

Unrealized Promises

Unequal Access, Affordability, and Excellence at Community Colleges in Southern California

Mary Martinez-Wenzl and Rigoberto Marquez

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The Civil Rights Project



Proyecto Derechos Civiles

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Mary Martinez-Wenzl and Rigoberto Marquez

Foreword by Gary Orfield

Earlier this month, President Barack Obama visited a community college campus in Northern Virginia, just outside the nation's capital. "Lighting a spark—that's what community colleges can do," proclaimed the president, touting the individual advantages of community college programs—a ticket to the middle class traditionally provided at steeply discounted prices—as well as their importance in shoring up America's economic future. Yet, despite the critical spark that community colleges are well-poised to provide, California is threatening to slash support for the state system by up to 10 percent, amounting to an \$800-million reduction in next year's funding.

In California, community colleges have long played a central role in the state's higher education system. Dating back to the 1960 Master Plan, all California students have supposedly been assured of access to higher education. Community colleges were slated to carry the largest portion of the load, responsible for educating and then either graduating or transferring two-thirds of the state's aspirants to a post-secondary degree. Extraordinarily severe funding cuts (and the accompanying rise in fees) will, of course, do little to make good on that long-standing promise.

During a time of serious demographic transition, the state can ill afford to backpedal on its pledges to a rising generation of black and Latino youth, who are very disproportionately concentrated in the community college system. These students will make up a majority of California's workforce in short order. Without access to higher education, the educational trajectory of multitudes of students will be tragically stunted, and the state's economic engine will continue to sputter.

Beyond providing the basic funding and infrastructure to sustain enrollment in community colleges, California must work to ensure that the programs are working to transfer and/or graduate degree-seeking students. A report last fall, from the Institute for Higher Education Leadership and Policy, gave notice that the community college system is falling far short of these commitments: fully 70% of California's community college students are not successfully transferring to 4-year institutions within six years. Both external and internal challenges, then, threaten to extinguish the possibilities of an absolutely essential element of California's higher educational system.

The analysis that follows builds on what we know about transfer rates in a state that is home to the country's largest system of community colleges, in a region that is a bellwether for demographic shifts playing across the United States. This research adds an important new dimension to this conversation, by examining the relationship between racial isolation and Southern California community college transfers—in addition to documenting the pathways between high- and low-performing high schools and community colleges in the region. The authors find that students from weak-performing high schools are going on to attend racially segregated community colleges, which in turn are less likely to transfer students to 4-year institutions than majority white or Asian community colleges. In more diverse community colleges, a racial transfer rate gap persists. The report also highlights the spatial dimensions of these unequal circumstances, indicating that *all* of the intensely segregated community colleges in the region are located in the Los Angeles Community College District.

This investigation of the way racial isolation influences community college pathways and transfer rates is the second in a series of reports related to equity and opportunity in the Southern California-Baja Mexico megalopolis (<http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/metro-and-regional-inequalities/lasanti-project-los-angeles-san-diego-tijuana/the-lasanti-project-description/?searchterm=lasanti>). Five months ago, we released a study detailing severe patterns of triple segregation—by race, class and language—in Southern California’s K-12 settings, along with a variety of serious educational opportunity and outcome gaps linked to that segregation. Taken together, these two reports help illustrate the dynamics of a strong cycle of limiting educational circumstances, beginning in the K-12 system and continuing into the region’s community colleges.

The consequences of not dealing with these issues are rising. This report shows that it is time to design policy and allocate funding that develops and extends educational opportunity to future generations, rather than significantly curtailing it.

Executive Summary

California community colleges are, by design, the only entry point to four-year institutions for the majority of students in the state. Yet, many of these institutions perpetuate racial and class segregation, thus disrupting the California Master Plan for Higher Education's promise of access, equity, and excellence in higher education. This report is an exploratory and descriptive examination of the pipelines to and from Southern California's 51 community colleges. Two central questions guide our analysis and discussion in this report. First, how does high school performance relate to the levels of racial and ethnic segregation in receiving community colleges? Second, how do transfer outcomes relate to the ethnic and racial composition of the community college? We find evidence of a harmful cycle of segregation, whereby students from low-performing high schools are funneled into racially isolated community colleges, which in turn fail to transfer students at high rates. And at more integrated community colleges, a racial transfer gap persists.

