

Washington Initiative 200 (1998):

How the proponents' policy narratives supported by academic data

A Capstone project presented

In fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of Master of Arts in Policy Studies

Thuy Nguyen

University of Washington Bothell

Advisor: Camille Walsh

Second Reader: Keith Nitta

Summer 2023

Abstract

Washington states passed the Initiative 200 in 1998, which prohibited government from discriminating or granting preferential treatments on basis of sex, gender, color or nationality origins in public education, employment and contracting. The initiative was called Washington Civil Rights initiative, as the proponent stated that I-200 would make Washingtonians have more equal opportunities. In terms of race in public higher education, the opponents were worried that I-200 would end affirmative action and negatively impact the diversity of students. Analyzing the policy narratives of the I-200 proponent, there were four themes were used, strategically, to promote the initiative and persuade voters: I-200 was about government's power in discrimination, preferential treatments created racial segregation, preferential treatments lowered the standard for college admission, and I-200 was not about to end affirmative action. Using quantitative data to examine the enrollment and graduation trends by race, the results show that there was an increase for the most of student of color groups at flagship universities in WA after I-200 passed, despite a short-term decrease right after 1998. The statistical analysis proves that the policy narratives of the proponents could have some truth in them, in terms of the effort to diversifying student body at universities which did not stop after I-200.

Acknowledgement

At the finish line, I want to express my gratitude to the people whose love, care and supports was crucial for this accomplishment. I want to thank my parents for always pushing me to keep going on the academic path. My determination and resilience were formed from your care and education. I am what I am today because of you two. I also want to express my gratitude to my husband, who always supports me in every decision and has been there for me at the moments of hardship and doubting myself. And to my girls, this project is for you two. You are the reason I want to make the world a better place, even from the smallest thing. I will never stop seeking justice for this world, because you two are in it.

This project could not be completed without the support from my advisor, Dr. Camille Walsh, and Dr. Keith Nitta. Their wisdom and guidance kept me stay on track and be able to complete the work, even during the most challenging moments. I'm grateful for everything you've learned from you both for the last two years. I want to extend my gratitude to all the faculty and staff of the MAPS programs. The cohort, both part time and full-time options, is designed to help students succeed; and the staff have always been helpful.

Introduction

Affirmative action in education has constantly been a focus of American political attention. The ruling of the Supreme Court on June 29, 2023 in the case *Students for Fair Admission v. President and Fellows of Harvard College* was a landmark in anti-affirmative action policy. This decision is also significant as it occurred at the federal level of anti-affirmative action policy, setting the precedent for every state nationwide. The opponents of affirmative action argue that American is in a post-racial era, when “Americans begin to make race-free judgements” (Schorr, 2008), and affirmative action would be unnecessary in a “post-racial society because, people of color would have “no more excuses” to take up identities as victims of racial prejudices or disadvantaged peoples (Bonnilla, 2010, p. 208). Therefore, “affirmative action programs are a particularly poor use of resources” by Judge Thomas of Supreme Court (*20-1199 Students for Fair Admissions, Inc. v. President and Fellows of Harvard College (06/29/2023)*, 2023, p. 42). On the other hand, the supporters of affirmative action, such as Judge Sotomayor, confirmed that affirmative action “has worked and is continuing to work”, and there is no reason to abandon the practice today (*20-1199 Students for Fair Admissions, Inc. v. President and Fellows of Harvard College (06/29/2023)*, 2023, p. 62). On that political climate, this research looks at an initiative, Initiative 200 and its aspect in education, in Washington state that banned affirmative action in the state a quarter of century ago, to understand how it was for the anti-affirmative action policy in the Evergreen state..

In 1998, the Initiative 200 got passed by Washington voters with a high margin of 58.22% to 41.78%. This measure was called Washington Civil Rights Initiative, as the proponents were convinced that it was based on the legacy of Civil Rights Movement. The initiative started the ban of affirmative action policy in Washington state, making the Evergreen

State the second state to enact such measure – after Proposition 209 had passed in California in 1997. The fight for affirmative action policy has been going on since the Civil Rights time in the 1960s, and it continues to nowadays. The Washington Initiative 1000 (I-1000) in 2019, designed to alter I-200. The initiative was sent to the legislature and was approved by the legislature on April 28, 2019. However, a veto referendum, Referendum 88, was put on the ballot through a signature petition driven by opponents of I-1000 to let voters decide whether to approve or reject the measure. On November 5, 2019, voters rejected I-1000 in a vote of 50.56% to 49.44%. The affirmative action ban is still in place in Washington, as an anti-discrimination policy.

The language of I-200 appeared on the ballot as “Shall government be prohibited from discriminating or granting preferential treatment based on race, sex, color, ethnicity or national origin in public employment, education, and contracting?”, which promotes equal treatment for everyone in government contracting, government employment and public education. However, the initiative was believed to end of affirmative action in higher education admission, which has a negative effect on the underrepresented minority students in terms of access to higher education, in spite of alternative strategies that institutions implemented to promote student-body diversity. Therefore, study on affirmative action policies, such as I-200, is needed to enlighten how an anti-discrimination policy on the basis of race ends up causing more racial discrimination, instead of solving racial issues.

The effect of the affirmative action ban policy has been studied over the years since the 1990s. Brown and Hirschman found the decrease in the number of African American, Hispanic, and American Indian freshmen (and percentage of high school graduates) who enrolled in the Fall of 1999, the year right after affirmative action was banned in Washington, along with Hinrichs’s findings that “affirmative action bans lead to fewer underrepresented minorities

becoming of selective institutions" due to fewer underrepresented minorities were admitted to those colleges" (2012) and "they [the bans] decrease underrepresented minority enrollment and increase white enrollment at selective colleges" (2014).

To remedy for the elimination of affirmative action, many states have mitigated the effect of changes in law and policy by creating forms of sponsorship that skirt the issue of race. These policies may disproportionately benefit minority students (Grotsky, 2008). However, Long argued that the alternative strategies used in the affirmative action ban states (Washington, California, Texas) have been ineffective in restoring minority enrollment in these states' flagship institutions (Long, 2007).

There have been many studies on affirmative action ban policies with different approaches. However, research about different aspects of I-200 in Washington is limited. There are studies about the impact on enrollment rate, as well as graduation rate, in terms of race before and after I-200 was passed (Brown and Hirschman). There are also studies on how Washington voters are influenced by the language of policy narratives (Kruse, 2001, p. 131). However, the statement of I-200 proponents about affirmative action allowing underqualified and unprepared students entering flagship universities has not been proved by any academic data. This study will dig deeper on I-200 and how policy narratives of the proponents' side, introduced their arguments in the political and social climax of 1998, nationwide and statewide. Using a media database to explore how the policy narrative of I-200 proponents and opponents chose to promote their arguments about government powers, preferential treatments in relation with minority students' qualification, along with quantitative data analysis, this study aims to determine if the statement of I-200 proponents is supported by data. I-200 listed several categories of characteristics that the government should be prohibited from discriminating

against or granting preferential treatment, including race, sex, color, and couple more; but this study will only focus on the policy narratives of I-200 supporters on race in relation to education. The argument about gender and other traits mainly involved employment and equal pay issues.

The undeniable truth is that the anti-affirmative action policy narratives, whether they were based on data or not, were effective and persuasive to voters. Therefore, this study will contribute to the understanding about affirmative action banning policies, particularly I-200. This will inform future policy research about how much the policy narratives are based on data, to further study on how they were effective in political and social context.

Lit Review

Considering the long history of affirmative action and anti-affirmative action policy throughout the course of history, I found a huge volume of research and articles about the topic. Researchers and scholars in this field focus on multiple aspects of affirmative action and anti-affirmative action policy. In addition to that, the court cases, especially some landmark cases such as *Brown*, *Bakke* or *Grutter*, are also the pointers for doing research in this field. Therefore, the selection of literature review for this study varies among affirmative action researchers in general and I-200 in particular, as well as some theory frameworks that used to interpret the anti-affirmative action movement throughout the history.

Background of anti-affirmative action policies

Anti-affirmative action policies in education involve all branches of the government: legislature, judicial and executive. Its history started not long after the race sensitive admission policies began in 1960s. *Bakke v. Regents of the University of California* in 1978 is one of the earliest landmark case for anti-affirmative action in college admission, but it's also famous Judge Powell's opinions. While he condemned that any racial quota for the purpose of admissions supported by a government entity violates the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, he also ruled that "admission officers could take race into account as one of several factors" (Bowen, 1998, p. 8). The California Proposition 209 got passed in 1996, marking Golden state the first one used electoral votes in anti-affirmative action policies. In the same year, the *Hopwood* case in Texas led to a ban on affirmative action in admissions, financial aid and recruiting. In 1998, Initiative 200 passed in Washington, eliminating affirmative action in the same fields. In 1999, Governor Bush announced the "One Florida" that eliminated affirmative action in admissions. In 2001 the *Johnson v. Board of Regents of the University of Georgia* case

decided and University of Georgia dropped affirmative action admission in the following year. In 2003, the Supreme Court decision on *Grutter v. Bollinger* upheld the affirmative action admissions policy of University of Michigan Law School (Long, 2007, p. 316). However, twenty year later, Supreme Court decision on *Students for Fair Admission v. President and Fellows of Harvard College* overturned the protection of affirmative action admission policy for higher education. (*Students for Fair Admissions, Inc. v. President and Fellows of Harvard College* (06/29/2023), 2023). The long and complex history of anti-affirmative action policies with different direction of Supreme Court rulings and state's policies established significant studies and research on the topic over decades, and this research field continue to grow with the recent events.

Impacts of banning affirmative action

For enrollment, Hinrichs found that that enrollment of underrepresented minority students decreased but white students enrollment increased at selective institutions after a race-based affirmative action ban was adopted (Hinrichs, 2012, p. 712). In the relation of affirmative action ban and graduation rates, Hinrichs (2014) found that affirmative action bans lead to fewer underrepresented minorities becoming graduates of selective institutions (p.45). This result came from Hinrichs' comparison between negative impact on enrollment and positive effect on graduation, in which the former outweighs the latter.

In particular to the decrease, there was a substantial one in the number of African American, Hispanic, and American Indian freshmen (and percentage of high school graduates) who enrolled in the Fall of 1999, the year right after affirmative action was banned in Washington. The decrease is in contrast to the lack of change in first-year enrollments among

non-Hispanic whites. The ban may create an unwelcoming environment at UW for minority students, which discourage them to apply (Brown & Hirschman, 2006, p.125).

