

Nos. 20-1199, 21-707

---

---

**In the Supreme Court of the United States**

STUDENTS FOR FAIR ADMISSIONS, INC.,  
*Petitioner,*

v.

PRESIDENT & FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE,  
*Respondent.*

STUDENTS FOR FAIR ADMISSIONS, INC.,  
*Petitioner,*

v.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, et al.,  
*Respondents.*

**On Writs of Certiorari  
to the United States Courts of Appeals  
for the First and Fourth Circuits**

**BRIEF OF *AMICUS CURIAE*  
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SCHOLARS  
IN SUPPORT OF PETITIONER**

Dennis J. Saffran  
*Counsel of Record*  
38-18 West Drive  
Douglaston, NY 11363  
718-428-7156  
djsaffranlaw@gmail.com

May 6, 2022

*Counsel for Amicus Curiae*

---

---

**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

INTEREST OF AMICUS CURIAE .....1

SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT.....2

ARGUMENT .....4

I. The Court Should Overrule *Grutter* Because  
the Use of Race to Achieve Diversity Has Led  
Not to Cross-Cultural Intellectual Stimulation  
and Understanding But to “Neo-Segregation.” ...4

II. The Court Should Overrule *Grutter* Because  
the Burden of Race-Conscious Admissions Now  
Falls Largely on Asian-Americans, Another  
Historically Victimized Racial Minority  
Group.....12

III. Historical Evidence that Harvard’s Holistic  
Admissions Policies That Were Embraced in  
*Bakke* and *Grutter* Were Instituted to Exclude  
Jews, Who Were Stereotyped in Much the Same  
Way as Asians are Today, Shows That Those  
Decisions Were Founded on a Lie.....18

CONCLUSION.....28

## TABLE OF AUTHORITIES

### Cases

<i>City of Richmond v. J. A. Croson Co.</i> , 488 U. S. 469 (1989).....	28
<i>FCC v. Fox TV Stations, Inc.</i> , 556 U.S. 502 (2009).....	18
<i>Fisher v. Univ. of Tex. at Austin</i> , 570 U.S. 297 (2013) (“ <i>Fisher I</i> ”).....	10, 11
<i>Fisher v. Univ. of Tex. at Austin</i> , 579 U.S. 365 (2016) (“ <i>Fisher II</i> ”) .....	2, 10, 11, 12
<i>Grutter v. Bollinger</i> , 137 F. Supp. 2d 821 (E.D. Mich. 2001), <i>rev’d in part and vacated in part</i> , 288 F.3d 732 (6th Cir. 2002), <i>aff’d</i> 539 U.S. 306.....	5
<i>Grutter v. Bollinger</i> , 539 U.S. 306 (2003).....	<i>passim</i>
<i>Keyishian v. Board of Regents</i> , 385 U.S. 589 (1967).....	6
<i>Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pa. v. Casey</i> , 505 U.S. 833 (1992).....	18
<i>Ramos v. Louisiana</i> , 140 S. Ct. 1390 (2020).....	18, 28
<i>Regents of the Univ. of Cal. v. Bakke</i> , 438 U.S. 265 (1978).....	<i>passim</i>

*Schuette v. Coal. to Defend Affirmative Action*,  
572 U.S. 291 (2014)..... 18

*Vill. of Arlington Heights v. Metro. Hous. Dev. Corp.*,  
429 U.S. 252 (1977)..... 27

**Statutes**

Proposition 209, Cal. Const. art. I, § 31 ..... 14

Sup. Ct. R. 37.3(a) ..... 1

Sup. Ct. R. 37.6 ..... 1

**Other Authorities**

Abby Budiman and Neil G. Ruiz, Pew Rsch. Ctr.,  
*Key Facts About Asian Americans, a Diverse  
and Growing Population* (2021),  
[https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/  
04/29/key-facts-about-asian-americans/](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/04/29/key-facts-about-asian-americans/). ..... 13

Alan M. Dershowitz & Laura Hanft,  
*Affirmative Action and the Harvard College  
Diversity Discretion Model:  
Paradigm or Pretext?*,  
1 Cardozo L. Rev. 379 (1979)..... 21

Anemona Hartocollis, *Colleges Celebrate Diversity  
With Separate Commencements*,  
N.Y. Times, June 3, 2017, at A11..... 7

Brief for Respondents, <i>Fisher v. Univ. of Texas at Austin</i> , 570 U.S. 297 (2013) (No. 11-345).....	11
Brief of Columbia University, Harvard University et al. as Amici Curiae, <i>Regents of the Univ. of Cal. v. Bakke</i> , 438 U.S. 265 (1978) (No. 76-811), 1977 U.S. S. Ct. Briefs LEXIS 128.....	5, 19
Brief of Harvard University et al. as Amici Curiae Supporting Respondents, <i>Grutter v. Bollinger</i> , 539 U.S. 306 (2003) (No. 02-241), 2003 U.S. S. Ct. Briefs LEXIS 189.....	6, 9
Daniel Golden, <i>The Price of Admission: How America's Ruling Class Buys Its Way into Elite Colleges – and Who Gets Left Outside the Gates</i> (2006) .....	16
Dennis Saffran, <i>Fewer Asians Need Apply</i> , City J., Winter 2016, at 38, <a href="https://www.city-journal.org/html/fewer-asians-need-apply-14180.html">https://www.city-journal.org/html/fewer-asians-need-apply-14180.html</a> .....	27
Dion J. Pierre & Peter W. Wood, <i>Neo-Segregation at Yale</i> (2019), <a href="https://www.nas.org/storage/app/media/Reports/NeoSeg%20at%20Yale/NeoSegregation_at_Yale.pdf">https://www.nas.org/storage/app/media/Reports/NeoSeg%20at%20Yale/NeoSegregation_at_Yale.pdf</a> .....	7

