

**Affirmative Action for Guys?
The Consequences of Gender Imbalance in College Applications**

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ABSTRACT

Using data from 13 liberal arts colleges, we test for affirmative action for men in the college admissions process. Despite the relative shortage of men in the applicant pools, with the exception of some formerly female institutions, either gender has no effect on the probability of admission, or there is a slight preference for women. We do find, however, that the bottom quartile of both the applicant and acceptance pools, as measured by academic record, is disproportionately male. As a result, even with a gender-blind admissions policy, the lower tail of college classrooms is likely to be dominated by men.

“Women have enrolled in college in slightly larger numbers than men since the late 1970s, but private liberal-arts colleges are experiencing larger gaps than others. They are dealing with this in different ways: Some are focusing recruiting efforts on men, others are adding male sports teams, and one college is allegedly getting rid of its dean of admissions because he won't lower standards for men.”

-- Ben Gose, “Liberal Arts Colleges Ask: Where Have the Men Gone?” *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, June 6, 1997

“The University of Georgia announced Wednesday that it would stop giving an automatic preference in admissions to male applicants...The preference that male applicants have received came in a formula called the Total Student Index, which Georgia uses in deciding whether to admit borderline applicants. The index is weighted toward those with good grades and high test scores, but men have previously gotten an additional 0.25 points and minority applicants have received an additional 0.5 points.”

-- Dan Carnevale, “Lawsuit Prompts University of Georgia to End Admissions Preferences for Male Applicants,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, September 3, 1999

1. Introduction

The college enrollment rate of 16-24 year-olds who graduated from high school in the last year averaged 68% for women, but only 62% for men, in the last three years of the 1990s. About 55% of first-time full-time undergraduates are women (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001, Tables 262, 272). This gender imbalance in enrollment has recently led to media articles raising the issue of “affirmative action for men.” In this paper, we examine admissions data from 13 liberal arts colleges in the United States to determine what role if any gender plays in admissions decisions. The findings presented below suggest that while some colleges that were formerly all-female are more likely to accept men than women with similar qualifications, there is no such tendency elsewhere. In most cases,

gender is not a significant determinant of the probability of a student being admitted and where it is significant, the difference favors women.

However, we do find a pattern that all schools share: the bottom quartile of the applicant pool as measured by high school GPA (or, if GPA is unavailable, high school class rank) is disproportionately male. To the extent that high school GPA or rank is a good predictor of college academic performance, even if male and female applicants from this quartile have an equal chance of admission, the lower tail of enrollees at liberal arts colleges is likely to be disproportionately male. From the perspective of admissions officers and faculty members, the disproportionate presence of males in the lower GPA/rank tail may cause a perception of affirmative action policies for men where, in fact, none exist.

The following section provides a brief review of the literature. Section 3 describes our data, including the characteristics of the male and female applicants, acceptance rates, and enrolled students for the colleges in the study. Section 4 reports the results of regression analysis testing the impact gender on admissions decisions, while Section 5 discusses the findings.

2. Affirmative Action for Guys?

Until the late 1980s, men between the ages of 18 and 24 were more likely than women to be in college. However, over the last thirty years, the high school graduation rate for women has risen more rapidly than has the rate for men, and the percentage of male graduates who continue their education after high school has declined slightly, while the continuation rate for women has increased dramatically (Mortenson, 2001). The

gender ratio tilted toward women first at liberal arts colleges, but more recently, as illustrated in Figure 1, men have become relatively scarce on campuses in all sectors of higher education. In 1987, the number of women enrolled in four-year colleges in the U.S. exceeded that of men for the first time. Over the next decade males comprised around 48-49% of the enrollment pool; the gap widened to its largest level in 1999, when 670,000 more women than men were in four-year colleges, with males making up only 46% of the student body nationwide.