Alternative strategies

After the ban of affirmative action, Chan argues that elite institutions would find other channels to promote student-body diversity as it's important in their missions (p.868). Many states have mitigated the effect of changes in law and policy by creating forms of sponsorship that skirt the issue of race. For example, top X percent programs were implemented in Texas, Florida and California within several years after eliminating affirmative action. These programs required the state universities to admit the top four (4) percent of students in high school graduating class (in California) or top ten (10) percent (in Texas) (Chan & Eyster, 2003, pp. 866–867), or top twenty percent (in Florida). The logic of these programs was that the top X of their high school class might be fairly representative of the state as a whole) (Long, 2007, p. 317). These policies may disproportionately benefit minority students (Grotsky, 2008, p.27), even though the implication behind these programs was state university admission would based on meritocracy rather than aiming for underrepresented population.

Beside top X programs, there were other channel that state and universities utilized to remedy the effect of affirmative action ban, class-based affirmative action, and targeted recruitment for instance. The targeted recruitment effort at UW, for example, in response to I-200 was increasing outreach and recruitment at “high schools, community colleges, churches, and community centers where there is high minority representation” to achieve the goal of increasing minority enrollment to pre-I-200 levels. (Long, 2007, p. 320). At Texas, Texas A&M’s Century Scholars program offered mentor, academic advisors, and free tutoring for students at 41 high schools. Class-based affirmative action refers to the preference in admission

would be granted not on the basis of race, but on the basis of low family income (Bowen, 1998, p. 46). However, Long argued that the alternative strategies used in the affirmative action ban states (WA, CA, TX) “have been ineffective in restoring minority enrollment in these states’ flagship institutions” (Long, 2007, p.326). Another research from Long (2015) in response to the conclusion of the US Supreme Court Fisher v. University of Texas case that race and ethnicity will be permissible to use if “no workable race-neutral alternatives would produce the educational benefits of diversity”. The result shows that an admitted class that used “an applicant's predicted likelihood of being an underrepresented racial minority as a proxy for the applicant's actual minority status” would have a lower predicted grade point average and likelihood of graduating than the class that would have been admitted using traditional affirmative action. The implication of this is that from university’s perspective, race-neutral alternative may not be workable. (Long, 2015, p. 162)

How affirmative action ban got passed by voters

In explaining how the bills and initiatives of eliminating affirmative action could get the majority votes in the ballots, scholars argued that how social perspectives of the concept of race would affect the public opinion. In the context that race-conscious education policy “is interpreted in the political landscape of a “postracial” America” (p.554), Paguyo and Moses point out two sharp contrasting perspectives, color blindness versus race-egalitarian, in policy interpretation. While the former bolsters reform effort that aim to be independent of race and race should be absent from consideration in the “structuring of public conduct” or government intervention, the later positions historic and present injustice as adequate justifications for race-conscious policies. (pp.566-567). The proponents of I-200 effectively applied the race

egalitarianism in their racial policy narratives, in which they wanted to prohibit the government from discriminating and granting preferences on basis of race.

Also, evidence in Baker's work shows that a state's adoption of an affirmative action ban may come as a reaction to the major population's fear of scarce access to selective public higher education for White students (Baker, 2019, p. 1864), because many (white) American have become deeply uncomfortable about the use of race as a factor in making contracting, hiring, and admission decisions (Bruce, 2003, p.114). For Chicana/o students at UW, affirmative action was the tool in transformation of the university and promoted social justice in their communities. The initial push for affirmative action came not from the top, but from the bottom. Students continued to drive affirmative action in its many forms, from demands for Chicano studies program in 1969 to the outpouring of support in 1975 for the hiring of Chicana/o faculty (Korsunsky, 2020). In contrast, the majority (white) has been benefited directly and indirectly from the connection of the notion of individual merits with values rooted in an Anglo-Saxon core, thus they have no interest in supporting diversity initiatives that might curtail its access to social opportunity in American society (Aguirre & Martinez, 2003, p.149).

Critical Race Theory "believes that the problem lies in the methods and process of our legal system, where insistence on race neutral language has negated social/historical context" (Taylor, 2000, p.552). This argument indicates the process of how a proposed initiative become policy poses the issue, especially when it is presented to voters with anti-discrimination language such as I-200. The language emphasizing on equal opportunity for all and against government's power to practice discrimination on basis of race could resonate well with the majority of white population, even with some minority population too. The poll conducted by The Seattle Times proves that Washington residents' opinion appears to be language dependent (p.547). To that

point, Bruce (2003) argues that the affirmative action battle is being fought in language, as polls indicated that voters were opposed to granting preferences, but supported affirmative action (p. 124). Besides, ballot initiative may be a better measure of funding and marketing, rather than a reflection of grassroots voter sentiment. Our legal system made I-200 a passable bill by passing “this complex social policy issues back to the voters who inevitably faced a barrage of political ads (from both sides) that exaggerated, simplified, or misinformed” when it originally had far too little support among lawmakers (Taylor, 2000, pp.555-556)

Another theory for the passing of I-200 is the voting behavior. In the campaign period, a Seattle Times article noticed that I-200 posed a dilemma for Asian voters. Affirmative action had limited Asian-American in the most prestigious universities, as they were already over-represented; but they would be benefited from affirmative action to advance in workplace (BRUNE, 1998). Branton (2004) argues that the context of racial and ethnic diversity in which one lives is associated with voting behavior on ballot initiatives that specifically target racial and ethnic minority groups. The tendency of white voters who live in more diverse districts is more likely to support liberal positions on ballot initiatives (p.310). This explains why I-200 got passed with the large margin in all counties except King county, it was passed in all parts of that county except Seattle. It also infers that voters who live in less diverse areas would have the tendency of voting for more conservative positions and initiatives that target racial and ethnic minority groups.

There are several researches in policy interpretation. As Paguyo and Moses (2011) pointed out two sharp contrasting perspectives, color blindness versus race-egalitarian. On another hand, Bruce (2003) stated that American have become deeply uncomfortable about the use of race as a factor in making contracting, hiring, and admission decisions, and argues that the

affirmative action battle is being fought in language, as voters inevitably faced a barrage of political ads (from both sides) that exaggerated, simplified, or misinformed. Voting behavior is also another reason that Branton analyzed, as the context of racial and ethnic diversity in which one lives is associated with voting behavior on ballot initiatives that specifically target racial and ethnic minority groups (2004). Kruse' research on analyzing policy language and narrative, which including some examining the narrative of an I-200 political ads of the proponents, indicated that the ads "evokes" misleading images "using technically accurate, albeit highly selective, factual statements". This strategy results in leading underrepresented groups "into voting against their beliefs or not voting at all" (Kruse, 2001, p. 175).

There has been limited literature review analyzing or researching about how policy narratives of Initiative 200 on both side, proposition and opposition, affect the voting behaviors of WA voters in the political and social climax of 1998, nationwide and statewide. Therefore, this study would use a media database as well as enrollment-graduation data from UW to explore how the policy narrative of I-200 proposition developed the policy narratives with the race egalitarian ideology yet not against affirmative action, which brought voters who support affirmative action to vote Yes for the initiative in 1998 election. Their strategies on I-200 policy narrative proves that use of language and promote the idea of post-racial era was a successful choice.

Methodology

The study is a case study, which looks into the I-200 policy narratives and observes the change of UW and WSU students in enrollment and graduation trends in terms of race over the period of 1991 to 2006 to find the correlation between the policy narratives and the data. I will use ed method, including quantitative data and content analysis to answer the question about the proponent’s policy narrative of I-200 and if the claim that affirmative action allowing under qualified students to higher education institution based on racial identities of the proponents of I-200 is supported by student outcomes at the University of Washington (UW). This design would help the researcher to gain in-depth knowledge about the I-200 policy narrative of the proponents – the statement on news and other campaign outlets about minority students’ qualification -- and its relation, if any, with the student outcomes of UW.

The qualitative data will analyze the themes that appeared during the time period from 1997 to 1998 in the I-200 proponents’ statements in news articles, during campaign debates and in campaign materials. This data analysis will focus on exploring the policy narrative that I-200 proponents built around their campaign through the main themes. The qualitative data source will help to understand how I-200 was portrayed in public eyes and what message the proponents wanted to convey.

The quantitative data analysis will focus on the two sets of data: Fall Enrollment by race at UW and WSU from 1991 to 2006 and Graduation number from 2000 to 2009. The Fall Enrollment range captures two groups of data, one before I-200 passed (1991 to 1998) and one after it passed (1999 to 2006). Based on Marcus, the federal agency and college themselves “measured completion as taking students six years, not four”(Marcus, 2021) for decades. Also, in the report from the University of Washington about undergraduate retention and graduation

(Beyer et al., 2014, p.1), authors used the six-year undergraduate completion rate in public colleges and universities for their studies. Other scholars in the field, such as Bowen & Book (1998), Chace (2011) or Hinrichs (2012), used this time frame to discuss graduation rates as well. Therefore, I use the six-year gap for graduation, thus the years of Graduation data will be also in two groups: before I-200 passed (1997 to 2004, assumed those students being graduated was admitted from 1991 to 1998) and after it passed (2005 to 2012, assumed those students being graduated was admitted from 1999 to 2006).

Analyzing the quantitative data will address the question whether there was any significant difference in enrollment and graduation number by race after I-200 went into effect. If the difference is significant, observing data and defining the data trends will determine if the Fall Enrollment and Graduation number increased or decreased by race. Connecting the data analysis results with the policy narrative analysis will show if there is the policy narrative of the I-200 proponents and their message is supported by statistical data.

Data Sources

The content/thematic analysis will look through the primary sources such as videos, printed documentations about I-200, including but not limited to video recordings of debating about the measure, video advertisements, election pamphlets, direct mail campaign flyers, and more. Other sources, such as the publications from various entities, from student newspapers, for instance UW Seattle student newspaper - Daily, to public publication outlets, such as Seattle Times, Tacoma Tribune and Seattle Post-Intelligencer, during the end of 1997 and the year of 1998, including before and after the election date -November the 3rd, could be used as primary and secondary sources. Another source is also utilized the NewsBank Database, which provides access to those three newspapers' archives.

The quantitative data was collected through the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) – Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) site. NCES is the primary statistical agency of the U.S. Department of Education. IPEDS collects data directly from institutions through three survey collection periods (Fall, Winter, Spring) throughout the year. The data obtained from IPEDS includes the race information of students who enrolled, attained and graduated at UW campuses from 1996 to 2007. The racial variables include the categories: White non-Hispanic, Black non-Hispanic, Hispanic, Asian or Pacific Islander, American Indian or Alaska Native, Race/ethnicity unknown and Nonresident alien. The level of student for enrollment data focuses on Undergraduate in every Fall quarter from 1991 to 2006. The graduation data focuses on completers within 150% of normal time from 1997 to 2012, 6-year gap from the enrollment year.