We examine the flows of students in the region from the strongest- and weakest-performing high schools to community colleges by their levels of segregation. The high schools' performances are measured by three-year promoting power averages, or successful transitions from one grade to the next. Specifically, we look at the number of large pathways (flows of more than 50 students per year) to community colleges. These pathways can be thought of as large roads funneling students to specific community colleges year after year, and illustrate how certain community colleges in the region serve large numbers of students from weak-performing high schools, while others largely serve only those from high-performing high schools.

This report also assesses how transfer rates vary between community colleges that are the most- and least-segregated in the region. Colleges are divided into the following categories by their levels of segregation: intensely segregated (n=5), majority underrepresented minority (n=17), highly diverse (n=4), majority white/Asian (n=14), and majority white (n=11).

Five themes emerged from this analysis, summarized as follows:

- 1. *Students from weak high schools are concentrated in community colleges where Black and Latino students are overrepresented.*** At 114 high schools in the region, only 23 to 65% of freshmen persist to the senior year, referred to in this report as dropout factories. The majority (57%) of the 78 large pathways from these drop-out schools flows to majority Black/Latino or intensely segregated community colleges. All of the five intensely segregated colleges in the region are in the Los Angeles Community College District.
- 2. *Students from strong high schools are concentrated in community colleges where white and Asian students are overrepresented.*** There are 115 high schools in the region in which 85 to 100% of freshmen persist to the senior year. The majority (64%) of the 98 large pathways from these schools are to majority white or majority white/Asian community colleges. Majority white schools draw especially heavily from high-performing high schools.
- 3. *Most of the lowest transfer rate community colleges are majority underrepresented minority or intensely segregated.*** The 13 community colleges with the lowest six-year transfer rates have rates ranging from 15 to 33%, with an average of 28%. The majority (85%) of these institutions are intensely segregated or majority underrepresented minority. These low-

transferring community colleges are found throughout the region, but are concentrated in Los Angeles.

4. **Community colleges with the highest transfer rates are majority white or majority white/Asian.** All of the community colleges in the upper quartile of transfer rates are majority white or majority white/Asian. At these 13 schools, the overall six-year transfer rates range from 45 to 58%, averaging 49%. Asian and White students have higher transfer rates, 60% and 51%, respectively.
5. **Many of these highest transfer rate community colleges have racial disparities.** Several of the community colleges in the region that are in the upper quartile for the overall transfer rate have large discrepancies between the transfer rates by race. Specifically, there are eight schools in the region in which Black and Latino transfer rates are 12 to 20 percentage points lower than the overall transfer rate, and this group includes some of the institutions thought of as flagship community colleges.

To summarize, it is at the extremes that one sees the starkest differences in levels of segregation and educational opportunity. Students who live near and attend community colleges that are intensely segregated, or majority Black and Latino, typically are in colleges where a great number of fellow students come from weak promoting high schools. Students from weaker high schools tend to have weaker academic preparation and require more remediation, and their colleges and faculty tend to focus more on those needs. In contrast, students from majority white and/or majority white/Asian colleges largely encounter students coming from schools with high promoting power. In consideration of these challenges, we offer the following recommendations:

1. **Recognize and reward success:** Rewarding successful community colleges will provide an incentive for community colleges to improve their transfer rate among the students who are most in need of attention. Recognition for transfer equity by race should not only be defined by the aggregate transfer rate, but also by having more equal transfer rates across racial groups.
2. **Streamline the transfer process:** A uniform articulation agreement between the 112 community colleges in the state would be one step closer towards equal access.
3. **Alignment across institutional sectors:** Increased alignments between sending high schools and receiving community colleges can reduce the need for remediation. Dual enrollment programs for high school students can also begin to bridge the gap between the two sectors, but will only do so in a meaningful way if access is extended to a wide range of students, and not solely high-performing students.
4. **Information and integration:** Students and parents should receive much better information and there should be an expansion of magnet schools, as well as honors programs with serious pre-collegiate courses, in all high schools. Community college students should receive more information about the relative transfer success of various campuses, in addition to underlining their right to enroll in more successful campuses that may be further from home.
5. **Increase funding:** Current funding is not sufficient to meet the objectives set forth in the California Master Plan for Higher Education, and the severe reductions during the economic crisis have intensified these problems.