Mortenson (1995, 1998) was the first to call attention to the gender gap in enrollment and to raise concerns about affirmative action. Higher education specialists have since debated whether the low participation rates of men are a reflection of social circumstances faced by men in general or whether the problem is limited to certain demographic groups, particularly people from low-income families and African Americans (King, 2000; Mortenson, 1999). In the popular press, headlines such as “The Male Minority” (Fonda, 2000), “Gender Balance at U.S. Colleges Becomes a Worry” (Lewin, 1998), and “Male Call on Campus” (Abel, 2000) have introduced reports that colleges are concerned about recruiting more men and raised the question of whether colleges are giving preference to men in the admissions process.¹

The Christian Science Monitor conducted an extensive investigation into this issue and in May 2001, published a two-part series attempting to document gender –based admissions preferences, particularly at formerly women’s colleges. Using data provided by Peterson’s, the *Monitor* identified 50 schools that admitted men at a higher rate than women three years in a row, arguing that this pattern was consistent with affirmative action for males. We find these data to be suggestive but hardly persuasive; the *Monitor*

for example, did not report the number of schools admitting a higher percentage of women than men for three years running.

Hypotheses about affirmative action for men in the college admissions process have no doubt been fueled by the fact that once in college, males suffer from an “achievement gap.” In their study of elite university enrollees, Bowen and Bok (1998) find that, controlling for high school performance and test scores, men wind up 8 percentile points lower than women in college class rank. This is half the gap observed between African American and white students.

Some effort has been made to investigate the underlying causes of the gender gap in enrollment. Gottschalk and Pizer (1999) test the obvious economic explanation: have returns to education been rising for women more than for men? The answer appears to be no. Journalists have looked to changes in K-12 education, cultural pressures which de-emphasize academic achievement for boys, and a societal overemphasis on the problems facing young girls (Clayton, 2001; Sommers, 2000). Even without a definitive answer to the question of the factors leading to lower application rates, the question of the impact of this differential gender pattern on college admissions merits further analysis.

3. An Initial Look at Admissions Data

If there is affirmative action for men in the college admissions process, it is most likely to be found at relatively small liberal arts colleges. This is the sector in which the gender imbalance is largest and has the longest history. Preferences are also more likely to be apparent at relatively selective institutions. Kane and Dickens (1997), using national data to test for affirmative action for minority students in admissions, found such

preferences concentrated at the most selective institutions. Since nearly everyone is accepted at most colleges, large differences in the probability of acceptance for people with similar qualifications are unlikely. Moreover, the social implications of a shortage of men are likely to be of more significance on campuses that are essentially self-contained communities.

Because aggregate national data may mask patterns of admissions preference, particularly if they occur primarily at institutions that enroll a very small number of students, we requested data on applicants, admitted students and enrollees from 20 liberal arts colleges across the country. Ten schools supplied us with comprehensive micro data sets, several covering multiple years between 1998 and 2000, including information for all applicants on gender, admissions and enrollment status. These schools all included data on SAT/ACT scores and either high school GPA or class rank, where available. In some cases, we also obtained information about whether or not the applicant was a rated athlete or an international student. Three additional colleges gave us aggregate data that allow us to calculate admissions rates for male and female students with different qualifications, but not to run regressions to isolate the effect of gender. Another three institutions gave us data that were inadequate for our purposes.

While not a random sample of institutions, the schools included in this study represent liberal arts colleges in New England, the Mid-Atlantic States, the Midwest, and the West. As shown in Table 1, the overall acceptance rates at the colleges in the sample range from 23% to 85% of applicants, with a median acceptance rate of 64%. Median SAT scores range from 1010 to 1422, with the median school reporting 1230. The sizes of the freshman classes range from 310 to 680. While all of the schools are currently

coeducational, one was all male until the 1970s (highlighted in dark grey), some were formerly all female (highlighted in light gray), and others have been coed at least since the beginning of the twentieth century. Despite their limitations, these data provide interesting insights into a debate that, until now, has been largely driven by anecdote.