Analysis

The content/thematic analysis will focus on the themes that the I-200 proponents promoted through the language in debates, campaign material and in newspapers. The thematic analysis is “a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organizes and describes the data set in rich detail” (Braun and Clarke, p.83). Understanding the main themes and how they were formed through the various sources will lay the foundation to conceptualize the policy narrative of I-200. Based on Shanahan, Jones and McBeth (2018) the narratives of a policy are stories about and around it that were told by people seeking to promote a specific agenda with defined goals. These people are policy actors, whose actions and statements would define the purpose of the policy narrative. In the policy narrative of I-200, the policy narrative’s purpose was built through the themes that the proponents formed during the initiative campaign.

The quantitative data will be demonstrated over the time period to show if there are any correlation between racial graduation rates of UW students before and after I-200 went into effect. I used paired T-Test for the two groups of enrollment rates by races before and after I-200 got passed in November 1998: the first group is the percentage of each racial group from 1991 to 1998, the second group is the percentage of each racial group from 1999 to 2006. The same statistical test, paired T-test was applied for Graduation numbers over the year of 1997 to 2012 - six-year gap from the Fall Enrollment data. The two groups of Graduation number data set are: the numbers of graduation by race from 1997 to 2004, and the numbers of graduation by race from 2005 to 2012. I chose the paired t-test because it's effective in testing for the existence of significant difference. The paired t-test results show if there is any significant difference between the means of the two groups in Fall Enrollment and Graduation, before and after 1998. The result will help to reject or not reject the null hypothesis "there is no significant difference in Graduation number for the groups of races mentioned above in their respective university before and after I-200 went into effect". With the means for the two groups of each race being compared, I can determine that the significant difference, if any, is significant increase or significant decrease. By these results, the data analysis will demonstrate whether Affirmative Action policies in higher education admission put underqualified and unprepared students in UW and WSU campuses based on racial identities, as the I-200 proponents claimed in their policy narrative. If this is true, we expect to see the rise of graduation trends of minority students after I-200 was passed. The significant difference also demonstrates whether I-200 would not have effect on affirmative action programs in WA as in the I-200 proponents' policy narrative. If the policy narrative is accurate, the enrollment and graduation numbers of minority students should be increasing, because outreach and recruiting programs are still in place.

Significance

Using a mixed method, quantitative and qualitative data analysis, will provide a more rounded picture about the policy narratives of I-200 from the proponent side. The qualitative research highlights the conceptual aspect of the policy narrative while quantitative data emphasizes the analytical aspect. Researchers will be able to integrate the advantages and perspectives of both methods to align the concept with the analysis. The result and recommendation for stakeholders or policy makers could be more conceptualized and data driven, thus providing a stronger narrative to the research field.

Qualitative analysis analyses the content/thematic data and put them into themes. These themes are the narratives on how the story of I-200 was presented to the voters, public opinion and stake holders from the proponents' side, and how the opponents responded to those. Understanding the narratives helps the researcher to determine which statistical test could be used with the availability of data to prove if the narratives are supported by data. Quantitative analysis comes after the qualitative, which provides data-driven argument that would show if the policy narratives of the I-200 proponents are statistically proved.

Limitation

The first limitation of quantitative analysis is the availability of data set from the IPEDS website. Because the data from the 1990s are limited on the IPEDS website, not every dataset is available to access and download for a certain year. The dataset labeled as Graduation Rates in IPEDS for the year 1997 to 2004 is actually the number of graduates by race for these years. The accurate graduation rates are only available on IPEDS from 2004 and after. Graduation Rates in the IPEDS system also has different sets of variables over years, therefore I made some aggregation data to keep the variables consistent. For the period of 2008 to 2010, the data for

White non-Hispanic, Black non-Hispanic, Hispanic, Asian or Pacific Islander, American Indian or Alaska Native had the label in IPEDS as White/White non-Hispanic-derived, Black or African American/Black non-Hispanic -derived, Hispanic or Latino/Hispanic - derived, Asian/Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander - derived and American Indian or Alaska Native- derived. For the period of 2011 to 2012, IPEDS has new variable categories: Asian or Pacific Islander became two separate categories (Asian and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander), Two or more Races became a new category. To keep the consistency of the data set, I combined the numbers of Asian and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander for the Asian or Pacific Islander category, as well as summed up the numbers of Two or more Races and Race/ethnicity Unknown for the Race/ethnicity Unknown one.

The second limitation of quantitative analysis is the error of the data collection. The Fall Enrollment data shows the total enrollment in Fall of each year, which includes all the students at each race from freshman to senior, and graduate students. It was not possible to obtain only new admitted student data by race of year during this period. This error happens for every year, so it is a consistent error for all the data. Another error of data collection on IPEDS is that the data for Race/Ethnicity Unknown at UW from 1991 to 1996 was reported as zero (0); it suddenly became 2040 in 1997 and continued to rise after that. One explanation for this could be there was a change in the intake form during the year of 1996 and 1997. I was trying to find the answer from the UW Registrar Office about this sudden change, but no concrete answer was provided from them. The numbers of White non-Hispanic total decreased around 2000 students starting from 1997 and after. Because of this discrepancy in data collection, the statistical analysis of enrollment at UW for White non-Hispanic and Race/Ethnicity Unknown may not be accurate.

I acknowledge that there are several errors in the quantitative data I collected from IPEDS, from no avail to mislabeling, or data report as 0. This would affect the data analysis result. However, this is the only resource I could get most of the dataset I need for my analysis. I had tried several offices at UW Seattle campus, from library archivist to Office of Planning and Budgeting's Institutional Data & Analysis, to the Chief Officer of Enrollment Information Services. Those were all dead ends as the data for the 1990s and early 2000s were not recoverable from the institution systems.

This case study research mainly focuses on I-200 policy narratives and the data of WSU and UW from IPEDS. Therefore, it would be not applicable to other anti-affirmative action policies at other states and their higher education institutions' student outcomes. I have a tendency to support affirmative action, thus personal opinion could have influence throughout the study. However, this is still a suitable design to have an in-depth understanding of how policy narratives could make a discriminating policy appear as an anti-discriminating one and get the support from voters without considering the data.

Data Analysis

1. Policy Narratives Analysis

This chapter is to analyze the policy narratives of the I-200 from the proponent's sides. The content analysis of the policy narratives consists of analyzing campaign materials of the proponents, articles in public newspapers (Seattle Times, Seattle Post-Intelligencer and Tacoma Tribunes) around 1997 to 1999, and videos and documentations about I-200 debates or I-200 actors. This analysis narrows down the three main themes that I-200 proponents used in their arguments during debates, campaign ads or newspaper interviews and such. The themes were about how I-200 was against the power of the government, the preferential treatments – how they created segregation and lowered the standard of basic on race, and how I-200 was not entirely against affirmative action. These themes were sometimes linked to each other throughout the speeches or answers during debates or in newspaper articles, thus the analysis of each theme through all the sources will help to explore the focus of I-200 proponent's policy narratives.

The policy narratives of I-200 proponents are analyzed here came mostly from the people that initiated and sponsors the measure, including but not limit to: John Carlson, Co-Chair of the initiative; Scott Smith, State Representative, Pierce County, Co-Chair of the initiative; Mary Radcliffe, Co-Chair of the initiative; Tim Eyman, Co-sponsor and Ward Connerly, University of California Regent (1993 to 2005). From the sources of news paper and documentary, the three public newspapers publicly opposed the initiative (“ELECTION RECOMMENDATION - I-200,” 1998), (“P-I WRAPS UP ENDORSEMENTS FOR TUESDAY,” 1998), (“AFFIRMATIVE ACTION WORKS,” 1998). Along with the big newspaper, other organizations and public figures were on the side of opposing I-200, such as Seattle City Council (CONKLIN, 1998), National Association for the Advancement of Color People NAACP (and

RUTH SCHUBERT, 1998), Patty Murray – the US Senator of WA state (JEWELL, 1998), the then Governor Gary Locke, King County Executive Ron Sims (BARBER, 1998) and other political and public organizations and figures (VARNER, 1998b), big corporation such as Boeing, Microsoft, Nordstrom (SPENCER, 1998). Even the audience in the debates were majority on the opposing side for the initiative, such as Unity Town Hall panel (POSTMAN, 1998c), or in the debate held in the auditorium of the Overlake Hospital Conference Center (VARNER, 1998a)

a. The power of the government

The originators and sponsors of I-200 made every effort to emphasize that I-200 focuses on eliminating the government's power on discrimination. They strongly believe that the I-200 proposed language were simple to understand and clearly stated its fundamental points. In debates, co-chairs and co-sponsors of the initiative all did one thing in common, which was reading the full text of the initiative at the beginning of their introduction. Tim Eyman, at the I-200 debate the UW in November of 1997, started his introductory remark as (*Initiative 200 Debate - TVW*, n.d.)

Our initiative, fundamentally, is a restriction of government power. The government currently has a certain ability to be able to discriminate against certain people and prefer other people and we don't think that's a very fair system... Government power [which] I really distrust

This debate took place when the initiative was still in the process of collecting signatures of registered voters to be introduced in the upcoming legislative session in January of 1998. Throughout the debate, Eyman continued to talk about the government's role "We're talking about the government and we think the government should treat everyone the same" for

several more times when being asked about the stand of the initiative in relation to veterans and elder or how the initiative would impact the opportunities of minorities. The restriction on government power in discrimination was one of the key points of his debate and answer during this event.

In the panel discussion at Unity Town Hall in October 1998, the proponent panel, including Mary Radcliff, Ward Connerly and Nicholas O'Connell, used their first three minutes to offer a point of view, to do the same as what Eyman did almost a year before that, read through the text of the proposed initiative, word by word. The role of government was addressed by Mary Radcliff as (*UNITY - Town Hall on I-200 - TVW*, 1998, 10:45)

Government should be here to protect us, not to engage in unfair and unjust practice to attempt to undo injustice of the past. There's nothing confusing about this. It's right to the point. There's nothing hidden.

There is abundant evidence of how I-200 proponents believed that the initiative's purposes were straightforward when it came to talk about the government's role. In their explanation, government was the subject and how much government could and could not do in the matter of discrimination was the main point of the initiative. In the Voters' Pamphlet 1998, the Statement For (support the Initiative) had the title "Our Laws should be colorblind" and asked for "Equal Treatment, Regardless of Race", the explanation was "I-200 is short, clear, and does exactly what its ballot title says it will do – prohibit discrimination or preferences based on race and gender in public employment and education." Another example, Ward Connerly, the man behind Proposition 209 in California, when he had his three-minutes of offering a point of view, also warned the audience "Don't be misled by what you hear from those who oppose I-200. Let me repeat again" and proceed to read the whole text of the initiative. His argument was

that the government had been allowed to use some traits to discriminate against some groups and it should be prohibited. (*UNITY - Town Hall on I-200 - TVW, 1998, 20:10*)

Thirty-seven words, simple, direct, unequivocal. People in this nation had decided that they do not support preferences. [...] We're trying to perfect the experiment that all of us as American citizens will be treated equally without regard to our skin color, our ethnicity, our sex or our national origin. And we do not perfect that experiment when our government, our government, is sanctioned to discriminate against any of us on the basis of those prohibited traits.

