Organizations</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. High School guidance</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. University System Board of Regents</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Presidents of Colleges and Universities</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Admissions Officers</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. State Legislators</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others:</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Who would you say makes the most important impact on black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities? (CIRCLE ONE NUMBER)

1. Board of Regents Members
2. Presidents of Colleges and Universities
3. Admissions Officers
4. Leaders of Black Community Based Organizations
5. State Legislators
6. Others

6. Do you agree that adequate programs and policies exist to encourage black males to complete their high school education and attend Georgia’s public colleges and universities?

( ) Strongly agree ( ) Agree ( ) Neither ( ) Disagree ( ) Strongly disagree
Appendix B (continued)

7. Do you believe that the University System of Georgia Board of Regents have sufficient power or authority to carry out decisions or policy objectives that may impact the level of black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities? (CIRCLE ONE NUMBER)

1. Yes
2. No, If not, why not? ________________________________________________________

8. Which of the following reasons would best describe a motivation for the State of Georgia to implement policies that would focus on increasing the enrollment level of black males in Georgia’s public colleges? (CIRCLE ONE NUMBER)

A. To decrease the number of blacks in the state who are living below the poverty level.
B. To increase the number of black males who go on and attain bachelor’s degrees.
C. In response to demands by black legislators.
D. To increase the overall level of diversity in Georgia’s public colleges and universities.
E. To impact the state’s economic development efforts and other initiatives driven by the desire to have an educated workforce.
F. To increase the overall level of enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities.

9. What percentage of the state’s secondary education resources should be used for college preparatory activities for middle school and high school students in each school district?

( ) 10% - 24%  ( ) 25% - 39%  ( ) 40% - 49%  ( ) Greater than 50%

10. How long have you been in your position? _____________________________________

11. If you are in an elected or appointed position, how long is your regular term of office? ___________________________
12. Have you been in office for more than one term? (CIRCLE ONE)

1. Yes
2. No

If so, what term of office are you currently serving? ________________________

13. Are you familiar with the high school graduation rates of black males in the area of the state you live in and or represent?

( ) Yes ( ) No If yes, what is the estimated rate?

( ) 25% - 49% ( ) 50% - 74% ( ) Greater than 75%

14. Do you believe that low enrollment of black males in Georgia’s public colleges and universities is a:

( ) Serious problem ( ) moderate problem ( ) slight problem

( ) not a problem ( ) Do not know

15. Are you aware of the percentage of black males that attend college in the area of the state you live in and or represent?

( ) Yes ( ) No If yes, what is the estimated rate?

( ) Less than 2.5% ( ) 2.5% ( ) 5.0%

( ) 7.5% ( ) Greater than 7.5%

16. Are you familiar with the African American Male Initiative program established by the University System of Georgia Board of Regents?

1. Yes
2. No

If yes, how do you feel the initiative can be an effective program to increase black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities?
Appendix B (continued)

17. Do you think the ending of Affirmative Action admissions policies are more likely to have an adverse effect on Black male enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities?
   1. Yes
   2. No

18. Do you think that the implementation of policies to improve the availability of financial aid programs will allow Georgia’s public colleges and universities to experience an increased level of black male enrollment?
   1. Yes
   2. No

19. What do you feel would be the best methodology for creating a blueprint for addressing black male student enrollment in Georgia’s public colleges and universities? (For example a community-based, intergenerational statewide forum)

20. Do you feel that spending for the issue areas listed below should increase, decrease or remain the same. (CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ISSUE AREA).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue Area</th>
<th>Should Increase</th>
<th>Should Remain the Same</th>
<th>Should Decrease</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. African-American Male Initiatives Program</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Recruiting efforts to increase the number of black male applicants</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Availability of financial aid</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Academic enrichment programs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
21. When thinking about issues that need to be addressed to increase the level of black male enrollment in Georgia's public colleges and universities how important do you think the issues listed below are? (CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ISSUE AREA)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue Area</th>
<th>Importance</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Very Important</td>
<td>Somewhat Important</td>
<td>Not Important</td>
<td>No Opinion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. African-American Male Initiatives Program.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Recruiting efforts to increase the number of black male applicants</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Availability of financial aid</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Academic enrichment programs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22. Please rank the issue areas in order of importance (1 = MOST IMPORTANCE and 5 = LEAST IMPORTANCE)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue Area</th>
<th>Ranking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Academic enrichment programs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. African-American Male Initiative Programs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Availability of financial aid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Recruiting efforts to increase the number of black male applicants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23. How do you classify/categorize yourself politically? (CIRCLE ONE NUMBER)

1. Liberal
2. Middle of the Road
3. Conservative
4. Don’t think of myself in those terms
Appendix B (continued)

24. Please indicate the highest level of formal education you have completed. (CIRCLE ONE NUMBER)

1. Graduate/Professional degree
2. College degree
3. Some College
4. High School graduate
5. Other ____________________________

25. Are you:

1. Male
2. Female

If you have any additional comments concerning your leadership role, please use the space provided below.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND COOPERATION

Please check if you would like a copy of the survey results. [ ]

Please use this space for any additional comments you have regarding your leadership role.
APPENDIX C
Institutional Review Board Letter

CLARK ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
Institutional Review Board
Office of Sponsored Programs

April 22, 2008

Timothy D. Etson <tetson@bellsouth.net> Dept. of
Political Science
Knowles Hall 317
Clark Atlanta University
Atlanta, GA 30314

RE: The Politics of Black Male Enrollment in Georgia's Public Colleges and Universities. Principal Investigator(s):
Timothy D. Etson

Human Subjects Code Number: HR2008-4-257-1

Dear Mr. Etson:

The Human Subjects Committee of the Institutional Review Board (IRB) has reviewed your protocol and approved of it as exempt from full IRB review in accordance with 45 CFR 46.101b.2.

Your Protocol Approval Code is HR2008-4-257-1/A

This approval is valid for one year from the date of this notice. This permit will therefore expire on April 20, 2009. Thereafter, continued approval is contingent upon the annual submission of a renewal form to this office. Any reaction or problems resulting from this investigation should be reported immediately to the IRB, the Department Chairperson and any sponsoring agency. If you have any questions, please contact Dr. Georgianna Bolden at the Office of Sponsored Programs (404) 880-6979 or Dr. Paul I. Musey, (404) 880-6829.

Sincerely:

Paul I. Musey, Ph.D.
Chair, IRB: Human Subjects Committee

c. Dr. Fragano Ledgister <ledgister@cau.edu>
Office of Sponsored Programs, “Dr. Georgianna Bolden” <gbolden@cau.edu>

223 James P. Brawley Drive, S.W. • ATLANTA, GA 30314-4391 • (404) 880-8000

Formed in 1988 by the consolidation of Atlanta University, 1865 and Clark College, 1869
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books


---

**Journals and Magazines**


Papers


_____________. *University System of Georgia Funds Partnerships to Enhance Black Male Participation Preparation for Higher Education.* Atlanta, GA: Board of Regents of the University System of Georgia, 2005.

**Websites**


Fort Valley State University (History). http://www.fvsu.edu/about/history (accessed March 31, 2009).