Table 2 shows the gender breakdown of applicants for each school in each year. It also shows the overall acceptance rate and the acceptance rate by gender. For the 13 schools, the average percentage of applicants who are male is 42.4%.² Of the 13 colleges, only 3 (#7, #8 and #13) have 49-51% male applicants and one of these (#13) was formerly all male. At the three formerly female schools (#10, #11, #12), only 28-35% of the applicants are male. If these colleges are removed from the sample, the average percentage of men in the applicant pool is still only 45%. In other words, in most of these schools, the women dominate the applicant pool and none of the schools has an applicant pool clearly dominated by men.

The final column of Table 2 displays the male-to-female-acceptance ratio – the percentage of male applicants admitted divided by the percentage of female applicants admitted. It will exceed one if the male acceptance rate exceeds the female acceptance rate. This is equivalent to the measure argued to demonstrate evidence of affirmative action by the *Christian Science Monitor*. Only one college, a formerly female institution (#10), has measurably higher male acceptance rates. One other school (#11), also formerly female, has a ratio of male to female acceptance rates approximately equal to one. The 11 other colleges consistently admit a greater percentage of their female than their male applicants.

The fact that overall acceptance rates are rarely higher for men does not necessarily mean that admissions standards are not lower for men. It is possible that male applicants are less qualified than female applicants and that despite lower acceptance rates, males with given qualifications are more likely than women with similar qualifications to be accepted. To look more closely at this issue, we focused our attention on the bottom quartile of the applicant pools, defined by both SAT and GPA (or class rank). Much of the selectivity will occur in this portion of the pool; if affirmative action is occurring, this is where we would most likely find it.

Table 3 illustrates the gender breakdown of the lowest tail of the applicant pool compared to the overall applicant pool. The results are striking for the lowest GPA (or rank) quartile. In every school in every year of data, the lower tail of the applicant pool is disproportionately male. On average, the bottom GPA tail contains a percentage of men that is 29% higher than the overall applicant pool. By contrast, for the lowest SAT quartile, there is no consistent difference. Seven schools show men under-represented and two (#7, #13) display over-representation of men in the lowest SAT quartile. The other four colleges have either proportional representation or an inconsistent pattern across years. The mean value for ratio of men as a percentage of the lowest SAT quartile to men as a percentage of all applicants is just under 0.90.

To summarize: first, although male applicants have slightly higher test scores than female applicants, they are much more likely to have low high school GPAs. If high school GPA or class rank is a good predictor of college performance, note that even a gender blind admissions process will create a lower tail of college classroom performers that is disproportionately male. Table 4 shows that the enrollment pools in the bottom

quartile of the classes do indeed mirror the applicant pools. On average, our schools are 42.1% male. Yet over half of the enrollees (54.8%) in the bottom GPA or class rank tail are men.

Is the admissions process in this tail in fact gender blind? Given the concentration of men in the bottom quarter of applicants ranked by GPA or class rank and the relatively low proportion of men in the applicant pool in general, one might suspect that men near the bottom of the applicant pool would in fact have a higher chance of admittance than women with similarly marginal qualifications. Even if overall acceptance rates for men are not higher than for women, perhaps acceptance rates at the bottom of the pool do differ by gender.

As indicated in Table 5, higher acceptance rates for men in the bottom quarter of GPAs are indeed common. Seven schools, including the three formerly female colleges, consistently accept more of the low-GPA men and the difference is considerably larger than 10%. Only two schools (#5, #6) consistently accept more low GPA women than men, and the gender differences in the acceptance rates are small at these schools. By contrast, acceptance rates in the bottom quarter of the class by SAT are consistently higher for men only at college #10, where overall acceptance rates are highest for men. At seven schools, consistent with the overall data, acceptance rates in the bottom quarter of the class by SAT are consistently higher for women, and in the other schools, the pattern differs in different years.

Is the higher acceptance rate for low GPA men evidence for affirmative action for men? Not necessarily. Given the difference in the distribution of SAT scores and GPA by gender, men with low GPAs may be more likely to have other characteristics –

such as high SAT scores – that make them desirable candidates. The reverse may be true of women with low SAT scores.