- Dion J. Pierre,  
*Demands for Segregated Housing at Williams  
 College Are Not News*,  
 Nat'l Rev. (May 8, 2019),  
<https://www.nationalreview.com/2019/05/american-colleges-segregated-housing-graduation-ceremonies/>..... 7
- Dustin Barnes, *Columbia University Offering  
 Graduation Ceremonies Based on Race,  
 Ethnicity, Income Status*,  
 USA TODAY, Mar. 16, 2021 ..... 7
- Frederick L. Smyth & John J. McArdle,  
*Ethnic and Gender Differences in Science  
 Graduation Rates at Selective Colleges with  
 Implications for Admissions Policy and College  
 Choice*, 45 *Rsch. Higher Educ.* 353 (2004),  
[https://link.springer.com/article/10.1023/  
 B:RIHE.0000027391.05986.79](https://link.springer.com/article/10.1023/B:RIHE.0000027391.05986.79) ..... 8
- Heather Mac Donald,  
*The Diversity Delusion* (2018) ..... 8
- Jerome Karabel, *The Chosen:  
 The Hidden History of Admission and Exclusion  
 at Harvard, Yale and Princeton* (2005)..... 21
- Nat'l Ass'n of Scholars, *Separate but Equal, Again:  
 Neo-Segregation in American Higher Education*,  
[https://www.nas.org/reports/separate-  
 but-equal-again](https://www.nas.org/reports/separate-but-equal-again)..... 6

- Peter Arcidiacono, Esteban M. Aucejo & Ken Spenner, *What Happens After Enrollment? An Analysis of the Time Path of Racial Differences in GPA and Major Choice*, IZA J. Lab. Econ 1:5, Oct. 2012, <https://izajole.springeropen.com/track/pdf/10.1186/2193-8997-1-5.pdf> ..... 8
- Peter Arcidiacono, Esteban M. Aucejo & V. Joseph Hotz, *University Differences in the Graduation of Minorities in Stem Fields: Evidence from California* (Nat'l Bureau of Econ. Rsch. Working Paper 18799, 2013), <https://www.nber.org/papers/w18799> ..... 8, 9
- Pew Rsch. Ctr., *Asian Population in U.S. Nearly Doubled Between 2000 and 2019 and is Projected to Surpass 46 Million by 2060* (2021), [https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/04/29/key-facts-about-asian-americans/ft\\_2021-09-02\\_asianamericankeyfacts\\_01/](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/04/29/key-facts-about-asian-americans/ft_2021-09-02_asianamericankeyfacts_01/) ..... 13
- Richard Sander & Stuart Taylor, Jr., *Mismatch: How Affirmative Action Hurts Students It's Intended to Help, and Why Universities Won't Admit It* (2012) ..... 9
- Robert D. Mare, *Holistic Review in Freshman Admissions at the University of California – Los Angeles* (May 27, 2014) (unpublished report) ..... 14

- Rogers Elliott et al., *The Role of Ethnicity in Choosing and Leaving Science in Highly Selective Admissions*, 37 *Rsch. Higher Educ.* 681 (1996), <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/BF01792952> ..... 8
- Ron Unz, *The Myth of American Meritocracy: How Corrupt are Ivy League Admissions?*, *The American Conservative*, Dec. 2012, 14, <https://bit.ly/3MPKMJO> ..... 21, 25
- Thomas J. Espenshade & Chang Y. Chung, *The Opportunity Cost of Admission Preferences at Elite Universities*, 86 *Soc. Sci. Q.* 293, (2005) ..... 14
- U.S. Census Bureau, *Asian American and Pacific Islander Heritage Month: May 2022* (Apr. 18, 2022), <https://www.census.gov/newsroom/facts-for-features/2022/asian-american-pacific-islander.html>..... 13
- Wikipedia, *Demographics of Asian Americans*, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics\\_of\\_Asian\\_Americans#Population](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics_of_Asian_Americans#Population)..... 13
- William G. Bowen, *Admissions and the Relevance of Race*, *Princeton Alumni Wkly.*, Sept. 26, 1977, at 7 ..... 4



## INTEREST OF AMICUS CURIAE<sup>1</sup>

Amicus Curiae National Association of Scholars (“NAS”) is an independent membership association of academics, including professors, graduate students, administrators and trustees, that works to foster intellectual freedom and to sustain the traditions of intellectual integrity and individual merit in America’s colleges and universities.

In pursuit of this mission NAS has produced scholarship directly relevant to the argument of petitioner Students for Fair Admissions (“SFFA”) that the Court should overrule the holding in *Grutter v. Bollinger*, 539 U.S. 306 (2003), that student diversity is a compelling interest justifying the use of race as a factor in admissions. As set forth in the Argument below, NAS has found that the emphasis on diversity first touted by respondent Harvard in its *amicus* brief in *Regents of the Univ. of Cal. v. Bakke*, 438 U.S. 265 (1978), and adopted in the lead opinion of Justice Powell there, and then by the Court in *Grutter*, has not led to the ideal of cross-cultural stimulation contemplated by the Court. Rather, it has paradoxically contributed to just the reverse: a world of “neo-segre-

---

<sup>1</sup> Pursuant to Rule 37.6, *amicus curiae* affirms that no counsel for a party authored this brief in whole or in part, and no person other than *amicus curiae*, its members, and its counsel has made a monetary contribution to the preparation or submission of the brief.

Petitioner and all respondents have submitted letters to the Clerk pursuant to Rule 37.3(a) granting blanket consent to *amicus curiae* briefs .

gation” on campus featuring separate graduations, separate dorms and even separate classes.

### SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT

The Court should overrule the *Grutter* holding that student diversity is a compelling interest justifying race-based admissions because in practice it has led not to interracial understanding but to a new segregation; because in our multiracial society it now burdens not the white majority but Asian-Americans, another historically marginalized racial minority; and because the Harvard admissions plan hailed as a model of diversity in *Bakke* and *Grutter* was in fact tainted in bigotry from its inception.

In *Bakke* Justice Powell spoke of diversity as fostering a cross-racial “atmosphere of speculation, experiment and creation” and the Court majority echoed that view in *Grutter*. But the reality of campus diversity in 2022 is sadly different from this ideal. Rather, the dream of integration has given way to a regime of “neo-segregation” featuring separate dorms, separate graduations, and even de facto segregated classes. Further, contemporary diversity now “turns affirmative action on its head,” *Fisher v. Univ. of Tex. at Austin*, 579 U.S. 365, 391, 419 (2016) (“*Fisher II*”) (Alito, J., dissenting), in two ways. Rather than providing disadvantaged minorities with a leg up while enriching others with their diverse perspectives, it now largely benefits middle and upper middle class minority students but encourages them to segregate by race.

