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Creating Public Policy for Minority Access to Higher Education: A Case Study

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CREATING PUBLIC POLICY FOR MINORITY ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION: A CASE STUDY

by

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Dedication

This case study is dedicated to my son, Steven Michael Sachs, a criminal justice major at the University of Texas at San Antonio Downtown Campus and to all the students, past and future, who, because of the Downtown Campus' location, had and have access to a comprehensive public university of the first class.

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Creating Public Policy for Minority Access

To Higher Education: A Case Study

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It is a well-known fact that one way to a better life is through education.

Individuals who have a college education will earn significantly higher income that those

who only have a high school diploma (McGlynn, 2001). Having a college degree is not

only beneficial to an individual, but a community with an educated work force can

acquire significant economic and social benefits. If there is no access to higher education,

individuals and the community generally cannot advance as well economically.

Individuals living in South Texas did not have the opportunity to improve

their socio-economic status because of the lack of public institutions of higher education

in their region. The South Texas Region is comprised mostly of a Hispanic population. It

has the "state's least educated population, the state's poorest facilities, and the least

capacity to generate local taxes to improve educational opportunities" (Hispanic

Association of Colleges and Universities, 1993).

This study explored predisposing conditions such as racism and examined

critical elements such as economic and political power in San Antonio, and the dynamics

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that empowered a minority group to take the fight of access to a public university to a higher level.

According to the legislators interviewed, the move to create a second UT System campus in downtown San Antonio was a community grassroots effort that had a buy-in from members of the Bexar County delegation. The legislators proposed legislation and followed the bill through the approval process in the Texas House and Texas Senate. Before the bill was approved, a lawsuit had been filed by the League of United Latin American Citizens and the American GI Forum against the Texas governor alleging the State had violated the constitutional rights of Mexican Americans by having unequal access to a comprehensive public university.

During a time when tuition has skyrocketed and the cost of gasoline has soared, it is amazing how the adage "Build it and they will come" continues to fulfill the dreams of students who may have never had the opportunity to attend a comprehensive institution of higher education had it not been for the UTSA Downtown Campus.

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Chapter One: Introduction to the Study

OVERVIEW

The purpose of this study was to examine the factors that created legislation resulting in the establishment of a second public university in a city historically comprised of underrepresented populations in higher education. This study explores predisposing conditions such as racism and examines critical elements such as economics, political power, and the empowerment of a minority group, as well as mechanisms such as political representation of a minority group willing to take the fight of access to higher education to a higher level.

In its early days, the role of higher education was to maintain the "social order" (Thelin, 1985). During the 17th, 18th, and most of the 19th centuries, education focused on the privileged members of society. Those who were educated became the social, economic, religious, and political leadership of this country. Following the American Revolution institutions of higher education included educating females as well as males (Rudolph, 1990). During the 1900s, lawsuits against educational institutions forced access to higher education for minorities. In Texas during the 1940s, Heman Sweat, an African American, sued the University of Texas Law School for alleging the law school had violated his rights to equal protection and in essence, his right to an equal education. Texas had segregated public universities at the time under the constitutionally legitimate "separate but equal" clause resulting from the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case. The Sweat case determined that the University of Texas could not discriminate solely because of race. In 1954, in the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* case, the Supreme Court ordered the racial desegregation of public schools throughout the South which included

universities. Since the *Brown* case, public policy and how it relates to minorities gaining access to higher education, has been crucial (Gambitta, 2001).

As public universities developed throughout the United States, university systems were created by the states' legislatures. The Texas legislature left the governance of the University of Texas to its Board of Regents of the University of Texas. As the legislature established additional University of Texas components these "new" institutions were placed under the management of The University of Texas System. The University of Texas at Austin became the flag ship institution. Many universities across the country have flag ships in one city and "branch" campuses located in different cities throughout their states. What is significant about this study is that one UT System component, The University of Texas at San Antonio, has two campuses in the same city. The UTSA Downtown Campus is not considered a "branch" campus.

What led the Texas legislature to develop public policy for second University of Texas at San Antonio campus in the same city? This case study explores the dynamics involved in this process.

The Field of Public Policy

The system of government in the United States "is a loosely structured and sometimes seemingly convoluted environment of conflicting and complex solutions, almost all of which are in a state of flux" (Gertson, 1997). Viewing the policy-making framework as a constantly changing entity, this study is designed to provide an understanding for making some sense out of the policy-making process. Public policy is a relatively new field in the political science arena. Its development emerged out the recognition that traditional analyses of government decisions were incomplete descriptions of political activities. As the relationship between society and its various

public institutions became more complex and more interdependent, the need developed for more comprehensive assessment of what governments do, how they put their decisions into practice, and why they pursue some policy over others.

Focus on the public policy process developed with the emergence of modern society and industrialization. During the 19th century, representative government began to evolve and with increased political participation by larger portions of the population, government decisions assumed greater importance and legitimacy. Clashing values with respect to social, economic, and political questions had profound implications for politics and government. With these changes, government began to focus on the problems of their citizens. In the early 1900s, American political scientists were content to analyze government in the context of its three major branches: the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. While these studies were instructive about the powers of institutions, they were less than complete descriptions of the political process (Gertson, 1997).

Fifty years later, political scientists expanded their perspective of government, leading one scholar to conclude that political institutions "operate to order relationships among various groups in society". Other studies focused on the interdependence between government activities and diverse forces such as political parties or public opinion. Out of this evolution came the recognition of symbiotic association between government and politics. Recent assessments in political science offer yet another slant on the powers and abilities of government bodies. Some contemporary scholars argue that government is not designed to be merely responsive; nor, they assert, is government even neutral or benign. Instead these writers contend that government institutions and officeholders possess powerful tool for altering social, economic, and technological arrangements. Viewed as a multifaceted approach to the study of politics, public policy making is a way of

explaining the workings of modern government and the flow of political life (Gertson, 1997).

Branch Campuses

According to Dengerink, "branch" campuses are affiliated campuses of the flagship university located throughout their respective states. Dengerink (2001) discusses the idea of branch campuses as conceived by Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson wanted multiple campuses within a day's drive of a "higher education establishment" so that all Virginians would have this access. According to Dengerink (2001), branch campuses consist of research universities, community colleges, institutions within a statewide system, and extensions of individual universities. Branch campus characteristics include having "a primary goal of providing access to students who would not otherwise be able to participate in higher education; branch campuses impact urban villages economically; they are also important social and cultural resources that enhance the overall quality of life for the community, and they are centers of academic innovation...real life laboratories for students..." (Dengerink, 2001).

UT System Components

The University of Texas System did not use the term "branch campus" to identify other component institutions. It was not until April 2003 that the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board established policies designating types of educational units into four categories: higher education teaching sites, recognized higher education teaching sites, higher education centers, and branch/special purpose campuses (http://www.thecb.state.tx.us/DistanceEd/EdUnit.cfm). Currently, there is only one

educational unit designated as a branch campus in the state of Texas and that is the Rio Grande College of Sul Ross University, a member of the Texas State University System.

The development and location of the original University of Texas System components did not necessarily include the primary goal of providing access to students who would not otherwise be able to participate in higher education. Last year a San Antonio newspaper columnist stated "Our problem is that we've built campuses where there weren't students or for whomever was in political power at the time" (Guerra, 2004). In Texas, the historic predominance of racism in the realm of education warrants the need to document how one Texas city was able to succeed in creating not only one but two University of Texas System campuses in the same city.

Historical Accounts of Racism in Higher Education

In <u>The Emergence of the American University</u>, Laurence Veysey (1965) discusses how colleges and universities were created to educate "very distinct social classes." From the very beginning, their mission was to educate the sons of those who donated to the institution and those of wealthy businessmen, members of the clergy, and future teachers. As a result, wealth and status became one of the prerequisites for college accessibility. According to Veysey (1965), the role of higher education at that time was to maintain the "social order." The restriction of women and lower income, minority students at institutions of higher education became an accepted practice because these groups would not play a prominent role in society (Thelin, 1985). In the 17th, 18th, and most of the 19th centuries, higher education focused on the privileged few. The "educated" pioneers became the social, economic, religious, and political leadership of this country. Following the American Revolution, the Enlightenment era moved higher education's tradition from educating males to educating females as well (Rudolph, 1990). In the

1900s, lawsuits against educational institutions such as *Gaines v. Canada*, 1939; Sweat v. Painter, 1946, and Brown v. Board of Education, 1954 assisted minorities in gaining access to higher education (Garcia, 1997).

In Texas, The *Sweat v. Painter* case in 1946 helped set the stage for desegregation in the country's public universities (Express-News, 5/11/04). In the 1940s, there were no equal educational opportunities in the state of Texas. Gambitta (2001) states:

Texas was a society segregated on the basis of race in the 1940s. The Texas Constitution and statutes prohibited black and white children from attending schools together. Texas segregated its public universities, also. The state operated under a legal doctrine, constitutionally legitimized in *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896 known as 'separate but equal'. States could separate public facilities by race as long as they provided equal facilities for blacks and whites. In reality, public schools in Texas, as throughout the South were racially separate and unequal. The state enforced separation, but not equality.

In the late 1940s Heman Sweat, an African American, sued administrators and officials from the University of Texas and the State of Texas because he was denied admission to The University of Texas Law School. He alleged the University and the State had "violated his right to equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the U.S. and Texas Constitution" (Gambitta, 2001). His suit led to the landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision *Sweat v. Painter* (339 US 629 1950). After this decision, The University of Texas Law School and other component institutions did not exclude African Americans solely because of their race (Gambitta, 2001).

In the 1954 *Brown v Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (34705 483 1954) case, the Supreme Court ordered the racial desegregation of public schools throughout the South, including the segregated schools in Texas. This included public universities (Gambitta, 2001). Providing equal educational opportunities in Texas has been a challenge since the *Brown* case. Even though the Sweat case determined that University of Texas component institutions could not discriminate solely because of race, and the

Brown case ordered abolition of racial discrimination, it was not until the 1970s that the University of Texas School of Law, recognizing the discriminatory treatments that confronted minorities historically, initiated an affirmative action program that gave preferential treatment in the admissions process to African and Mexican Americans (Gambitta, 2001). Since the *Brown* case, public policy and how it relates to the higher education of minorities, has been crucial.

Affirmative Action

In 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson issued Executive Order 11246. This law required federal contractors to "take affirmative action to ensure equality of employment opportunity without regard to race, religion and national origin. In 1968, gender was added to the group. In 1978, the *Bakke* case "set the parameters of educational affirmative action" by declaring, "minority status could be used as a factor in admissions" (http://www.whitehouse.gov/WH/EOP/OP/html/aa/aa02.html). In 1996, 31 years after Johnson issued Executive Order 11246, and 18 years after the *Bakke* case, the *Hopwood vs. Texas* lawsuit ended the consideration of race at Texas public colleges and universities. This resulted in The University of Texas as well as other public universities in the state, eliminating race in applications for admissions and financial aid awards. The United States Supreme Court's landmark affirmative action ruling in summer of 2003 ruled "that minority applicants may be given an edge when applying for admissions to universities, but limited how much a factor race can play in the selection of students" (http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articlesA22477-

2003Jun23.html?nav=hptop_tb). Universities abolished affirmative action programs with the *Hopwood* decision and even though the decision was overturned with the Supreme Court's decision noted above, there are still universities who will not implement

affirmative action programs because they fear other potential lawsuits. In an effort to diversify their student body, public universities in Texas have been using the legislative response to the 1996 5th Circuit Court of Appeals' Hopwood decision to diversify enrollment (racially, economically, and geographically) known as the "10 percent rule". This policy gives seniors who graduate in the top ten percent of their class automatic admission to the state public university of their choice. According to an article in the Houston Chronicle (7/17/04), "While the top 10 percent plan is an important step in the right direction, it is time to make some adjustments that will results in a better funded, more equitable and inclusive higher education system." The results of this policy have been problematic. The percentage of freshmen that graduated in the top 10 percent of their class rose from 54 percent in 2002 to 70 percent in 2003 at The University of Texas at Austin, one of the state's flagship universities. Some charge this policy "rewards top graduates of mediocre schools but punishes better qualified, but lower-ranking grads of very competitive ones" (Express-News, 8/5/04).

During the 2005 state legislative session, Senator Jeff Wentworth proposed legislation to eliminate the 10 percent rule. So once again, accessibility to a comprehensive public university for minorities was at stake.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework for this study is based on the researcher's own ethnicity as a Mexican American female working as an administrator at the University of Texas at San Antonio Downtown Campus. When she graduated from high school, she attended a community college for two years then transferred to St. Mary's University, a private institution in San Antonio, Texas and majored in political science. In the late sixties, early seventies, San Antonio was home to four private universities - there were no

public institutions of higher learning. Going to the University of Texas at Austin was out of the question, because it was too far for her to travel and in those days, a good segment of Hispanic parents would not allow their children (especially female children) to move far from home even if it meant leaving home for a good education.

This study was envisioned when the researcher reviewed a case dealing with racial inequality in public schools. A couple of years ago, the *Brown vs. Board of Education* case celebrated its 50th anniversary. This case declared, "Separate education facilities are inherently unequal" and ordered the states to end segregation. In Texas, not only were segregated schools unequally financed but public colleges and universities were inaccessible to minorities as well. How could South Texas, where the majority of the population is minority, survive economically without institutions of higher education right in their back yard?

It is a well-known fact that one way to a better life is through education. Individuals who have a college education will earn significantly higher income than those who only have a high school diploma (McGlynn, 2001). Having a college degree is not only beneficial to an individual, but a community with an educated work force can acquire significant economic and social benefits (Ruppert, 2001). If there is no access to higher education, individuals and the community generally cannot advance as well economically. However, individuals living in South Texas did not have the opportunity to improve their socio-economic life because of the lack of public institutions of higher education in their communities. With these thoughts in mind, the researcher felt a fundamental need to explore the factors that led to legislation and resulted in the creation of a second UTSA campus in a South Texas city.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The South Texas Region is comprised mostly of a Hispanic population. It has the "state's least educated population, the state's poorest facilities, and the least capacity to generate local taxes to improve educational opportunities" (Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, 1993). A study conducted in 1993 found a direct relationship between distance to a comprehensive university and attendance. According to this report, the further a student has to drive to attend a comprehensive university, the less likely the student will attend classes. The report states:

Distance to a comprehensive university is more significantly related to the attendance of Hispanic students than to the attendance of non-Hispanic students. At 0 miles, Hispanics and non-Hispanic white students have about the same attendance rate (66%); but at 200 miles, non Hispanic white students have a higher rate of attendance than Hispanics (32% vs. 23%). Equal higher education access is particularly important when a region like South Texas has fallen behind in social and economic development. (Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, 1993).

For many years, local community leaders in San Antonio, Texas struggled to attain a four-year public university in their city. They recognized and acknowledged the need for an accessible public university and believed that a public university of higher education would not only enhance the quality of lives of its citizens, but would also stimulate economic development for the city. The University of Texas System had numerous components throughout the state of Texas. However, there were no public universities in San Antonio, one of the largest cities in the state.

CONTEXT OF THE PROBLEM

Historical Account of Discrimination in South Texas

The relationship between the Anglos and Mexicans who lived in the state of Texas in the late 19th century were nonproductive. There was a "race situation, whether

ethnic or national prejudice that provided a basis for separation and control" (Montejano, 1987). Texas Mexicans were treated as second-class citizens. On many ranches the Texas Mexicans had separate quarters from the Anglos and for the most part, Anglos were their bosses. According to Montejano, early in the 20th century, Texas Mexicans were viewed as racially inferior. The Anglo population believed Texas Mexicans should not have the rights of Americans even though they were also American citizens (Montejano, 1987).

To the early American settlers, the Mexicans were lazy, shiftless, jealous, cowardly, bigoted, superstitious, backward, and immoral. To the Mexicans, on the other hand, the Texans (Anglos), were "los diablos Tejanos"; arrogant, overbearing, aggressive, conniving, rude, unreliable, and dishonest (McWilliams, 1968).

In the same book, McWilliams writes of a Mexican ambassador to the area in 1882, who spoke of the "haughtiness of these republicans who will not allow themselves to look upon us as equals but merely as inferiors." Another Mexican official characterized Americans living in Texas as thinking of themselves as "superior to the rest of mankind..." (McWilliams, 1968). After the Texas Revolution "Texans could not get it out of their heads that their manifest destiny was to kill Mexicans and take over Mexico" (McWilliams, 1968). According to McWilliams,

The period from the close of the Civil War to 1880, there was nothing resembling "law and order" in the territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande where friction between Anglo and Hispano was intense and continuous...From 1908 to 1925, the whole border was aflame, once again, as revolution engulfed Mexico...In an editorial of November 18, 1922, the New York *Times* said that "the killing of Mexicans without provocation is so common as to pass almost unnoticed" – nearly a hundred years after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (McWilliams, 1968).

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed on February 2, 1848. In this treaty Mexico ceded the territories of California, Arizona, and New Mexico and also approved the prior annexation of Texas to the United States (McWilliams, 1968). Under this treaty, Mexicans living in any of these territories were to become citizens of the United States.

This treaty "provided specific guarantees for the property and political rights of the 'native' population and attempted to safeguard their cultural autonomy, that is, they were given the right to retain their language, religion, and culture" (McWilliams, 1968).

Between the 1920s and the 1940s, Mexicans were used extensively in the agriculture economy. "Grubbing brush," a Texan said, "is a Mexican job" (McWilliams, 1968). In the early 1900s there was no extensive collection of statistics regarding agriculture. However, by the 1940s the fruit and vegetable economy contributed more than a billion dollars to farm income. "Virtually all of this phenomenal increase in the Southwest was made possible by the use of Mexican labor" (McWilliams, 1968).

The political awakening of the Texas Mexicans in the late 1960s resulted in the development of a professional middle class (Montejano, 1987). According to Rosales (2000), two incidences provided opportunities for the Mexican American middle class to get involved politically in San Antonio. The first was the defeat of the old city political machine run by Anglo business leaders in the 1950s and the second was the growing Hispanic community. The formation of numerous veteran organizations was also an important factor in the demise of the old San Antonio political machine. World War II and the Korean Conflict created a group of politically conscious Mexican American veterans who protested against segregation. In San Antonio, the Mexican American veteran organizations included the Loyal American Democrats, the West Side Voters League, the Alamo Democrats, and the School Improvement League (Montejano, 1987). Prior to World War II, the San Antonio Mexican American community was comprised of a very small middle class who were not involved in direct political participation. After World War II, public policies created a more open political environment and the growing Hispanic middle class surfaced as a noticeable political force. A more competitive political arena eventually brought about independent political representation for the

Hispanic community, a situation that had never existed in San Antonio (Rosales, 2000). A reform-oriented group of Anglo businessmen formed the Good Government League (GGL) in 1955 and they recognized the implications of a politically active Mexican American community. The GGL was primarily interested in economic growth and desired a city free of political and social conflict. This group recruited black and Mexican American representatives to run on the GGL-sponsored tickets. According to Rosales, this was a significant departure from the standard political process of that time. "The conservative business element was convinced by the liberals within the reform coalition that all groups in the city – specifically blacks and Mexican Americans must progress together if San Antonio was to progress in general" (Rosales, 2000).

National/State Social Climate

The social climate of the 1960s was one filled with cries for equality from what became the Civil Rights Movement. President Lyndon Johnson, a native Texan, supported social policies that were crucial to the War on Poverty policies. The United States was involved in the Vietnam War, and farm worker strikes became commonplace in South Texas. The VIVA Kennedy campaign contributed to the victory of John F. Kennedy, showed the country the significance of the Mexican American vote, and demonstrated to Mexican Americans that "the grasp conservative Democrats had on local politics could be defeated" (Montejano, 1987). In an effort to continue the drive of the Kennedy triumph, the VIVA Kennedy campaign became a political coalition comprised of Mexican American leaders from the American GI Forum, the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), and other Hispanic coalitions (Montejano, 1987). Montejano (1987) believes "these environmental factors led to the development of the Chicano Civil Rights movement in Texas."

According to Bernal (1999),

Prior to the 1960s, most of all senior colleges were situated in small towns, mostly because a rurally-controlled legislature had placed them there...At this time Texas was affected positively by the so-called reapportionment revolution of the 1960s, considered to be the most important event for American state government since the Civil War. The U.S. Supreme Court had held in *Reynolds v.Sims* that both houses of the State Legislature had to be apportioned on the basis of the population. And subsequently, in *Kilgarlin et al. v. Martin et al.* a federal court in Houston declared invalid the Texas Constitution provision that no single county would be entitled to more than on Senator nor more than seven Representatives...After the special 1966 elections, resulting from the court cases, Bexar County would increase ins House representation from seven to 10 Representatives and its Senate membership would increase from one to two Senators...Significantly, big city representation would also include an increase in representation by African Americans and Mexican Americans.

For San Antonio leaders, the time was right to mobilize the forces that would bring about a public university.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROBLEM

This study was based on the premise that higher education provides a method by which individuals can start off on a level playing field. "Indisputably, improvements in the extent and quality of education will raise the economic prospects, well-being, and civic engagement of the Hispanic population in the U.S." (Fry, 2002). Although the Hispanic population continues to be the fastest-growing ethnic minority group in the United States, they also comprise the group with the lowest educational attainment (Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, 1993). Many observers have attributed this to factors such as discrimination and racism, and the complexity of social, economic, political, and historical forces that continue to influence the people of Texas and its institutions (Montejano, 1987). Without access to public higher education

institutions, the South Texas Region would continue to have a negative economic and social impact on the Hispanic community.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study was to explore the overarching policy formulation and activities that took place that resulted in the creation of a second UTSA campus in San Antonio, Texas. In the formulation of public policy, one has to take into account that

Each state's political culture is a combination of political history, social factors, and state values. Each state's political culture, along with a combination of history and social factors, is distinct. It formulates all state policies that include the system of higher education. For example, Texas individualism has contributed to the sprawling and decentralized nature of its college systems. The higher education regime, consisting of the key formally and informally empowered political actors of this state are composed of only a few of the state's legislators, higher education officials, and the governor who has a major influence over higher education policy. The making of policy is affected by the underlying presence of private sector leaders on governing boards involved in statewide policy-making decisions, and the features of each regime critically influence policy (Gittell & Kleiman, 2000).