4. Regression Analysis

In order to more effectively isolate the determinants of admission to the liberal arts colleges in our sample, we modeled the impact of gender on the probability of acceptance at each of the ten colleges for which we have individual student-level data using logistic regression analysis. In addition to testing the entire applicant pool, we ran regressions on the bottom quartile of the class, defined both in terms of low GPA (or class rank) and in terms of low SAT scores. The full model included as independent variables gender, high school GPA (or high school class rank), math SAT, verbal SAT, and dummy variables indicating whether a student was an athlete or an international applicant. Table 6 reports the coefficients on the MALE variable and their statistical significance, as well as the change in the probability of acceptance associated with being male. The table also acknowledges school specific modifications to the basic model, driven by data limitations.³

There is clear evidence of a male admissions advantage at two of the three former women's schools (#10, #11); at each of these schools, in two out of the three years, males were significantly more likely than females with the same characteristics to be admitted, both from the entire applicant pool and from the bottom of the class, regardless of how it is defined. In the third year at each of these schools, affirmative action for men is visible overall and in the bottom quartile of GPA applicants, but the positive coefficient on male is not statistically significant at the 10% level in the bottom

SAT quartile. At one of these schools, males were 8% to 18% more likely than females with similar qualifications to be accepted, while at the other school, men were 15%-28% more likely than similar women to be admitted. The third formerly female college (#12) has more ambiguous results, showing a preference for male applicants in only one of the three years.

In the rest of the sample, there is no consistent evidence of a male advantage. We find only one school (#2) in which the estimate is positive and significant in one out of the two regressions. However, at this school, the results suggest a preference for female applicants in the other year of data. At three other colleges (#3, #5, #6), there is evidence of a significant admissions advantage for women in some years, although it is much weaker than the preference for men at the former women's colleges.⁴ No schools showed a significant preference for women in all of the years for which data are included.

Given the recently documented preference for athletes at selective liberal arts colleges (Shulman and Bowen, 2001), it is important to consider the possible impact of this aspect of the admissions process on our findings. For five of the ten schools included in the regression analysis, we were able to include a dummy variable for being a rated athlete. At four of these five schools, the acceptance rate for athletes was higher than for non-athletes and being an athlete had a positive and statistically significant impact on the probability of being accepted. Because male applicants at the schools in our sample are 1.7 to 2.8 times more likely to be athletes than are female applicants, this result suggests that the omission of the athlete variable for the remaining five schools would generate an upward bias in the coefficient on the male variable. In other words,

omitting the athlete variable might cause the appearance of affirmative action for men when, in reality, it is athletes who are being given preference.

Comparing the regression results including and excluding the athlete variable for the schools for which it is available confirms this effect. In every case, removing the athlete variable increases the coefficient on male (reducing its absolute value if it is negative). The likely existence of preferences for athletes strengthens our finding that there is not affirmative action for men at any of the colleges in our sample that were not previously all-female institutions.

To conclude, despite the fact that most of these schools have student bodies with fewer than 45% men, with the notable exception of some formerly female institutions, they do not appear to be favoring males in the admissions process.

5. Conclusion

Our results suggest that, outside of historically female institutions, there is no clear preference given to men in the admissions process. Despite the fact that women tend to dominate the applicant pools of these colleges, only historically women's colleges, which have the greatest gender imbalance in their pools, are more likely to accept men than women with similar qualifications. However, our focus on the lower quartile of applicants helps understand why there might be a perception that affirmative action is occurring. In spite of the fact that males are a minority of applicants overall, they comprise a majority of the applicants and enrollees in the lowest quartile by high school GPA/rank. Despite slightly higher test scores, male college applicants have significantly weaker high school records than female applicants to the same institutions.

Because men are disproportionately represented among the applicants with the poorest performance in high school, gender-neutral admissions tends to yield college classes where men are disproportionately represented at the bottom. The appearance of lower standards for men is the result of differences in the academic characteristics of young men and young women rather than of idiosyncrasies in the liberal arts college admissions process.