The point of the government not having the right to discriminate against people on the basis of gender or ethnicity was the ground point for the policy narrative of I-200 proponents. They presented and defended the initiative around this point among other core values of the measure. This strategy of keeping the language short and simple, together with the effort to promote the idea of prohibiting government discriminating helped to shift the focus of voters when reading the initiative to the government, its role and its power in relation to discrimination during the ballot and voting process.

On the point of discussing the government's role in a society of white men's privilege, there was very little that the government could do, according to I-200 proponents. When being asked about preferences for white men was a normal norm, and if yes, what role of affirmative action by a reporter, Connerly answered ((*UNITY - Town Hall on I-200 - TVW, 1998, 25:37*)

I think there's still an element of white privilege in American society. But now I do not believe that a system of preferences with the government tries to right the wrong is the appropriate vehicle doing that. There's only a certain amount of things that the government can do.

When another reporter raised a question about if the government couldn't solve the issue of white men's privilege, what would the solution be, Connerly responded firmly (58:40)

The government cannot, will not level the playing field. The government's responsibility is to ensure that we are not discriminated against... The government's job is to prevent discrimination, to make sure that people are treated equally under the law, not to level some mythical playing field.

The proponents acknowledged that there was social privilege for some groups, but their solution with the initiative was not about breaking the status quo. Their narrative focused on that it was not the government's job to dismantle the white man's privileged society, and that the government should stay in their lane with treating people equally. Connerly believed that "We have a culture of equality in this nation", and there were white men who fought for the Civil Rights movement. Therefore, it would be realistic to believe that white men or people with privileges would be a part treating people equally and providing equal opportunities without the government's regulation.

The opponent of I-200 strongly disagreed with the point of view. Cathy Allen, a political consultant and vice president of the National Women's Political Caucus, in the Unity Town Hall (1998), stressed that "Nobody gives up power willingly. Power is taken. [...] It's truly the matter of taking the power back, not necessarily expecting it to be given" (26:27). The I-200 opponents believed that discrimination still existed (*UNITY - Town Hall on I-200 - TVW*, 1998, 22:25), thus the role of government was still needed in compensating for the disadvantaged groups. Harvard Law Professor Charles Ogletree in the interview *Traitor or Hero?* (1997) agreed that there was still discrimination, and black people were not being treated equally as white people were (6:25). Their belief was that American society was not yet to the point that systematic, historical and

social inequality based on race no longer needed to be addressed by law and public policies. The policies that had been in place were still working and proving its effects on racial equality, and I-200 would disrupt and reserve all the good outcomes Washington had achieved.

This theme was mentioned mainly in debates, official documents and direct conversation rather than in public advertisement. In newspaper articles and campaign ads, the mention of the government's role in discrimination was not a focus point to persuade the public. The audience was different between debates and the public encountered with campaign ads, which could result in why government power was not mentioned much in campaign ads and material. The majority of the debate audience supported affirmative actions and opposed I-200 (POSTMAN, 1998b). With such an audience that believed in affirmative action, the proponents chose to emphasize on the power of government to dilute the focus on the potential harm of initiative to affirmative action programs. That was how several answers from the proponents during debates, directly or indirectly, pointed to the government's power and why it should be limited on the issue of discrimination.

In a society dealing with race tensions for centuries such as America, the idea of promoting a color-blind society would sound attractive and seem like the right thing to do. As in color-blind philosophy, "practices of recognizing race in the past hemorrhage unnecessarily into the present" (Pagyo and Moses, p.561), Ward Connerly also affirmed his belief that "I don't believe for a moment that American society is racist" (*Traitor Or Hero?*, n.d., 06:55). Therefore, the solution for that should be no more preferential treatment because of race. This narrative seems to be clear and honest with voters about the initiative's intent, although the responses about solutions for white privilege were not adequate. The proponents did not approach, or did not want to, the issue that the initiative would continue maintaining the status quo in American

society. They all talked about how we all should fight against structural inequality in education systems but refused to acknowledge that I-200 would prolong that inequality or make the fight harder for minorities. The initiative followed the race-egalitarian principle (Paguyo et al), which made sure that the government would not have the power to fight the battle of historically racial inequality, and left the minorities to fight the battle on their own, or with some self-conscious white people, as Connerly claimed.

b. The preferential treatment created segregation

Preferential treatment was the center of attention of the initiative. Preferential treatment refers to giving special advantages or privileges to certain individuals or groups based on their perceived status, background, or characteristics; or “being treated differently based on what box you checked” (*Initiative 200 Debate - TVW*, n.d.). I-200 proponents firmly declared that they are against preferential treatment. This theme was the one being used the most in newspaper articles and in campaign ads on television and radio. The policy narrative of the proponents believed that preferential treatment on the basis of race had caused more harm than good to the society. Throughout debates and campaign materials, the theme of preferential treatment causing social segregation and lowering the standard was emphasized numerous times. The slogan they chose for this theme was togetherness.

In a statewide ad, sponsored by the American Civil Rights Institute, broadcasted on television in October 1998. American Civil Rights Institute was a non-partisan group whose chairman was Ward Connerly at the time. The television ad promoted the message “I-200 says our government cannot discriminate in government jobs, schools or contracts. I-200 says no preferences. I-200 means that affirmative action could reach out with opportunities, but not keep out with quotas”, “Understanding I-200, Bringing us together” (Wickert, 1998b). Another radio

ad came out a month earlier, also sponsored by American Civil Rights Institute with almost the same dialogue and the exact same message “Understanding I-200, Bringing us together”. These ads, according to Connerly’s organization spokesperson, “simply talks about the language of what I-200 means”, not to persuade voters to vote in any way.(POSTMAN, 1998a).

The Tacoma Tribute editor commented on this ad as it “underscores one of the key arguments of I-200 supporters: that affirmative action as currently practiced divides people and makes them overly conscious of race and gender. If I-200 passes, the ad suggests, we can put the differences behind us and strive for equal opportunity without excluding anyone. The point is driven home in the final scene showing people of various races communing at the park, "bringing us together."” (Wickert, 1998b)

The togetherness theme came from the interpretation of I-200 proponents on how American society had been divided and segregated because of race and gender. At the Unity debate, Nick O'Connell, president of the Washington Association of Scholars, one of the I-200 proponent panelist explained his reason in the academic field for supporting the initiative (UNITY - Town Hall on I-200 - TVW, 1998, 17:05)

These preferences, or whatever you want to call them, have encouraged racial segregation on campuses. Rather than bringing students together, students, whether they're black, or Asian, or females are encouraged to take Black studies, Asian studies, women studies classes, and not encourage students to think of themselves as being a part of American society as a group. So, I support I-200 because I believe it will help to end these practices.

The initiative proponents believed that different treatment for different racial groups of students created more harm than good because students identified themselves as members of

racial groups rather than being American. This perspective highlighted the idea of American society as a whole and every American citizen should be treated equally. The identity of students on campuses in particular and American in general should be associated only with America, not with their ethnicities or other characteristics. This thinking, at some levels, promoted the idea of color-blinded society, in which an individual's identity with his/her nationality and the social, historical and power differences amongst different races, genders or ethnicities no longer matter.

This point was supported by other I-200 proponents. John Carlson, chairman of the I-200 campaign, said he thinks "we are dwelling too much on race," and that the country is being Balkanized into racial identities. Allowing that to happen, he continued, only worsens racial tensions. "We have to get beyond this notion that role models have to be the same race or gender as the people looking up to them" (SERRANO, 1998). This point was so well-delivered that supporters of the initiative agreed with the proponents, as one of them wrote to the Seattle Times in Letters to the Editors section as "President John F. Kennedy once told this nation: "Race has no place in American government." Of course, he was right. (Seattle Times 11/1/98)

The opponents of I-200 did not to respond nor have any rebuttal argument directly to this point throughout debates or campaign material throughout my research. While the I-200 proponent wanted to promote a color-blind society, as Carlson spoke to Seattle P-I "the pro-200 camp a favor by showing the absurdity of dwelling on race" (Foster, 1998) with the idea of "togetherness", the opponent's response was "issues of race do matter in this state", as King County Executive Ron Sims express on Seattle P-I (Foster, 1998). In the debate with Connerly and Carlson, Fletcher, a moderate Republican, said the initiatives play on existing racial fears and were designed to help white Republicans solidify support among fellow whites.(FOSTER, 1998c). Patty Murray, seeking re-election in 1998 Fall, also criticize I-200 in Washington Labor

Council convention as “doesn't represent the state of Washington, and has one goal in mind - to divide all of us.”(JEWELL, 1998).

This theme contributed strongly to the promotion of color-blind society as the previous theme, the government's power one, did. It was the next step to emphasize the benefits of eliminating the concept of race in American society, which could be the solution for bringing all American together. The proponents wanted to depict a society in which everyone was identified as American only, no other sub-group for identities; and they were held to the same standard at the point of college admission or employment or contracting, no matter what obstacles they had had to face along the way to get there. Connerly and I-200 proponents argued that American society in 1997 was not the same one thirty years, in which racial inequality was no longer the issue that needed the government's intervention. They might genuinely believe that, or that could be their dream society they wanted such a policy like I-200 would steer them to. The opponents inferred that I-200 highlighted the issue of race more than it claimed, which would be the source for divisiveness. While the proponent claimed that a colorblind society would be the solution for the segregation caused by preferential treatment of races, it contradicted what Connerly said about the still existence of white privilege (*UNITY - Town Hall on I-200 - TVW*, 1998). A colorblind society could not be built on one that race privilege still existed, and ignoring or avoiding to address the racial inequality that still existed would not be the road to such society.

c. Preferential treatment lowered the standard

Another point about preferential treatment that I-200 proponents conveyed in their argument was that preferential treatment lowered the standard for certain groups. Tim Eyman described how the initiative worked during the debate in November 1997 at UW when it comes to preferential treatment (*Initiative 200 Debate - TVW*, n.d.14:30)

Once the standard is the same for everybody and the government tries to lift people up, we have no problem with that. The initiative steps in when the government goes an extra step.