This study examines South Texas' political culture, taking into consideration its political history and social factors that led to the formulation of public policy resulting in Hispanics having access to a comprehensive public institution of higher education in San Antonio, Texas.

RESEARCH QUESTION

The open-ended research question designed to guide this study is as follows:

What factors led to the development of public policy that resulted in the creation of a second UT System public university campus in downtown San Antonio?

The following inquiries guided the interview process:

- 1) When did this interest/movement occur?
- 2) Were there coalitions involved and how were they formed?
- 3) How did the formulation of policy process take place?
- 4) How did the community gain sufficient political power to influence policy?
- 5) How did the community maintain vigilance over legislative action?

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

This is a qualitative study that used Critical Race Theory, Gertson's "triggering mechanisms", and political theory to show how societal interactions resulted in public policy enactment that led to the creation of a second public university in San Antonio, Texas. The premise of the study is based on Critical Race Theory which questions "the very critical foundations of the liberal order, including equality theory, legal reasoning, Enlightenment rationalism, and neutral principles of constitutional law" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Gertson's triggering mechanisms is used as a model to illustrate how scope, intensity and timing of the community's interactions resulted in legislation that responded to their educational needs. Political theory is used to observe the legislators' behavior in the decision-making process.

Data for this study was collected during late summer and early fall of 2005. There were 15 members of the Bexar County Delegation in the 73rd Legislative Session. Since this study was based on the development of public policy, these individuals were selected to be interviewed because they were involved in the development of public

policy that created the UTSA Downtown Campus. Only 12 individuals were available for interviews because one of the members had passed away; one had relocated to Washington D.C. and although several attempts were made to locate an address, these attempts failed. The third individual was not available. Only five of those interviewed are still legislators.

The researcher sent letters to the participants explaining the research and requested an appointment for an interview one month in advance of the proposed interviews. Consent forms were also included in these letters. Phone calls were made; in some cases, it took several weeks to schedule an appointment for an interview due to the two special sessions that took place during the summer 2005. The interviews were conducted within one hour to a one-and-one-half hour time frame. All interviews were audio taped, transcribed, and analyzed. After each interview was transcribed it was sent to the respective legislator so that he or she could review the responses they provided. This process provided the study with trustworthiness by using member checking or respondent validation. The analysis of the data and research findings are provided in Chapter Four.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study is limited to 12 individuals, all members of the Bexar County Delegation of the 73rd Legislative Session. This study focuses on a small sample that was not randomly selected, but purposefully chosen to illuminate the research question.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

For the purposes of this study, *public policy* is defined as a "combination of decisions, commitments, and actions made by those who hold or affect government's positions of authority" (Gertson, 1997). The relationship between those who make policies and those who receive policies is an important factor in understanding the meaning and power of public policy. The results of these interactions between politics and government are known as public policies. Gertson (1997) suggests that public policy is an important in defining prevailing values (politics) as it is in defining solutions to prevailing problems (through government). He further states that "Values predetermine public policies" and that before any public policies are enacted, political activity occurs among government and society. The government's activity is as important as the activity that takes place in society. These interactions form the broad characteristic or any political activity (Ripley, 1997).

The word *process* distinguishes public policy from other methods of studying government and politics. According to Gertson (1997), a *process* is energetic and is continually being reevaluated. Public policy scholars agree on several assumptions of public policy; 1) that government activities and the commitments to those activities are important to the meaning of public policy; 2) that sizeable portions of society and its resources are affected by public policies; and that policy making is a process (Gertson, 1997; Ripley, 1997).

Access is defined as students having a university relatively close to their home environment. A 1993 report on accessibility to higher education in South Texas, states that there is no other state in which a large number of student travel more than 150 miles to attend a comprehensive university than in the South Texas Border Region (Hispanic Association of College and Universities, 1993).

The *Southwest Border Region* is comprised of 41 counties including Bexar County of which San Antonio is the largest city. San Antonio, Texas is an important feature of the South Texas Region. To place this Region in a geographical context, if one were to draw a line on a Texas map between El Paso and Corpus Christi, the area just south of this line is known as the South Texas Border Region. The 1993 HACU report found many discrepancies in cities located in the South Texas Border Region. For example, that study found that 20 percent of Texans live in this area, yet state funding to public universities in this is only 10 percent. The public university student population in the border area is 54 percent Hispanic, while Hispanics are only seven percent of the population in the rest of the state. The average public college or university student in the state travels 45 miles from his or her home to the nearest comprehensive public university. The average border area student travels 225 miles to their nearest comprehensive public university (Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, 1993).

Another term that should be defined is *equity*. While historically, equality has been inferred as "sameness or parity" between groups "along some agreed upon index, equity is seen as a check on the justice of specific actions that are carried out within the educational arena and the arrangements that results from those actions" (Secada, 1989). Equity becomes an issue when groups "are perceived as privileged or as benefiting more than other groups" (Harvey & Klein, 1989). The notion of affirmative action is a good example of this attitude. Many minority employees or students who have benefited from affirmative action live with the perception that he or she was only selected because of his or her minority status and not necessarily because of his or her employment or academic skills (Harvey & Klein, 1989). When a white employee/student is bypassed for minority, that white employee/student might feel angry and perceive minorities as being

"privileged". A result of this anger is exemplified by the 1996 *Hopwood vs. Texas* case, which ended the consideration of race in Texas colleges and universities.

The HACU report infers that the disparities between access and equity exist against a history of discriminatory treatment of Mexican Americans in the border area, and against a present climate of economic disadvantage for border area residents. "Access to degree programs and professional schools in the South Texas Region was and still is severely reduced" (Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, 1993).

The term *Hispanic* or *Mexican American* will be used interchangeably in this study. Both words are used to represent individuals living in the United States that are of Mexican ancestry.

The main campus of The University of Texas at San Antonio will be referred to as UTSA 1604 and the second UTSA campus will be referred to as UTSA Downtown.

SUMMARY

Chapter One presents a historical account of the state of racism present in Texas since the beginning of the republic and how the lack of public institutions of higher learning in the South Texas Region may have been a result of this persistent racism. This chapter also reviews literature that stresses the political awakening of the minority population in the late 1960s that led to major national public policy legislation in the areas of civil rights, the War on Poverty, and Affirmative Action. Although the Hispanic population continues to be the fastest-growing ethnic minority group in the United States, it is also the group with the lowest educational attainment. Without access to comprehensive public universities for minorities, the South Texas Region will continue to

have a negative economic and social impact not only on the population of South Texas but for the state of Texas as well.

The Literature Review in Chapter Two is presented in four sections. Section One focuses on literature related to the development of public policy at the state level. Section Two provides information on the development of branch campuses designed to be responsive to urgent community demands for access to convenient and relevant educational programs, and case studies of higher education systems and their branch campuses located throughout the United States. Section Three reviews materials regarding the historical development of The University of Texas System components, including the political process involved in the creation of the University of Texas at San Antonio 1604 Campus. Section Four presents the theoretical framework for this study.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

OVERVIEW

The Mexican American population is the fastest growing minority group with the lowest educational attainment in the country (Fry, 2002). Many attribute this to the extremely complex social, economic, political, and historical forces that have, and continue to shape the people of Texas and its institutions (South Texas Conference Committee, 2000). In South Texas, Hispanics comprise about 60 percent of the population while Anglos are only 37 percent. Income levels in this area are lower than those found in the remainder of the state. According to a 2000 Conference Report, "Nearly 45 percent of the population in the Border Region is at or below the poverty level" and one-fourth of the workforce has less than a high school education (South Texas Conference Coordinating Committee, 2000). This report further states, "Education and training of the region's human resources...is the key to the region's long term growth."

In Texas, 40 academies, 41 colleges, 30 institutions and eight educational associations were charted between 1845 and 1876; none were located in South Texas (Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, 1993). The only state-funded universities found in the border region by the 1920s were Texas A& I and the Texas College of Mines (now known as the University of Texas at El Paso). While urging the growth of higher education, Texas officials committed Mexican Americans in South Texas to fewer campuses with narrower missions and consequently to smaller budgets and fewer program offerings.

This Literature Review provides a backdrop for the complexities involved in access to comprehensive public universities by Mexican Americans living in the South

Texas Region. This review is divided into four sections. Section One: Public Policy in Higher Education contains relevant information regarding public policy development in the field of education. This section provides information on how the discipline of public policy developed under the field of political science. Section Two: Higher Education Systems and their Branch Campuses. This Section provides brief information regarding state higher education systems that have a large Hispanic population. Section Three: Historical Development of University of Texas System Components provides chronological information and the location of each of the UT System components as well as the dynamics involved in the creation of The University of Texas at San Antonio 1604 campus. Section Four: Theoretical Framework discusses Critical Race Theory (CRT), Gertson's triggering mechanisms, and political theory and explains why these theories were utilized in the methodology of this study and in the analysis of the data.

SECTION ONE: PUBLIC POLICY IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Early in its history, institutions of higher education operated without any government interference. Higher education considered itself "above the world of law and lawyers" (Kaplan & Lee, 1995). As government started allocating budgetary resources to public universities both in terms of fiscal appropriations and financial assistance for students, the relationship between higher education and government grew closer. The effects public policies affecting higher education have been making headlines especially now when states are cutting higher education budgets to balance their own state budgets and dealing with affirmative action issues at their respective universities.

In conducting a literature search regarding public policy and how it affects institutions of higher education, the investigator found that most contemporary higher education literature concentrates on management and the decision-making process rather

than determining how systems operate in relation to state government and how decisions made by legislative bodies effect local institutions of higher education (Gittell & Kleiman, 2000).

Historically, as the relationship between society and all of its public entities became more complex and more interdependent, public policy discipline developed and it quite naturally fell under the field of political science. A more comprehensive assessment of what governments do needed to be investigated and therefore, agencies of public policy emerged as a result (Gertson, 1997). During the 19th and 20th centuries, representative governments evolved that increased political participation by extending political rights (such as voting) to more segments of the larger population. Government decisions assumed greater importance and legitimacy. Divergent values relating to social, economic, and political questions had profound consequences for politics and governments. With these changes, government began to play a greater role relating to problems the public encountered (Gertson, 1997).

In the early 1900s, American political scientists analyzed government in the context of its three major branches: the executive, the legislative, and the judicial functions. While such studies were useful in describing the powers of each branch, these studies did not include information relating to the political process. Half-century later, political scientists enhanced their perception of government, concluding that political institutions "operate to order the relationships among various groups in society" (Gertson, 1997).

Other literature focuses on the relationship between government activities such as political parties or public opinion. This development revealed the close connection between government and politics. Recent studies in political science contend that governmental institutions and policy makers possess powerful tools for altering "social,"

economic, and technological arrangements" (Gertson, 1997). The issues of tuition increase and affirmative action affect quite a large number of people in society. There are other issues such as in defense and taxation that affect almost everyone. Policies in such areas result from interactions among those who demand change, those who make the decisions, and those who are affected by the policy. The linkage between policy makers and those affected by those policies is vital to understanding the meaning and powers of public policy (Gertson, 1997).

Public policy making explains how the government works and the political process takes place. According to the literature, public policy has almost as many definitions as there are policy issues. For instance, the institutionalists view public policy as a factor of identified rules and procedures while behavioralists view it as a result of communication among forceful bodies that may not have anything to do with government (Gertson, 1997). While there is little agreement among scholars on the framework of public policy, Anderson (1997), defines public policy as an "interdisciplinary field of inquiry that draws upon research in the social sciences and is most often associated with the study of public administration". He suggests that policy, broadly defined, can be thought of as government relating to its constituents. The field of higher education falls within the realm of public policy (Gittell & Kleiman, 2000).

This study uses Anderson's definition to examine how San Antonio constituencies interacted with a varied of entities to voice their needs for a public university and how in turn state legislators responded to their request by developing requisite public policy. According to Anderson (1997), "policy is a specific course of action that attempts to address an issue of concern." In San Antonio's case, it was a culmination of interactions between community leaders and state legislators, and perhaps even a lawsuit that brought

the need for a public university to the forefront and eventually resulted in a second University of Texas at San Antonio campus.

Anderson (1997) further states, "Good policy will be achieved through open dialogue among the many stakeholders who recognize and understand the difference among one another's roles, needs, and expectations". Policy makers acknowledge these differences and respond to the actions and exchanges of both the community and governments in a mutually dependent manner. Easton (1965), another scholar of public policy, suggests that public policies are the result of the blending of politics and government. He defines politics as "the authoritative allocation of values" and suggests that the values of some segment of society will often be more significant regarding a policy than the values of others. This was the case in San Antonio, where the community believed that UTSA's location (approximately 18 miles from downtown San Antonio) was inaccessible to the very constituents they were trying to serve.

Values, the extent of a crisis, and other factors enter into the equation that determines how legislators commit resources to some policies and not to others. For example, during the 2003 Texas legislative session, legislators had to determine what programs and services to fund and which to eliminate in an effort to balance the state's budget. Unfortunately, the state's public universities experienced major funding cuts that ultimately resulted in the deregulation of tuition at state universities. That in turn, resulted in universities increasing student tuition to make up for the deficit.

Although public policy includes a variety of public needs, the types of issues can be separated into two groups: substantive and symbolic (Gertson, 1997). Substantive issues are those areas of controversy that have a major impact such as welfare reform, civil rights, legislation, and environmental protection. Because of their far-reaching

agenda, substantive issues are usually not easy to resolve and may remain on the public agenda for long periods of time. According to Rahm (2004),

Education is the single largest area of expenditure for the states. Slightly more than one third of all state expenditure goes to support elementary and higher education. Education served an essential function in this nation of immigrants. One of the major outcomes of universal free public education was the assimilation of the children of newly arrived immigrants into the majority population. Schools acted as leveling fields that created a unified American citizenry who spoke the same language, read the same literature, knew the same history, and honored the same heroes.

She further states:

Education is one of the exceptions to the demand for limited government prevalent in the United States. Part of the reason Americans support government provision of education is the belief in equality of opportunity...Support for education in the United States has been intimately linked to the general belief in providing each citizen with the tools necessary for personal achievement (Rahm, 2004).

Public policies that leveled the playing field for minorities such as affirmative action in higher education have been in the public agenda for quite a long time and the development of public policies that decrease state funding for state universities will continue to make headlines. In the area of public policy,

One has to be aware that each state's political culture is a combination of political history, social factors, and state values. Each state's political culture, along with a combination of history and social factors, is distinct. It formulates all state policies that include the system of higher education. Higher education administrators, state legislators, and the governor are all involved in the policy-making process (Gittell & Kleiman, 2000).

This study takes into account the state's distinct political culture, its history of discrimination, social factors and the policy-making process that led to a successful campaign for a second public university in San Antonio, Texas.

SECTION TWO: HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEMS AND THEIR BRANCH CAMPUSES

The current organization of public higher education in each state "is a hierarchy dominated by land-grant and research universities. Changing the economic environments and student demographics has rendered the caste system of public higher education ineffective in meeting these needs" (Stocum, 2001). According to the editor (Holland, 2001) of Metropolitan Universities: An International Forum, a shift in the growth patterns and in a progressively more diverse and multicultural society has led to the development of branch campuses. In the editorial she states "Students living and working in these large urban areas want quality, value, and convenience. They want access to education on their terms, at a time, and place that matches their needs and the competing demands of family and work." Many states have responded by creating new branch campuses in areas that line up with "population trends and economic expansion" (Holland, 2001). According to Holland, branch campuses are a response to changing public demands and may begin "as a response to strong legislative pressure to provide educational services for a particular workforce or economic development strategy or branches can be a competitive action by an older institution seeking to capture a new market niche to expand revenues and enrollment. A branch campus often develops deep relationships with business, civic, and political leaders in their community, which may also create tensions with the main campus" (Holland, 2001). The following discussion addresses case studies of state university systems with branch campuses. Three of these systems are located in the northeastern part of the country, one in Florida while the remaining systems are located in southwestern United States. These states were selected because they have a large Hispanic student population.

A case study regarding collaborative efforts among branch campuses includes five academic institutions in Boston that resulted in "improved applications and admissions

processes, a more efficient commonality and articulation of curricula across the participating institutions" (Penney, 2001). Two representatives from each institution are part of an executive committee that sets yearly goals, "appoints members for various task forces and study, policy, and planning groups; monitors and evaluates their work; and ensures that various institutional policies and decision-making procedures are considered. This collaborative invited active participation of many throughout all ranks of the institutions; the collaborative led to an improved educational system and better service to students as well as greater retention and graduation rates" (Penney, 2001).

The State of New York System

The State of New York System is a case in which there are over 1,600 individual sites where students can acquire a college education. "In the 1960s, when the (State Education) Department adopted standards of quality for undergraduate programs...most instruction took place on colleges' or universities' main or branch campuses. 'Off-campus' instruction at extension centers was seen as an adjunct to main or branch campus instruction. Extension centers were defined as being 'limited and temporary and for the convenience of students.' In the 1970s, many educators were concerned about creating an unnecessary duplication of service and the quality of service provided. Significant expansion of off-campus instruction in the 1970s required the establishment of appropriate standards. This led the Board of Regents to adopt Part 54 of the Commissioner's Regulations in 1980, which defined the parameters for all campus instruction. This included "a branch campus, an extension center, and an extension site" (http://www.regents.nysed.gov/2003Meetings/September 2003/0903hepd4.htm). Their site definitions are similar to those attributed to off-site locations by the University of Texas System (see below). In 2003 the New York State Department developed a task

force to examine trends and other issues regarding off-campus instruction. The main objective of this exercise was to "engage the State's colleges and universities to work together for the educational benefit of the State and the financial health of New York's coordinated system of higher education." The task force was charged with providing advice regarding branch campus standards that would assure that New York State colleges and the State Education Department off-campus site programs (i.e., main campus, branch campus, and extension center or extension site), would foster student success. The other charge was to provide guidelines for academic and planning reviews of off-campus sites and programs. Their findings are not available at this time.

The University of the State of New York includes more than 7,000 public and private elementary and secondary schools; 248 public and private colleges and universities, 251 proprietary schools as well as museums, special education services, etc. (http://usny.nysed.gov/aboutusny.html)

Distinct from USNY is The State University of New York (SUNY). SUNY is the state's system of public colleges and universities, a component of The University of State of New York, but a separate and independent organization with its own administration. Its 64 "geographically dispersed campuses bring educational opportunity within commuting distance to virtually all New Yorkers and comprise the nation's largest comprehensive system of public higher education." With a total enrollment of 410,000 students in 6,688 degree and certificate programs, SUNY has an 18.6 percent minority enrollment.

The University of Michigan System

The University of Michigan System has three university campuses; the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor (considered the flagship university), The University of Michigan – Flint, and The University of Michigan – Dearborn.

The University of "Michigania" was established by a legislative act in 1817 and in 1837 Ann Arbor was chosen as the permanent site for the University of Michigan. According to their web site, The University of Michigan "is one of America's great public universities and one of the world's premiere research institutions." Their combined enrollment at all campuses is 53,000, with 38,000 students enrolled at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. (http://www.umich.edu/news/index.html?umfacts).

The Flint campus started as a two-year senior college and in 1964 it became a four-year university. "Responding to the needs of the community, the Board commissioned an Academic Planning Board to identify major areas of program development. In 1971, the name of the university was changed to the University of Michigan-Flint. As a result of continued growth and support from the community, the university has undertaken major construction projects. In 2002, the university acquired an additional 25 acres to support its growth. Student enrollment is at approximately 6,600. (http://www.umflint.edu/discover_UM-Flint/history.php).

The University of Michigan-Dearborn campus was founded in 1959 when the Ford Motor Company donated 196 acres of land for the purpose of establishing a local campus of the University of Michigan. This campus offers undergraduate and graduate, and professional education to a diverse student body and has a current enrollment of 8,500 students. Both the Flint and Dearborn locations are known as regional campuses of the University of Michigan. (http://www.umd.umich.edu/about/overview.html). These campuses are somewhat independent of each other; however the chancellors from the

Flint and Dearborn campuses report to the President of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. All three campuses have their own budgets.

Florida's State University System

Florida's State University System consists of ten public universities within which minorities make up 35 percent of the overall undergraduate enrollment. In 1999, Governor Jeb Bush, in response to the elimination of affirmative action, implemented the One Florida Initiative that admits the top one percent of graduating high school seniors to the university of their choice. In Florida, some educators have noted, "That the academic quality of Florida's high school varies widely. Critics of this admissions policy claim that minority students covered by the rule are graduating from high school without enough credits and, whatever their grades, would be excluded from college for that reason" (Bragg, 1999). Three states, California, Texas, and Florida, implemented percentage plans that guaranteed admission to the state university systems for graduating seniors. California adopted the Top Four-Percent Rule; Texas, the Top Ten- Percent Rule, and Florida implemented the Top Twenty-Percent Rule. These percentage plans were developed in an effort to diversify their student bodies after the elimination of affirmative action programs. A criticism of the percentage plans is reflected in the plight of some California and Florida students who qualify for admissions under these plans yet end up in these states' lower-tier institutions such as Santa Cruz, Riverside, the Florida Gulf Coast University or the University of North Florida rather than these systems' flagship institutions. This problem is repeated in Texas where the University of Texas at Austin recently had 70 percent of its entering freshmen admitted under the Ten Percent Plan, leaving other very well qualified students looking to enroll elsewhere. A consequence of

these plans is further complicated for minorities in gaining access to the more prestigious institutions.