Figure 1— Full-time Enrollment in 4-Year Colleges by Gender
Source: US Census Bureau.

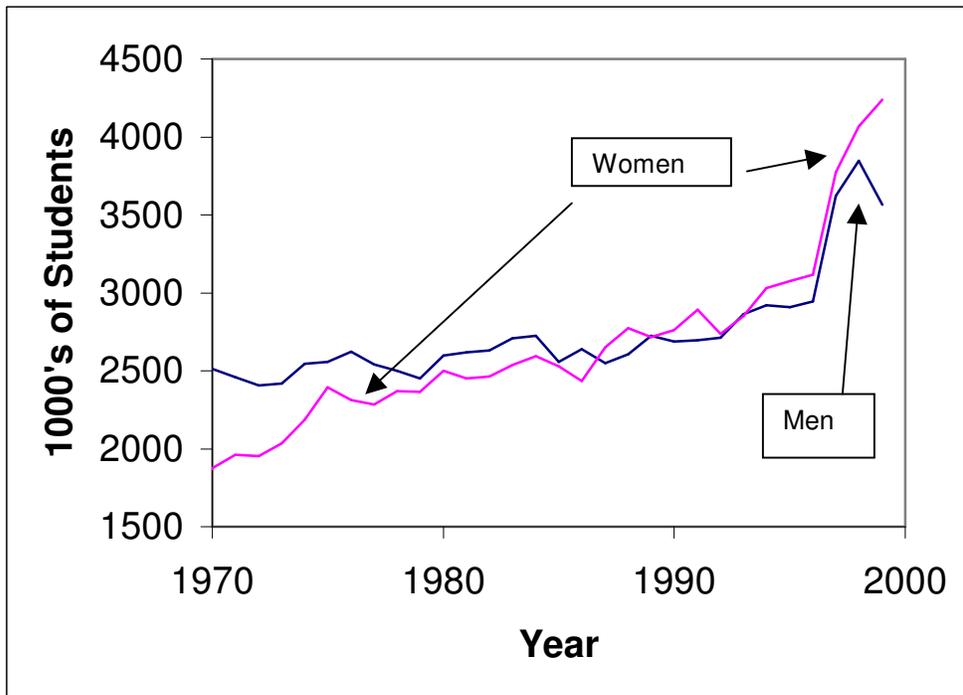


Table 1
Characteristics of Sample Colleges

School	% accepted	Median SAT Enrolled class	Number of students in first year class	History*
1	56.2	1240	575	Co-ed
2a	63.6	1180	620	Co-ed
2b	64.2	1210	594	Co-ed
3a	50.0	1320	357	Co-ed
3b	45.1	1330	392	Co-ed
3c	45.9	1320	405	Co-ed
4	76.1	1230	325	Co-ed
5a	82.7	1230	609	Co-ed
5b	82.1	1240	528	Co-ed
6a	56.1	1300	502	Co-ed
6b	53.6	1300	489	Co-ed
6c	53.6	1300	490	Co-ed
7a	81.4	1010	384	Co-ed
7b	85.4	1010	417	Co-ed
7c	85.4	1030	410	Co-ed
8	22.9	1422	521	Co-ed
9	68.1	1204	650	Co-ed
10a	51.0	1210	680	Female
10b	46.0	1230	630	Female
10c	44.2	1240	633	Female
11a	78.0	1200	420	Female
11b	66.2	1210	444	Female
11c	64.8	1200	511	Female
12a	78.7	1170	310	Female
12b	83.2	1170	324	Female
12c	76.7	1170	366	Female
13a	40.3	1247	464	Male
13b	42.5	1237	500	Male
13c	39.5	1251	465	Male

Several of the colleges listed as historically co-educational were originally all male but began admitting women in the late 1800s. The colleges listed as male or female or became coeducational in the 1970s or later.