The enormous growth of the Asian-American population since *Bakke* and *Grutter*, and the resulting transformation of America from an essentially biracial society to a multiracial one, also casts doubt on the continued adherence to those precedents, for there is strong evidence that the cost of racial preferences is now largely borne by Asians. Studies at Harvard and other colleges have found that up to 80 percent of slots awarded to African-American and Hispanic students under preferential admissions come from Asian-Americans rather than whites. That this would be so even though there are many more white than Asian applicants suggests that in deciding who must give up their seats in the name of racial diversity, admissions officers may ironically fall victim to implicit racial bias against Asians. Thus race-conscious admission, once a tool for combatting racial bias, now provokes it.

Finally, *Bakke* and *Grutter* are tainted by their reliance on the very admissions system which Respondent Harvard defends here, when in fact that system was instituted to exclude Jews, who were stereotyped in much the same way as Asians are today, and there are uncanny parallels between the imposition of a de facto Jewish quota under the system in the 1920's and the Asian admission experience since the 1990's.

## ARGUMENT

### **I. The Court Should Overrule *Grutter* Because the Use of Race to Achieve Diversity Has Led Not to Cross-Cultural Intellectual Stimulation and Understanding But to “Neo-Segregation.”**

In his controlling opinion in *Bakke* that was later adopted by the Court in *Grutter*, 506 U.S. at 325, Justice Powell held that only one potential institutional interest was compelling enough to justify consideration of race in college admissions: “the educational benefits that flow from an ethnically diverse student body.” *Bakke*, 438 U.S. at 306. Justice Powell summarized these benefits as consisting of “[t]he atmosphere of ‘speculation, experiment and creation’ [that is] so essential to the quality of higher education,” citing the statement of former Princeton University President William G. Bowen that “students of . . . different races . . . learn from their differences and . . . stimulate one another to reexamine even their most deeply held assumptions.” *Id.* at 312 & n.48 (citing William G. Bowen, *Admissions and the Relevance of Race*, Princeton Alumni Wkly., Sept. 26, 1977, at 7, 9).

Embracing this diversity rationale for race-conscious admissions, the *Grutter* Court similarly described the “educational benefits that diversity is designed to produce” as “promot[ing] ‘cross-racial understanding’” and “break[ing] down racial stereotypes.” 539 U.S. at 330 (quoting *Grutter v. Bollinger*, 137 F. Supp. 2d 821, 850 (E.D. Mich. 2001), *rev’d in*

*part and vacated in part*, 288 F.3d 732 (6th Cir. 2002), *aff'd* 539 U.S. 306). “[C]lassroom discussion is livelier, more spirited, and simply more enlightening and interesting’ when the students have ‘the greatest possible variety of backgrounds’,” the Court stated. 539 U.S. at 330 (quoting 137 F. Supp. 2d at 849).

Justice Powell’s *Bakke* opinion held out the Harvard admissions program as an example of such beneficial diversity, appending a summary of the program which was attached as an appendix to an *amicus* brief for Harvard and other elite schools in the case. 438 U.S. at 316-17, 321-24 (quoting and reprinting Brief of Columbia University, Harvard University et al. as Amici Curiae, *Regents of the Univ. of Cal. v. Bakke*, 438 U.S. 265 (1978) (No. 76-811), 1977 U.S. S. Ct. Briefs LEXIS 128, app. [“Harvard *Bakke* Amicus”]) (“A farm boy from Idaho can bring something to Harvard College that a Bostonian cannot offer. Similarly, a black student can usually bring something that a white person cannot offer.”)

The rest of the Harvard *amicus* brief described diversity in the same vein, arguing that racial diversity, like diversity of experience and interests, “provides the most stimulating intellectual environment,” and that “[m]inority students” expose others to “new and provocative points of view” and “new intellectual experiences.” Brief of Columbia, Harvard et al. at 8, 13, 1977 U.S. S. Ct. Briefs LEXIS at \*6, \*14.

The *Grutter* Court also favorably cited the Harvard program, 506 U.S. at 335-39, and in an *amicus* brief in that case Harvard again spoke of

racial diversity as fostering the “wide exposure to that robust exchange of ideas which discovers truth out of a multitude of tongues, rather than through any kind of authoritative selection.” Brief of Harvard University et al. as Amici Curiae Supporting Respondents, *Grutter v. Bollinger*, 539 U.S. 306 (2003) (No. 02-241), 2003 U.S. S. Ct. Briefs LEXIS 189, at 12 (quoting *Keyishian v. Board of Regents*, 385 U.S. 589, 603 (1967) (internal quotations omitted)).

Harvard reiterates these arguments about the claimed “benefits that flow from diversity” in its brief in opposition to certiorari in the present case, Harvard Br. Opp’n Cert. 14, 34 (citing *Grutter*, 539 U.S. at 330, 330-32), as does UNC, UNC Br. Opp’n Cert. 4.

The reality of campus diversity in 2022 is sadly different from this ideal of interracial understanding and intellectual cross-pollination, however. As diversity advocates have focused increasingly on group identity rather than racial reconciliation in the years since *Bakke*, the dream of integration has given way to a regime of “neo-segregation” in America’s colleges and universities, featuring separate graduations, separate dormitories and even de facto segregated classes.

NAS recently completed a comprehensive study of this phenomenon at 173 schools, including a book-length report on the experience at Yale University. *Separate but Equal, Again: Neo-Segregation in American Higher Education*, <https://www.nas.org/reports/separate-but-equal-again>; Dion J. Pierre & Peter W.