The California State University System and The University of California System

One of the largest branch campus systems in the country is the California State University System. This system is comprised of 23 campus locations. According to their website, CSU is "the largest, most diverse, and one of the most affordable university systems in the country" (http://www.calstate.edu). The State of California also has another large higher education system, The University of California System. The UC System is comprised of eight institutions: Berkeley, Davis, Irvine, Los Angeles, Riverside, San Diego, Santa Barbara and Santa Cruz; one health science campus and numerous research facilities. This system's most prestigious institutions are the University of California – Berkeley and the University of California – Los Angeles. The University of California System is held in higher esteem that those institutions in the California State University System. It is interesting to note one year after Proposition 209 (elimination of affirmative action) was implemented, overall minority enrollment dropped significantly at these two top institutions. The elimination of affirmative action in 1997 had a major impact on minority enrollment at flagship institutions in the University of California System. Enrollments have increased at the smaller University of California system branches that led Dr. Theodore Mitchell, vice chancellor for external affairs at UCLA to say, "The most devastating possible outcome is that the UC becomes a segregated system in which students of color are clustered in a few campuses, and Asian students and whites, cluster in other campuses" (Ball, 2000). A report prepared by the Tomas Rivera Policy Institute reveals that three out of every four Hispanics and

African-American applicants are now rejected from these flagship institutions. It concludes by stating that if acceptance rates had remained the same in 1999 as they were in 1997, 5,382 more Latino and African American students would be attending the University of California (Tomas Rivera Policy Institute, 2000).

According to an article in the San Antonio Express-News (Guerra, 2004) California's high rankings in the U.S. News & World Report are attributed to that state's long-term commitment to "fostering excellence in several of its universities and building new top-end schools where none existed." The article further noted that the "California higher education system is organized into a three-tier system that concentrates doctoral resources in the University of California System, masters and bachelors programs in the California State System and two-year schools into a community college system" (Guerra, 2004).

The Arizona State University

In the southwestern United States, state university systems with branch campuses and large Hispanic student populations include Arizona State University and New Mexico State University. Arizona State University is considered a Research I university with a student population of 54,226 at three campuses. Their main campus is located in Tempe; Arizona State University West is located in Phoenix and Arizona State University East is located in Mesa. There are numerous "extended campus" locations throughout the state. Arizona State University serves over 47,000 students and provides undergraduate and graduate programs with 48 doctoral or terminal degrees. Arizona State University West has over 6,600 undergraduate and graduate students enrolled, offering both bachelors and masters degree programs. Arizona State East is the smallest of the three institutions with approximately 3,100 students enrolled. In an effort to provide

access to higher education for working adults, there is also an Arizona State University Extended Campus located in downtown Phoenix. This campus provides flexible schedules, evening and weekend classes, and Internet programs (http://www.asu.edu/campuses/).

The New Mexico State University System

The New Mexico State University System consists of the flagship university, New Mexico State University in Albuquerque, and four branch community colleges: the Alamogordo Campus, the Carlsbad Campus, the Dona Ana Branch Community College, and the Grants Campus; 12 off-campus agricultural science centers that are located throughout the state, and Cooperative Extension Service offices located in every county of the state. New Mexico State University started as an agricultural college and preparatory school in 1888. According to its web site, "It is the only land-grant institution that is also classified as Hispanic-serving by the federal government and ranked by the Carnegie Foundation in the top research category..." The total Fall 2003 enrollment was 23,578, for all campuses. A little over 16,000 were enrolled at the main campus in Las Cruces. Minority enrollment at the main campus is more than 48%. The branch campuses of Alamogordo, Carlsbad, Grants, and Dona Ana all offer two-year programs. Classes for the New Mexico State University – Alamogordo were initially held at Alamogordo High School. The goal of this program was to serve civilian and military personnel from Holloman Air Force Base. It currently has an enrollment of approximately 2,000 students. "Every possible effort is being made to keep programs and curricula flexible in order to accommodate varied and expanding community educational needs" (http://alamo.nmsu.edu/about/index.html).

New Mexico State University-Carlsbad is another two-year branch community college with a student population of 1,200. It offers adult basic education services, developmental studies that assist student with basic skills to succeed in college, certificate programs, and associate degrees. According to their web site "NMSU-Carlsbad is a dynamic, quality-driven institution serving the rapidly changing community needs..." (http://128.123.60.174/exec/about_nmsu.htm). Dona-Ana Branch Community College was established in 1973 to provide vocational training programs, occupational certificates, and associate degrees and New Mexico State University at Grants was established in 1968 and awards associate degrees and certificate programs.

The University of Houston System

The University of Houston System is a smaller higher education system with branch campuses in the state. It is comprised of four universities and two multi-institution teaching centers. These include the University of Houston, UH-Clear Lake, UH-Downtown, UH-Victoria, UH System at Cinco Ranch and UH System at Sugarland. Although the University of Houston and the University of Houston Downtown are located in the same city, these two campuses were operating independently of each other prior to the creation of the UH System. "The four universities were already operating as a 'group' when the UH System was formally established in 1977 by state law" (http://www.uhsa.uh.edu/univ and prog/). The University of Houston is considered the flagship institution, while the four branch universities are considered independent campuses with their own presidents and budgets.

In Texas, system universities located in different cities are not known as branches like they are in other states. The reason is that the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board did not provide a definition of off-campus education units until they revised the

rules governing such institutions in April 2003. At that time, the Coordinating Board established policies that designated types of educational units into four categories: "higher education teaching sites, *recognized* higher education teaching sites, higher education centers, and branch/special purpose campuses" (http://www.thecb.state.tx.us/DistanceEd/EdUnit.cfm). By this time, UT System universities were already known as *components* of the system and not *branches*. Only time will tell if UT System institutions other than the flagship, UT Austin, will be known as branch campuses. Currently, there is only one educational unit designated as a branch campus in the entire state of Texas and that is the Rio Grande College of Sul Ross University, a member of the Texas State University System.

The University of Texas System

Another large higher education system with numerous institutions is The University of Texas System. It is comprised of nine "component institutions" and six health institutions. Each institution is an independent component with its own president and its own budget; each is located in a separate community, with the exception of the University of Texas at San Antonio, which has two UTSA integrated (as opposed as stand alone) campuses in the same city. UTSA is unique in that the same president administers both the 1604 Campus and the Downtown Campus. UTSA Downtown is not independent like the University of Houston Downtown Campus, which has its own president and its own budget. The administration of the UTSA 1604 and UTSA Downtown campuses are managed by the same president and vice presidents whose offices are located at the 1604 campus. The day-to-day operations at the Downtown Campus are managed by a vice provost whose office is at UTSA Downtown.

Definition of Educational Units in Texas

In 2003, the Coordinating Board defined the educational units as follows. A Higher Education Teaching Site is

An off-campus teaching location that promotes access in an area not served by other public universities. Teaching sites offer a very limited array of courses and/or programs and do not entail a permanent commitment for continued service. Teaching sites may not own facilities, nor are they eligible for state support to acquire or build facilities. Teaching sites do not require Board approval or recognition (http:///.thecb.state.tx.us/DistanceEd/EdUnit.cfm).

A *Recognized* Higher Education Teaching Site is a location

That is recognized by the Coordinating Board and is included in the Coordinating Board's inventory of statewide teaching sites. If several programs are offered at a teaching site, the parent institution(s) may request that the location become a recognized teaching site (http://www.thecb.state.tx.us/DistanceEd/EdUnit.cfm).

Higher Education Centers:

Must be established by the Texas Legislature or approved by the Coordinating Board for the specific purpose of offering academic credit courses and programs from the parent institution(s). Higher education centers are of a larger size and offer a broader array of courses and programs than higher education teaching sites. They have minimal administration and (usually) locally provided facilities (http://www.thecb.state.tx.us/DistanceEd/EdUnit.cfm).

There are three categories of higher education centers: the Multi-institution Teaching Center which operates under a formal agreement "between two or more public higher education institutions"; the University System Center is one that is managed by a university system or individual institution in a system; and the Single Institution Center is directed by an individual institution. According to these classifications, UTSA Downtown could be considered a Single Institution Center. However, it could also be considered a branch campus as the Coordinating Board has defined branch campus to mean "a major, secondary location of an institution offering multiple programs, usually with its own administrative structure and usually headed by a dean. A branch campus must be established by the Legislature or approved by the Coordinating Board"

(http://www.thecb.state.tx.us/DistanceEd/EdUnit.cfm). The Special Purpose Campus is "a major secondary location of an institution offering programs related to specific and limited field(s) of study, usually with its own administrative structure and usually headed by a Dean. Regional Academic Health Centers are considered special-purpose campuses" (http://thecb.state.texas.us/DistanceEd/EdUnit.cfm).

In summary, it seems that in most university systems the development of branch campuses has targeted an academic need in a specific geographical area or where legislators wanted to provide educational access to changing economic environments and student demographics. However, in Texas the evolution of branch campuses appears to be different. An article referencing several top Texas administrators, stated that in Texas "there are 35 universities that are scattered without rhyme or reason, among six systems with no clearly defined missions...Our problem is that we've built campuses where there weren't students or for whomever was in (political) power at the time" (Guerra, 2004). What is unique to this particular study is that San Antonio is the only city in Texas with two integrated UT System components or as Dr. Ricardo Romo, UTSA president, likes to say, "One university, three campuses" (as the Institute of Texan Cultures is also considered one of the campuses of The University of Texas at San Antonio).

SECTION THREE: HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE UT SYSTEM UNIVERSITIES

According to Marshall & Rossman (1995), "Historical research traditions demand procedures to verify the accuracy of statements about the past, to establish relationships, and to determine the direction of cause-effect relationships. In fact, many research studies have a historical base or context, so systematic historical analysis enhances the trustworthiness and credibility of a study." In an effort to grasp what Mexican Americans

have experienced in the area of higher education, one must understand the social and political environment that existed in the South Texas Region between the 19th and 20th centuries and how South Texas Region was left without comprehensive institutions of higher education.

A review of the literature indicates that higher education in the state of Texas began with Article VII in the Texas Constitution of 1876 (The University of Texas System, 1999). According to this Act, the legislature was to "establish, organize and provide for the maintenance, support, and direction of a university of the first class to be located by the vote of the people in this State..." (The University of Texas System, 1999). In 1881, the 17th legislature passed an act creating the University of Texas and a medical school, which were the first of many University of Texas System components established over the past 125 years. The University of Texas was located in Austin and the Medical School in Galveston, Texas. The governance of the University of Texas System, which included both campuses, was granted by the legislature to the Board of Regents in 1881.

The literature provides the following chronology of the development of other UT System components. In 1913, the Texas state legislature created the Texas School of Mines and Metallurgy in El Paso and placed it under the Board of Regents. In 1919, the 36th legislature renamed the Texas School of Mines, The College of Mines and Metallurgy and is now known as The University of Texas at El Paso. In 1941, the Texas State Cancer Hospital (now The University of Texas MD Anderson Cancer Center) became a part of the University of Texas by act of the 47th Legislature. By 1943, the 48th Legislature added the Dental Branch in Houston and the Southwestern Medical School in Dallas. In 1959, the legislature created the South Texas Medical School that is now part of the University of Texas Health Science Center at San Antonio. In 1965, the University

of Texas at Arlington was transferred to the University of Texas System from the Texas A & M System. By 1969, the University of Texas at Dallas, The University of Texas at Permian Basin, and The University of Texas at San Antonio were established. Unfortunately, the researcher found little written history regarding the creation of these campuses.

The Creation of a Public University in South Texas

With the establishment of the South Texas Medical School in 1959, "Charles LaMaistre, then Vice Chancellor for Health Affairs for the UT System, recalled...that what he and Regents Frank Erwin and John Peace had in mind for the UTSA was, indeed, a University of the first class, plus a law school. They wanted a UT of Austin model for Hispanics in San Antonio" (Bernal, 1999). Governor John Connally announced to the 59th Legislature that he wanted "a new institution in San Antonio concentrating in technical and scientific education" (Bernal, 1999). Senator Franklin Spears interpreted Connally suggestion for this university to be an adjunct to the medical school and not necessarily an institution of higher education. In 1965, Spears introduced a resolution asking the newly formed Coordinating Board to conduct a feasibility study regarding San Antonio's need for a public university (Bernal, 1999). The Board investigated the need for new institutions of higher learning in cities that did not already have state-supported, degree-granting institutions (Cardozier, 1988). The Coordinating Board's committee focused on Dallas, San Antonio, Corpus Christi, Houston, and the Midland-Odessa area. Public hearings were held throughout the state. Representatives of community colleges argued against the establishment of four-year colleges fearing a loss of enrollment. (Cardozier, 1988).

This feasibility study reported that San Antonio "did not merit a four-year public university" (Bernal, 1999). With this result, Spears ran for "statewide office to challenge the findings for the report in the legislature" (Bernal, 1999) and in 1967, the Coordinating Board "stuck to its mandate that no IHE (institutions of higher education) would be allowed." This motivated State Representative Frank Lombardino to introduce HB42 that called for a public university in San Antonio (Bernal, 1999). In January 1969, Lombardino recruited the majority of the House of Representatives as allies of the bill. According to Bernal (1999), "On March 19, 1969 (when the bill came up for consideration on the House floor) it took but five minutes as House members shouted their approval" (Bernal, 1999).

The Senate still had to pass the bill. According to Bernal (1999), "Important behind the scenes lobbying efforts were key to successfully passing the bill...one of the most important and unlikely allies was Frank Erwin, then The University of Texas Board of Regents Chairman." Erwin was seeking re-appointment as chair of the Board of Texas (Bernal, 1999). Erwin approached Bernal, then a state senator, and asked Bernal to support him in the Senate Confirmation Process. "I informed Erwin that if I voted for him I would be inviting the wrath of most of my friends" (Bernal, 1999). Erwin told Bernal, "Anything that you need or want and if it is within my power, I'll have it done for you" (Bernal, 1999). As part of their understanding, Bernal agreed to vote for Erwin's reappointment as Regent Chair and Erwin agreed to testify for the UTSA bill in both the House and the Senate (Bernal, 1999). Although Bernal's Senate colleagues did not like the agreement because it meant loosing one of the 11 votes needed to block Erwin's renomination, they understood (Bernal, 1999). In 1969, the Coordinating Board reassessed the need for a public university in San Antonio and this time, the results were favorable (Bernal, 1999). The much-awaited university was born.

By the 1960s, more Mexican Americans were getting involved in San Antonio politics and their participation in the political process made local legislators listen to their request for a public university in San Antonio. According to information retrieved from the archives of The University of Texas at San Antonio, UTSA was established in 1969 as "a coeducational institution of higher learning in Bexar County. The Texas legislature mandated that it be "a university of the first class and offer degrees as are granted at leading American universities"

(http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/view/UU/kcu13.html).

Ten potential locations for UTSA were reviewed by the Board of Regents ranging from downtown sites to areas outside the city limits. Accessibility to this university by "the kind of student who needs to be served" was the point echoed by many in the community (De Oliver, 1999). Concern over space limitation eliminated the possible downtown sites (HemisFair Plaza and San Antonio College). Bexar County offered 378 acres (Southton site) which was ten minutes south of downtown that was accessible "to traffic from the entire county" (De Oliver, 1999). "The result was that the interests of large-landholders on the urban periphery quickly challenged proximity to lower-income and non-Anglo urban populations as the pivotal factor in the site selection (De Oliver, 1999). In 1969, a donation of 600 acres (Delevan site) in northwest San Antonio, just inside North Loop 1604, was accepted by the University of Texas Board of Regents for its site (University of Texas at San Antonio, 1994). In June 1969, the 61st Texas Legislature established the University of Texas at San Antonio. In May 1970, the University of Texas System accepted 600 acres of land located in far northwest San Antonio for the UTSA site (The University of Texas at San Antonio, 1994). The site was 18 miles from downtown San Antonio and from San Antonio's minority constituencies, many of whom resided in San Antonio's urban east, south, and west sides. The community now had a public university; however, a sector of the San Antonio community was not convinced that its location was accessible to its minority constituencies. This sector continued its struggle for an accessible four-year public university – which for them meant, a university located in or near downtown San Antonio.

The Law Suit

While San Antonians now had a public university, the majority of the community resented its location. The community believed the university's location was both geographically and "psychologically" removed from the minority constituencies it had planned to serve. In 1984, Mayor Henry Cisneros created the Education Task Force of the *Target '90 Goals for San Antonio*. One of the recommendations was to establish a "major educational satellite of the University of Texas at San Antonio ... at HemisFair Plaza (located in downtown San Antonio)...Eventually, this became one of the goals of the Target '90 Executive Committee and Mayor Cisneros" (Berriozabal, 1999). According to Berriozabal (1999),

Of major significance (in the establishment of the Downtown Campus) was the suit filed on November 21, 1991 by The Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund. Another was the development of a critical mass of political clout of Latino members of our Bexar County Legislative Delegation. The two combined with the growing community pressure from San Antonio converged in the final push.

In January 1992, the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and the American GI Forum filed litigation against the Texas state governor Ann Richards to address the violation of Mexican Americans' constitutional rights (Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, 1993). One of these rights included having a US border

with unequal access to a public university of the first class. The lawsuit stated that the Legislature failed to:

Provide for an efficient system of public universities and had not provided substantially equal access to people of the state; the state could have reasonably located and developed university programs to provide more equal access to higher education of Mexican Americans in the border; and the Higher Education Coordinating Board has undertaken policies and practices that impaired the availability of legal education to Mexican Americans (Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, 1993).

The facts of the case were that:

The South Texas Border Region, the Mexican American region of Texas, is a region of great poverty and great potential; there has been a long history of discrimination against Mexican Americans in the Border Region; the structure of the Texas Higher Education System shows lack of opportunity in Mexican American populated areas; the Mexican American population in the Border Region does not have a wide range of doctoral, masters, and bachelors programs as has the rest of the state; Mexican Americans are negatively affected by the location of comprehensive research universities and professional schools; there is a great demand for more academic programs in the Border Region; and the lack of higher education opportunities in the Border Region has a negative economic impact and social impact upon Mexican Americans. (Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, 1993).

In the *LULAC v. Richards* case, LULAC won in district court on the theories of equal protection, the lack of efficiency in the state higher education system, and equal access to a university of the first class. It was found that 2 ½ million Mexican Americans in the Texas border area simply did not have the same access to higher education programs, especially graduate and professional programs, as did the rest of the people in the state of Texas. The district court held that The University of Texas System did not provide substantially equal access to communities in various parts of Texas, and that it violated the provision in the Texas Constitution that every citizen has access to a university of the first class. This case was appealed and the Supreme Court of Texas reversed the trial court's decision and rendered in favor of the defendants on February 2, 1994 (West Texas Cases, 1994). The Texas Supreme Court found that

Evidence was insufficient to establish that Texas university system's policies and practices were in substance device to impose unequal burdens on Mexican-Americans living in Mexican border region; there was no direct evidence of intent to discriminate against Mexican-Americans in border area, and insufficient evidence of impact to prove equal protection violation (West Texas Cases, 1994).

According to Albert Kauffman, lead attorney for the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund lawsuit,

The South Texas Border Initiative was caused by the LULAC v. Richards lawsuit, which was filed in 1987, tried in fall 1991, and decided in January 1992. The January 1992 judgment said the state could not spend any more money on higher education until they spent the money equally. The plaintiffs then organized a detailed plan for higher education in the border that was put into legislation for the 1993 legislature and became the South Texas Border Initiative (e-mail dated 3/28/03).

The Supreme Court of Texas reversed the trial court's decision in 1994, but the South Texas/Border Initiative had already been approved a year earlier by the Texas legislature.

The South Texas/Border Initiative provided \$352.4 million for new education programs and buildings at 19 universities in South Texas and the Border Region. UTSA received 20 million dollars specifically for the construction of a downtown campus (Office of Senator Carlos Truan, 1993). With this, the second UTSA campus was born.

SECTION FOUR: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Racism extends into many aspects of interpersonal relationships and into those institutions that are a product of civilization. One of those institutions is higher education. Racism is derived from many factors, including, but not limited to religious factors, social and economic factors and skin color. In the late 1700s, Blumenbach, a scientist, created racially distinct categories for the purpose of showing a progression of mankind. At that time, it was believed that color and superficial features changed as humans spread

to different climates and topographies. The origin of a racial hierarchy began with Blumenbach's classification system of humans as departing from the Caucasian race (Gould, 1994). Other scientists have viewed humans as part of the homo sapiens species and race as a variation of forms in humanity. The variation created by the interplay of geography and inherited traits. Race is then defined as a set of physical characteristics that cluster humans together with a certain degree of predictability according to geographic regions. Society uses these physical differences as a means to separate humanity. However, when studied, there are more differences within races than there are between them (Shreeve, 1994).

Studying the access of minorities to institutions of higher education requires a theoretical framework that critically examines the issue of racism. Therefore, this study used three theories to guide its theoretical framework. Critical Race Theory (CRT) was utilized to examine how racism may have ignored the academic needs of minorities in South Texas. Gertson's Triggering Mechanism Theory was used to identify the scope, intensity, and timing in the development of public policy and political theory was employed to examine the community's problem and provide a solution.

Critical Race Theory

According to Critical Race Theory (CRT), racism is part of the structure of legal institutions. Critical race theorists are activist and scholars interested in studying and transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power. CRT questions the very foundations of the liberal order, including equality, theory, legal reasoning, Enlightenment rationalism and neutral principles of constitutional law. The CRT Movement started in the mid-1970s by lawyers, activists and legal scholars. The civil rights movement of the 1960s and whatever advancements it had accomplished for

minorities had now stalled. During this time the CRT movement started determining how society classifies itself along racial lines and hierarchies and wanted to transform the system for the better. Critical Race Theory is comprised of several points of view. Idealists believe that racism and discrimination are

Matters of thinking, mental categorization, attitude, and discourse. Race is a social construction, not a biological reality...we may unmake it and deprive it of much of its sting by changing the system of images, words, attitudes, unconscious feelings, scripts, and social teachings by which we convey to one another that certain people are less intelligent, reliable, hardworking, virtuous, and American than others. By contrast, the realists or economic determinists believe that though attitudes and words are important, racism is much more than having an unfavorable impression of members of other groups. For realists, racism is a means by which society allocates privilege and status. Racial hierarchies determine who gets tangible benefits, including the best jobs, the best schools...Materialists point out that conquered nations generally demonize their subjects to feel better about exploiting them so that, for example, planters and ranchers in Texas and the Southwest circulated notions of Mexican inferiority at roughly the same period that they found it necessary to take over Mexican lands, or later, to import Mexican people for backbreaking labor (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).