The extra step mentioned by Eyman was that the standard was lowered for some groups due to their races or genders. In education, this was the presumption of the sponsors and supporters of I-200 that affirmative action policies allowed less qualified minority students to enter universities at the expense of majority students. (Brown and Hirschman, 2006). In explanation for why Black and Hispanic students did not make the cut to admission to UC campuses after anti-affirmative action Proposition 209 passed in California, Connerly bluntly said “They weren’t prepared, they weren’t prepared for the competition. I think they were making too many excuses. We’re letting black families off the hook” (*Traitor Or Hero?*, n.d., 5:10)

According to Connerly, other races had to face the same obstacles and struggles related social economic status, crimes, neighborhood or poor-quality public education system, but other races such as Whites or Asian found their way to thrive in academic fields, so Black and Hispanic families were given the same opportunities as others(*Traitor Or Hero?*, n.d., 5:10). It was on them for not good enough to the same standard for college admission in particular and other opportunities in general. This was the narrative for Proposition 209 in California, but Connerly and I-200 utilized exactly the same argument for I-200. For example, Mary Radcliff stated during the Unity debate that she had fought the system for her kids to receive better education. Therefore, it infers that it would be within an individual's capacity to be able to receive equal opportunity in education, and it was also the individual’s responsibility to work

hard and earn it, rather than receiving unearned treatment on the basis of race. (*Traitor Or Hero?*, n.d., 5:55)

During the time that the conversation around I-200 getting heated in September 1998, the Center of Equal Opportunity with John Carlson, chairman of the Initiative 200 campaign, as a board member of the foundation, released a study about UW and WSU academic qualifications concludes the evidence is very powerful that both schools "discriminate" in favor of African-American applicants. The findings showed three findings ((KING, 1998)

There was a "substantial" gap in the standardized test scores and grade-point averages of white and African-American enrollees.

The study said both universities rejected many white applicants with equal or higher test scores and grades than blacks who were admitted.

The study said that significant disparities existed between white and black students in six-year graduation rates, using a five-year weighted average for each racial group starting with the class that enrolled in 1986.

The Seattle Times articles discussed the inconsistency in the data analysis numbers of the study and the data provided by both universities, as well as the political purpose of the timing on releasing the article. The study demonstrated how the two flagship universities at WA had lowered the standard of admission for black/ African American applicants over White or Asian applicants. On the Seattle P-I, Linda Chavez, president of the Center, also a supporter of I-200 argued that ill-prepared minority students are being admitted, then left to fail, based on the result of the study because for those who enrolled in the two universities, the report states that blacks were less qualified than the white students.. (SCHUBERT, 1998c)

This was used as the data driven evidence for the I-200 proponents about preferential treatments being used to “the extra step”, as Tim Eyman mentioned, to lower the standard on the basis of race. Seattle P-I also summarized the narrative of supporters that I-200 specially targets those [programs] using race or gender to select a less-qualified applicant over a more deserving one for state university (“INITIATIVE 200 - AFFIRMATIVE ACTION,” 1998)

Another example of how I-200 proponents implied that before I-200, there was underqualified applicant being admitted to universities or the qualified ones was being overlooked. In a radio ad for I-200, the “educational message” from the American Civil Rights Institute was conducted as

Speaker One: [I-200 is] To help prepare kids, regardless of race, to attend the university.

Speaker Two: Then I-200 allows outreach programs to find qualified applicants who might otherwise be overlooked.

In the other hand, I-200 opponents thought that the fairness mentioned in the narrative policy of the proponents was hypocrisy masquerading as fairness (Paynter, 1998). In the voter pamphlet, the rebuttal argument saying “The proponents’ statement is incomplete and misleading [...] It’s already illegal to hire less qualified applicants” (State of Washington, 1998). The Seattle P-I also confirmed this on its Special Section less than two weeks before the election day “Affirmative action does not lower the bar to favor less-qualified applicants in contracting and hiring, it gives minorities a chance to compete on the basis of merit, not connections.” (“INITIATIVE 200 - AFFIRMATIVE ACTION,” 1998). The opponents addressed this narrative of the initiative directly and firmly, emphasizing multiple times that race quota were not legal or had been using in college admission. By that, there was no standard being lowered or unqualified

candidates being admitted to university because of race, nor because the society acknowledged the race inequality issue and worked on it.

However, this narrative of the proponents could appear convincing for voters, especially when it came with the data research from the Center for Equal Opportunity. Even though the proponents declined that releasing the study right before the election was intentional, it was hard to believe that a data driven study about the race admission of the two flagship universities in the state just coincidentally being released in such right time. Data and statistical analysis could be persuasive for public opinion and voters, as numbers did not lie. But data could have many layers to interpret, and voters would rely on experts or journalist for this. This has led to the situation where policy narrative could play a strong role in persuading voters to vote for I-200 when it definitely supported the argument. It would be more persuasive when voters read the story about the Smith v. UW Law School on the Voter Pamphlet, which easily to make the connection between the argument and a real situation.

d. Initiative 200 was not against Affirmative Action

The point that the opponents of I-200 raised the most during any debates or in No! I-200 campaign was that the initiative would end affirmative action programs in Washington. However, the proponents made all the effort to convince the public that I-200 was after discrimination and government power to do that, not affirmative action. The common explanation for I-200 proponents were that the opponents were making false claims and misunderstood the initiative, since the proposed language for the initiative had no language on eliminating affirmative action.

Rep. Scott Smith, co-chair of I-200, wrote a similar message to Gov. Gary Locke last week "Why are you so adamantly against Initiative 200?" Smith asked. "You say because it will

end affirmative action. But Initiative 200 has nothing to do with eliminating affirmative action. Nowhere in the initiative is affirmative action even mentioned.” (Callaghan, 1998)

In the Voter Pamphlet 1998, the Statement For the initiative stated (State of Washington, 1998, p.14)

Initiative 200 does not end all affirmative action programs. It prohibits only those programs that use race or gender to select a less qualified applicant over a more deserving applicant for a public job, contract or admission to a state college or university.

This statement implied that there had been programs, under the term of affirmative action one, that allowed underqualified candidates to advance in the process of public contracting, employment or college admission. These programs created preferential treatment and discrimination against other groups of races and genders. Therefore, the initiative was the crucial tool to stop this. The proponents stated that their targets were a part of affirmative action that had the characteristics of discrimination, not the whole affirmative action ideology.

They proponents categorizes the programs under affirmative action umbrella as three types and I-200's effect on those: the ones applied for private sectors, which I-200 would not touch; the outreach programs to helped minorities to meet the standards would also not banned; but the programs that set quotas or lowered the standard for certain groups would be prohibited (*Initiative 200 Debate - TVW*, n.d.). In an article on Tacoma Tribute, Smith confirmed this vision of the initiative, as the measure wouldn't ban government outreach programs to recruit women and minorities but would end what they call set asides and quotas (Wickert, 1998a). Or in the Unity panelist debate, Connerly confirmed in the Unity panelist debate “This is not about taking away opportunities. It is not about ending all affirmative action” (21:00), and as well as Mary

Radcliff when being asked why she as an African American would oppose affirmative action. (*UNITY - Town Hall on I-200 - TVW*, 1998, 1:02:56)

I really am a little tired of people twisting my word, putting words in my mouth when I don't say that. I'm not against affirmative action. I'm against discrimination.

The proponents wanted to assure the public, especially the audience of the debates that the initiative would not attack affirmative action. Scott Smith even went further than that when he expressed his thought that affirmative action would survive I-200, but that the government no longer could use race and gender preferences as the "easy way" out. "We can do it without granting preferences. Affirmative action is a good tool. It will continue to be a good tool under I-200" he said during the debate with Ladenburg. Smith said government agencies should dramatically expand recruitment and outreach programs for women and minorities. He cited the Washington State Patrol's aggressive recruiting efforts as an example of how such programs should work. (Wickert, 1998c).

When the I-200 opponents highlighted the most impact of the initiative, if passed, would be the end of affirmative action, the proponents wanted to set the narrative for the measure as a policy for the Civil Rights Movement. The sole and mighty goal of the initiative was the ban of discrimination on the basis of gender and race in public sectors, not affirmative action programs. The majority of the audience in most of the debate explicitly expressed the support for affirmative action and opposition to the initiative through questions and attitude towards the I-200 proponents. For example, the panelist debate at Seattle University was sponsored by Unity - Journalists of Color, an alliance of four minority-journalists organizations, this event was considered as a tackle of media on I-200 (POSTMAN, 1998b), and the proponents came here to

defend themselves. Therefore, the goal of these debates was to convey the narrative the I-200 campaign promoted, as well as offer rebuttal points to the claims of the opponents.

However, the view about affirmative action in the I-200 campaign was questionable. In the Unity Debate, Ward Connerly mentioned that affirmative action had been active for more than 30 years and people were still not equal, it might not be the right answer for American racial issues (25:55). He used his own life story to demonstrate that hard work should be the answer to solve systemically racial inequality, not some intervention from the government. Even though this interview content was before I-200 time, Connerly was still the inspiration and the main public figure for the initiative in Washington. Understanding his background story and how he came to start Proposition 209, it might not be an entirely false claim which I-200 opponents made about the true intent of the Washington Civil Rights Initiative. Connerly also stated “ There is not such thing as victimless affirmative action”(HoSang, 2010, p. 214) When the founder of the movement expressed his doubt about the effectiveness of affirmative action, it became harder to believe that the genuine purpose of the initiative would not be after affirmative action. That was why the proponents got hit with questions implying that I-200 attacked affirmative action in every debate or press interview. In the debate at Pierce College in Puyallup against Scott Smith, the then Pierce County Prosecutor John Ladenburg, an opponent argued that “I-200 would set back the prospects of equal opportunity by undoing 30 years of progress under affirmative action” (Wickert, 1998c). The opponents explicitly expressed their skeptical attitude towards the statement that affirmative action would survive I-200.

Another questionable move of I-200 campaign was the use of the description of Smith v. University of Washington Law School in the support Statement in the Voter Pamphlet 1998 (State of Washington, 1998, p14). The title of this section, “Our Laws should be colorblind”, and

the use of a case relating to affirmative action program, especially in public higher education, made it more obvious that I-200 could not be completely separate from the effort to end affirmative action. The lawsuit based on the quote of the dean of UW law school regarding the race of the applicant, Smith, as she would have been admitted had she been black; but the dean publicly disputed this account. It was an unverified claim regarding race in public higher education admission, but it built the narrative for the I-200 campaign as White people were suffering reverse discrimination based on race. If the initiative's true intent was not against affirmative action, the use of an on-going lawsuit with a disputing claim relating to affirmative action would create more doubt about the claim of the proponents. The contrast in the claims of I-200 campaign people and their controversial moves highlighted the point the opponents presented "At the first glance it appears to promote equality, but in reality, it very likely will have the opposite effect" in the Voter pamphlet 1998 (State of Washington, 1998, p.15). However, voters in WA were convinced by this argument: half of people in a statewide poll before election said that they favored affirmative action, but they would support the I-200 (FOSTER, 1998b).