Wood, *Neo-Segregation at Yale* (2019),<sup>2</sup> see also Dion J. Pierre, *Demands for Segregated Housing at Williams College Are Not News*, Nat'l Rev. (May 8, 2019).<sup>3</sup> It found that, in addition to a host of racially-identified student centers, academic programs, and counseling and mentorship services, 43 percent of colleges offer segregated residences to students of different races, 46 percent offer segregated orientation programs, and 72 percent sponsor segregated graduation ceremonies. Pierre & Wood, *supra*, at 17; see Anemona Hartocollis, *Colleges Celebrate Diversity With Separate Commencements*, N.Y. Times, June 3, 2017, at A11 (Harvard and other top schools); Dustin Barnes, *Columbia University Offering Graduation Ceremonies Based on Race, Ethnicity, Income Status*, USA TODAY, Mar. 16, 2021.

This segregation is exacerbated by the tendency of African-American students to choose different majors and classes than white students. A study at Duke University found that while more black than white freshmen initially intended to major in the natural sciences, engineering or economics, the majority switched to less demanding majors over the course of their college careers while very few white students in these fields left them. Thus only 32% of black students graduated with degrees in STEM fields or economics compared to 45% of white stu-

---

<sup>2</sup> [https://www.nas.org/storage/app/media/Reports/NeoSeg%20at%20Yale/NeoSegregation\\_at\\_Yale.pdf](https://www.nas.org/storage/app/media/Reports/NeoSeg%20at%20Yale/NeoSegregation_at_Yale.pdf).

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.nationalreview.com/2019/05/american-colleges-segregated-housing-graduation-ceremonies/>

dents. Peter Arcidiacono, Esteban M. Aucejo & Ken Spenner, *What Happens After Enrollment? An Analysis of the Time Path of Racial Differences in GPA and Major Choice*, IZA J. Lab. Econ 1:5, Oct. 2012,<sup>4</sup> at 12-13; see Heather Mac Donald, *The Diversity Delusion* 53-59 (2018) (summarizing study and reaction).

The same pattern was found in a study of the University of California system, with the effect most pronounced at the most selective schools such as Berkeley and UCLA. Peter Arcidiacono, Esteban M. Aucejo & V. Joseph Hotz, *University Differences in the Graduation of Minorities in Stem Fields: Evidence from California* 7 (Nat'l Bureau of Econ. Rsch. Working Paper 18799, 2013).<sup>5</sup> Earlier studies had reported similar findings. *E.g.* Frederick L. Smyth & John J. McArdle, *Ethnic and Gender Differences in Science Graduation Rates at Selective Colleges with Implications for Admissions Policy and College Choice*, 45 Rsch. Higher Educ. 353 (2004);<sup>6</sup> Rogers Elliott et al., *The Role of Ethnicity in Choosing and Leaving Science in Highly Selective Admissions*, 37 Rsch. Higher Educ. 681 (1996).<sup>7</sup>

This data appears to reflect the “mismatch” theory that racial preferences actually harm many

---

<sup>4</sup> <https://izajole.springeropen.com/track/pdf/10.1186/2193-8997-1-5.pdf>

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.nber.org/papers/w18799>

<sup>6</sup> <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1023/B:RIHE.0000027391.05986.79>

<sup>7</sup> <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/BF01792952>



talented black students by placing them in more competitive academic environments than they are prepared for. As a result they receive lower grades, choose less demanding majors with lower earnings potential, and drop out at higher rates than they would at slightly less competitive schools with peers at a similar level. *See generally* Richard Sander & Stuart Taylor, Jr., *Mismatch: How Affirmative Action Hurts Students It's Intended to Help, and Why Universities Won't Admit It* (2012); *see* Arcidiacono, Aucejo & Hotz, *supra*, at 1, 13 (data “suggest that mismatch of students with initial interests in STEM majors to UC campuses may be sizeable for minorities [and] may be a consequence of affirmative action policies in which race as well as academic preparation affect which campus students attend;” concluding that “the vast majority of minority students would be more likely to graduate with a science degree ... had they attended a lower ranked university”).

Such a “mismatch” between students receiving racial preferences in admissions and the schools admitting them may also, and understandably, increase their receptiveness to other forms of neo-segregation on campus, leading them to retreat into homogeneous enclaves with others who are superficially like themselves. Thus, not only are such students more likely to succeed and excel academically at somewhat less competitive institutions, they are more likely to contribute to **genuine** diversity there – i.e., to interracial camaraderie and to that “wide exposure to that robust exchange of ideas which discovers truth out of a multitude of tongues” that Harvard spoke of in its *Grutter* brief (*see supra* p. 6). The ironic result is that

the use of racial preferences in pursuit of diversity may actually undermine the very goals sought in pursuing it.

Compounding this irony is that the students receiving these admissions preferences in the name of diversity at selective institutions like Harvard and UNC are not in fact very diverse from their fellow students in any ways other than skin color. Data obtained from Harvard in discovery in the present case showed that 70.5% of the “underrepresented minority students” it admits are “advantaged.” Expert Report of Richard D. Kahlenberg 28, Harvard ECF No. 416-1. “Harvard is not employing racial preferences in an effort to benefit disadvantaged minority students. Harvard admits more than twice as many nondisadvantaged African-American applicants than disadvantaged African-American applicants.” Expert Report of Peter S. Arcidiacono (“Arcidiacono Report”) 8, Harvard ECF No. 415-8.

This preference for more affluent minority students is not exclusive to Harvard. As Justice Alito noted in his dissent in *Fisher II*, *supra*, the University of Texas had been particularly blunt about it in its earlier brief to the Court in the first *Fisher* case, *Fisher v. Univ. of Texas at Austin*, 570 U.S. 297 (2013) (“*Fisher I*”), and in so doing had laid bare an inherent conflict underlying the diversity rationale:

UT has . . . claimed . . . that the race-based component of its plan is needed because the [already existing program admitting the top ten percent of each

high school class] admits **the wrong kind** of African-American and Hispanic students, namely, students from poor families who attend schools in which the student body is predominantly African-American or Hispanic. As UT put it in its brief in *Fisher I*, the race-based component of its admissions plan is needed to admit “[t]he African-American or Hispanic child of successful professionals in Dallas.”