In the field of public higher education in Texas, it is the University of Texas System Board of Regents and the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board (the hierarchies) that determine who gets the "tangible benefits." It was a member of the Coordinating Board who stated when UTSA was requesting an engineering school "...If your Mexican American (student) wants to be an engineer, let him enroll in one of the beginning programs at UTSA or Trinity or St. Mary's and finish up at UT-Austin. The Mexican American community is not where engineers come from anyway" (Walker, 1979).

Critical Race Theory provides a framework by which one can understand the racial dynamics that occurred in the history of Texas and continue to occur in South Texas. Along with this theory, the investigator used Gertson's triggering mechanisms to illustrate the societal dynamics that triggered the need for a second campus. Political

theory was used to try to understand the public policy making process and observe how issues got transformed into higher education public policy.

Gertson's Triggering Mechanism Theory

Although qualitative research does not usually start off with a theory, this study used Gertson's theory to guide it in identifying the scope, intensity, and timing that resulted in the development of the UTSA Downtown Campus. These mechanisms "become important to the political process when their ramifications present adverse effects for a large sector of the public under a specific set of conditions at a particular point in time. Their interference with routine tells the impacted segment of society that something is 'wrong' and in need of attention" (Gertson, 1997). Gertson divides these mechanisms into internal or domestic and external or foreign categories. The internal mechanisms include "natural catastrophes, economic calamities, technological breakthroughs, ecological shifts, and social evolution" (Gertson, 1997). The external triggering mechanisms include acts of war, indirect conflicts, economic confrontations, new weapons, and the balance of power" (Gertson, 1997). The three mechanisms that result in policy response options are scope, intensity, and timing.

Scope has to do with the number of people affected by the triggering mechanism. If a situation affects a large number of people then the insistence for action will have a broad base. However, if the mechanism affects a fewer number of people, then it may be difficult for them to "make their case and hence gain acknowledgement from the political actors who have the capability to effect change" (Gertson, 1997).

A second factor in determining the impact of triggering mechanisms is the intensity of the event, as the public perceives it. If an unexpected event receives a mild response, then there will not be a need for any policy change. However, if the occurrence

involves a number of people who fear or are angry about what transpired, then public policy makers will listen to their concerns and even implement or change policy.

The length of time that it takes for a serious incident to happen is Gertson's (1997) third factor needed for the triggering mechanism to act as a means for policy activity. While some of these occurrences seem to happen almost immediately, others go through a lengthy process." There is no necessary correlation between the length of a triggering mechanism's development and the potency of the event; that which transpires instantly can be just as powerful as something that comes to pass over a germination cycle" (Gertson, 1997).

These three factors (scope, intensity, and timing) provide an understanding of the impact triggering mechanisms may have on the policy making process. The more pronounced these three become, the more significant they are in the development of policy issues for the public agenda. Triggering mechanisms comprise a connection between "the perception of a problem and the demand for political action" (Gertson, 1997).

Political Theory

Political action falls within the realm of political theory. According to White & Moon (2004) "What drives the agenda in political theory at any given time are the issues that are presented to us by our own historical moment." Political science and political theory must belong in a field of study whose main purpose is to "improve our understanding of politics" (White & Moon, 2004). Therefore, political theory falls under the political science umbrella. The political science theorist is interested in portraying and interpreting the authenticity of political behavior. According to Hacker (1961),

A theory is an essay in political science if it seems to be the author's intention to offer generalized descriptions or explanations of the behavior or men and political institutions. Political theory is a body of philosophical and scientific knowledge which regardless of when and where it was originally written, can increase our understanding of the world in which we I live today. Political theory requires political conscience. Political theory exists because there have been men of intellect who saw politics as real problems which cried out for solutions (Hacker, 1961).

In this particular study, there was a constituency who saw the inequality of access to public universities by minority students in South Texas and they cried out for a solution.

SUMMARY

Chapter Two was divided into four sections. The first section provided a literature review on the historical development of public policy and how it relates to higher education. Section Two discussed the formation of branch campuses across the country and focused on university systems and their respective branch campuses. Section Three provided a chronology of The University of Texas System components and Section Four presented the theoretical framework that will be used in this study. Chapter Three: The Research Methodology describes the methodology used for this study. This is a qualitative study that examines the factors that developed legislation that resulted in the creation of a second UTSA campus in downtown San Antonio.

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

OVERVIEW

Chapter Three provides an explanation of the different types of methods used in qualitative studies; it addresses the rationale for using a qualitative paradigm in this study; it describes the research design (the setting, the participants, and the process involved in the data collection); it provides information on data analysis; trustworthiness measures; and finally, addresses the strengths and limitations of the methodology.

THE RESEARCH QUESTION

The research question used in this study is "What factors led to the development of public policy that resulted in the establishment of a second UTSA campus in downtown San Antonio?"

USE OF THE QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was to explore the overarching policy formulation and societal interactions that resulted in the development of public policy that addressed the educational needs of this community by providing an accessible public university in San Antonio, Texas. In order to examine what transpired, the qualitative method was used to create narratives from data collected in recorded interviews. Information gathered from the data is crucial to accurately reconstructing accounts of important factors that emerged from essential actors involved in the development of the UTSA Downtown Campus. The intent of this study is to document how grass-roots people, community and business

leaders, and politicians worked together to bring about access to a public institution of higher education to historically underserved constituencies in the community.

The rationale for using this paradigm is that the researcher is very comfortable with writing qualitative studies and this method is more flexible for this type of study – the procedures are not fixed, but are open and emerging as the study proceeds. In qualitative studies, the research problem needs to be explored and the researcher focuses on the context that may shape the understanding of the phenomenon being studied. According to the literature, for the past three decades there have been paradigm wars over two models that direct research (Tashakkori & Teddle, 1998). According to these researchers "paradigms may be defined as the worldviews or belief systems that guide research" – the positivist paradigm is more closely associated with quantitative methods while the constructivist paradigm resonates more with qualitative methods (Tashakkori & Teddle, 1998). Currently, these debates "have primary relevance with the history of social science philosophy because many active theorists and researchers have adopted the tenets of paradigm relativism, or the use of whatever philosophical and/or methodological approach works for the particular research problem under study" (Tashakkori & Teddle, 1998). Schwandt (1997) states "perhaps the clearest use of the adjective is to distinguish between qualitative data – nonnumeric data in the form of words – and quantitative data – numeric data."

According to Creswell, "Paradigms in the human and social sciences help us understand phenomena: They advance assumptions about the social world, how science should be conducted, and what constitutes legitimate problems, solutions, and criteria of proof" (Creswell, 1994). The two paradigms discussed in the literature, pertinent to the proposed study are the qualitative and quantitative paradigms.

The qualitative study is defined as an inquiry process of understanding a social or human problem, based on building a complex, holistic picture, formed with words, reporting detailed views of informants, and conducted in a natural setting. The quantitative method is an inquiry into a social or human problem based on testing a theory composed of variables, measured with numbers, and analyzed with statistical procedures, in order to determine whether the predicted generalizations of the theory holds true (Creswell, 1994).

The qualitative method is used for "finding out what people do, know, think, and feel by observing, interviewing, and analyzing documents" (Patton, 1990). The focus of this study is on process; on how something happened, who and what actions took place rather than the consequence of these actions. According to Patton (1990), "Qualitative inquiry is highly appropriate in studying process because depicting process requires detailed description...process is fluid and dynamic; and participants' perceptions are a key process consideration." Qualitative inquiry in applied research seeks to understand problems that exist in society and then identifies possible solutions (Patton, 1990). In short, the qualitative paradigm primarily deals with process rather than outcomes; qualitative researchers are interested in meaning; the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis; the researcher goes physically out to where the people or the setting are located; and the study is fundamentally descriptive (Patton, 1990).

Typical forms that emerge in qualitative research studies include one or more of the following:

Ethnographies, in which the research studies an intact cultural group in a natural setting during a prolonged period of time by collecting, primarily observational data...In this approach the researcher chooses between conceptual alternatives and value-laden judgments to challenge research, policy, and other forms of human activity. Critical ethnographers attempt to aid emancipatory goals, negate repressive influences, raise consciousness, and invoke a call to action that potentially will lead to social change.

Grounded theory, in which the researcher attempts to derive a theory by using multiple stages of data collection and the refinement and interrelationship of categories of information. Two primary characteristics of this design are the constant comparison of data with emerging categories, and theoretical sampling

of different groups to maximize the similarities and the differences of information.

Case studies, in which the researcher explores a single entity or phenomenon ("the case") bounded by time and activity (a program, event, process, institution, or social group) and collects detailed information by using a variety of data collection procedures during a sustained period of time.

Phenomenological studies, in which human experiences are examined thought the detailed descriptions of the people being studied...As a method the procedure involves studying a small number of subjects through extensive and prolonged engagement to develop patterns and relationships of meanings...Through this process the researcher 'brackets' his or her own experiences in order to understand those of the informants (Creswell, 1994).

This research is a case study that incorporates three important structural components (1) Critical Race Theory which provides a means for examining possible explanations for the lack of public institutions of higher education in areas where there is a predominantly minority population (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001); (2) Gertson's "triggering mechanisms" theory which provides a framework for determining how actions and interactions among different constituencies produce results (Gertson, 1997), and (3) Political Theory that focuses on the dynamics that occurred to develop public policy relating to the issue of minority access to institutions of higher education.

THE RESEARCH DESIGN

This study was conducted during the late summer and early fall of 2005 in San Antonio, Texas. During Phase I of the process, a list of the Bexar County delegation that was members of the 73rd legislative session was compiled. There were 15 member of the Bexar County Delegation. However, only 12 legislators were interviewed: one legislator had passed away, another legislator had move to Washington D.C. and no forwarding address could be located, and another was unavailable. A letter of introduction was sent

to the remaining 12 legislators describing the study and requesting their input. Two weeks after the letters were sent the legislators were called to schedule an interview at their convenience. Because the governor had scheduled two special sessions of the legislature, some interviews were not scheduled until the end of the second session, making the interview process take a little longer than expected.

At the end of each interview, the legislator was asked to suggest names of individuals who might have played an integral role in the policy development process. Only one person's name came up at least three times, and that was Mrs. Helen Luna, widow of Senator Gregory Luna. The researcher purposefully did not interview Mrs. Luna because she wanted her research based solely on legislators' responses. All interviews were conducted during Phase II. Phase III consisted of transcribing and analyzing the audiotaped interviews and reviewing all hand-written notes. Phase Four consisted of writing the final report.

The Setting

San Antonio is a thriving metropolis with a population of slightly over a million people. San Antonio has always had a large Hispanic population. Recent census data reveals Hispanics comprise 58.7 percent of the population and African Americans consist of 6.8 percent of the community (http://www.factfinder.census.gov). San Antonio occupies an area of 377.2 square miles in South Texas. The largest employment sectors in San Antonio continue to be services, trade, and government. In June 1969, San Antonio had four private institutions of higher education (Trinity University, Our Lady of the Lake University, Incarnate Word College, and St. Mary's University). The nearest public comprehensive university was The University of Texas at Austin, approximately 90 miles north of San Antonio.

Participant Selection

Qualitative research usually focuses in depth on small samples that are not randomly selected, but purposefully chosen to shed light on the questions to be answered. The reason for purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases from which one can gather a vast amount of information about issues of central importance to the research. The qualitative method purposefully selects participants or documents that will best answer the research question. No attempt was made to randomly select people being interviewed for this study. The Bexar County delegation was purposefully selected because of the key role they played in developing legislation. The validity, meaningfulness, and insights generated from qualitative inquiry have more to do with the information-richness of the individuals selected and the observational/analytical capabilities of the researcher conducting the study than with the sample size (Patton, 1990).

In an effort to create a methodology for deriving a list of interviewees, Al Kaufman, chief litigator in the LULAC v Richards case, Senator Leticia Van de Putte, head of the Bexar County delegation, and Dr. Ricardo Romo, UTSA president, were asked to suggest people to be interviewed for this study. Since this study related the development of public policy they suggested the Bexar County delegation of the 73rd legislative session be interviewed. A list of the Bexar County delegation from this legislative session was compiled. It consisted of 15 individuals: 10 men and five women; 10 Hispanics, four white, and one African American; 11 Democrats and four Republicans. Six of these individuals are still legislators; four are in the Texas State Senate, and two are in the Texas State House of Representatives.

Eight individuals were interviewed in their offices; two individuals were interviewed over the phone; one individual was interviewed over lunch; and one

individual who lives out of town completed and submitted the questionnaire. As previously stated, only 12 individuals were interviewed because one individual had passed away, another had moved to Washington D.C. and still another was unavailable.

Instrumentation

The instrument used in the study is a self-designed instrument that was reviewed by the four research faculty at the University of Texas at San Antonio: Arthur Hernandez, Ph.D., researcher and associate dean of the College of Education and Human Development; Mary McGehee, Ph.D., assistant professor, Department of Social Work; Francis A. Norman, Ph.D., associate professor of science and math education; and Harriett D. Romo, Ph.D., associate professor and researcher, College of Education and Human Development. Their respective suggestions were incorporated if they were consistent with the researcher's inquiry and research methodology. The cover letter is found in Appendix A and the instrument is located in Appendix B.

Data Collection

Data collection in qualitative research can involve observations, interviews, documents, and visual images (Creswell, 1994). Qualitative researchers use in-depth interviewing quite extensively as a data collection method and this method is a way of acquiring large amounts of data rapidly. This interview method is more like an informal conversation than a structured interview with "predetermined response categories," thus making immediate clarification possible (Marshall & Rossman, 1995).

The purpose of open-ended interviewing is to obtain the perspective of the person being interviewed. Qualitative interviewing begins with the assumption that the perspective of others is meaningful, knowable, and able to be made explicit (Denzin, 1978). According to Patton (1990), there are three basic approaches to collecting qualitative data through open-ended interviews; the informal conversational interview, the general interview guide approach, and the standardized open-ended interview. This study used the standardized open-ended interview, which reduced the possibility of bias that comes from having different interviews for different people - particularly the problem of obtaining more comprehensive data from certain people while getting less systematic information from others. By using the standardized open-ended interview, the data obtained are systematic and thorough for each respondent, although the process reduces flexibility and spontaneity.

Data collected for this study was in the form of audiotaped, in-depth, open-ended, one-on-one personal interviews. Since the participants were all legislators, they had an understanding of the political dynamics that resulted in the creation of a second UTSA campus. A list of these legislators is found in Appendix C. As part of this data collection, extensive archival research was conducted and newspaper articles relating to the development of the Downtown Campus were reviewed.

The research process started with a letter explaining the nature of the study and a consent form that was sent to each legislator (Appendix A). Legislators were notified in this letter to expect a call within two weeks to schedule an appointment for the interview. Because of the two special sessions that took place during the summer 2005, the phone calls were made three to four weeks after the letters were sent to those legislators who were still in office.

The interview guide (Appendix II) led to informal conversational interviews. The protocol included a heading, a brief introduction inviting participants to provide their perceptions of any significant activities that led to the creation of UTSA Downtown, key questions to be asked, any follow-up to these questions, space for jotting comments, and

space for reflective notes. Each personal interview was audio recorded and hand-written notes were taken. Notes were taken on the telephone interviews. Following the interview, the recordings were transcribed and the notes written into a narrative. The information was coded and sorted according to a coding scheme that emerged from the data. Follow-up was not necessary. However, the legislators were given the opportunity to review a summary of the findings to ensure correct transcriptions.

Data Analysis

The culminating activities of qualitative inquiry are analysis, interpretation, and presentation of findings (Denzin, 1978). According to Lofland and Lofland (1995) "Analysis is conceived as an emergent product of a process of gradual induction. ... Analysis is the fieldworker's derivative ordering of the data." The first task of qualitative analysis is description (Denzin, 1978). The descriptive analysis answers basic questions. In an effort to make this study come together in the analysis stage, all data was transcribed; questions and responses were placed on individual sheets of paper to make it easier to place into groups of similar responses; data analysis was conducted with a crosscase analysis that grouped similar responses to common questions from different people in order to make some sense of it (Patton, 1990).

These responses were coded by central themes thus, reducing the raw data (Scheurich, 1997). Key themes, patterns, and relevant concepts were identified Coding of the data identified meaningful data and "set the stage for interpreting and drawing conclusions" (Coffey, Atkinson, 1996). Strauss (1987) advocates coding as an essential analytical procedure. Initial coding was conducted as each transcript was read to look for emerging patterns in the data. All responses were reviewed by their current code then recoded if necessary, based on the final categories selected.

The categories and codes began to form the foundation for the developing story. Data was analyzed following this format, interpreted, and the findings are presented in Chapter Four. The researcher conducted the data analysis simultaneously with the data collection, interpretation, and report writing in an effort to start organizing the data. The researcher started reducing the massive amount of information to certain themes that resulted from the data collected after each interview. This is part of the process known as segmenting the information "developing 'coding categories' and 'generating categories, themes, or patterns'" (Creswell, 1994). Inductive analysis results in patterns, themes, and categories. Rather than forcing data to get predetermined patterns, these patterns emerge from the data during collection and analysis. The study used convergence to figure out the items that correspond and will lead to a classification system for the data (Denzin, 1978). According to Marshall & Rossman (1995),

Writing about qualitative data cannot be separated from the analytic process. In fact, it is central to that process, for in the choice of particular words to summarize and reflect the complexity of the data, the researcher is engaging in the interpretive act, lending shape and form – meaning – to massive amounts of raw data. The interpretive act brings meaning to those data and displays that meaning to the reader through the written report.

Trustworthiness Measures

According to Denzin (1978) credibility issues depend on three distinct but related inquiry elements. The first is rigorous techniques and methods for gathering high-quality data that is carefully analyzed, with attention to issues of validity, reliability, and triangulation. The second is the credibility of the researcher, which is dependent on training, experience, research record, status, and presentation of self; and the third element is the philosophical belief in the phenomenological paradigm, that is, a

fundamental appreciation of naturalistic inquiry, qualitative methods, inductive analysis, and holistic thinking (Denzin, 1978).

Two ways qualitative researchers address validity and reliability is through the use of *triangulation* and *member checking*. Denzin (1978) identifies four types of triangulation:

These include data triangulation which uses a variety of data sources in a study; investigator triangulation which uses several different researchers in the research; theory triangulation which uses multiple perspectives to interpret a single set of data and methodological triangulation which uses multiple methods to study a single problem... (Denzin, 1978).

Triangulation and member checking was used as a trustworthiness measure in this study. Data triangulation incorporates a combination of interviews, observations of verbal and nonverbal communication, and document analysis should "overcome the intrinsic bias that comes from single-methods, single-observer, and single-theory studies" (Denzin, 1978). Once the data is compiled, member checking or respondent validation (getting feedback from those interviewed; asking those interviewed if the conclusions are accurate) was used to verify the findings and "ensure they meet the criterion of confirmability" (Schwandt, 1997). He also states "member checking seems but one more opportunity to gather data about the integrity of the inquirer's findings…and is simply another way of generating data and insight" (Schwandt, 1997).

Besides triangulation and member checking, Erlandson et.al. (1993) describes other techniques that provide "truth value through credibility, applicability through transferability, consistency through dependability, and neutrality through confirmability." Techniques to realize this include *prolonged engagement, referential adequacy materials, peer debriefing, reflective journal, thick description, purposive sampling, and the audit trail.* Although Erlandson et. al. (1993) list Lincoln and Guba's (1985) techniques, they

provide more in-depth discussion of each of these techniques. These techniques are described as follows:

Prolonged engagement establishes trustworthiness in a qualitative study. This happens when the investigator learns the organization's culture or other social setting over a long period of time. This lessens misrepresentations that could be portrayed by "particular events or by the newness of researchers and respondents to each other's presence (Erlandson et al., 1993). Prolonged engagement helps the investigator build trust and develop rapport with participants in the study. Prolonged engagement builds the relationship needed to obtain accurate data. If there are misrepresentations, with prolonged engagement and continued data gathering, conflicting information can be appropriately investigated and reconciled.

Persistent observation emphasizes the investigator's presence by actively seeking out sources of data identified by the investigator's own developing design. According to Erlandson et al. (1993), "If prolonged engagement provides scope, persistent observation provides depth. Persistent observation helps the investigator sort out critically important data from irrelevant information and to determine when the unusual is important. In situations where lies or deceptions are involved, early closure makes it especially easy to leave the researcher with faulty information. However, persistent observation tends to counter this potential problem and provide more credible data.

Referential Adequacy Materials support trustworthiness by providing materials that support data analysis, interpretations, and audits. Obtrusive materials that consist of photographing, videotaping, and tape recording, as well as unobtrusive materials such as brochures, catalogs, newspapers, etc. "are used after the analysis to support the audit process and to enrich the meanings communicated by the study" (Erlandson et al. 1993).

Peer Debriefing permits a disinterested professional who has some knowledge of the study to review materials, test hypotheses, look at the investigator's emerging designs, and act as a sounding board for the investigator. A debriefing session is held between the peer and the investigator. The investigator writes a paper right after the debriefing session that summarizes the issues, concerns, emerging designs for documentation purposes (Erlandson et al., 1993).

Reflective Journal is similar to a diary in which the investigator records personal information such as the schedule s/he is keeping with interviews, logistics, insights and reasons for methodological decisions. The researcher can make daily or weekly entries. Copies of these entries become a part of the audit trail for the study. Reflective journals support "not only the credibility but also the transferability, dependability, and confirmability of the study" (Erlandson et al., 1993).

Thick Descriptions, according to Lincoln and Guba (1895) "...must specify everything that a reader may need to know in order to understanding the findings." However, findings, they state, "are not part of the thick description, although they must be interpreted in the terms of the factors thickly described." In order to have the data needed for a thick description, one must be aware of the background, using all the senses such as looking, listening, smelling, and feeling the environment and interaction. In order to offset the criteria from the relevant and irrelevant, Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that the researcher supply "the widest possible range of information for inclusion in the thick description through purposive sampling."

Purposive Sampling is used in qualitative studies because it focuses on small samples that are not randomly selected, but purposefully chosen to shed light on the study. Purposive sampling must provide detailed information that adds context to the

study and generated information upon which "the emergent design and grounded theory can be based" (Erlandson et al., 1993).