Table 2:
Admission Rates and
Gender Breakdown of Applicants,
Admitted Candidates and Enrolled Students

School	Number of Applicants	% Male Applied	Acceptance Rates			
			All	Male	Female	Male/ Female
1	3404	46.4	56.2	48.7	62.7	0.78
2a	3434	41.9	63.6	54.3	70.2	0.77
2b	3801	42.4	64.2	62.7	65.3	0.96
3a	2472	48.3	50.0	46.9	53.0	0.88
3b	2885	47.3	45.1	41.8	48.2	0.87
3c	2954	48.4	45.9	43.3	48.4	0.89
4	1312	42.1	76.1	73.6	77.9	0.94
5a	2651	38.9	82.7	79.1	85.0	0.93
5b	2518	39.4	82.1	75.2	86.6	0.87
6a	2970	43.9	56.1	52.6	58.8	0.89
6b	3223	42.5	53.6	50.4	55.9	0.90
6c	3502	43.9	53.6	47.8	58.2	0.82
7a	1411	48.4	81.4	76.7	85.9	0.89
7b	1230	51.4	85.4	80.3	90.7	0.89
7c	1536	48.8	85.4	79.7	90.7	0.88
8	5411	44.2	22.9	22.3	23.4	0.95
9	3015	46.6	68.1	61.8	73.6	0.84
10a	5483	34.3	51.0	56.8	47.9	1.19
10b	5601	33.8	46.0	50.8	43.5	1.17
10c	5782	34.6	44.2	48.8	41.8	1.17
11a	2436	34.3	78.0	76.1	78.9	0.96
11b	3135	35.2	66.2	66.0	66.3	1.00
11c	3248	34.2	64.8	66.9	63.7	1.05
12a	1925	33.0	78.7	73.9	81.1	0.91
12b	2095	28.4	83.2	81.2	83.9	0.97
12c	2161	32.1	76.7	70.9	79.4	0.89
13a	3882	49.8	40.3	35.9	44.8	0.80
13b	3909	50.9	42.5	40.0	44.9	0.89
13c	3811	46.8	39.5	36.3	42.8	0.85
Mean*	3171	42.4	60.9	57.7	63.6	0.91

*Means are calculated by finding an average for each college and then averaging these 13 numbers.

Table 3:
Gender of Lowest Quartile of Applicants by SAT and GPA

School	(a) % male (total)	(b) % male Lowest 25% By GPA	Ratio: (b)/(a)	(c) % male Lowest 25% By SAT	Ratio: (c)/(a)
1	46.4	53.1	1.14	40.1	0.86
2a	41.9	52.0	1.24	37.1	0.89
2b	42.4	58.0	1.37	41.1	0.97
3a	48.3	53.5	1.11	42.0	0.87
3b	47.3	55.0	1.16	45.0	0.95
3c	48.4	59.0	1.22	47.8	0.99
4	42.1	52.9	1.26	39.2	0.93
5a	38.9	51.0	1.31	35.2	0.90
5b	39.4	59.2	1.50	43.9	1.11
6a	43.9	53.6	1.22	41.0	0.93
6b	42.5	51.8	1.22	38.4	0.90
6c	43.9	53.4	1.22	39.6	0.90
7a	48.4	68.0	1.40	48.5	1.00
7b	51.4	68.6	1.33	57.4	1.12
7c	48.8	68.5	1.40	53.3	1.09
8	44.2	47.9	1.08	28.4	0.56
9	46.6	47.2	1.01	29.6	0.64
10a	34.3	45.8	1.34	29.4	0.86
10b	33.8	52.0	1.54	39.3	1.16
10c	34.6	53.9	1.56	37.6	1.09
11a	34.3	51.6	1.50	37.2	1.08
11b	35.2	44.4	1.26	31.6	0.90
11c	34.2	44.5	1.30	25.7	0.75
12a	33.0	46.0	1.39	30.0	0.91
12b	28.4	50.7	1.79	48.1	1.69
12c	32.1	64.0	1.99	49.5	1.54
13a	49.8	64.0	1.29	57.0	1.14
13b	50.9	62.0	1.22	57.5	1.13
13c	46.8	53.0	1.13	46.6	1.00
Mean*	42.4	53.8	1.29	39.8	0.90
*Means are calculated by finding an average for each college and then averaging these 13 numbers.					