579 U.S. at 391 (Alito, J., dissenting) (emphasis in original) (quoting Brief for Respondents, *Fisher v. Univ. of Tex. at Austin*, 570 U.S. 297 (2013) (No. 11-345), at 34). But:

UT’s argument that it needs racial preferences to admit privileged minorities **turns the concept of affirmative action on its head**. When affirmative-action programs were first adopted, it was for the purpose of helping the disadvantaged. *See, e.g., Bakke*, 438 U. S., at 272-75 (opinion of Powell, J.) (explaining that the school’s affirmative-action program was designed “to increase the representation” of “economically and/or educationally disadvantaged applicants”). Now we are told that a program that tends to admit poor and disadvantaged minority students is inadequate because it does not work to the advantage of those who are more fortunate. This is affirmative action gone wild.

579 U.S. at 419 (Alito, J., dissenting) (emphasis in original; parallel citations omitted).

In fact, for the reasons discussed above, diversity as practiced on campus today actually stands the concept on its head in **two** ways. What was conceived as a means of bringing the perspectives of underprivileged minorities to bear on upper status culture while integrating them into that culture now brings yet more representatives of the dominant upper middle class culture to campus but encourages them to segregate by race. Surely this can no longer be considered a compelling interest justifying racially based admissions decisions.

This dual irony of modern diversity would be reason enough to reject *Grutter*, even without regard to a third crowning irony: that, as discussed in Point II, the burden of these racially based decisions now no longer falls on the white majority but on another historically marginalized racial minority.

## **II. The Court Should Overrule *Grutter* Because the Burden of Race-Conscious Admissions Now Falls Largely on Asian- Americans, Another Historically Victimized Racial Minority Group.**

Asian-Americans are the fastest growing racial and ethnic group in the United States. See Abby Budiman and Neil G. Ruiz, Pew Rsch. Ctr., *Key Facts About Asian Americans, a Diverse and Growing Pop-*

ulation (2021).<sup>8</sup> The Asian-American population has increased by 77 percent just since the *Grutter* decision in 2003, and by almost 700 percent since the *Bakke* decision in 1978. See Wikipedia, *Demographics of Asian Americans*;<sup>9</sup> Pew Rsch. Ctr., *Asian Population in U.S. Nearly Doubled Between 2000 and 2019 and is Projected to Surpass 46 Million by 2060* (2021);<sup>10</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, *Asian American and Pacific Islander Heritage Month: May 2022* (Apr. 18, 2022).<sup>11</sup> With this rise, and the concomitant increase of the Latino population, the largely biracial, black-and-white American society of 1978, and even of 2003, has become a multiracial one.

This transformation casts serious doubt on the wisdom of continued adherence to *Bakke* and *Grutter*. For there is strong evidence, both in the present Harvard case and in studies at other colleges, that in our current multiracial society the cost of the racial preferences for underrepresented minorities that was approved in these decisions is now primarily borne not by the white majority but by Asian-Americans –

---

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/04/29/key-facts-about-asian-americans/>

<sup>9</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics\\_of\\_Asian\\_Americans#Population](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics_of_Asian_Americans#Population)

<sup>10</sup> [https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/04/29/key-facts-about-asian-americans/ft\\_2021-09-02\\_asianamerican\\_keyfacts\\_01/](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/04/29/key-facts-about-asian-americans/ft_2021-09-02_asianamerican_keyfacts_01/)

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.census.gov/newsroom/facts-for-features/2022/asian-american-pacific-islander.html>

another racial minority group that has been historically subject to discrimination.<sup>12</sup>

This effect could already be seen not long after *Grutter*. A 2005 study by two Princeton researchers reached the staggering conclusion that racial preferences for African-Americans and Latinos at elite colleges come almost entirely at the expense of Asian-Americans rather than whites. They found that if preferences were eliminated “[n]early four out of every five places . . . not taken by African-American and Hispanic students would be filled by Asians.” Thomas J. Espenshade & Chang Y. Chung, *The Opportunity Cost of Admission Preferences at Elite Universities*, 86 Soc. Sci. Q. 293, 298 (2005).

A more recent study of the “holistic admissions review” instituted at UCLA in the wake of *Grutter*<sup>13</sup> similarly found that Asian-Americans were the only applicants negatively impacted by it, while whites were largely unaffected or even benefitted slightly. Robert D. Mare, *Holistic Review in Freshman Admissions at the University of California – Los Angeles* 22, 26, 36-37 (May 27, 2014) (unpublished report).

---

<sup>12</sup> This legacy of discrimination is well-known and is set out at length in the briefs in support of granting certiorari in the present cases of Amici Curiae Asian American Coalition for Education et al. (Harvard Br. at 11-17; UNC Br. at 13-20).

<sup>13</sup> California is of course technically barred from explicitly considering race in admissions under Proposition 209, Cal. Const. art. I, § 31.

Evidence in the present Harvard case has also shown that “Asian Americans are the primary group hurt by preferences given in Harvard’s Admissions Office” and that if all preferences were to be removed the number of Asians admitted would increase by 50 percent while white admissions would increase by only a negligible 3.5 percent. Arcidiacono Report (*supra* p. 10) 8-9 & n.6, 76, Harvard ECF No. 415-8. While these figures include the impact of removing athletic and legacy as well as racial preferences, removing racial preferences alone would increase Asian enrollment by 40% but white enrollment by only 18%. *See* Rebuttal Expert Report of Peter S. Arcidiacono app. A at 8, app. C Table 8.1R, Harvard ECF No. 415-9. Harvard’s own Office of Institutional Research (“OIR”) similarly found that removing racial preferences would increase Asian enrollment by 45% but white enrollment by only 15%. Harvard J.A. 1168.<sup>14</sup>

The evidence that racial preferences for Black and Latino students, at Harvard and elsewhere, now come largely at the expense of Asian-Americans rather than whites might seem incongruous at first blush. Whites are after all the majority and Asians

---

<sup>14</sup> The OIR model found that eliminating racial preferences would increase the projected Asian share of the freshman class from 17.97% to 25.99% and the projected white share from 44.08% to 50.63%. *Id.* Put another way, the OIR study found that racial preferences reduce the Asian enrollment share by 31% (8.02% absolute decrease ÷ 25.99%) but the white enrollment share by only 13% (6.55% absolute decrease ÷ 50.63%). *See id.*

the minority, even in the applicant pool for elite schools, and there is no reason to think that Asians cluster towards the bottom. Indeed the record in this case shows that they rank at the top of this pool at Harvard in terms of academic and extracurricular achievement. Pet'r Br. 30; Harvard J.A. 1787; App. to Harvard Pet. Cert. 172. So one would expect that whites would at the very least bear the cost of these preferences in proportion to their share of the applicant pool.