The Audit Trail, according to Erlandson et al. (1993), "leads to dependability and confirmability by allowing an auditor to determine the trustworthiness of the study." During a research study it is very important to keep sufficient records and these records provide an audit trail for the study. Lincoln and Guba (1985) provided six categories of audit trails: raw data such as interview guides, notes, documents; data reduction and analysis products such as 3 x 5 cards with information gathered during the study and peer debriefing notes; data reconstruction and synthesis products such as grounded theory and data analysis sheets, reports; process notes such as the journal entries; materials relating to intentions and dispositions such as inquiry proposals, journals, peer debriefing notes; and any information that led to instrument development. The key to the audit trail is "reporting no fact without noting its sources and making no assertions without support data" (Erlandson et al., 1993).

Strengths and Limitations of Methodology

According to Denzin (1978), "The human factor is the great strength and the fundamental weakness of qualitative inquiry and analysis." This study confined itself to interviewing Bexar County legislators involved in the development of the policy resulting in the creation of UTSA Downtown. Because the sample is purposefully selected, this action alone decreases the generalization of the findings. One cannot generalize the findings of this study to any other study about the development of public policy resulting in the development of institutions of higher education. Since the role of the researcher in qualitative research is as the primary data collector, this study necessitates the identification of personal values, assumptions and biases at the outset of this study. "The

investigator's contribution to the research setting can be useful and positive rather than detrimental" (Creswell, 1994). Since this investigator worked at the UTSA 1604 campus and is currently working at UTSA Downtown, her perceptions of the development of the UTSA Downtown Campus have been shaped by her personal experiences. From July 1993 to August 1994, the investigator worked as the community relations director and reported directly to the UTSA president during the legislative session that created UTSA Downtown, so she brings certain biases to this study. Although every effort is made to ensure objectivity through the use of triangulation and member checking, these biases may shape the way the researcher views and understands the data the researcher collects and analyzes.

Presenting Findings Models

Several models of presenting the findings exist. Marshall & Rossman (1995) discuss Taylor and Bogdan (1984) models of report writing. There is the descriptive life history where the author presents a person's account of his or her own life with "analytic points about the social significance of that life; the presentation of data gathered through in-depth interviews and participant observation where the participants' perspectives are presented, their worldviews forming the structural framework for the report; an attempt "to relate practice (the reality of social phenomenon) to theory"; a theoretical attempt; and "an attempt to build theory by drawing on data gathered from several types of institutions and under various research conditions."

SUMMARY

Critical Race Theory, Gertson's triggering mechanisms, and political theory were used to examine the factors, actions and interactions that led to the development of public policy that resulted in a second UTSA campus. Critical Race Theory provides the framework by which readers can understand the educational injustices experienced by minorities in South Texas. Gertson's triggering mechanism theory provides the concept by which one can follow the dynamics of the policy making process. Twelve legislators were interviewed; their interviews were recorded and transcribed. Analysis of the data was conducted and the results of this study are presented as a descriptive narrative in case study form in Chapter Four. The findings present participants' perceptions of the dynamics that took place in developing public policy that created UTSA Downtown. Chapter Five includes an overview of the study, a summary of the findings, a conclusion, and recommendations for further study.

Chapter Four: Research Findings

OVERVIEW

Chapter Four presents the findings of the study, *Creating Public Policy for Minority Access to Higher Education: A Case Study.* The following excerpts were collected from 12 legislators during the late summer and early fall of 2005. Data was collected from nine personal interviews, two telephone interviews and one written response. Although the 73rd legislative session was comprised of 15 members of the Bexar County delegation, three were not interviewed. One legislator had passed away, one had moved to Washington D.C. and could not be located, and another former legislator was not available. Of the 12 individuals interviewed, eight are male and four are female; nine are Hispanic and three are Anglo; nine are Democrats and three are Republicans; six of these legislators are still in office.

THE RESEARCH QUESTION

The open-ended research question designed to guide this study is as follows:

What factors led to the development of public policy resulting in the establishment of a second University of Texas at San Antonio campus in downtown San Antonio?

The following inquiries guided the interview process:

- 1) When did this interest/movement occur?
- 2) Were there coalitions involved and how were they formed?
- 3) How did the formulations of public policy take place?
- 4) How did the community gain sufficient political power to influence policy?
- 5) How did the community maintain vigilance over legislative action?

THE RESULTS

The findings of this study are written in a chronologically-based case study format. The researcher organized the data by placing similar responses into six categories which formed the foundation for the developing story. These categories resulted in subtitles for the research. Supporting documents were used to eliminate any gaps in time and provide an understanding of the community's insistence on the need for an accessible, comprehensive public university in San Antonio, Texas. The result of this research chronicles the thrust for a second UTSA campus.

The University's Location: A Community's Protest

The University of Texas at San Antonio was founded on June 5, 1969 as a component of the University of Texas System by act of the Texas Legislature. It was located on 600 acres just southwest of the interchange of IH-10 and Loop 1604 in northwest San Antonio. Prior locating the campus on this site, there were 10 other potential locations ranging from downtown to outside the city limits. The desired goal of its location was accessibility to underrepresented students in higher education (De Oliver, 1999). In San Antonio, that meant minority students, both Mexican-American and African-American students who mostly lived on the south, east, and west sides of the city.

In the late 1960s, State Representative Frank Lombardino wanted to put a college "where the people are, the needy people, on a site most convenient to all the people" (De Oliver, 1999). Areas such as HemisFair Plaza and San Antonio College were discussed as possible sites, but there was no room for growth, ranking them unfeasible locations for this university. A third location of 378 acres was offered by Bexar County on the south side of San Antonio, and it met initial approval by a University of Texas inspection team.

The advantages of this site were, accessibility to traffic for the entire county, existing on-site structures, attractive landscape features, and the appealing fact that the property (unlike competing sites) was already off the county tax roles which meant that the county's taxes would not be reduced by its selection. In addition, it was forecasted by one of the legislators, that the selection of this site would contribute to the revitalization of the underdeveloped south side and enable it to support its share of the Bexar County tax load (De Oliver, 1999).

Had this site been chosen, UTSA would not only been a benefit to the target population, but also would have been a boost to the economic development of that area. However, "ample space was presented as a critical requirement for the future university" and more acreage was needed than this parcel of land possessed. The University of Texas inspection team then turned to a piece of undeveloped property found on the city's far northwest side. "The increase in projected acreage necessary for the university that mandated a peripheral location gave room for people to question the motives of the University of Texas Regents, especially (Regent) John Peace" (Bernal, 1995).

The result was that the interests of large-landholders on the urban periphery quickly challenged proximity to lower-income and non-Anglo urban populations as the pivotal factor in selection. One leading candidate, a site called San Antonio Ranch, illustrates the differing conceptions of the university's future role held by some of the competing interests on the suburban fringe during the site selection process. The San Antonio Ranch proposal envisioned the university to be an integral part of a new community replete with shops, elementary schools, restaurants, religious organizations, clinics, etc. This new community was to be geographically separate from the San Antonio urban zone, closer to the upper-income, Anglo dominated northwest periphery of the city. Lombardino thought the San Antonio Ranch would 'put the university too far from the students it is designed to serve ... (and for whom) he wanted the school in the first place... (it is imperative that) students who need a home-town college can reach it easily, (rather) than a 500-acre campus somewhere between here and Seguin or on a mountain-top near Bandera that only rich kids can get to (De Oliver, 1999).

"An Austin watch dog called for an investigation involving John Peace, who as a University of Texas Regent, was also an incorporator and director of a group called La Ventura Corporation, which was buying up land around the site that was finally selected" (Bernal, 1995). "The results of these events in the UTSA site selection process prompted

President Templeton (UTSA's first president) to say that this university was projected to "put the Mexican-American into the mainstream of society" and that this location "does not geographically symbolize nor facilitate this objective" (De Oliver, 1999). This site selection also surprised San Antonio Mayor W.W. McAllister who said, "Selection of this site caught me off guard. If I had been on the selection committee, someone would have had to show me why this location is better than Southwest Research (a competing and somewhat more central site bordering the Latino west side)...We already have city service to that area" (De Oliver, 1999). "Suspicious of covert machinations in the selection process, Precinct 1 County Commissioner Albert Pena, a proponent of the more central south side site, had predicted months prior to the final selection that the obscure Delevan property would be chosen." Pena stated, "If I had any money, I would invest in land in the vicinity of Interstate 10 and Farm Road 1604...In brief...the smart boys will be picking up their options.' The Shivers-Connally-Bentsen machine takes care of their friends" (De Oliver, 1999).

While this county commissioner knew of this development deal, many of the legislators interviewed may not have been aware of the reason for placing the UTSA Campus on the Delevan property. For the most part, the legislators recollected that there had been a lingering resentment in the community over the selection of the site that placed UTSA on the northwest side of San Antonio near Boerne, 18 miles from downtown San Antonio (See Appendix D). That lingering resentment had never been totally extinguished. One legislator stated,

There had always been a significant amount of resentment concerning the fact that what is now University Hospital, Bexar County Hospital back then, and UTSA were both located in the far northwest, basically away from those who had a real need for medical attention and public education. In other words, there were a minimal number of people who would best be served at those locations. The powers that be, back in those days had a lot of clout, allowed complete control over the location of the hospital and university. And the selection of those sites by

these folks was made for purely selfish reasons. The hospital was placed out there (northwest San Antonio) despite the fact that it would have been much, much better to locate it here in the downtown area or even in the southern part of the city where we had free property from the county.

Another legislator stated,

I can't remember a time when there wasn't that interest (to have a downtown campus). When I became of age, and started concentrating on college, I didn't have a choice to go to a four-year public university in San Antonio. There were only private schools and UTSA was only accepting juniors and seniors at the time. And so, even for people at my age, we knew that there was an inability to go to a four-year public institution. But even if UTSA was accepting freshmen, it would have been very difficult for me to get there. I'm an individual who lives on the south side, and back then I lived on the south side so it would have been a major undertaking to have a daily commute over to the main UTSA campus. So for as long as I can remember, there was always talk that UTSA should not have been located out there and that there should be a satellite type of campus. The need for a second campus just kept building, and I became more and more aware of it as the years went by. When I graduated from college, then from law school, and got a job, the movement (for a second campus) was well on its way. Everyone from the community believed in a more centralized location. Some UTSA professors believed in more outreach to minority areas and they became a part of this coalition. There was also a downtown business coalition that knew that this was a way to make downtown more viable, to redevelop part of the downtown area that had failed before, retail and commercial development. Then there were other groups that are always on a geographic side, a north side verses a south side, but in this case they always advocated a UTSA presence away from the main campus. From what I remember reading and subsequent knowledge, the big issue in creating UTSA was its location. And that's always been an issue -- about its location. Even now it's somewhat of an issue in my opinion. I think (UTSA's location) is still an issue for a lot of people.

The University's Location: Inaccessible

While discussing UTSA's location, one legislator stated, "If you look at the history of the UTSA 1604 campus, it was a development deal. Friends of the governor (Connally) had that site already picked for the location of the university. Friends of the governor donated the land, but kept the surrounding land for speculation." Another legislator said, "I will assure you that if you were to do a study and take a look at the land owners around University Hospital and UTSA, you will find a significant number of

developers who were very politically connected around that property." Two other legislators said, "There were other locations that were accessible and when they were not selected, it really divided the community and an economic line was drawn along geographical lines. These divisions produced a racial and ethnic imbalance. At that time, we (the community) were still hurting from the decision to move the public hospital that had been in the downtown area, past Loop 410. Putting the medical school with the medical center was a 'no brainer,' but putting UTSA 22 miles from the people who really needed it the most was something that was very difficult to take. Now we have public transportation to the university. In fact, now there are two bus routes between UTSA 1604 and the Downtown Campus. But back then there were no direct bus routes from downtown San Antonio to UTSA. It was assumed that students had cars to get to the UTSA campus on the outskirts of the city. Thirty years later there are some bus routes, but from the south and west sides, students still have to make a transfer or two. When the university was first built out there, it was very inaccessible. The community's response to that was that we needed access to higher education closer to the central business district, the east, the west, and south sides. These communities really felt that need." An example provided by a legislator was that "Someone living in the Harlandale School District (on the southeast side of San Antonio) had to take three bus transfers to get to UTSA. It would take that student two hours to get to the UTSA Campus."

A legislator who was among the first students to receive her degree from UTSA stated,

I got my graduate degree from UTSA and I started taking classes at the Koger Center before we had a UTSA 1604 Campus. When that campus opened, I started taking classes and earned my degree there. But as you know, I lived on the south side and I taught classes on the west side. After work I, and several other teachers, would drive out to the 1604 campus to take classes. It was such a long way to go, but we were already working and had vehicles, so it wasn't a big deal. There were a lot of students we knew who would have loved to have gone to a four-year

university, but there was no four-year public university that was readily accessible to anybody but those who lived outside of Loop 410.

One legislator said,

When I got to the legislature, there was already this huge resentment from the district I represented and I represented the inner city corridor. There was a lot of resentment from the community having what they perceived a university kind of out of their grasps because of the distance. So the first thing I did when I got elected in 1991 is that I worked with VIA (San Antonio's public transportation system) and the university administration to set up direct routes so people wouldn't have to take two bus transfers. In 1991-92, we didn't have a bus that would go from San Antonio College to UTSA – it took forever to get there. I was very forceful with the VIA Metro Transit board at the time to get it done. When I got to the legislature in 1991, my focus was trying to get access, and we were starting to plan for a centrally-located campus.

While discussing this issue, another legislator said,

I was in the House at the time. I believe it was a lingering resentment over the selection of the initial site out on 1604 that had never been totally extinguished. There was a group originally that wanted UTSA downtown in the first place. The community was divided over that, but the northwest site was selected. I'm not sure that there was much of a delay after the northwest campus site was selected when they started saying that it's still insufficient -- we still need a downtown campus. And what motivated people to perceive that was a desire to have the campus closer to where residents lived to make the campus more accessible. The argument was that transportation was inadequate, mass transit VIA bus service was inadequate, irregular, so they wanted it close by. I was in the House of Representatives about three years and the interest to develop a downtown campus occurred even before we selected the northwest site (for UTSA). People wanted a downtown campus; others wanted a northwest campus – the downtown campus lost out, so we built a northwest campus, and so they decided to try to have both.

All the legislators interviewed agreed that the movement to pursue a campus in downtown San Antonio started immediately after the UTSA campus was located on the far northwest side of San Antonio. These same legislators remembered the community was very upset because not only had they already moved the hospital out of their reach, but their university would be inaccessible as well. One legislator commented,

A lot of us, I, in particular, refer to UTSA as UT Boerne because it is closer to Boerne than it is to the people on the west and south sides of San Antonio. Much

closer. This was essentially the thinking that was behind the grass-roots effort to bring a four-year university to downtown San Antonio. Basically, what motivated the community to seek a second campus was the inaccessibility of the first campus.

Another legislator commented that

The need to expand higher education services farther south was the major motivating factor. Enrollment was growing at UTSA as more students from throughout the community were seeking a degree from a public, four-year institution. It was rumored that some student without adequate transportation had to take three to four buses along IH 10 to get to UTSA's main campus, which is at Loop 1604 and IH-10. Another reason was that for the first time, the Texas Legislature supported expanding higher education services in the South Texas Border Region, so the timing was right to pursue this project.

A legislator's response to what motivated the community to pursue a downtown campus was,

I think inclusiveness is probably the key word. A lot of people first complained about UTSA being so far north, and that made it difficult for students who didn't live in that vicinity to go to college. So the concept of a downtown campus would increase the participation of those students who weren't able to go that far. I was one of 11 legislators at the time and being a minority female, education was very important to me personally. Not only as a public policy issue, but on a personal level as a legislator, I could be a part of the process of helping this become a reality for the community.

The Drive for a Second Campus

According to the legislators interviewed, the drive for the second campus began the day the site for the UTSA 1604 campus was selected. But the drive became more prominent when Mayor Henry Cisneros created the Education Task Force of the *Target* '90 Goals for San Antonio in 1984. One of the recommendations was to establish a "major education satellite of the University of Texas at San Antonio... at HemisFair Plaza (located in downtown San Antonio). Eventually, this became one of the goals of the Target '90 Executive Committee and Mayor Cisneros' (Berriozabal, 1999).

Between 1984 and 1991, UTSA maintained its ever increasing rate of enrollment but also continued to face inadequate funding. According to Berriozabal (1999), "Of

major significance (in the establishment of the Downtown Campus) was the suit filed on November 21, 1991 by the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund." "The suit addresses issues of funding inequity produced by admissions, recruitment, retention, scholarship, loan and graduate opportunities available at universities throughout Texas, as well as related but separate resource allocation policies of the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board" (Bernal, 1999).

Another was the development of a critical mass of political clout of Latino members of our Bexar County Legislative Delegation. The two, combined with the growing community pressure from San Antonio converged, in the final push. A legislator who was a freshman at the time said,

When I got to the legislature, there was already this huge resentment from the district I represented, and I represented the inner city corridor. They perceived UTSA as kind of out of their grasps because of the distance. My priority at that time was to get bus transportation from San Antonio College to the UTSA 1604 Campus. This was in 1991-92, and this was also about the time we started planning for a downtown campus.

According to another legislator,

The need to expand higher education services farther south was the major motivating factor to pursue a downtown campus in San Antonio. Enrollment was growing at UTSA as more students from throughout the community were seeking a degree from a public, four-year institution. It was rumored that some students without adequate transportation had to take three to four buses along IH-10 to get to UTSA's main campus. Another reason was that for the first time, the Texas Legislature supported expanding higher education services into the South Texas Border Region, so the timing was right to pursue a downtown campus in San Antonio.

The time was right for a new campus. First there was Cisneros' *Target '90 Goals for San Antonio* had as one of its goals, a major UTSA satellite at HemisFair Plaza. Then in 1991, the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and the American GI Forum filed a lawsuit against the Texas state governor, Ann Richards (LULAC v. Richards), to address the violation of Mexican Americans' constitutional rights (Hispanic

Association of Colleges and Universities, 1993). One of these rights included having a US border with unequal access to a public university of the first class. This lawsuit was filed because South Texas Region residents felt the legislature had not provided substantially equal access to the people of South Texas. "Institutions of higher education were shown to be overwhelmingly located in Anglo-dominated and upper-income portions of the state, while radically underserving students from lower-income and Latino-dominated regions – principally represented by South Texas" (De Oliver, 1999). The district court held that the University of Texas System did not provide equal access to communities in various parts of Texas and that it violated the provision in the Texas Constitution that every citizen have access to a university of the first class. The case was decided in 1992. The judgment said the state could not spend any more money on higher education until they spent the money equally. The case was appealed, and the Supreme Court of Texas reversed the trial court's decision and rendered in favor of the defendants on February 2, 1994.

When asked about the LULAC lawsuit one legislator gave the following account.

LULAC raised the lawsuit because the state was not proportionately funding higher education in certain parts of the state, mainly South Texas and so a settlement was made that the Texas A & M and University of Texas systems would take on other campuses. An example of this is Texas A & I in Kingsville became Texas A & M Kingsville. Corpus Christi State University became Texas A & M Corpus Christi. There were several similar examples that were part of the settlement. Because of that (settlement) there was a focus and I remember my freshmen term that we, as a Bexar County delegation, Republicans and Democrats, all stood up there advocating more funding for these campuses that were being affected by the settlement. I think 1993 was a turning point. It didn't mean we were meeting 100% of the needs but we were focusing on campuses like UTSA that were growing and needed our support. The South Texas/Border Initiative helped us focus on those campuses in South Texas and UTSA was one of them. I think we were able to champion the success and the great things UTSA offers the nontraditional student body, the fastest growing campus in the state – this has been stuff that hasn't changed in the 14 years that I've been in service. Senator Luna made a good case for a downtown campus saying that accessibility was a big issue and going out to the main campus was just not feasible for some

students and it's not to say 'Hey, it's not fair'. Where I grew up, UTSA was just right across the street. If I had decided to go there, it would have been pretty convenient. In fact, my dad used to tease me by saying 'Hey, you can ride your bike over there.' The truth of the matter is that I did have a car when I was a college student. I was able to go to A & M. I was very fortunate, but there are a lot of students that for whatever reasons, and I mean whether they are right out of high school and/or they live in other parts of San Antonio, they would have more accessibility to a downtown campus. So what we're doing (with this campus) is really helping people. Where would those students be if there was no Downtown Campus? Would they be improving themselves and getting higher paying jobs or providing for their families? We talk a lot about helping people in public policy and I think education is one of those issues that, if you can help people get an education, they can help themselves instead of being dependent upon government at some point in time. I know there's a lot of rhetoric when we talk about education, we need to put more money in it and all that, but if we can try to create as much of an educational environment where people can take advantage of those opportunities, I think we're going to find a more productive workforce, a more responsible society, just people taking care of themselves. If we don't, then obviously, we are going to be – government is going to be responsible for taking care of them somehow.

While the LULAC case was being tried, one legislator stated that

A group of elected officials, members of the business communities, educators, and Chambers of Commerce from throughout South Texas formed a coalition. They came together as a group and agreed, first of all, not to fight among each other for the small piece of the pie. They had meetings throughout South Texas to discuss the needs of their communities. There were meetings across the state with everyone involved, then smaller meetings with just legislators and elected officials. To be able to hold that one together was due to hard work and perseverance. People who attended these meetings felt that South Texas did not have enough masters and doctoral degree programs. There was talk of a need for a law school and a pharmacy school. They drew up a list of needs for their particular communities, and there was agreement that we were all going to stick to this list and we were not going to allow anybody to pit us against each other. What we did, and there were about 80 of us, all the legislators, city council members, community leaders, was take a blood oath saying that if one community is not happy, nobody signs off on it. And I don't know how we held it together but we did. We kept pursuing it at the legislative level by saying "Hey, this is what we want; here is what we are asking for." During my second term in office, I was on the Appropriations Committee and worked with the chair of the Appropriations Committee. I told him my priority was the funding of a downtown campus. The UT System chancellor had some concerns about diluting the resources at one campus if there were two. However, as the outcry from the community came for a second campus became stronger; he came to understand the community's needs and was supportive of a downtown campus long before the president of UTSA came on board.