Table 4:
Gender of Lowest Quartile of Enrolled Students by SAT and GPA

School	(a) % male (total)	(b) % male Lowest 25% By GPA	Ratio: (b)/(a)	(c) % male Lowest 25% By SAT	Ratio: (c)/(a)
1	44.9	52.9	1.18	44.0	0.98
2a	35.6	38.3	1.08	28.9	0.81
2b	42.6	62.6	1.47	48.3	1.13
3a	48.5	56.9	1.17	40.6	0.84
3b	42.1	52.7	1.25	34.6	0.82
3c	47.4	61.1	1.29	50.0	1.05
4	44.3	53.1	1.20	42.6	0.96
5a	38.9	53.4	1.37	41.4	1.06
5b	36.7	55.2	1.50	40.0	1.09
6a	43.6	5.01	0.11	42.4	0.97
6b	41.3	48.0	1.16	41.9	1.01
6c	34.1	41.2	1.21	29.3	0.86
7a	44.5	66.7	1.50	49.5	1.11
7b	48.4	73.7	1.52	53.5	1.11
7c	52.0	80.2	1.54	61.3	1.18
8	49.0	55.7	1.14	50.9	1.04
9	42.9	49.2	1.15	42.0	0.98
10a	42.9	65.5	1.53	37.8	0.88
10b	42.5	64.0	1.51	37.5	0.88
10c	41.5	54.7	1.32	41.0	0.99
11a	33.4	55.9	1.67	34.5	1.03
11b	36.8	65.5	1.78	48.1	1.31
11c	34.5	60.9	1.77	49.1	1.42
12a	29.6	45.6	1.54	29.1	0.98
12b	30.6	51.9	1.70	28.9	0.94
12c	29.2	37.2	1.27	24.7	0.85
13a	48.7	60.0	1.23	51.0	1.05
13b	49.2	75.0	1.52	46.5	0.95
13c	46.0	70.0	1.52	42.0	0.91
Mean*	42.1	54.8	1.30	42.3	1.00
*Means are calculated by finding an average for each college and then averaging these 13 numbers.					

Table 5:
Ratios of Male to Female Acceptance Rates:
Lowest 25% of Applicants

Ratio of acceptance rates M/F			
School	Overall	Lowest 25%	
		By GPA	By SAT
1	0.78	1.00	0.78
2a	0.77	0.70	0.59
2b	0.96	1.31	1.12
3a	0.88	1.52	0.65
3b	0.87	1.21	0.85
3c	0.89	0.72	0.99
4	0.94	1.09	0.82
5a	0.93	0.99	0.90
5b	0.87	0.96	0.87
6a	0.89	0.91	0.96
6b	0.90	0.98	1.08
6c	0.82	0.92	0.72
7a	0.89	1.03	0.85
7b	0.89	1.00	0.76
7c	0.88	1.00	0.86
8	0.95	1.35	1.01
9	0.84	1.18	0.81
10a	1.19	1.83	1.12
10b	1.17	1.83	1.48
10c	1.17	1.54	1.35
11a	0.96	1.76	0.96
11b	1.00	1.98	1.07
11c	1.05	2.00	1.01
12a	0.91	1.12	0.85
12b	0.97	1.09	0.86
12c	0.89	1.12	0.85
13a	0.80	1.06	0.65
13b	0.89	1.00	1.00
13c	0.85	1.55	0.84
Mean*	0.91	1.20	0.90

*Means are calculated by finding an average for each college and then averaging these 13 numbers.