The fact that they do not – that they are apparently the last to go while Asian-Americans are often the first – strongly suggests that implicit bias against Asian students may be at play here. This inference is supported by the consistently lower “personal ratings” given to Asian applicants than to those of any other race by admissions officials in Cambridge who never meet them – even though the local alumni interviewers who actually do meet with them face-to-face rank them similarly to whites. See Pet'r Br. 16, 30-31; Harvard J.A. 878, 883-84, 1790; App. to Harvard Pet. Cert. 172-73, 189-90.

It may well be that in deciding who must give up their slots in the name of racial diversity, admissions officers ironically fall back on the subconscious racial stereotypes of Asians as “quiet,” “bland,” “flat,” “[un]exciting,” “timid” “textureless math grind[s].” *Id.* 160; Daniel Golden, *The Price of Admission: How America's Ruling Class Buys Its Way into Elite Colleges – and Who Gets Left Outside the Gates* (2006) 201; see Harvard J.A. 1076. In the biracial era other, less historically suspect, biases, such as those based



on economic class, may have come into play in making these decisions among white candidates. But with the rise of Asian-Americans in the present multiracial era race has become a factor. Thus race-conscious admission, once seen as a tool for combatting racial bias, now provokes it.<sup>15</sup>

Such “dramatic changes in factual circumstances” as the shift in the racial landscape of the United States from an essentially biracial one to a multiracial one over the last forty years may well “support a departure from precedent under the prevailing approach to *stare decisis*.” *FCC v. Fox TV Sta-*

---

<sup>15</sup> Other indications of bias, conscious or not, on the part of Harvard officials in the present record include an extraordinarily respectful response by Director of Admissions Marlyn E. McGrath on behalf of former President Drew Faust to a blatantly anti-Asian letter from an elderly alumnus. Ct. App. J.A. 4454-59; *see id.* 1418-23. The alum had urged Faust to adopt “informal quotas” on Asians, noting that “[t]he last time I was in Cambridge it seemed to me that there were a large number of oriental students. ... I think they probably should be limited to 5%.” *Id.* 4458. In reply, McGrath lauded his “many thoughtful observations about Harvard College students and the results of the admissions process,” and thanked him for his “efforts to help us continually to improve the quality of our student body.” *Id.* 4454. She offered only the most subtle and obscure hints of any disagreement with the tenor of the letter. But nowhere did she take issue with his proposal to establish quotas on “oriental students.”

Quite arguably no purpose would have been served by a more confrontational response. But amicus respectfully submits that it is inconceivable that Harvard would have sent a similar response to a letter calling for the imposition of quotas on other minority students.

*tions, Inc.*, 556 U.S. 502, 534 (2009) (Thomas, J., concurring). See *Ramos v. Louisiana*, 140 S. Ct. 1390, 1414 (2020) (Kavanaugh, J., concurring in part); *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pa. v. Casey*, 505 U.S. 833, 855, 861 (1992).

As America has become a more diverse multiracial society the diversity rationale for race-based admissions sanctioned by Justice Powell in *Bakke* and approved by the Court in *Grutter* has foundered on diversity itself. Cf. *Schuette v. Coal. to Defend Affirmative Action*, 572 U.S. 291, 308 (2014) (“in a society in which [racial] lines are becoming more blurred, the attempt to define race-based categories ... raises serious questions”). The Court should overrule those precedents.

### **III. Historical Evidence that Harvard’s Holistic Admissions Policies That Were Embraced in *Bakke* and *Grutter* Were Instituted to Exclude Jews, Who Were Stereotyped in Much the Same Way as Asians are Today, Shows That Those Decisions Were Founded on a Lie.**

SFFA submitted copious and undisputed historical evidence in the Harvard case that the “holistic” admissions system which Harvard defends here – and which *Bakke* and *Grutter* touted as the model of an acceptable race-conscious admissions program (see Point I *supra*) – was originally instituted to exclude Jewish students who were stereotyped in much the same way that Asians are today, and that there are uncanny parallels between the imposition of a de facto

Jewish quota under this system in the 1920's and the Asian admission experience since the 1990's. *See, e.g.*, Pl's Stmt. Undisputed Material Facts 10-15, Harvard ECF No. 414.

The district court allowed only “a very limited presentation of this topic” at trial, Harvard ECF No. 574,<sup>16</sup> and made only two passing references to it in its decision (*see* App. to Harvard Pet. Cert. 160, 171 n.45). The court of appeals did not mention it at all. It is nonetheless particularly relevant here because of the *Bakke* and *Grutter* Courts' reliance on the Harvard plan as the paradigm for the pursuit of diversity: an ostensibly “flexible, nonmechanical” and “highly individualized, holistic review” in which race is merely a “plus factor,” like being a “farm boy from Idaho” or a “violinist[]” or “biologist[].” *Grutter*, 539 U.S. at 335; *Bakke* 438 U.S. at 316, 322-23 (quoting and reprinting Harvard *Bakke* Amicus, *supra* p. 5). In fact, the history establishes that the plan was the product of shockingly vile anti-Semitism, and that it was the very aspect of the plan cited so approvingly in *Bakke* and *Grutter* – the highly subjective “holistic”

---

<sup>16</sup> *See* Harvard J.A. 542-45, 785-86, 1107-34; Harvard Ct. App. J.A. 432-33, 3370-75. In addition Harvard consented to judicial notice of a 1926 Board of Overseers recommendation that “the rules for the admission of candidates be amended to lay greater emphasis on selection based on character and fitness,” Harvard J.A. 1107, and of two more recent Harvard reports acknowledging that Harvard restricted Jewish admissions at that time, Harvard J.A. 1570, 1744.

review” – that was consciously devised to implement this anti-Jewish bias.