Eventually, legislators from this group developed a piece of legislation that came to be known at the South Texas/Border Initiative. This Initiative provided \$302 million in new state resources at 11 institutions, including five components of the UT System: UT San Antonio, UT Health Science Center – San Antonio, UT Pan American, UT Brownsville, and UT El Paso. The legislature authorized financial resources for each of the capital projects through tuition revenue bonds. UTSA received \$71.5 million, \$20 million of which was designated for the creation of a downtown campus.

Any Opposition?

In response to the question about there being any opposition to the development of a downtown campus, one legislator said,

I don't know how supportive two of the white male Republican legislators were because when we first started this whole process, we were getting a lot of resistance from UTSA's president. He was a major obstacle and some for legitimate reasons (such as the issue of diluting resources from the main campus), so as a result two Anglo male Republicans also opposed its development. I don't know if it was for personal reasons or whether it was because UTSA's president didn't want it so that was the way they went, I'm not sure. At one point during the negotiations, I went to the president of the Greater San Antonio Chamber of Commerce and one of its members. I told them that I needed their help because UTSA's president was opposing us at every turn. After they met with the president, I remember the Chamber member coming up to me and telling me, "Don't ever ask me to do that again." So it got to where UTSA's president was digging in his heals – so we played the same game – the more we wanted, the more we dug our heels in.

One legislator stated,

You know how each university sets up their priorities? The UTSA president didn't want it (the downtown campus) at all. I was tired of not being able to work with him. We were inconsequential to him because he knew that we wouldn't hurt the university. We wouldn't hurt the programs, so what am I going to do? Say no, I'm not going to fight for you? And we hadn't been able to use tuition revenue bonds as much and now they are so dependent on tuition revenue bonds that they don't want for us to get our feelings hurt on anything. You know what I mean?

(UTSA's president) was so arrogant. It was as though he was thinking, "I know better than them, I'm president of this university. I'm the golden boy. I'm going to be president of UT-Austin." I got along with him personally, but with regard to the downtown campus, we had to fight the administration. I finally went directly to the Board of Regents and told them how important this (the downtown campus) was to San Antonio, and they bought into it.

When asked about the development of public policy for the downtown campus, another legislator recalled that

At the beginning of the session, Bob Bullock called in Senator Luna and I. We went in together and were told "You know you guys from Bexar County get one request – whatever it is you want, but you only get one request." So we decided that we had to have UTSA Downtown. That was the way the public policy issue was decided. For years we had heard that there was a need for a downtown campus. The fact that it (the location of the downtown campus) was in Senator Luna's was immaterial to anybody. It was the fact that it was something that everybody felt was needed and when I say everybody, I mean the Senate side -- I cannot speak for the House side. The senators united and because it was in Senator Luna's district, we kind of lined up behind Greg. We decided that we would support him and his efforts to bring that campus to downtown San Antonio. The Appropriations Committee provided the final funding, and my request for a downtown campus was supported by the lieutenant governor and the senate finance committee chair.

Response from another legislator was

Once the land was donated... there was a lot of talk by university administrators that the downtown campus was only going to be a two-year campus. And I remember that (one of the senators) led the charge in (demanding) that it (the downtown campus) was either going to be a four-year university or none at all ... and so other legislators got behind him in helping him put pressure on the officials to change their recommendation for a two-year college because we were concerned that (the two campuses would create) two levels of education – those that could afford to go to the north side would get a four-year degree and those that could not, would only have a two-year degree, and perhaps end (their education) at that point. So therefore, if you're only going to go for two years, some of them would go ahead and finish the four years and some of them would not. We didn't want it to become a two-type quality education. They wanted it to be a two-year lower division – I don't know if you were even aware of that or not, but that was a very big political push at the time. The administration says "we can't afford it, we just want two years." You'd have to read between the lines – in essence they were saying that people in the inner city can do enough with two years -- they don't need more. They didn't say that (verbally), but you could read between the lines saying "Yeah, we'll give you college but you're just going to need two years, not more than that" – even though San Antonio College and St. Philips (two-year community colleges) were just down the street.

Another legislator said, "You know how every university has its priorities when they come before the legislature? Well, UTSA's president did not want (the Downtown Campus) at all. When it came time for his budget to be approved, and since most of the legislators, particularly those from South Texas, knew UTSA's president had given them a hard time, the president had a hard time getting his budget approved."

One legislator recalled going by the UTSA president's office, along with the Appropriations Committee Chair and two other members of the legislature, to share the good news that UTSA was getting a downtown campus with the South Texas/Border Initiative. The Chair went ahead and told UTSA's president,

"We're bringing you this money," and the president didn't say a word. We looked at each other and could read each other's minds, "Why isn't he jumping for joy?" Since I was sitting closer to the president I asked, "Excuse me, but isn't this your priority?" And he said, "Well, actually no." He pulled out a piece of paper that had his priorities listed and the downtown campus was his last priority on the list. He wanted the money to go to the 1604 campus to build another building. I remember after he told us that, of course I'm not very shy, I'm a little vocal, I told him "But it is my understanding that the community's priority is the downtown campus." And he felt that it didn't matter...like he knew better... and so, after a discussion with my colleagues we told him, "Either you take this money for the downtown campus or you aren't getting anything." And so, he was forced to take the money for the campus, and I think this story is probably not well known.

One legislator had this to say about opposition to the downtown campus:

The idea of a downtown campus came because the community had a problem with the location of the 1604 campus. UTSA's president did not support a downtown campus because he was not from here. He had no idea of our culture, our history, the history of COPS, METRO -- no idea of the single member districts for council. His real world perception was this is a university, it's in a great place and we're going to be elitists,' and that's not what this community needed. This community needed access to higher education. We've got a great community college system, but we needed those trained professionals, and the people who needed them the most were in this corridor here (downtown). None of the UTSA administrators wanted the downtown campus, not even the UT System Chancellor.

While other legislators could not recall there being any organized opposition to the development of a downtown campus, one legislator stated,

The opposition was private and articulated behind the scenes, partly because it could have been perceived as opposition to higher education for Mexican Americans. The debate focused on the location of the downtown campus and the types of programs that would be offered at that campus. Today you are unlikely to find anyone in San Antonio who would admit that he or she opposed the downtown campus.

A third legislator stated that

From basic recollection, there's always opposition to anything that I would call "poor-people driven" or the lesser likes of the community or lesser economic powers. They are always against those things that are community driven or grassroots driven. This city and county for years and years and years have been controlled by people who have the where-with- all, the old GGL (Good Government League). For 20 years, they controlled the city and everything else around it. For example, one thing that people forget, but it's still a matter of history is that for those 20 years, something either like half a million a year or a really significant amount of money was used as an infrastructure fund that was totally dedicated to the north side of San Antonio. It was a good chunk of money that was dedicated for expenditures even if they (those expenditures) were outside the city limits. City money was spent outside the city limits for infrastructure for development purposes. Everyone looks around the city and questions why the development on the north side, especially around 410 and 1604, is more advanced than it is on the south side? That is one of the reasons. It was a fact back in those days that if you put your thumb on a city map, one would find that seven out of the nine city council people lived under that thumb. So to me, it was an organization and a leadership that was dedicated to their own economic interests, that didn't give a damn about the people on the poorer sides of the city -- whether it was west, south, or east. That was essentially how that got done. But a lot of that changed between 1975 and 1977 when we went into single member districts. The move to single member districts started a significant change in attitude, approach, and awareness of the different parts of the city and their needs. Legislators who opposed the building of a downtown campus sited their concerns as having to split financial resources between two universities instead of all the allocation going to the main campus.

Another legislator stated,

No organized opposition that I can recall. Some individuals feared that the piece of the pie would get split between the two campuses and the downtown campus would always be the stepchild. It would never really be able to flourish or that the growth of the 1604 campus would be hampered. Although there may not have

been any organized opposition to having a downtown campus, there were a lot of people that were just not enthusiastic about it.

Still another legislator said, "I think those who opposed it felt that it was not necessary and downtown property could be used for other things rather than having an educational institution there – so close to tourism, sports, whatever – that it wouldn't be feasible to have an educational institution. I think that was some of the criticism."

One legislator said,

Yes, there was opposition from Texas, A & M, those (universities) were the strong ones and they had to be kept healthy, so yes, of course you had some opposition. But we had a band of legislators who could strategize and educate the others by having them look at the fairness issue, and they agreed -- it is only fair that the border towns get funded. If they couldn't be persuaded then there was a lot of danger in us killing their bills. We were about 35 members in the legislature...you play nice and go with us and if you don't understand that this is a fair thing to do, then we'll go other ways." In recalling the decision to put the UTSA campus at its current location, this legislator had this to say, "Somebody was trying to make money when UTSA was built on the north side, but what else is new? And so the power pushed it over there, and it made it difficult for students to get there, but that was not important (to them) – what was important was that somebody was going to make money.

This was another legislator's perception.

If you look back in terms of that whole effort (South Texas/Boarder Initiative) a consortium that extended from El Paso to Brownsville was developed. The attitude from the Valley was that San Antonio already had everything, and they didn't have anything. And we said basically, "Bullshit, we're not going to play this game. We're also not in it unless we come up with a formula that distributed the money based on an area's population." From the beginning, we had a battle with UT because they were obstructionists – they never supported us – all the way to the end. I filed legislation to create a campus in 1991-92 – a second campus, not necessarily downtown. I filed a bill that tied this campus to Texas A & M, a bill that tied it to UT, and a bill that tied it to Texas Tech because the speaker of the house was from Texas Tech, Pete Laney. We pushed for this campus not to be tied to UT because they were the ones that were the main obstacle and we said, "To hell with you. We'll just create another one" (campus not affiliated with you). A battle took place. We were all united in putting the squeeze on the rest and said, "Hey, we're not going to play ball unless San Antonio gets its fair share." Steve Murdock, state demographer was saying at that time that if we did not produce more graduates the state was going to be in trouble. We knew that unless we doubled the number of (higher educational) institutions we were going to be in trouble. We saw two roads, one where the system was establishing criteria to make it more difficult (for minorities) to get in by putting a gap on enrollment or taking another road by building more campuses that allowed opportunities for more people. And most of them (legislators) wanted to take the second route so we figured out that the only way we were going to make this happen was by suing them and suing their asses. Excuse me.

This same legislator stated, "We initially had some concerns about the site for the UTSA Downtown Campus. It was thought to be contaminated and it had problems that might restrict its growth. But, *gracias a Dios* (thank God), it's turned out to be a great, great asset and it's been real positive." This legislator said that,

In the beginning when people were fighting us, we figured the only way it's (another campus) going to succeed is for it to stand alone. I thought about having it as part of the Texas A & M system, separate from UT, or part of the Texas Tech System because I figured if it's a stepchild, it's just going to create a problem in terms of being treated as such and not given the respect that it should have. I have always felt that if you have the two systems here (in San Antonio), A & M and UT, that's the best of both worlds. What better situation can you have than having an A & M System or a Texas Tech System fighting for money for your own community? Que mas quieres (What more do you want)? I knew Texas A & M had had a problem because politically they are in rural areas. Say that you're in Bryan, you have one legislator supporting you. But if you are here (in San Antonio), you have 11 state representatives supporting you. A & M is not located in urban areas, les combiene (it's to their advantage) being in an urban area because you can automatically appeal to 11 state representatives and several senators verses in a rural area, where nomas tienes uno (you only have one)...I still feel that's why it's an advantage to have them (a Texas A & M campus) here.

"As you recall," said one legislator, "the land for the Downtown Campus was donated by the Bill Miller family and there was some thought about trying to sell the land for some other purpose." Another legislator's comment was that

As always, just like right now, there's concern about locating a branch of Texas A & M Kingsville in San Antonio. Where are you going to get the money from the legislature? Right now everyone is asking me "Where are you going to get the money for the Texas A & M campus when we have all these other higher ed institutions (to support)?"

When another legislator was asked if there was opposition to the development of a downtown campus he replied, "Yes there was, and I was among those that opposed this idea." He continued.

The idea of spreading money between the two campuses when dollars at the state level were pretty short as they always are, it seemed to me that we would probably be able to get even more money from the state if we concentrated on funding in full a first-class university instead of having two campuses competing with each other for the same dollars. So I thought it was shortsighted in the long term and that we really shouldn't have two UTSA campuses in the same county.

Still another legislator commented, "Some people did not oppose the concept, but privately opposed the location of the downtown campus. Others opposed the concept because of the limited resources and the need to invest more money in the main campus at 1604." She further stated, "The UTSA main campus needs new infrastructure, but at the time it was clear that state support was shrinking each legislative session for higher education. The concern was that we could not afford to build another campus with shrinking resources when there was inadequate support for the existing campus."

A number of legislators stated that UTSA's president and the UT System Chancellor were opposed to having a downtown campus. One legislator said that it was an uphill battle with the UT System Chancellor. Another said, "The chancellor did not want another campus until we played the race card." This legislator went on to say,

I don't think it was blatant purposeful disregard; it's just that they had no concept of the need for this campus. Most of my constituents have cars and it's the beautiful Texas pride that says you're able to pull yourself up from your boot straps. It's great, but what about when that rugged individualism that we admire crosses paths with what I think is our Latino culture. For example, in our Latino culture, we grew up hearing our grandma say, "Ay hijita, que seas humilde" (On my little one, grow up to be humble). Our Catholic faith reminds us to "be humble, have humility." This is a beautiful part of our Latino culture, but when you have to advocate for the location of a hospital or a university, "Que seas humilde, hija", that beautiful part of our Mexican Catholic culture puts us at a disadvantage with resources. This is very different than cities located in the South that have a predominantly African-American minority. In the South, public universities were built downtown. Public hospitals are in the central business

district. If you look at Latino communities across the country, a lot of the movement of those public infrastructure institutions moved to non Latino areas. That didn't occur in African American communities. The African American culture is very different than the Latino culture in that we are a humble people and do not demand things that we need. We say things like, "Oh, we're so excited, wouldn't it be great if we had it here (near our homes) and yet, do nothing about it?" There were a couple of folks that said that UTSA's location may not have been the best place for it, but the land was given, the university made its decision...Where it should have gone originally was on the south side. That's where it should have gone. But that's not where the developers were.

A column written by former County Judge Albert Pena said of the new campus, "This in small part would make up for the rape of the inner city by former Governor John Connally, his controlled board of regents and his cohorts who bought land in cow pastures located close to Boerne, Texas and built what they called UTSA" (La Prensa, 1994).

A Site for the Downtown Campus

Having overcome opposition to a downtown campus and receiving the appropriations to build it, discussions then focused on its site. One of the locations centered on the Fiesta Mall (also known as the "pink elephant" and the "Pepto Bizmall"). This mall was a specialty mall that was built in 1982 and closed in 1988. The land and building were up for sale. Besides the Millers, there were two other buyers interested in purchasing the property according to one of the legislators. According to this legislator, a bid came from "An investment company out of California, an anonymous firm represented by a San Antonio lawyer whose purpose was for the San Antonio Police and Firefighters Pension Fund to have as an investment." When asked how she was able to convince the other bidders to bow out so that the Miller family could purchase the property, she simply replied, "It was three weeks of 'Please, please, please."

Eventually, Bill Miller Bar-B-Q Enterprises, Inc. purchased the site for approximately one million dollars in February 1993 and the property was donated to UTSA in October 1993. Prior to the Millers' purchase, concern existed about the "possibility of groundwater hydrocarbon contamination from former gas stations and repair garages" (UTSA, 1995). The Resolution Trust Corporation authorized a complete Phase II environmental study and assessment of the site. A separate study was completed on the 1.679 acre tract adjacent to the former Fiesta Plaza Mall site. Both studies concluded no significant major water contamination and no significant environmental impact and therefore, this property proved to be a feasible site for the UTSA Downtown Campus. The Miller family donated all but the 1.679 (Mario's Restaurant property) acre tract to the university. This site already belonged to the Millers and they had already invested \$600,000 as a possible site for the location of one of their restaurants. As it turned out, UTSA and the Miller family exchanged properties. The Millers wanted a parcel of property in Austin that belonged to UT-Austin as a future site for one of their restaurants. UTSA purchased that property from UT-Austin for \$670,000, took ownership of the property, and then traded the Austin property for the Mario's Restaurant site. The prospective UTSA Downtown Campus now had 10.86 acres for its construction.

The site is located in the Vista Verde South neighborhood. The property is also located in a historical area called Cattleman Square. The name refers to "the days of the great cattle drives on the Chisholm Trail for which the Cattleman Square area served as staging grounds. This property is easily accessible from a network of highways that surround the downtown area" (UTSA, 1995).

Opponents Unified in Support of the Downtown Campus

When asked if they favored the establishment of the UTSA Downtown Campus, the legislators had this to say. One senator stated, "As a champion of higher education and as an advocate for lower income students, I championed this opportunity to increase access to quality higher education. Because I understood the importance of this campus to my constituents, I allocated funding that was earmarked for my district, which also enjoyed increased funding." Another legislator responded by saying, "Now that's a silly question." There was a single-word response to the "If so, why?" question by the same legislator – "equality." Another legislator stated, "Our entire future is the education of our young people, and the fact that UTSA and UTSA Downtown have a tremendous number of minorities is indicative that accessibility of the Downtown Campus has improved opportunities for minorities, and it's not only minorities but poor people in general have more accessibility to UTSA by there being a UTSA Downtown."

Another legislator said, "Yes – it's so symbolic to have a downtown presence – so all I can think of is just an affirmation that it was a very good decision to locate it downtown." One of the legislators, who opposed having a downtown campus said,

The Downtown Campus has been a pleasant surprise in that we now have somewhere between 25,000 and 30,000 students at the UTSA 1604 Campus and between 6,000 and 7,000 at the Downtown Campus. That you have that much of a demand for higher education in this part of the state that apparently we've now justified not only having the 1604 campus and the Downtown Campus in the UT System, but in addition, an A & M Campus on the south side as well. I'm pleased to see that the UT System has not duplicated courses so that you don't waste money by having duplicate course offerings in the same system at the same time. That, I believe, is not a good use of our money. But as long as you are having separate academic curriculum on the two campuses and serving a significant number of people as both campuses are today, it's been successful.

He went on to share an interesting anecdote with me,

When the architects were presenting to the Bexar County delegation at a briefing at the Radisson Hotel, which is across the street from the Downtown Campus

about 12 - 15 years ago, they were talking about a need for more parking spaces. Senator Luna (whose main concern was that our minority students did not have car transportation to the 1604 campus and that's why we needed a downtown campus) said "Yeah, we need to work out something with TX Dot underneath I-35 because we've got this state-owned land we could have for all the students' automobiles." And I said, "But Greg, the argument for locating the campus down here was because all your people were poor and they didn't have cars and they were going to be walking from their homes." Of course he thought that was silly and tacky of me to bring up the fact that his original argument really wasn't a very good argument that there were so many cars that they needed extra parking.

Another legislator stated,

I support it – it's proven to be a great success. I've always been supportive of institutions of higher education in this community. It's obvious that there is a tremendous vacuum in San Antonio and Bexar County. We're the eighth largest city in the United States – 19% of our student population has degrees. A few miles from here is Austin where 40% of their student population has degrees. You go to Dallas where they have four institutions of higher learning, so it's very obvious that San Antonio, even today, is lacking in having higher education institutions. With both UTSA 1604 and the Downtown Campus, we are still far behind our counterparts across the state of Texas. I support both the 1604 and the Downtown Campus wholeheartedly.

One senator stated that the Downtown Campus

Continues to serve a great need for our community. More than 6,000 students are enrolled at the Downtown Campus and take classes at the undergraduate, masters and doctoral levels. It has grown to serve the needs of many downtown employees who can pursue undergraduate and advanced degrees. UTSA is the second largest component institution in the UT System. With more than 27,000 students, it is one of the fastest growing universities in Texas. The main campus has been overcrowded for decades and desperately needs more and better infrastructure. The Downtown Campus not only has provided needed higher education services to the community, but also has served as an enormous generator for the downtown area through student spending, faculty and staff spending, and construction and vending jobs. It houses the San Antonio Technology Accelerator Initiative, a technology booster organization for technology start up companies which raised more than \$3.8 million in funding and \$9.2 million in venture capital for companies. Also home to UTSA Downtown is the Institute for Economic Development that assists more than 25,000 small business owners in 79 counties, creating an economic impact of more than \$283 million in small business loans and counseling services. The Downtown Campus also houses the UTSA School of Architecture that has the second highest number of architecture majors in the entire State of Texas.

This senator had obviously done her homework!

Still another legislator said,

The demographics of the population are very indicative that the accessibility and the location are very, very important to the community particularly to those who need it the most. And the fact is that the large number are people who are poor, hard-working or rather the children of the people who are poor and hard-working. Our population for San Antonio south has a very low percentage that graduate from universities. It is simply that if you emphasize the availability and accessibility you get a great number of people to universities. One of the things that goes hand in hand with this is that once you have a community that is committed to making education accessible to the entire community, particularly the working poor, it creates a mind set that we're no longer going to play this game that we cater only to those who have the where with all. We cater to only those that are non-minorities with money. 'Cause there are a lot of poor white folks that get hurt by the mind set of we'll just continue to do things the way we always have which is elitism or exclusivity. So we get away from that and that is one of the things that is crucial about this happening (the Downtown Campus), this great achievement – that it is a breakthrough and not only that it is a breakthrough for having a Downtown Campus but look who's the president. We now have a *Mexicano* who is president of UTSA and one who president of the UT Health Science Center and I am very proud to be one of the people who played a significant part in seeing that happen.

Another legislator stated,

The Downtown Campus is developing a pre-law program, their architecture school is located at the Downtown Campus and I think some programs are starting to move to the Downtown Campus because of the support the downtown community can give it. So I think it's great especially when you see that it replaced a vacant mall. With the donation by the Miller family for the Downtown Campus, it (the area) is not run down at all, it's vibrant, it's having some connection with the hotel (across the street), the police station, the municipal court and other buildings right across the street from it. And I think (the Downtown Campus) is expanding over towards Cattleman's Square now. So I think that it was a very good decision to locate it downtown.