The color-blind ideology of the I-200 became clearer throughout the policy narrative analysis by examining historic sources and academic articles. The policy narrative of I-200 proponents was formed by the actors, the I-200 campaign sponsors and chairs, along with their statements and stories. It focused on three themes about I-200: dismantle the government power in discrimination, elimination of preferential treatment which had created racial segregation in American society and lower standard for differential groups, and the initiative was not to attack affirmative action programs. The content analysis demonstrates that this policy narrative ignored or refused to acknowledge the reality of racism in American society or the effectiveness of

affirmative action in the effort of diversifying college admission, public employment and contracting. This policy narrative also raised controversy about how much of the honesty of the proponents when they spoke about I-200 was not to attack affirmative action. According to Kruse, the distinction between prohibiting preferential treatments and wholesale abolish affirmative was subtle in the I-200 advertisements, so could be that the proponents had not maliciously lie (Kruse, 2001, p. 178)

Throughout the analysis, the strategies of the proponents in how and where to present these themes were accessed, which provided a more complete pictures of how policy actors, the I-200 proponents, told the story of the initiative. The selection of themes and choice for the themes to be focused on each front, from debates to radio and television ads, or from statements on newspaper to campaign material, were strategically planned to target the specific audience of each of those fronts. Debates happened when there were sponsors, and most likely happened in the urban areas, where more of affirmative action supporters resided. Therefore, their focuses in debates more about dismantling the government's ability to grant preferential treatment and not attacking affirmative action, just discrimination on basis of race. While the audience was more spreading out to the public, like for radio or television ads, the message became togetherness and stop the segregation that racial issues had caused. The people who longed for post-racial era for American society could resonate well with this message. In addition to that, "many voters gather their political information from television, and much of the political information on television comers from advertisement" (Kruse, 2001, p. 130), even though "political ads tend not to tell the whole story of a proposition" (Kruse, 2001, p. 173). Therefore, the strategies of the I-200 proponents of building those themes in the policy narratives and delivering them to the right audience, through the right channel, proved its effective by the result of the Election on

November 3rd 1998. However, were there any evidence to support those statements? How much of those narratives were supported by data? It would need statistical test to prove it.

2. Quantitative Analysis

The quantitative analysis is used to test the arguments of the I-200 proponents in their policy narratives that were analyzed in the previous chapter. Among four main themes of the policy narrative, the quantitative analysis only tests two of them: the preferential treatment lowered the standard and I-200 did not attack affirmative action. The other two themes, the role of government in preventing discrimination and preferential treatment created racial segregation and American need togetherness, are important to understand the initiative proponent's policy narratives, but they are not tested in this study.

a. Fall Enrollment

In the data set gathered from IPEDS, the Fall Enrollment data from both Washington State University (WSU) and University of Washington – Seattle Campus (UW) has some similarity in percentage. In all seven racial groups for whom data was gathered, White non-Hispanic was the group with the highest percentage of students enrolled in both universities in Fall quarter/semester in all years. White non-Hispanic group had the average of percentage from 1991 to 2006 are 76.11% at WSU and 61.5% at UW. The group with the smallest percentage of students enrolled in both universities in Fall quarter/semester during the same period was American Indian/ Alaska Native. For this population, the means are 1.43% and 1.51% for WSU, and 1.29% and 1.11% for UW, before and after I-200 got passed, respectively.

From 1991 to 2006, enrollment for all racial groups increased at WSU except for white students, which declined. At UW, the percentage of white enrollments decreased, but so did African American and Native American. UW data is complicated by the huge increase in No Race category, which increased from 0% in 1991 to 7% by 2006.

To test whether there is a statistically significant difference before I-200 and after, I conducted paired T-tests. For the most part, these tests showed that there is a significant difference before and after I-200. The significant levels (p value – in red highlight in tables) are smaller than 0.05 for the following groups at WSU: White non-Hispanic, Black non-Hispanic, Hispanic, Asian or Pacific Islander, Race/ Ethnicity Unknown and Nonresident alien. At UW, the following racial groups also have significant levels smaller than 0.05: White non-Hispanic, Black non-Hispanic, Asian or Pacific Islander, American Indian/Alaska Native, Race/ Ethnicity Unknown and Nonresident alien. However, there is an error in data collection from IPEDS for the American Indian/Alaska Native group from 1991 to 1996 with zero students for this group, therefore the T-Test result for this population is not accurate in determining the significance difference for the Fall enrollment rate before and after I-200 got passed. Based on the result of the paired T-test, there is a statistically significant difference in fall enrollment before and after I-200 got passed. In both universities, it should be noted that the percentage of white students decreased while the percentage of students of color increased.

Table 1 Washington State University Fall Enrollment by Race 1991-2006

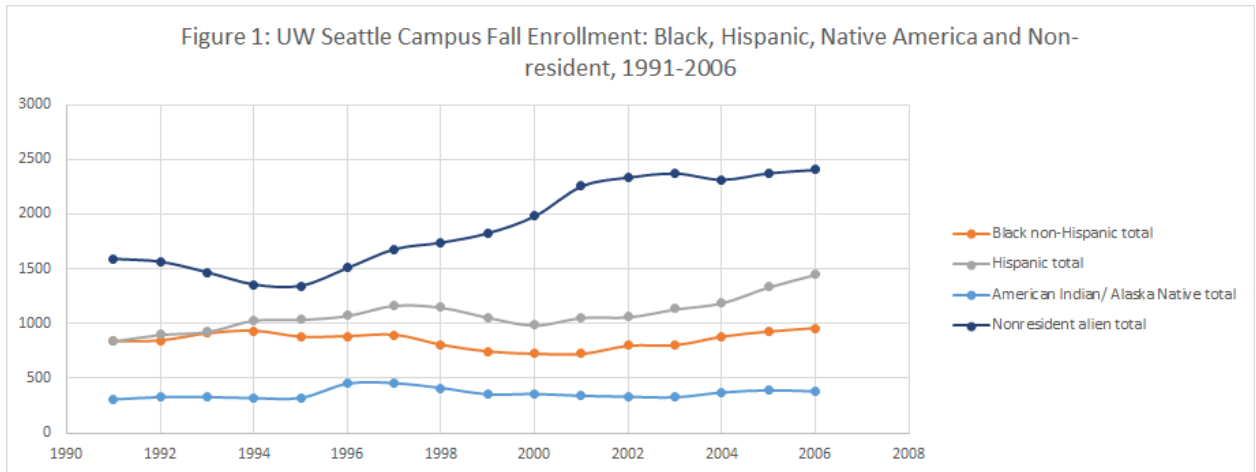
Institution	Year	Grand total	White non-Hispanic total		Black non-Hispanic total		Hispanic total		Asian or Pacific Islander total		American Indian/Alaska Native total		Race/ Ethnicity Unknown total		Nonresident alien total	
			Amount	Percentage	Amount	Percentage	Amount	Percentage	Amount	Percentage	Amount	Percentage	Amount	Percentage	Amount	Percentage
WSU	1991	15641	13128	83.93%	247	1.58%	341	2.18%	738	4.72%	159	1.02%	892	5.70%	1028	6.57%
WSU	1992	15636	13063	83.54%	269	1.72%	356	2.28%	679	4.34%	166	1.06%	792	5.07%	1103	7.05%
WSU	1993	16479	13525	82.07%	346	2.10%	393	2.38%	761	4.62%	197	1.20%	709	4.30%	1257	7.63%
WSU	1994	16894	13017	77.05%	362	2.14%	437	2.59%	802	4.75%	244	1.44%	696	4.12%	1336	7.91%
WSU	1995	16963	12948	76.33%	366	2.16%	510	3.01%	845	4.98%	253	1.49%	751	4.43%	1290	7.60%
WSU	1996	16892	12671	75.01%	369	2.18%	558	3.30%	889	5.26%	283	1.68%	874	5.17%	1248	7.39%
WSU	1997	16787	12510	74.52%	372	2.22%	588	3.50%	878	5.23%	292	1.74%	961	5.72%	1186	7.06%
WSU	1998	17106	12746	74.51%	399	2.33%	595	3.48%	946	5.53%	309	1.81%	1039	6.07%	1072	6.27%
WSU	1999	16796	12578	74.89%	415	2.47%	553	3.29%	891	5.30%	283	1.68%	1078	6.42%	998	5.94%
WSU	2000	16578	12464	75.18%	431	2.60%	538	3.25%	877	5.29%	236	1.42%	1039	6.27%	993	5.99%
WSU	2001	16970	12627	74.41%	485	2.86%	543	3.20%	924	5.44%	231	1.36%	1071	6.31%	1089	6.42%
WSU	2002	17850	13168	73.77%	496	2.78%	587	3.29%	961	5.38%	237	1.33%	1238	6.94%	1163	6.52%
WSU	2003	18575	13674	73.62%	460	2.48%	701	3.77%	1014	5.46%	225	1.21%	1347	7.25%	1154	6.21%
WSU	2004	19298	14111	73.12%	498	2.58%	742	3.84%	1089	5.64%	232	1.20%	1479	7.66%	1147	5.94%
WSU	2005	19469	14141	72.63%	508	2.61%	785	4.03%	1157	5.94%	226	1.16%	1550	7.96%	1102	5.66%
WSU	2006	19402	14187	73.12%	467	2.41%	812	4.19%	1173	6.05%	243	1.25%	1498	7.72%	1022	5.27%
T-Test		p values	0.002758	0.000603	6E-06	1.43E-05	0.2775306	7.43E-05	3.28E-06							
before I-200	1991 to 1998	Mean	78.37%	2.05%	2.84%	4.93%	1.43%	5.07%	7.19%							
after I-200	1999 to 2006		77.24%	2.17%	2.98%	5.00%	1.51%	5.16%	7.11%							

Table 2 University of Washington Seattle Campus Fall Enrollment by Race 1991-2006