This is not just ancient history, water under the bridge that can be disregarded now that these admissions practices have supposedly been turned from the service of exclusion to that of inclusion of minorities. For, as seen in Point II *supra*, the burden of these “holistic” policies – at Harvard and other selective colleges – now falls largely on another racial minority: Asian-Americans. And, as detailed further below, there are marked similarities between the Jewish experience under this paradigm in the early Twentieth Century and the Asian experience in the current era.

The history was summarized in the lengthy 2012 article on admissions at Harvard and other elite schools which triggered<sup>17</sup> Harvard’s internal study of discrimination against Asian-Americans:

During the 1920s, the established Northeastern Anglo-Saxon elites who then dominated the Ivy League wished to sharply curtail the rapidly growing numbers of Jewish students . . . **The approach . . . taken by Harvard President A. Lawrence Lowell . . . was to transform the admissions process from a simple objective test of academic merit into a complex and**

---

<sup>17</sup> See App. to Harvard Pet. Cert. 27, 140-41; Harvard J.A. 587-91, 600-04.

**holistic consideration of all aspects of each individual applicant; the resulting opacity . . . allow[ed] the ethnicity of the student body to be shaped as desired. As a consequence, university leaders could honestly deny the existence of any racial or religious quotas, while still managing to reduce Jewish enrollment to a much lower level.**

Ron Unz, *The Myth of American Meritocracy: How Corrupt are Ivy League Admissions?*, *The American Conservative*, Dec. 2012, at 14, 16<sup>18</sup> (emphasis added; footnotes omitted).

The anti-Semitism that gave rise to this is eye-popping. *See generally* Jerome Karabel, *The Chosen: The Hidden History of Admission and Exclusion at Harvard, Yale and Princeton* 1-109 (2005); Alan M. Dershowitz & Laura Hanft, *Affirmative Action and the Harvard College Diversity Discretion Model: Paradigm or Pretext?*, 1 *Cardozo L. Rev.* 379 (1979). The following discussion draws heavily on these sources to set out this history. *See also* Br. Amicus Curiae Louis D. Brandeis Center for Human Rights Under Law et al. 5-13, 19-21.

Prior to the early 1920's admission to Harvard and other Ivy League schools was based almost entirely on grades and an entrance examination.

---

<sup>18</sup> <https://bit.ly/3MPKMJO> (reproduced at Harvard Ct. App. J.A. 4158-95).

Essays and personal interviews were not required, and there was relatively little consideration of extra-curricular activities or of the kind of subjective “character” traits and “leadership skills” included in today’s amorphous personal rating. While the admission criteria were objective, until about the turn of the century they were not particularly demanding, in keeping with the Ivy League reputation as a place for the social rather than the intellectual elite.

Beginning in the 1890’s, however, Harvard began to make its requirements more academically rigorous, just as increasing numbers of Jewish immigrants whose culture emphasized academics were arriving in America, and Jews began to comprise a growing share of the student population. Harvard was already 7 percent Jewish by 1900, a figure which increased to 10% in 1909, 15% in 1914 and 21.5% in 1922.

This trend did not sit well with many of Harvard’s officials and alumni. As early as 1907 the dean of financial aid expressed his preference for “sons of families that have been American for generations” rather than the “increasing class [of] foreigners, and especially the Russian Jews.” Some twenty years later, as Jewish enrollment reached its peak, a member of the Class of 1901 wrote to President Lowell after attending the Harvard-Yale game that “to find that one’s University had become so Hebrewized was a fearful shock. There were Jews to the right of me, Jews to the left of me.” Bemoaning that “[t]he Jew is undoubtedly of high mental order” and that therefore raising academic standards only increases

their number, the anguished alum beseeched Lowell to “devise a way to bring Harvard back to the position it always held as a ‘white man’s’ college.” Harvard J.A. 372; Harvard ECF No. 245.

These concerns found a sympathetic ear in Lowell, who responded that he “had foreseen the peril of having too large of a number of an alien race and had tried to prevent it.” Harvard J.A. 373; Harvard ECF No. 246.<sup>19</sup> Indeed he had. Lowell first warned of the “Jewish problem” in a 1920 letter expressing fear that the rising tide of Jews would “ruin the college” and suggesting a 15% cap on their enrollment. In 1922 he formally proposed such a quota to the faculty,<sup>20</sup> which instead adopted a geographic diversity plan in an attempt to limit the enrollment of students from Jewish areas.

This did not work and the Jewish numbers continued to increase, reaching 27.6% in 1925. At that point Lowell proposed the imposition of a de facto Jewish quota by the institution of highly discretionary admissions criteria emphasizing subjective measures of “character and personality” rather than

---

<sup>19</sup> The response on behalf of President Faust some 85 years later to a similarly bigoted alum bemoaning the proliferation of “orientals” on campus, *supra* note 15, though not quite as enthusiastic as Lowell’s, was nonetheless startlingly blasé for the present era. *See id.*

<sup>20</sup> In a letter to a professor Lowell noted that such a quota “could ... be applied to any group of men who did not mingle indistinguishably with the general stream, – let us say Orientals.” Harvard J.A. 1132 (punctuation in original).

exam scores. "To prevent a dangerous increase in the proportion of Jews," he wrote to the Admissions Committee, "I know at present only one way which is at the same time straightforward and effective, and that is a selection by a personal estimate of character." Lowell was quite candid that "a very large proportion of the less desirable, upon this basis, are . . . the Jews."

The Board of Overseers and the faculty adopted this proposal in January, 1926, amending the rules for admission "to lay greater emphasis on selection based on character and fitness." Harvard J.A. 1107. The chairman of the Admissions Committee defended the new "test of character, personality, and promise" in language strikingly akin to that used by Harvard in this case:

If there should result . . . any substantial change in the proportion of groups in the College . . . this will be due, not to race discrimination or any quota system, but to the failure of particular individuals to possess . . . those evidences of character [and] personality . . . which . . . render them more fit than other individuals to receive all that Harvard has to offer. . . . It will be said that Harvard is discriminating on grounds of race. That will not be true.

Harvard J.A. 543.