One legislator said,

I think we're going to see the school of architecture totally moved to the Downtown Campus (it already has moved). I really think we are going to be growing some more. We need to look creatively as to how this can happen. I always knew we had to buy the Business Technology Center. I always looked at the parking lot (located under I-35) and I don't want to be constricted just by that freeway but we need to look at ways to mesh with the community...There is a

huge area of public policy and public health policy that could be developed in that corridor (the Robert B. Green Hospital is located within walking distance from the Downtown Campus)...We have to expand. We have to.

In reminiscing over the groundbreaking ceremony of the Downtown Campus, one legislator said, "Now the Lanier (a high school located within walking distance of the Downtown Campus) kids are going to grow up in the shadow of a university instead of growing up in the shadow of the Bexar County Jail" (located two blocks from the Downtown Campus). She continued, "I love it (the Downtown Campus) because it's on Buena Vista (translated means a good or fine view) Street – this is very significant because the students now have a view to a better future."

Community constituents are still unified in support of the Downtown Campus. Just last summer (2005), UTSA exchanged property with the City of San Antonio. The City wanted a parcel of UTSA-owned property located at HemisFair Plaza (5.995 acres) and, in an effort to have room for future growth, UTSA exchanged their property for the City-owned Cattleman's Square (2.077 acres) and the property where the Business Technology Center (5.297 acres) was located. UTSA later purchased the Business Technology Center Building from its owner, Business Technology Center, L.P., for \$8,200,000. Both properties are adjacent to the UTSA Downtown Campus. The UTSA School of Architecture is now housed in the Business Technology Center, renamed the Monterrey Building after its purchase.

SUMMARY

This study proposed to examine the factors that led to the development of public policy resulting in the creation of a second UTSA campus in downtown San Antonio. The legislators interviewed concurred that there was a lingering resentment in the

community over the selection of UTSA's location in the 1970s that placed the university 18 miles from downtown San Antonio. The community felt this location was inaccessible to students living in the south, west and east sides of San Antonio. Through the years, this resentment just kept growing. One legislator stated,

Back in the early 70s, single member districts were imposed on the legislature. Before that we had county-wide elections. And certain people reflected the power structure and the people in control. These individuals were white, Anglo-Saxons with money. That's who controlled the legislature, controlled the city, and controlled the county. That changed when single-member districts were introduced. That chance affected members of the legislature and the city council. That's when people from those districts were elected and these people started speaking about the needs of their communities and about the aspirations of the communities they served. So it was during this time that awareness of communities' needs came to fruition. We were considered liberal. It's no secret that liberals as we were labeled, were wild hair crazy people that were out to do in our country. Well we put people before profit, we put families before finance, and the Republican Party's job, if there's an issue, they look at it from the standpoint of profit and finance before they look at the human side of it.

With the addition of single member districts, middle-class Mexican Americans surfaced in the political arena. Timing is everything, and it seemed like the right time for the community to take the fight of a new campus to a new level. In the 1980s, Mayor Cisneros formed the Education Task Force of the *Target '90 Goals for San Antonio*. One of the recommendations was to locate a satellite of UTSA in HemisFair Plaza (located in downtown San Antonio). Then LULAC and the GI Forum filed a lawsuit against the State of Texas and Governor Ann Richards in the early 1990s because residents of South Texas felt the legislature had not provided equal access to institutions of higher education to the people of South Texas. About this same time, a coalition representing various entities, and the Mexican American Caucus of Texas legislators started developing the South Texas/Border Initiative, fearing LULAC was going to lose its case against the State. Although the Supreme Court of Texas reversed the trial court's decision and rendered in favor of the defendants, by that time, the South Texas/Border Initiative had

been approved by the Texas legislature. This Initiative provided \$302 million in new state resources at 11 institutions, including five components of the UT System: UT San Antonio, UT Health Science Center – San Antonio, UT Pan American, UT Brownsville, and UT El Paso. UTSA received \$71.5 million, \$20 million of which was designated for the creation of a downtown campus.

As previously noted, formulation of public policy took place among different constituencies. Negotiations took place among members of the South Texas Coalition and the Mexican American Caucus of the Texas legislators. These groups met throughout South Texas strategizing ways of getting their needs met. Discussions then took place among legislators pertaining to the Mexican American Caucus with outside legislators. Meetings with the Appropriations Committee Chair, the Finance Committee Chair, and the Lieutenant Governor were also held. This coalition was able to stick together to fight for the South Texas Region's needs and pushed their agenda right through the Appropriations Committee process. This is how coalitions were involved and how public policy was developed. Communities in South Texas gained sufficient political power to influence policy because by this time, there were numerous Mexican American politicians in the field ready to fight for their constituencies' rights for equality and easily accessible institutions of higher education. According to one legislator, "Vigilance was maintained throughout the entire process by the legislators who were part of the Mexican American Caucus."

At the groundbreaking ceremony, a UTSA freshman had this to say,

The opening of UTSA Downtown...is making it possible for me and many students like me to receive quality college education closer to home. Less time commuting to campus means more time for our studies, for our jobs, and for our families. On behalf of all those student attending UTSA Downtown and to those who will pursue degrees here in years to come, I want to thank UTSA, the UT System, the Board of Regents, the Texas Legislature, the local business community, donors to the Downtown Scholarship Initiative and all those who

have contributed in some way to making the dream of a college degree come a giant step closer to reality for many San Antonio residents. UTSA, welcome to the neighborhood. Welcome home.

Chapter Five: Recommendations and Conclusion

OVERVIEW

This case study examined the factors that resulted in the development of the legislation, leading to the creation of a second campus for the University of Texas at San Antonio, a city historically comprised of underrepresented populations in higher education. The question addressed in this study is as follows: "What factors led to the development of public policy that resulted in a second UTSA campus in downtown San Antonio?" Some of the factors examined included the predisposing conditions of racism in South Texas, and the economic and political power in San Antonio since the 1950s. This study also explored the question of why San Antonio, the eighth largest city in the United States, did not have a comprehensive, public, institution of higher learning similar to other Texas cities, and more importantly, once acquiring one, why, there was a need for a second one. To this end, I obtained the names, addresses, and telephone numbers of the legislators who were member of the Bexar County delegation during the 73rd legislative session. While I had hoped to survey all 15 members of this delegation, I was only able to interview 12 because one had passed away, another had moved to Washington D.C., and I was unable to contact the third legislator. Twelve legislators were interviewed; their responses were transcribed and sent to them for any additional comments or corrections. After analyzing the data, the results were summarized and interpreted.

Chapter Five is divided into seven sections. The first section starts with an overview of the study. Section Two summarizes the findings of the study. The third section provides the results of the study in light of the literature. Section Four discusses the implication for university leaders. Section Five reviews the limitations of the study.

Section Six provides recommendations for future study and Section Seven presents a conclusion.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

There had been a long-standing, lingering resentment in the community over UTSA's site selection. Located on the northwest outskirts of San Antonio, it was closer to the city of Boerne than to the south or west sides of the city. A number of the legislators interviewed for this study referred to UTSA as The University of Texas at Boerne and they were not joking. Prior to this site selection, the emergency services for maternity cases handled by the downtown unit of the Bexar County Hospital District had been moved from the downtown San Antonio to a site on the far northwest side, which the community believed, made emergency care less accessible. So the Hispanic community was still burning over that move when the "powers that be," as the legislators called them, located UTSA even further away than the county hospital.

The community had always wanted an accessible public university to serve the educational needs of those students who had no access to a public university – particularly for those who lived in the east, west, and south sides of town. By accessible, the legislators meant that the Hispanic residents of east, west and south sides of San Antonio could ride the bus, with one or less transfers. This accessibility was important because very few Hispanic students owned cars. To make matters worse, there was no direct bus transportation to this site, and the trip for students living on the south and west sides took two hours and up to three bus transfers.

During this time, the legislators discussed the presence of a political machine comprised of developers ruled the city government. Although developers donated the land for the new university, they kept the surrounding land for speculation purposes. Some legislators interviewed called this "donation" a "development deal".

All the legislators interviewed for this study agreed that what motivated people to pursue a second UTSA campus in downtown San Antonio was the inaccessibility of the first campus. As far as these legislators could recall, the movement to have a second campus downtown began the day the site for UTSA was selected in the early 1970s.

In 1975, the city went to single member districts, which enabled many minorities to run for city council posts. This resulted in a significant change in the city's politics because for the first time, these new council members brought with them an awareness of what other parts of the city needed.

Throughout the 1970s and into the 1990s, the move for a Downtown Campus was a grassroots effort. One legislator stated, "When I got to the legislature, there was already this huge resentment from the district I represented and I represented the inner city corridor." The community began moving towards having a second campus as early as 1984 when the current mayor, Henry Cisneros created the Education Task Force of the *Target '90 Goals for San Antonio*. One of the recommendations was to place a major "educational satellite of the University of Texas at San Antonio...at HemisFair Plaza" (location in downtown San Antonio) (Berriozabal, 1999). In 1987, the League of United Latin American Citizens filed litigation against the Texas state governor to address the violation of Mexican Americans' constitutional rights of having unequal access to a public university of the first class. This case was tried in 1991 and decided in favor of LULAC in 1992. See *Richards v. LULAC*, et al., 868 S.W.2d 306 (1993).

On another front, legislative members from South Texas were already working on the South Texas/Border Initiative that would provide \$352.4 million for new education programs and buildings at 19 universities in South Texas and the Border Region. Although the Texas Supreme Court reversed the trial's court decision in 1994, the South Texas/Border Initiative had already been approved by the Texas legislature. This piece of legislation provided \$20 million for the construction of the UTSA Downtown Campus along with other appropriations to South Texas universities. The Mexican American Caucus of legislators who had met and negotiated for this legislation was ecstatic. The Bexar County delegation was also thrilled they had received the monies needed for this Downtown Campus. However, they were now faced with the fact that a downtown campus was the UTSA president's lowest priority. Some of the legislators speculated that this may have been due to the president believing that the creation of another campus would have diluted appropriations to the 1604 campus.

During the appropriations process, officials from all public universities presented their budgets to the legislative committee. But since some of the legislators on the committee knew what the UTSA president had put the Bexar County legislators through, they gave him a hard time when it was his turn to present the UTSA budget.

Once the money had been appropriated by the legislature, the discussion focused on its location. In 1993, Bill Miller Bar-B-Q Enterprises Inc. purchased and donated the Fiesta Plaza location for the site of the UTSA Downtown Campus. Twenty million dollars was provided for its construction by the South Texas/Border Initiative.

As one legislator who opposed the building of a downtown campus stated, "The UTSA Downtown Campus has been a pleasant surprise." In 1993, The Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board granted permission to temporarily expand courses to the Cypress Towers downtown while the new Downtown Campus was being constructed (See Appendix E). Classes began in January 1994 (See Appendix F). By June 1994, the UT System Board of Regents approved the Downtown Campus building plans, and in August 1995 the groundbreaking for the first Downtown Campus building took place

(See Appendix G and Appendix H). The first classes were held in the Downtown Campus' first building in July 1997.

Additional legislative support allowed expansion of the UTSA Campus to include four modern state of the art buildings, a 19,000-square-foot library, 150-seat computer lab, a professional theater, an art gallery, a student activities center, dining facilities and a parking garage (See Appendix I). Today, the Downtown Campus offers 16 undergraduate and seven graduate degree programs with over 500 course offerings.

"Build it and they will come" was the phrase recalled by one of the legislators (See Appendices J, K, and L). They built it and the students have come (See Appendix M). Student enrollment has grown from 909 in its first year of operation at Cypress Tower in 1995 to more than 6,000 student enrolled in 2006. The Downtown Campus is already out of classroom and faculty office space, and in an effort to ensure future growth for UTSA Downtown; the City of San Antonio exchanged property with UTSA in 2005 that was directly across the street. The City was given some acreage at HemisFair Plaza that belonged to UTSA and, in turn, UTSA was given Cattleman Square and the property where the Business Technology Center (BTC) building is located. The BTC building was then purchased from the Business Technology Center, L.P. and is now the site of UTSA's School of Architecture.

RESULTS IN LIGHT OF THE LITERATURE

Studying the access of minorities to institutions of higher education required a theoretical framework that critically examined the issue of racism. This study used Critical Race Theory (CRT) to examine how racism may have ignored the academic needs of minorities in South Texas. "CRT can produce theory that will more actively play

out in the transformation of American society and move toward the liberation of all people of color" (Jaramillo, 1996). CRT provided a framework by which one could understand the racial dynamics that occurred in the history of Texas, and continues to occur in South Texas.

The four key features of Critical Race Theory are the nature of race and racism, the concept of interest convergence, commitment to the social construction thesis, and differential racialization.

With regards to the nature of race and racism, in the case of opening the Downtown Campus of UTSA, the need to have access to comprehensive public universities in the South Texas Region by minorities motivated legislators to develop policy that would impact and transform the larger society. The highly motivated legislators transformed South Texas higher education in a manner similar to the transformation that was discussed by critical race theorists. Despite the reluctance of the South Texas legislators to discuss the issue of racism by the dominant society in Texas, the use of Critical Race Theory allowed the researcher to identify racism as a factor impeding access to minorities to comprehensive, public institutions of higher education in South Texas. The Texas Supreme Court in 1983 declined to hold that intentional racism by Texas lawmakers was the driving factor behind the allocation of funds and programs in Texas higher education. Nonetheless, while I agree that intentional racism was not proven, the backdrop of second-class status of Hispanics in Texas is consistent with my understanding the reason the majority of the University of Texas System components were located outside the South Texas perimeter. This is consistent with the first key feature of CRT—the nature of race in Texas.

The second key feature of CRT revolves around the issue of interest convergence.

This relates to the sub-theory that a white dominant group will advance the interests of

minorities when it is in the best interest of whites to do so (Delgado and Stefanic, 2001). This is what may have happened when San Antonio's Good Government League invited minorities to run for city council positions. Most of these minorities were what the literature calls "privileged" minorities (Jaramillo, 1996). My perception is that CRT correctly predicted the behavior of minority city council members who voted in the interests of the white dominant groups that helped elect them.

The departure from CRT occurred in the development of higher education opportunities in South Texas, though. CRT would have me predict that the difference between the privileged and underprivileged has to do with socioeconomic class and educational attainment. As these privileged minorities climb the social ladder of success, some may adapt to the white man's way. Once in politics they forget where they came from, they forget about their people's needs, their barrio's needs. However, in the history of growth of higher education opportunities in South Texas, the "privileged" Hispanic legislators interviewed for this study stayed true to their racial roots and decided not to vote in the interests of the dominant white constituency. Instead, the legislators interviewed transformed the South Texas Region by providing access to public universities to minorities in this particular geographical area. Rather than representing the interests of dominant society, the legislators succeeded in stimulating positive social change.

Interest convergence may have also occurred when Frank Erwin, chair of the UT Board of Regents approached Senator Joe Bernal with a proposition – if Bernal supported him at the Texas Senate Confirmation hearing, Bernal could have anything he wanted. CRT correctly explains that the dominant power structure intended to use Senator Bernal to further the dominant interest. That interaction between majority and minority leaders gave birth to the idea of authorizing the creation of the UTSA 1604 campus.

Interest convergence could have played a part in the location of the UTSA 1604 campus. The land was donated for the UTSA to be located near Loop1604. Interest convergence theory appropriately explains that the dominant white developers and not the minority constituents would make a financial gain from the site location. Similarly, in the case of the location decision regarding UTSA Downtown, a large percentage of the property was also donated. In a step that benefited both Anglo and Hispanics, UTSA administrators paid the Miller Family \$600,000 for the 1.679 acres adjacent to this property to allow full development of the Durango Street site. The theory that dominant and secondary interests converged in decisions regarding higher education expansion in South Texas is rational and helpful to me as a researcher.

It is also helpful to understand that the interests of people in South Texas, especially in San Antonio are more complicated than merely White and Brown, or rich and poor. Hispanics in South Texas are intersectional because they are comprised of several variables like race or ethnic group, class, language, culture, religion, and national origin. According to the literature, individuals like these exist at an intersection of recognized sites of oppression (Jaramillo, 1996). While Hispanics are considered part of the white race, their skin color is brown, and most are at the bottom of the socioeconomic scale. These are individuals living in a society where the standards are those of a white, middle- and upper-class society –a society where many may believe that Mexicans are second-class citizens and not worthy of a comprehension higher education. Intersectional people are discussed in Critical Race Theory with the premise that different environments, different set of experiences, family, race, produce intersectional people. This may explain why the sub-theory of convergence of interests did not fully predict the decisions by the state legislators to move more resources to South Texas.

The third key feature of CRT states that race is socially constructed. Race is not a biologic reality. That sub-feature did not help explain the history or the interview results. I did not find that element of CRT applicable.

Similarly, the fourth key feature of CRT—differential racialization- was not apt for the study. Even though our legislators spoke of Hispanics in South Texas, the label did not hinder them from advancing the interests of Hispanic constituents to a large The fourth feature of CRT deals with the dominant culture labeling the degree. subordinate culture in a way that keeps them oppressed. While this labeling did not successfully deter the legislators from expanding higher education opportunities in the early 1990s, the labeling appears to me to affect South Texas today. For example, all we have to do is to look in today's newspapers and read headlines like "Throngs rally across U.S." (Express-News, 2006). According to this newspaper article, "Hundreds of thousands of immigrants and their supporters across the country took to the streets Monday in a nationwide boycott aimed at halting the machinery of commerce in a show of solidarity opposing anti-immigration legislation" (Express-News, 2006). This major grassroots movement was formed from groups of intersectional people who have a common experience of having been labeled as immigrants, or illegals, or "wets". The immigrants have been oppressed, discriminated against, and now want their voices heard by Congress as they deal with new immigration issues. Hopefully, they have mobilized effectively for positive social change in the United States.

The Critical Race Theory, with only two components having implications for my understanding of the situation in higher education in San Antonio, leads me to appreciate how significance of the transformations by the South Texas legislative delegation. The fact that no delegation after them was able to mobilize their energies to bring about similar needed change in public policy for access by minorities to higher education is

consistent with Critical Race Theory's premise that the racism in still institutionalized. Our delegation of minorities now face financial problems once again, similar to the shortfalls and second-class treatment that occurred before the South Texas higher education initiative of the early 1990s.

This brings me to the topic of positionality as a researcher. I find that I position myself in various contexts. I am a Hispanic, middle-class woman pursuing a Ph.D. I am also a single mom with a son in college. I have life experiences, spiritual beliefs and historical contexts that are part of my positionality. I grew up in a white, middle-class neighborhood on northeast side of San Antonio. It was there that I first heard the word "spik." I went to middle-class parochial schools that enrolled only a handful of Mexican American children. My father lost his job because of alcoholism when I was in the seventh grade. Two parents and seven children then moved to a one bedroom house on the west side of town – the Mexican side of town. I was ashamed of where I lived and was determined never to let that happen to my children. I knew education was the only way out of poverty and went on to college. As they say, the rest is history.

According to Louis & Barton (2002), "Understanding positionality is crucial to understanding the subjectivity of researchers...Positionality describes how people are defined ...by their location within shifting networks of relationships which can be analyzed and changed. (They also define) positionality as the 'knower's specific position in any context defined by race, gender, class and other socially significant dimensions'." My positionality reflects the importance of a quality college education and perhaps was the impetus for this research. Throughout the interview process, I was very aware of my positionality but made an effort to keep the questions and the analysis of the results objective. I had no reservations about meeting individually with the legislators and

perhaps my 30 years experience in public relations helped erase some anxiety. I felt most comfortable interviewing the female, Hispanic legislators. I could relate to some of the cultural values they brought up. During the interviews, when they spoke in Spanish, I responded in Spanish then went right back into English with no problem. It was not as easy conversing with the Hispanic male legislators because they felt a little overbearing. Although they were very polite, I felt like they were talking down to me. Even though I was nervous with the first white male legislator I interviewed (perhaps because I knew he had opposed the Downtown Campus), he put me at ease right away and we were able to complete the interview process without a glitch. Once I transcribed their interviews and provided them with copies to review and approve, I knew I had held my positionality in check.

I also considered my positionality at the point that I first began transcribing and interpreting my findings regarding the interviews of the Texas legislators. In my first draft, I was hesitant to report fully my observations because I was aware of my background as a Hispanic female with a deep interest in opportunities for Hispanics in higher education. However, after checking with objective readers and having a dialog with the legislators who had had a chance to read my first draft of the transcriptions, I gained more confidence that my writings accurately reflected their own observations, without bias or interference from my own position. I checked with members of my dissertation committee, who were racially, ethnically and gender diverse to ensure that my strong feelings in favor of Hispanic inclusion in higher education did not sway my writings or findings. While not a complete fit for organizing thoughts about the development of higher education policy in South Texas, CRT helped to provide a conceptual framework for interpreting the findings in this study.

Along with Critical Race Theory, political theory was used to offer a description of the legislators' behavior in response to the community's need for minority access to a comprehensive public university. I was not able to apply political theory, such as Gertson's triggering mechanism theory, to the issue of the opening of the 1604 campus because almost no documentation exists for me to analyze this situation. However, the interviews I conducted, along with archived news stories, made it possible to examine the opening of the Downtown Campus using the triggering mechanism theory.

.Once the movement for a second campus began, Gertson's triggering mechanisms theory fell into place. This theory provided a model by which the researcher could study the scope, intensity, and timing that resulted in legislation and a second UTSA campus in San Antonio. My research showed that the process to open an accessible downtown campus included two distinct triggers. The first trigger consisted of the lawsuit brought by community non-profit organizations, including American G .I. Forum and LULAC. The second trigger was the development of the South Texas Border Initiative, an effort to coordinate long-range planning and legislative for close to one-fourth of the state's counties and population. These two triggers had a pronounced effect on the development of the policy because the statewide scope of the problem, the degree of intense community focus on the problem, and the right circumstances had arisen for applying a legislative solution to the problem.