Institution	Year	Grand total	White non-Hispanic total		Black non-Hispanic total		Hispanic total		Asian or Pacific Islander total		American Indian/Alaska Native total		Race/ Ethnicity Unknown total		Nonresident alien total	
			Amount	Percentage	Amount	Percentage	Amount	Percentage	Amount	Percentage	Amount	Percentage	Amount	Percentage	Amount	Percentage
UW	1991	27654	19792	71.57%	838	3.03%	840	3.04%	4286	15.50%	307	1.11%	0	0.00%	1591	5.75%
UW	1992	28058	19876	70.84%	846	3.02%	901	3.21%	4542	16.19%	328	1.17%	0	0.00%	1565	5.58%
UW	1993	27708	19516	70.43%	910	3.28%	927	3.35%	4559	16.45%	328	1.18%	0	0.00%	1468	5.30%
UW	1994	27682	19374	69.99%	932	3.37%	1032	3.73%	4668	16.86%	319	1.15%	0	0.00%	1357	4.90%
UW	1995	27992	19577	69.94%	879	3.14%	1038	3.71%	4831	17.26%	322	1.15%	0	0.00%	1345	4.80%
UW	1996	28438	19195	67.50%	884	3.11%	1075	3.78%	5324	18.72%	451	1.59%	0	0.00%	1509	5.31%
UW	1997	29549	17606	59.58%	896	3.03%	1168	3.95%	5704	19.30%	455	1.54%	2040	6.90%	1680	5.69%
UW	1998	29211	17025	58.28%	807	2.76%	1149	3.93%	5712	19.55%	411	1.41%	2367	8.10%	1740	5.96%
UW	1999	29723	17003	57.20%	747	2.51%	1058	3.56%	5773	19.42%	354	1.19%	2961	9.96%	1827	6.15%
UW	2000	30525	17736	58.10%	726	2.38%	987	3.23%	6147	20.14%	357	1.17%	2589	8.48%	1983	6.50%
UW	2001	31912	17909	56.12%	725	2.27%	1057	3.31%	6437	20.17%	340	1.07%	3188	10%	2256	7.07%
UW	2002	32575	18095	55.55%	798	2.45%	1062	3.26%	6755	20.74%	331	1.02%	3198	10%	2336	7.17%
UW	2003	32789	18060	55.08%	803	2.45%	1134	3.46%	7068	21.56%	327	1.00%	3025	9%	2372	7.23%
UW	2004	32893	17980	54.66%	880	2.68%	1192	3.62%	7280	22.13%	371	1.13%	2875	9%	2315	7.04%
UW	2005	32915	18015	54.73%	925	2.81%	1337	4.06%	7383	22.43%	390	1.18%	2490	8%	2375	7.22%
UW	2006	33029	17951	54.35%	956	2.89%	1451	4.39%	7518	22.76%	380	1.15%	2368	7%	2405	7.28%
T-test		p values	8.2901E-05	0.002288	0.417737	1.73E-08	0.013652	0.001505	0.000166							
before I-200	1991 to 1998	Mean	67.27%	3.09%	3.59%	17.48%	1.29%	1.88%	5.41%							
after I-200	1999 to 2006		55.72%	2.56%	3.61%	21.17%	1.11%	8.87%	6.96%							

With the T-Test results, we can reject the null hypothesis of “there is no significant difference in Fall Enrollment rate for the groups of races mentioned above in their respective

university before and after I-200 went into effect". We can't reject the null hypothesis for the remaining group that has the p-value equal or larger than 0.05, which are American Indian/Alaska Native at WSU and Hispanic at UW. The difference is significant for minority students to enroll in flagship universities in WA after 1998. The percentage of minority students enrolled at UW and WSU increased significantly for Hispanic and Asian or Pacific Islander but decreased significantly for White enrollments at both universities. At UW, Black students decreased significantly. At some level, this could be related to the effect of I-200, as there is a drop in Fall enrollment rates for Black non-Hispanic, Hispanic and American Indian/ Alaska Native groups at UW in 1999 to 2001. This data is similar to the data in the work of Brown and Hirschman, in which the ratio of Freshmen (in UW) to Seniors (of WA high schools in previous year) also drops for the same three groups of minority students (p.113). However, the percentage of Hispanic population started to increase steadily after 2001, and by 2006, had the number and percentage greater than those before 1999. In the contrary, the number and percentage of Black and American Indian/ Alaska Native group at UW continues to decline until 2004, and by 2006 those numbers were still less than the ones from before I-200.



In comparison with the results in the study of Brown and Hirschman (p.113), the trend of enrollment at UW for these three groups are similar during the period of 1994 to 1998 and 1999 to 2001, even though the data sets are not the same. After 2001, Hispanic groups continue to have same trends with Brown and Hirschman’s study, yet Black and American Indian group’s trend started to differ. After the initial decline, even though the number of enrollments increased, there’s a significant decrease for the percentages of Black and American Indian groups at UW. This finding is important and also interesting, as the percentage of Asian or Pacific Islander had a significant increase, with almost 4 percent increase. This big percentage in increasement of Asian or Pacific islander group pushed others’ groups percentage down. In the other hand, White population significantly decreased in the percentage. The theory may be that more white students chose to declare their race as Unknown, to prevent reverse discrimination (Brown & Hirschman, 2006, p. 111).

For WSU, the results show that there is significant increase in percentage for all minority student groups, except American Indian. This group had the increase in both numbers of enrollment and percentage, they were just not significant. The same with UW, white group in WSU had a significant decrease in both numbers and percentage.

b. Graduation Rates

Due to the availability of data in the IPEDS system, the graduation data is not cohort data. As mentioned in the Methodology chapter, the number of graduation data is the number of students graduating in each racial group in any year. The data shows the trends of how graduation changes over years in each racial group.

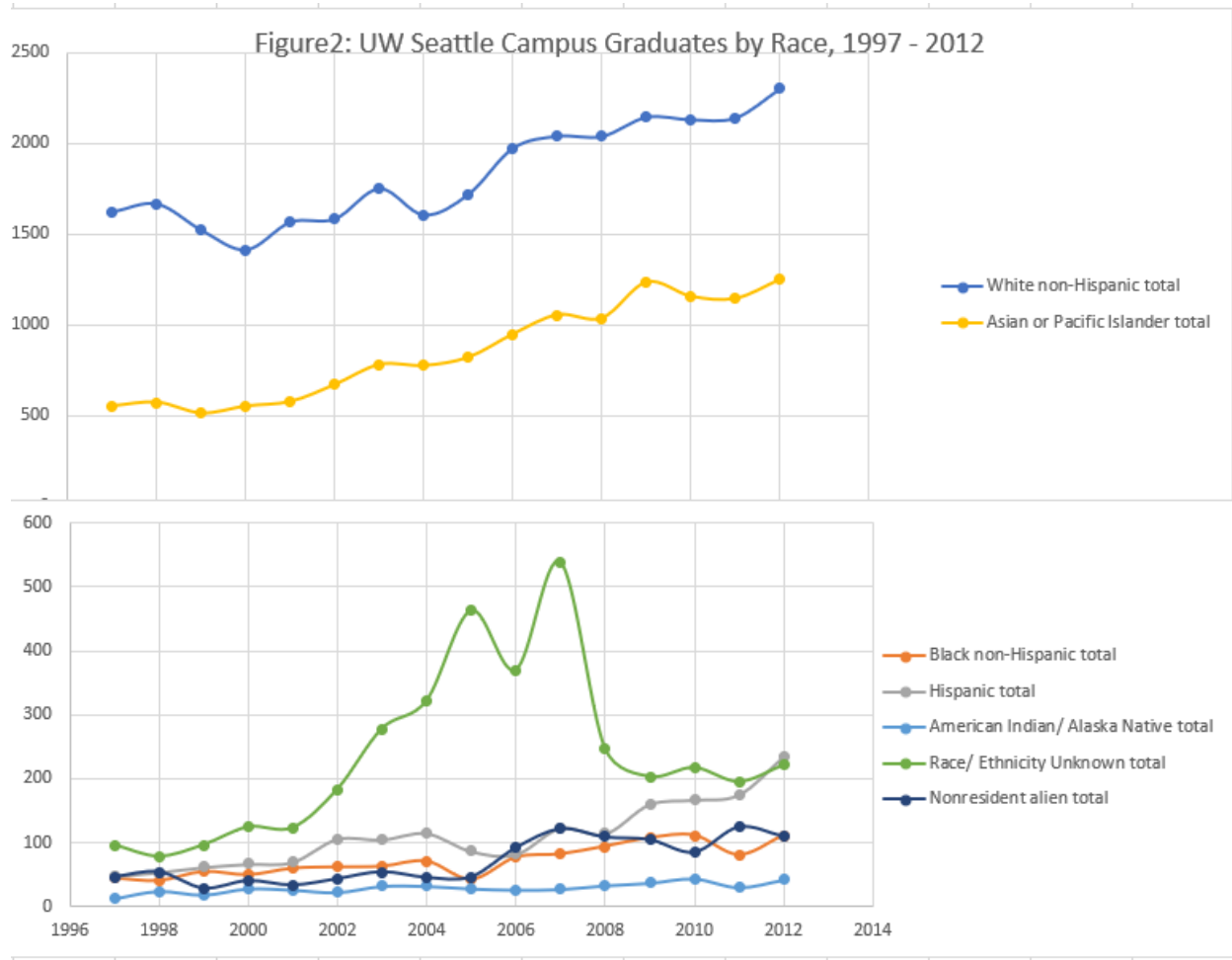
In both universities, WSU and UW, the group with the highest number of graduations over the period of 1997 to 2012 was White non-Hispanic. This population has the mean of 1175 (1997 to 2004 period) and 1456 (2005-2012 period) at WSU; while its means at UW are 1591 (1997-2004 period) and 2062 (2005-2012 period). The population with the lowest number of graduates during this period is American Indian/ Alaska Native, with the mean of 19 (1997-2004 period) and 18 (2005-2012 period) at WSU, as well as 24 and 33 at UW, respectively.

Table 3: Washington State University Graduates by Race, 1997 to 2012

Institution	Year	Grand total	White non-Hispanic total	Black non-Hispanic total	Hispanic total	Asian or Pacific Islander total	American Indian/Alaska Native total	Race/Ethnicity Unknown total	Nonresident alien total
WSU	1997	1169	1004	20	26	53	10	19	37
WSU	1998	1194	1033	20	28	39	15	24	35
WSU	1999	1437	1206	38	31	87	11	22	42
WSU	2000	1418	1173	24	46	77	26	35	37
WSU	2001	1514	1254	25	45	70	22	60	38
WSU	2002	1400	1170	26	41	56	28	53	26
WSU	2003	1365	1092	25	48	70	16	78	36
WSU	2004	1773	1468	36	48	83	22	96	20
WSU	2005	1551	1301	34	38	62	18	81	17
WSU	2006	1470	1205	47	45	84	11	53	25
WSU	2007	1620	1331	44	54	85	17	66	23
WSU	2008	1853	1464	49	58	113	17	130	22
WSU	2009	2070	1654	49	73	122	20	125	24
WSU	2010	2130	1673	41	96	121	15	149	20
WSU	2011	1906	1558	31	75	128	24	66	24
WSU	2012	1801	1458	29	71	120	21	84	18
		p value	0.001422	0.006367	0.0007248	0.001331	0.380542	0.0090875	0.000397053
T-Test									
before I-200	1997 to 2004	Mean	1175	27	39	67	19	48	34
after I-200	2005 to 2012		1456	41	64	104	18	94	22

From 1997 to 2012, the number of WSU graduates across all racial groups increased, except for Native American. I used the paired T-Test for the two groups of graduation numbers by races before and after I-200 got passed in November 1998. The first group is the number of graduates of each racial group from 1997 to 2004. For the 6-year cohort, students graduated in from 1997 to 2004 had entered either universities from 1991 to 1998 – before I-200 got passed. The second group is the number of graduations of each racial group from 2005 to 2012, for students who entered either universities from 1999 to 2006 – after I-200 became effective. At WSU, all the groups have the significant value smaller than 0.05 (red text in the table), except for

for those mentioned racial groups. In another word, there is a statistically significant difference between numbers of graduates before and after 2004-2005.