The impact of the holistic policy was immediate and drastic. The percentage of Jews in Harvard's



freshman class plummeted from over 27% in 1925 to just 15% in 1926, and remained virtually unchanged at about that level until the 1940's. During this time Harvard buttressed this quota by reinforcing the subjective elements of its admissions system, for the first time requiring candidates to submit personal essays and descriptions of their extracurricular activities in an attempt to further emphasize "leadership" skills and "character." Jewish numbers at Harvard did not begin to rebound until after World War II, but even as late as 1952 an Admissions Committee report expressed concern that the impression that Harvard was "dominated by Jews" might cause a loss of "students from upper-income, business backgrounds."

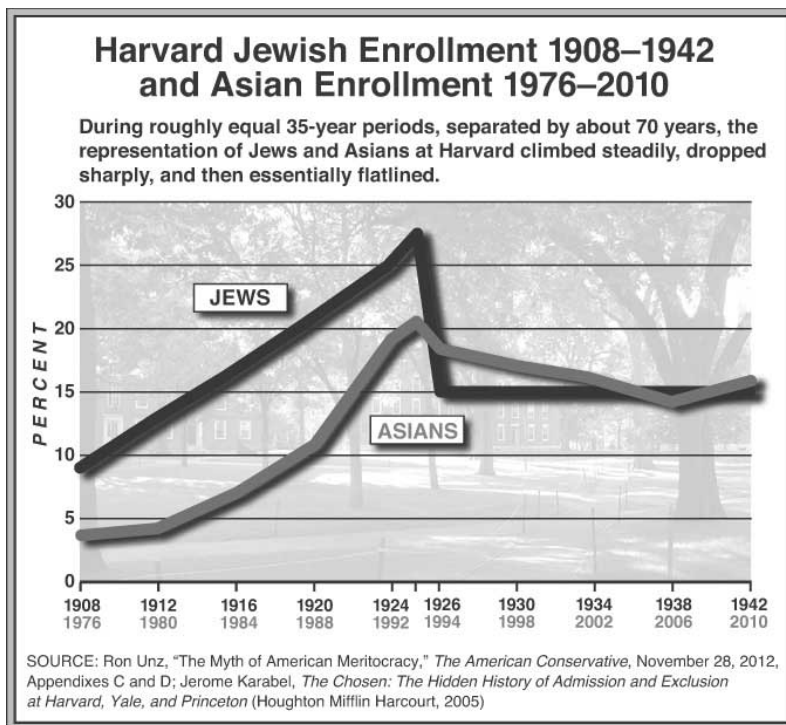
The experience of Asian students over the last several decades under Harvard's holistic admissions plan "exactly replicates th[is] historical pattern ... in which Jewish enrollment rose very rapidly, leading to imposition of an informal quota system, after which the number of Jews fell substantially, and thereafter remained roughly constant for decades." Unz, *supra*, at 18. Asian enrollment at Harvard increased from about four percent to ten percent during the early and mid-1980's as Asian immigration grew. *Id.* at 17-18 & App. C.<sup>21</sup> It then spiked after the Department of Education Office for Civil Rights ("OCR") began an investigation in 1988 into an earlier complaint of discrimination against Asians by Harvard (Harvard J.A. 1344-89; App. to Harvard Pet. Cert. 156-58), peaking

---

<sup>21</sup> The Appendices to the Unz article are available at <http://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/meritocracy-appendices/>

at 21% in 1993. Unz, *supra*, at 18 & App. C. However, beginning in 1994, the first year in which all students were admitted after the close of the investigation in 1990, “the Asian numbers went into reverse, generally stagnating or declining during the two decades which followed.” *Id.* at 18; *see id.* App. C.

This uncanny parallel is starkly illustrated in the chart below comparing Harvard’s Jewish enrollment for the period from 1908 to 1942 with its Asian enrollment for the corresponding period from 1976 to 2010:



Dennis Saffran, *Fewer Asians Need Apply*, *City J.*,

Winter 2016, at 38, 43, <https://www.city-journal.org/html/fewer-asians-need-apply-14180.html>.<sup>22</sup>

This striking congruence in enrollment trends, the similarity in the stereotypes of Jews then and Asians now as boring, bookish outsiders, and the consistently low personal ratings given to Asian-American applicants now all strongly suggest that, just as it did with Jews in the last century, Harvard now deems another upstart, achievement-oriented minority that has been too successful under the old academic standards to be deficient in the highly subjective and discretionary “personal estimate of character” favored by President Lowell.

This Court has ruled that the “historical background” of a challenged policy is an important consideration in a civil rights case, even when, unlike here, the policy is racially “neutral on its face,” and that that “history may be highly relevant, especially where there are contemporary statements [indicating invidious intent] by members of the decisionmaking body” that adopted the policy. *Vill. of Arlington Heights v. Metro. Hous. Dev. Corp.*, 429 U.S. 252, 267, 266, 268 (1977). The present case involves not a facially neutral policy like the zoning ordinance in *Arlington Heights*, but an expressly race-conscious one, and thus the substantive standard is that articulated in *City of Richmond v. J. A. Croson Co.*, 488 U. S. 469,

---

<sup>22</sup> Asian admission rates subsequently increased following the filing of the present lawsuit, *see* App. to Harvard Pet. Cert. 171 & n.44; Harvard J.A.886; Pet’r Br. 17-18, just as they had temporarily risen during the OCR investigation.

493 (1989): that to survive strict scrutiny there must be “little or no possibility that the motive for the [policy] was illegitimate racial prejudice or stereotype.” Here the contemporary statements of President Lowell and other Harvard officials in devising and instituting the holistic admissions policy offer damning proof that it was.

In holding up Harvard’s subjective admissions plan as a model of benign diversity for other schools rather than a mechanism for invidious discrimination, *Grutter* and *Bakke* were founded on a lie. This is all the more reason why, as Petitioner argues, they were “egregiously wrong,” *Ramos v. Louisiana, supra*, 140 S. Ct. at 1414 (2020) (Kavanaugh, J., concurring in part), and should be overruled.

## CONCLUSION

The Court should reverse the decisions below.

Respectfully submitted,

Dennis J. Saffran  
*Counsel of Record*  
38-18 West Drive  
Douglaston, NY 11363  
718-428-7156  
djsaffranlaw@gmail.com

*Counsel for Amicus Curiae*

May 6, 2022