The more pronounced the scope, intensity, and timing became, the more significant they were in the development of public policy. These triggering mechanisms were a very important part of the policy-making process when the ramifications of UTSA's location adversely affected a larger sector (scope) of the community. The community believed that UTSA's location was both geographically and psychologically removed from the minority constituencies it had planned to serve. In this case study,

scope was defined by the number of minorities in San Antonio who were now in public office and the population growth in the Hispanic community. Besides the minorities who were a part of the Bexar County delegation, San Antonio also had a Hispanic mayor who recommended as part of the Target '90 Goals for San Antonio, there be a major educational satellite of the University of Texas at San Antonio at HemisFair Plaza in downtown San Antonio. Moreover, the San Antonio community was affected by legislators in the rest of South Texas who helped the Bexar County delegation win financial support through the South Texas Initiative. At the same time, the Bexar delegation affected the rest of South Texas by lending support to the efforts of the other legislators.

The lingering resentment in the community over UTSA's location in northwest San Antonio had now become more intense. Each of the legislators interviewed responded that the problem of the lack of a downtown campus was urgent, requiring immediate attention. From the most senior senator, to the most junior state representative, each elected member of the Bexar County legislative delegation spoke about the growing pressure to have an accessible campus downtown.

The scope and intensity were present and now, the timing was right to make a move. Hispanic legislators from Texas formed a coalition, the Mexican American Legislative Caucus, to pursue the needs of their communities, and LULAC filed against the state of Texas for equal opportunity to comprehensive public universities. These events, combined with growing community pressure to have a centrally located public university, "converged in the final push" (Berriozabal, 1999). These mechanisms provided support for what the community needed, getting a coalition to fight for it, and then demanding political action from their legislators.

Timing was crucial. For the South Texas Region, the sentiment voiced by the Hispanic could be expressed as "Ya basta" ("We've had enough".) The minority legislators stated that they exhausted all efforts to "make things right."

Many factors came into play in this policy-making process: the history and social factors of the region, the community's values, and what made the Downtown Campus a reality was the growth in the number of minority legislators in the State legislature. The community had an issue that needed legislative action. They contacted their legislators. Minority legislators from the state formed a caucus among different constituency groups that agreed that something needed to be done about the lack of public, comprehensive universities throughout South Texas. The minority legislators used the pending appeal of the district court ruling in the case brought by LULAC and G. I. Forum as leverage to convince the majority to the Texas legislature to approve the South Texas Initiative. Before the Supreme Court ruled on the case, the Initiative was passed to fund an additional \$460 million to nine border area campuses, including the Downtown Campus of UTSA. The Supreme Court used the newly-passed funding measure as proof that racism did not exist in Texas. Despite the adverse legal ruling, the community in San Antonio persisted in building a downtown campus, because the legislative measures had already passed. The rest is history.

IMPLICATIONS FOR UNIVERSITY LEADERS

Based on the knowledge gained from this study, the investigator can only recommend that leaders of institutions of higher education, especially if they are from out of state, know their communities well before making any changes at their respective colleges or universities – at least in San Antonio, Texas. Take for example, the Alamo Community College District (ACCD) that proposed a bond issue in January 2005. Part of

that bond included moving the nursing and allied health programs from San Antonio and St. Philips' colleges to the medical center. Both of these programs were easily accessible to minority students at their current location near the downtown area. The proposal for moving these programs to northwest San Antonio reopened old wounds in the community. Accessibility for minority students was once again, the key issue. With so many members of the community opposing the move of the nursing schools to the medical center, the bond issue was jeopardized. It failed on February 5, 2005.

ACCD's chancellor is from Louisiana and may have been caught off guard by this loss. He may have not known the history of how much the community resented the move of the county hospital to the northwest side or the placement of the UTSA campus on the outskirts of the city, and now he was trying to move the nursing school to again, a location not easily accessible to the minority community. This situation is similar to that of UTSA's president who was from Arizona and also may not have been aware of the community's history, culture, and its need for a centrally-located campus.

However, ACCD's leadership learned from their first failed bond issue that meeting with community organizations and business leaders to gain consensus may have helped the bond succeed. The second time around ACCD administrators held town hall meetings throughout the city. On November 2, 2005, ACCD went on the ballot again requesting a \$450 million bond issue, but this time they left the nursing and allied health programs at their original locations. The bond issue passed.

The San Antonio community valued higher education and launched a campaign where all segments of the city and state came together at different forums held throughout the state. The Mexican American Caucus of legislators educated other state legislators why voting for the South Texas/Border Initiative would be the right thing to do. They

held strong to their beliefs and received the votes needed to implement the South Texas/Border Initiative from the Texas House of Representatives and the Texas Senate.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This research is not without its limitations. The study utilized a qualitative research design and was conducted within an interpretive paradigm where trustworthiness and authenticity are used instead of generalizations. The results of this study are meaningful only within the narrow context of the number of interviews conducted -- in this case, 12. Also, the study sample was not generated randomly, but was instead drawn from a list of legislators who were members of the Bexar County delegation during the 73rd Texas legislative session. The study's focus was on how legislators developed public policy that led to the establishment of the UTSA Downtown Campus. A more global perspective would have been achieved through additional interviews with officials from the City of San Antonio and Bexar County, members of the business community, and individuals involved in the grass roots movement.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDY

Based on the research findings, there are a number of other areas that hold potential for future investigation. One of these areas is to explore the establishment of public universities in the University of Texas System in South Texas such as The University of Texas at Brownsville and The University of Texas—Pan American. This may provide a more comprehensive view of the political process and how that process leads to the implementation of public policy in higher education.

A second area that could be investigated is an issue currently in the news: the lack of funding for the Irma Lerma Rangel College of Pharmacy in Kingsville. Despite a new \$15 million building and the state's shortage of pharmacists, there is no funding for the operation of this school. "The recommended \$13 million to open the pharmacy school was cut at the same time that \$13.5 million was moved to open an OB/GYN program in Craddick's hometown of Midland" (Scharrer, 2006). This school is under the Texas A & M University System and would be the first professional school in South Texas.

According to a reporter who called the Public Information Office for the Texas A&M University System, "The company line there is that the system is committed to opening the pharmacy school in the fall and is spearheading the effort to secure funding" (Padilla, 2006). In her column, the reporter stated, "There appears to be a growing sentiment that the state's refusal to address the funding needs of the pharmacy school in Kingsville and other higher education programs along the border is not just about economics. Some critics are viewing the funding fiasco as an anti-border and anti-Hispanic issue" (Padilla, 2006).

A third area of study could focus on the policy-making process of establishing a Texas A & M Campus in San Antonio, Texas. Senator Frank Madla was leading the charge of making this happen until he was recently defeated by the now Senator Carlos Uresti. Only time and politics will tell if San Antonio will have a Texas A & M campus and where the site of that university will be located.

CONCLUSION

One would think in this day and age that inequity in education and racism would be a thing of the past. But the Irma Rangel School of Pharmacy stands as a testament that both still exist in the 21st century. The legislature committed \$75 million to construct two medical school buildings in El Paso, and funding for operating expenses have stalled. The pharmacy and medical schools would become the first professional schools along the state's 1,254-mile U.S.-Mexico border.

The legislature has failed to fix the school funding issue in four previous sessions, including two special sessions (Scharrer & Fikac, 2005). In 2003, Steve Murdock, official State of Texas demographer, and his co-authors in The Texas Challenge: Population Change and the Future of Texas revealed that the state must manage its population growth "by addressing the socioeconomic factors that most affect its populace: income and education" (Murdock, 2003). "For years Murdock has been waving a warning flag about the state's growing population – that as the population rises so does the poverty level, while the education level drops. In 1990, Texas ranked 39th among states, in percentage of adults with a high school diploma...in data released last summer, Texas ranks 50th. Dead last." (Luther, 2005). According to Murdock, the college completion for Anglos is 30 percent, but less than nine percent for Hispanics. "If we don't change the educational differentials that exist in our society, our labor force in 2040 will be less well-educated than it is today, and we will be poorer" (Robison, 2005).

The Texas Supreme Court struck down the current school taxing scheme as unconstitutional. Even with two special sessions, the legislature could not come up with an equitable form of funding for its public schools. Two legislative sessions ago, the legislature allowed state colleges and universities to increase their tuition rates. With financial aid being cut at the federal level and tuition rates increased at the local level, how are lower to middle income students going to realize a comprehensive, public, college education even if it is in their own back yard?

Hispanics are the largest minority group in the nation and the fastest-growing segment of the population. They have the highest high school dropout rate and the lowest college graduation rate of any major racial or ethnic group (Haurwitz, 2005). Quality education at all levels and in every region of the state are the keys to this state's economic growth. The state's future lies at the hands of the policy-making body – the State legislature. Will they bite the bullet and decide that more-than-adequate educational funding at all levels is the "right thing to do?" Hopefully, that question will be answered in the next special session of the Texas Legislature.

Appendix A

Letter to Prospective Participants

Date		
Name Address		
Salutation:		
I am a doctoral student in the Higher Education Administration program at the University of Texas at Austin as well as a full-time staff member at the University of Texas at San Antonio Downtown Campus. I am in the process of conducting research for my dissertation and since I work at the Downtown Campus, I have always been interested in the dynamics that occurred to bring about the creation of UTSA Downtown. Therefore, my research revolves around the question:		
What factors within the San Antonio community contributed to the development of public policy that led to the creation of a second UTSA campus in downtown San Antonio?		
I know how busy you are but, because you were involved in the discussions of a UTSA second campus in San Antonio, I know you could provide me with a rich perspective regarding this question.		
I will call your office next week to schedule an appointment with you subject to your availability and willingness to meet with me. The interview should take no longer than one hour. I sincerely hope you have time to share some of your thoughts and experiences with me. Your perspective will help establish an accurate record of the development of the Downtown Campus. If you need any information regarding this study, please feel free to call me at 458-2712. I look forward to our meeting.		
Sincerely,		
Gina Mendez		

Appendix B

Interview Guide

Participant's Name		Date				
Place of Interview		Time Started				
Ethnici	ty	Time Ended				
"I appreciate the time you are taking to meet with me today. This interview is part of a research that examines the dynamics that led to the creation of UTSA Downtown. Since you were an integral part of the process, I hope you will provide your perspective on the development of the Downtown Campus. Your responses will be confidential, unless you give permission to use your name. There are no right or wrong answers so please provide your perceptions of what occurred. Please feel free to interrupt and ask for clarification of the question. With your permission I would like to tape record this session to make sure all your responses are accurately recorded."						
1.	As best as you can recall, what motive campus in downtown San Antonio?	vated people to pursue a UTSA				
2.	What was your position and your len recollection?	gth of tenure at the time of this				
3.	What was the approximate time fram	e of this recollection?				
4.	When do you recall this interest/mov Campus occur?	ement to develop a Downtown				

5.	Were there coalitions and allies in this movement? What specific organizations/people was a part of this process?
6.	Was there any opposition to the development of a Downtown Campus? Who opposed this proposal?
7.	Why do you suppose there was opposition to this Downtown Campus?
8.	Were there proposals developed by the community and how were they developed?
9.	Were legislators contacted? Can you elaborate?
10.	Who gained sufficient political power to influence policy? Please elaborate.

11.	Who maintained vigilance over legislative action?
12.	Did you favor the establishment of this campus? If so, to what extent?
13.	What is your current position regarding the Downtown Campus and why?
14.	Do you have any copies of materials related to the development of the Downtown Campus to include as data in this qualitative study?
15.	Do you know of someone else I should interview for this study?
The inhave	ective Notes Interview is now over. I would like to give you my business card just in case you additional information that you may recall after the interview. Thank you. The Gina Mendez permission to use my name when referring to my responses in this

APPENDIX C

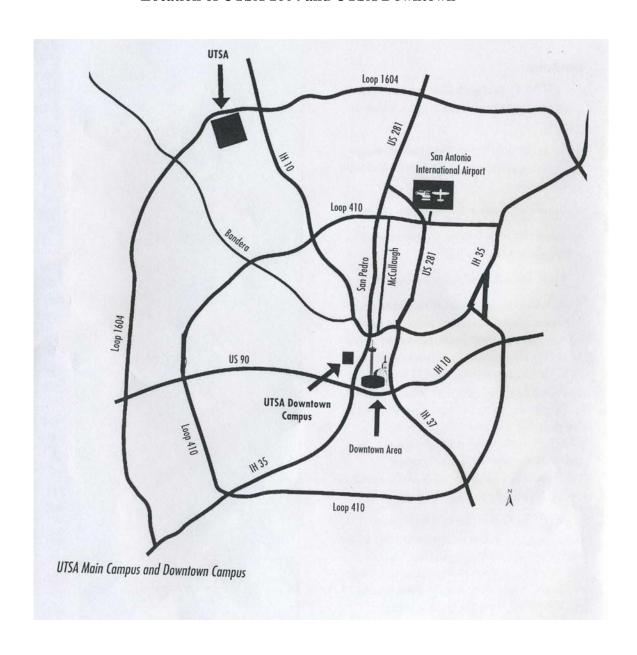
List of the Bexar County Delegation 73rd Legislative Session (1993)

Senators	District	Party Affiliation
Gregory Luna (Deceased)	19	D
Frank Madla 1313 SW Military Suite 101 78214 – 927-9464	24	D
Jeff Wentworth 1250 NE Loop 410 Suite720 78209 – 826-7800	26	R
Judith Zaffirini 12702 Toepperwein 78233 – 657-0095 Texas Senate P.O. Box 1208, Austin 78711	21	D
House of Representatives Leo Alvarado, Jr. 115 Cameron 78205 - 223-2685	116	D
Karyne Jones Conley (now residing in Washington, D.C.)	120	D
Frank Corte, Jr. 2040 Babcock Rd. Suite 402 78229 – 349-0320	123	R
Christine Hernandez University Scholars Program Project Stay Inc. 700 S. Zarzamora, Suite 103 78207 – 433-9307	124	D
John Longoria 301 South Main 78204 – 223-9422	117	D

Robert Puente 2823 East Southcross 78223 – 532-8899	119	D
Ciro Rodriguez 363 W. Harding Blvd. 78221 – 928-CIRO/633-3883	118	D
Sylvia Romo 233 N. Pecos La Trinidad 78207 - 335-6629	125	D
John Shields P.O. Box 003BH 78201 – 260-8946	122	R
Bill Siebert 3811 Hunters Trail 78230 – 493-3318	121	R
Leticia Van de Putte 3718 Blanco Rd Suite 2 78212 - 737-2626	115	D

Appendix D

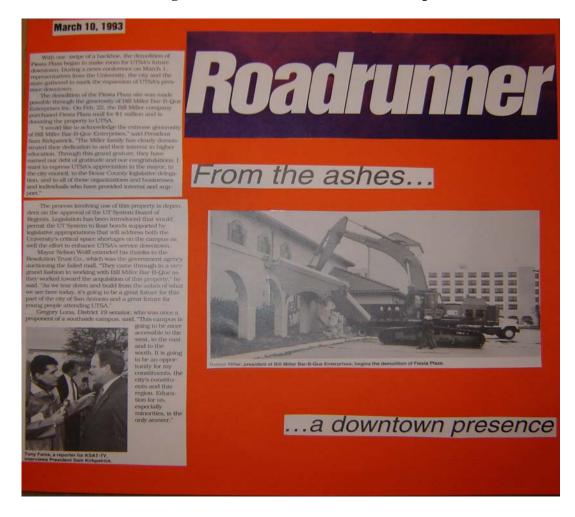
San Antonio Map Location of UTSA 1604 and UTSA Downtown



Source: UTSA Downtown Campus Comprehensive Planning Guide. University of Texas at San Antonio, Fall 1995. p. 17.

Appendix E

Demolition of Fiesta Plaza: Making Room for the New Downtown Campus



Balous Miller, president of Bill Miller Bar-B-Que Enterprises (on bulldozer), begins the demolition of Fiesta Plaza, the future location of UTSA Downtown.

Source: Roadrunner, March 10, 1993. The University of Texas at San Antonio.

Appendix F

Legislators Attend Ribbon Cutting Ceremony At Cypress Tower (UTSA Downtown's Temporary Location)



Dignitaries join President Samuel Kirkpatrick (middle) in cutting ribbon to open UTSA Downtown at Cypress Tower. They are (from left) State Senator Jeff Wentworth, State Rep. Bill Siebert, State Rep. Leticia Van De Putte, and Mayor Nelson Wolff.

Source: Roadrunner: Newsletter of the University of Texas at San Antonio. January 18, 1994.

Appendix G

Community Leaders Attend UTSA Downtown's Groundbreaking Ceremony



Senator Gregory Luna (left), UTSA President Sam Kirkpatrick, and Mayor Nelson Wolf discuss UTSA Downtown's future.



Senator Jeff Wentworth (left) and Rex Ball, director of the Institute of Texan Cultures, join the ceremonies.

Source: Roadrunner: Newsletter of the University of Texas at San Antonio. August 10, 1995.

Appendix H Legislators Tour the Downtown Campus



State Rep. Rob Junnell (left), chairman of the House Appropriations Committee and a member of the Legislative Budget Board, toured UTSA Downtown with UTSA President Samuel Kirkpatrick and State Rep. Christine Hernandez.

Source: Roadrunner: Newsletter of the University of Texas at San Antonio. July 8, 1996.

Appendix ILegislative Support for Expansion

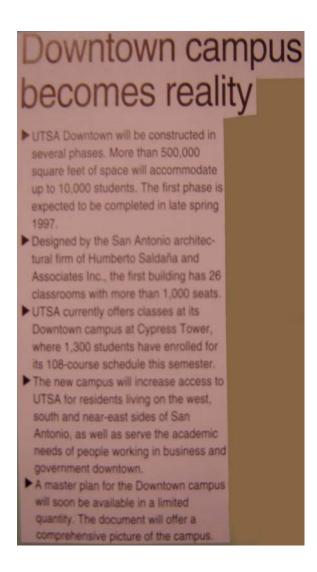


State Rep. Robert A. Junnell (left) chairman of the House Appropriations Committee held a news conference March 21 at the UTSA Downtown Campus to announce legislative support for a bill that provides \$104.7 million for construction and renovation projects at both campuses. Pictured with Junnell are Rep. Ciro Rodriguez and Rep. Christine Hernandez.

Source: Roadrunner: Newsletter of the University of Texas at San Antonio. March 31, 1997.

Appendix J

The Community's Dream Comes True



Source: Roadrunner: Newsletter of The University of Texas at San Antonio. September 5, 1995.

Appendix K

A Campus is Born

Students find educational opportunities at new campus

continued from page 1

"Most of our students don't have cars so that makes it very difficult for them to get to the 1604 campus," Carter said. "It's about an hour and a half ride by bus. That takes a big chunk out of your life."

Jesse Zapata, associate provost for the downtown campus, says recruitment efforts and careful planning contributed to the large enrollment.

Downtown campus officals spent last year visiting 16 high schools in the southside area. Carter says the enthusiasm of the recruiters and their accessibility encouraged her students.

"Many of these kids are first generation high school graduates and the idea of going to college can be a little scary," she said.

Recruitment officials made themselves available to students with questions about enrollment, registration and financial aid and made a "personal commitment to help students through the transition," Carter said.

UTSA sponsored financial aid nights, campus tours and a scholarship program. "The downtown campus has opened doors for southside students," Carter said.

A scholarship fund of \$200,000 was established a year ago especially for downtown campus students. The fund has since risen to \$1 million due to donations, Zapata said.

The 1700 plus students fell short of the anticipated enrollment by about 300, but the number of courses students registered for exceeded the predicted amount.

Simerka also said her college added sections, mainly in English and Span-

ish, to accommodated the unexpected demand. Seventeen courses in the College of Fine Arts and Humanities are offered on Monday, Wednesday and Friday schedules.

"We did a good job of scheduling courses, and we have a nice mix of core courses," Zapata said. "We also have an increase of space now that we've left Cypress Tower," he added. "That adds space for classes."

Bertha Perez, associate dean for the College of Social and Behavioral Sciences at the downtown campus said last week was spent adding sections to accommodate the demand. "We have one history class with 200 students," said Perez, who added that students were turned away from that class.

Source: The Paisano. August 25, 1997.

Appendix L

A Public University, Finally Downtown



Source: The Paisano. October 7, 1997

Appendix M

Record Enrollments from its Beginning

UTSA Downtown posts record enrollment

Enrollment at UTSA Downtown climbed to 1,411 students this fall, a new record for the facility where 117 courses are available for full- and part-time students.

UTSA expects to offer more than 300 courses to as many as 3,000 students when the new downtown campus opens in 1997, said Jesse Zapata, associate provost for UTSA Downtown.

Under construction on an 11-acre site at Durango Boulevard and Frio Street the new campus will offer its first classes during the second summer session in 1997 and will be fully operational by fall.

Course offerings have grown steadily at UTSA Downtown since the location at Cypress Tower opened in January 1994. Students can discuss core curriculum courses and those in business, fine arts and human and behavioral sciences, and sciences and engineering. Graduate volves business administration, bicultural and bilingual studies, public administration are also offered.

"The growth in course offerings and in students reflects the continuing need in the downtown area for the expanded educational opportunity provided by a comprehensive state university such as UTSA," Zapata said.

Degree development is also an important priority at the new campus, Zapata continued. By the fall of 1997, numerous bachelor's and master's degrees,

and graduate-level certificate programs will be in place

During the last two years, high school seniors in the East Central, Edgewood Harlandale, San Antonio, South San Antonio and Southside school districts have been aggressively recruited to attend UTSA Downtown. Administrators have also targeted nontraditional students by recruiting professionals who wor downtown.

"Many employees working in the downtown area may have taken college courses or even received an associate's degree from one of the local communit colleges." Zapata said. "They may not have been able to complete their degree for a variety of reasons. We hope they take another look at completing their degrees work for their degrees downtown."

A Downtown Scholarship Initiative completed recently raised more than \$700,000 for scholarships and retention programs at the new campus. The initiative should make it possible for hundreds of new UTSA students to enroll University courses as the new campus develops, Zapata explained.

"We're building our campus right in the heart of San Antonio," Zapata said "It will be accessible and offer day and evening classes. We are analyzing the curriculum and providing courses to meet students' needs. Right now, we're halfway there. A year from now we'll be there."

Source: Roadrunner: Newsletter of The University of Texas at San Antonio. October 7, 1996.

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Vita

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