The Figure 2 shows difference in the graduate numbers of White and Asian students compared to the other races throughout the whole period 1997 to 2021. This trend is similar with the finding in Hinrichs research (2014), in which graduation rates are higher for Asians and whites than for blacks and Hispanics (pp. 46-47)

The majority of racial groups have their graduates number increased from 2000 to 2009. There was a slight decrease from 2004 to 2005 for Hispanic and Black non-Hispanic groups at UW. This decrease is worth to notice because they were the cohorts right before and after I-200

went into effect (the cohort entered in 1998 and 1999). As we looked at Fall Enrollment earlier, there was also a decrease for these two populations at UW from 1998 to 1999. Therefore, it would make sense that because the enrollment was down for these racial groups, the graduation would have to be down as well. And when the enrollment increased in the year after that, the graduate numbers increased too. Thus, based on the argument that ending preferential treatment by race would eliminate under-qualified minority students being admitted to universities at the expenses of majority student (Brown & Hirschman, 2006, p. 107), the effect of I-200 would be that the minority students admitted and enrolled were qualified, which means they could get to the finish line, graduation. Because the graduation rates data is not available from IPEDS, a definite conclusion about the quality of students being improved after I-200 is hard to make. Although, the graduate's trends of minority groups, after I-200, increased when enrollment for minority students increased, for 6-year cohorts, may indicate that I-200 contributed to more minority students to reach the finish line of college goal. I-200 supporters would argue that every student who got in was qualified with the same standard, regardless of race, so they could all graduate.

Based on the result of quantitative analysis, the enrollment numbers and graduation trends of minority students in both universities continued to increase after the I-200 went into effect. Even though there was a small drop during 1999 and 2000 in UW enrollment Hispanic and Black non-Hispanic groups. As Brown Hirschman suggested, I-200 created an unwelcome environment for minority students, especially high school graduates in WA, so they would not apply. The thought was that without affirmative action, they would not have much chance to be accepted. After 2001, the numbers of enrollment for Hispanic groups increased at UW, even

more than before I-200, but the percentage of Black and American Indian/ Alaska Native decreased significantly.

Because the enrollment dropped for these groups, their graduate numbers in 2004 and 2005 at UW also dropped. But this drop only happened for a short amount of time, and the Fall enrollment and graduate numbers of minority students increased right after that, and the increase of minority enrollment after I-200 was actually greater than the enrollment before the initiative. The steady increase after that proves that the universities might do a good job in the effort of diversifying the student body. As the UW President said after I-200 was passed, that UW would not give up on affirmative action and increase the diversity of the student body (SCHUBERT, 1998b). Therefore, it may prove that the claim of I-200 proponents that the initiative would not end affirmative action programs appears to be true. Minority students after I-200 had even more enrollment and graduates in higher education in Washington, at least in the case of flagship universities such as UW and WSU.

The significant decrease in percentage of Black, Hispanic and American Indian groups at UW was due to the huge increase of Asian or Pacific Islander group, might not because of I-200. The trends of enrollment and graduate numbers both increase after the short term drop of 1999-2001. This is the result expected to find if the hypothesis that I-200 would eliminate under-qualified, under-prepared minority students being admitted because of race. After I-200, in general more minority students were enrolled and more minority students graduated. This means that more qualified students came in after I-200 and they were able to reach the finish line. There could be many other factors contributing to the success of minority students at the two University, range from support programs, resources, campus climates... but qualification could play a role in it.

Conclusions

The qualitative analysis examined the four themes of the I-200 proponents' policy narratives: government should not have the power to discriminate on the basis of race, preferential treatment caused racial segregation, preferential treatment made the standard lowered for certain racial groups, and I-200 does not attack affirmative action. The process of building these narratives and how to deliver the message were strategically planned and organized, that its effect is obvious: the initiative got passed with majority votes. The policy narratives focused on promoting a color-blind society, or at least the belief in the existence of such society in America, in which everyone should have the equal opportunity. This approach refused to acknowledge the ongoing inequalities between races still exist. Ward Connorly said in his documentary "Black Americans are not hobbled by chains any longer. We're free to compete, we're capable of competing" (*Traitor Or Hero?*, n.d.12:45). The quote is about black people, but it applies for all minority groups, maybe except Asian American. Statistical analysis shows that Asian Americans were able to achieve the greatest success among all minority student groups, and more research is needed to explained this phenomenon. For the rest of the minority student groups, the I-200 policy narratives of the proponents did not consider any systematical disadvantages that were still existing in 1990s. Some of those are even existing still now in American society, after more than a quarter of century. This ignorance narrative, or pretending that racial issues no longer exist in American society is not the spirit of Civil Rights movement, the name that I-200 was called.

The qualitative analysis also goes over the claim that I-200 would not end affirmative action in Washington. The proponents carefully explained how the initiative only targeted preferential treatments, not all the affirmative action programs. The initiative would not end all

preferences that were a part of state and local affirmative-action programs, only those they label unfair: race, ethnicity, gender. The effect was to preserve preferences of greatest advantage to white males and to eliminate those that benefit women and racial and ethnic minorities. (“INITIATIVE 200,” 1998). This narrative seemed to be well delivered through debates and campaign material, because Washington voters believed in it and voted to pass the measure, even though half of the people in a statewide poll favored affirmative actions. Therefore, the opposing voice of I-200 wasn’t as effective, even though they repeatedly claimed the proposed language of the initiative was misleading and unclear.

In connection with the qualitative analysis, the quantitative analysis results prove that some claims of the I-200 proponents may be true. After I-200 went to effect in 1999, the enrollment of minority students in both universities generally did not decline, but increased instead over the period of 1999 to 2006. Due to the increase of enrollment in general, the graduation trends for minority students also were also rising. This might be the result of the universities’ outreaching and recruiting efforts to stay on path with their diversity mission. It could be the changes in admission criteria, or the effort of the university to justify their race conscious policy in admission, as title VI requires that federally funded universities remedy any unjustified racial disparities caused by reliance on a quantitative variable that decreases the admissions chances of qualified minority applicants at a higher rate than nonminority applicants (West-Faulcon, 2009, p. 1084). Another possibility for this result is that affirmative action programs for outreach, support and recruit minority students did not get affected by I-200, as the proponents claim; or the affirmative action was never about admitting under-qualified students to both universities, as the opponents claimed. Further study would be needed to explore more about the relation of UW and WSU enrollment-graduation rates and the effect of I-200. To

understand how I-200 had impacts on minority student in the flagship universities in the state, more research and studies are needed to look into the programs that had to shut down or change the direction in order to continue functioning. Admission, retention and graduation policies and procedures are also needed to be examined to discover any changes along way of the period of 1999 to 2012 to be able to interpret that dataset and the statistical analysis results with more knowledge at different layers of data.

The statistical results also highlight the commitment of state universities to their diversity mission. Before the election, with some anticipation that the initiative would pass, the then President of UW McCormick already started some contingent plans to look for legal ways to maintain the school's diversity (SCHUBERT, 1998b). Right after the measure passed, WA then governor Locke was trying to interpret and implement programs and procedures that qualified outreach and recruiting. (“AFFIRMATIVE ACTION CAN SURVIVE I-200,” 1998) Other state agency in WA made plans to improve the diversity of student body, as in the report of Washington Higher Education Coordinating Board “Despite this prohibition [from I-200], the state’s colleges and universities remain committed to increasing diversity and improving student academic achievement. A major part of this effort involves faculty, as they serve as role models, particularly for minority students” (p.4). In some aspects, I-200 definitely had a negative impact to affirmative actions when it passed, as it was predicted to happen (SCHUBERT, 1998a), but affirmative action programs could survive at some level and continue to serve minority students. However, the progress of equal opportunity for was set back, and people in WA have to continue to fight for the recognition of racial issues in American society.

One attempt that was closed to overturn the I-200 was the Initiative 1000 (I-1000) in 2019. If it had passed, it would have allowing the state to implement affirmative action policies

without the use of preferential treatment or quotas in public employment, education, and contracting. The initiative offered voters much clearer terms for what preferential treatment meant and what affirmative action would cover. The initiative got rejected from the ballot with very close margin (50.56% to 49.44%) (*Washington Referendum 88, Vote on I-1000 Affirmative Action Measure (2019)*, n.d.). California also had their attempt to overturn Proposition 209 when they had Proposition 16 in the ballot for 2020 election. This measure has the same faith with I-1000, but with much greater margin (57.23% to 42.77%) (*California Proposition 16, Repeal Proposition 209 Affirmative Action Amendment (2020)*, n.d.). There are many reasons for these two measures to be defeated at ballot, but the language used in these two could be a part of the difference margin. While I-1000 use language such as “remedying discrimination and affirmative action”, “without quotas or preferential treatment”; the Proposition 16 has more language about government’s power as “permits government decision-making policy to consider sex, race... to address diversity”. The language of the California measure was definitely more triggering to voters in term of enhance the power of government and receiving different treatments on the basis of unchangeable traits. Further study would be helpful in analyzing the language of these two measures, as well the social and political context in the two states for better understanding why both got rejected, and why they were rejected with different margin.

This 2019 Washington election result shows that the gap was much smaller than it had been for I-200, which demonstrated the stronger support from voters for affirmative action and addressing the issues of race in the Evergreen state. The clear and straightforward language could contribute to the better support from Washington voters. One interesting fact about I-1000 was that the organizations opposed this initiative included Washington Asians for Equity, Bellevue Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Washington State Veterans Bar Association. These

groups would be considered as representation of minority population, yet they opposed the measure that would have benefited them. This again highlights the complex and complicated relationship of a certain minority group in general, and Asian groups in particular, within the climate of social justice and racial justice. Further research can dig deeper in this relationship to contribute to the knowledge of affirmative action research field to explore the dynamics between racial groups and how each racial group engages in political environment, especially in affirmative action policies realm.

A quarter of century after the I-200 became law in Washington, opponents of affirmative action, again, celebrate the ruling of Supreme Court regarding *Student for Fair Admission v. President and Fellows of Harvard College*. This decision will affect higher education nationwide in regard to prohibit race-conscious policies in admission. Universities nationwide have already prepared for this decision and had plans to move forward, such as UW (“Affirmative Action Ruling Won’t Change Our Values or Our Mission,” 2023). With the increase of students of color over the last twenty-five years, despite the I-200, it may be time for WA universities in general to consider other approach, such as Equity-Diversity-Inclusion programs or multiple factors for admission, to diversify students and faculties population. My recommendation is that the legal battle with the state and federal system needs to continue, but higher education could explore other options in the meanwhile to keep up the good work. As legal cases or federal bills will take time to overturn a precedent or to become law, the equity work in education can’t stop to wait for the law to change.

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