Table 6:
Influence of Gender on Probability of Acceptance:
Results of Logistic Regression

	Model ¹	all			Low SAT			Low GPA		
		coeff	sig	Δp	coeff	sig	Δp	coeff	sig	Δp
1		-1.190	0.279	-0.029	0.100	0.648	0.021	-0.029	0.910	-0.005
2a	2	-0.374	0.015	-0.090	-0.316	0.253	-0.073	-0.659	0.018 ^{oo}	-0.088
2b	2	0.355	0.005**	0.077	0.851	0.000**	0.210	0.323	0.129	0.076
3a	2	0.014	0.928	0.004	-0.545	0.332	-0.043	0.373	0.195	0.083
3b	2	-0.291	0.073 ^o	-0.071	-0.431	0.504	-0.022	0.014	0.964	0.003
3c	2	-0.223	0.189	-0.055	-0.105	0.908	-0.004	-0.744	0.022 ^{oo}	-0.133
4	1	-0.050	0.828	-0.009	-0.029	0.943	-0.007	-0.005	0.987	-0.001
5a	1	-0.674	0.000 ^{oo}	-0.167	-0.446	0.037 ^{oo}	-0.111	-0.362	0.082 ^o	-0.090
5b	1	-0.127	0.417	-0.031	-0.045	0.860	-0.011	-0.215	0.316	-0.054
6a	1	-0.113	0.395	-0.028	0.381	0.250	0.081	-0.258	0.242	-0.053
6b	1	-0.277	0.039 ^{oo}	-0.069	-0.120	0.701	-0.020	-0.441	0.058 ^o	-0.081
6c	1	-0.458	0.000 ^{oo}	-0.114	-1.090	0.005 ^{oo}	-0.112	-0.402	0.075 ^o	-0.077
7a	3	0.387	.3750	0.052	0.415	0.401	0.100	0.228	0.674	0.057
7b	3	-0.095	.8360	-0.012	0.041	0.948	0.010	-0.317	0.584	-0.079
7c	3	-0.713	.1160	-0.113	-0.938	0.095 ^o	-.230	-0.938	0.108	-0.229
10a	1	0.337	0.000**	0.083	0.249	0.201	0.044	0.613	0.001**	0.131
10b	1	0.719	0.000**	0.176	0.627	0.003**	0.105	0.815	0.000**	0.170
10c	1	0.490	0.000**	0.122	0.364	0.044**	0.057	0.243	0.100*	0.045
11a	4	1.261	0.001**	0.146	0.773	0.233	0.114	1.034	0.059*	0.249
11b	4	1.300	0.000**	0.216	1.295	0.000**	0.256	1.387	0.000**	0.333
11c	4	1.971	0.000**	0.282	2.263	0.000**	0.348	1.296	0.003**	0.306
12a	5	-0.117	0.482	-0.020	0.158	0.586	0.128	0.387	0.129	0.095
12b	5	0.096	0.596	0.013	0.575	0.049**	0.126	1.150	0.000**	0.207
12c	5	-0.324	0.048 ^{oo}	-0.063	0.341	0.251	0.084	-0.170	0.535	-0.042

¹ 1 Independent Variables: Male, HSGPA, SATM, SATV, Athlete, International
2 HS Rank in place of HS GPA; no control for athlete or international.
3 No control for international.
4 Total SAT in place of SATV and SATM; no control for international.
5 Total SAT in place of SATV and SATM; no control for athlete or international.

**Coefficient on male positive and significant at the 5% level
* Coefficient on male positive and significant at the 10% level
^{oo} Coefficient on male negative and significant at the 5% level
^o Coefficient on male negative and significant at the 10% level

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Endnotes

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1. One enrollment management official reported in a letter to the *Chronicle of Higher Education* that after three years of concern over declining male enrollments, they saw a surge back to earlier levels. The explanation appeared to be a rumor that Britney Spears was planning to enroll (Friedhoff, 2000).
 2. In all cases, averages are computed for each college and then the overall average is computed for these thirteen numbers so that schools with multiple years of data are not weighted more heavily.
 3. The complete regression results are available upon request. Generally the variables had the expected sign, and with the exception of the international variable, were usually highly significant.
 4. At one school, women were 17% more likely than similar men to be accepted, and 9%-11% more likely to be accepted from the bottom of the applicant pool in one year. In the other year for which data are available, the coefficient on male was negative but not statistically significant.