Introduction

California has the largest community college system in the United States. The state's 112 community colleges serve over 2.9 million students annually, one quarter of all community college students in the nation.¹ Nearly 80% of Black and Latino students in the postsecondary system attend a community college. Theoretically, all Californians can matriculate into any community college, but, in practice, students typically attend the community college that is closest to where they live. In California, where Latinos are more segregated than any other ethnic group in schools,² a pattern of segregation continues in the community college system, and many of the inequities of the K-12 system are perpetuated.

Black and Latino students are least likely to transfer; by the most optimistic of estimates, only three out of 10 transfer within six years.³ This troubling pattern occurs within a broader context of a high school dropout crisis, with 27% of Latino and 37% of Black students dropping out of high school.⁴ Of the Black and Latinos who do graduate, about half go on to attend one of the state's postsecondary institutions, by and large finding themselves at a community college.⁵

Community college segregation appears to correspond to the overall transfer rates. In Southern California, the region of focus for this report, the community colleges with the lowest transfer rates are intensely segregated (more than 90% minority) or majority Black and Latino. In contrast, students who attend community colleges with the greatest likelihood of transferring find themselves at institutions whose student population is predominantly white and Asian.

Reducing community college dropout rates and racial disparities must begin with a clear understanding at the local level. This report provides such a picture for Southern California. Two central questions guide our analysis and discussion in this report. First, how does high school performance relate to the levels of racial and ethnic segregation in receiving community colleges? To answer this question, we examine the flows of students in the region from the strongest and weakest performing high schools to community colleges by the colleges' levels of segregation. Southern California's high schools are highly segregated by race and poverty and very unequal in terms of the course offerings and teacher experience, providing very different levels of graduation and eventual success in college. These pathways reveal the extent to which the most- and least-prepared students

¹ Community College League of California, *Fast Facts* (2010) http://www.ccleague.org/files/public/FF2010_revNov10.pdf (accessed March 2010).

² L. Chavez and E. Frankenberg, *Integration Defended: Berkeley Unified's Strategy to Maintain School Diversity*. UCLA Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles (2009).

³ California Community College's Chancellor's Office, *Transfer Velocity Report, 2003-04 Cohort*. <http://webprod.cccco.edu/datamarttrans/dmtrnsstucsel.aspx> (Accessed March 2010). The three-year transfer rates in this same cohort were much lower: 9% among Latinos, 12% among Blacks, 24% among Asians, and 16% among whites.

⁴ California Department of Education. *Dropouts by Ethnic Designation by Grade, 2007-08 Four-year Dropout Rate* (2010).

⁵ California Postsecondary Education Commission. *Higher Education Enrollment among California Public and Private High School Graduates by Race* (2008).

are integrated and segregated in community colleges in the region, which has important implications for both student opportunity and institutional burdens.

Our second research question is: How do transfer outcomes relate to the ethnic and racial composition of the community college? Here we are interested in the highest and lowest transfer rates by race/ethnicity across institutions in our region, and, in particular, which institutions in the region have the highest and lowest transfer rates for Black and Latino students. In addition to paying attention to the disparities across the region, we consider transfer rate gaps within these same institutions by race/ethnicity. Answering these questions is essential to understanding how likely transfer is for students, depending on one's geographic location in a residentially segregated region. This has profound implications for how access to economic and social mobility via higher education varies throughout the region. Given the continued disparities in both educational achievement by race and ethnicity and the demographics of our region of study, the racial dimensions of community college access and opportunity are essential to understanding the distribution of educational opportunity and access. If nonwhite students, who are the large majority in Southern California, are going from unequal high schools into less successful community colleges, that raises fundamental issues of equity and threatens the future for a significant and growing segment of California's population, as well as the region as a whole.

The consequences for community college dropouts are dire. While it was once possible for high school graduates to secure a living wage and good union jobs, these opportunities have disappeared with the loss of the manufacturing base in Southern California.⁶ Postsecondary education is increasingly a prerequisite for economic and social mobility. However there is some evidence to suggest community college students without a credential find their education has little currency in the labor market and earn about the same as high school graduates.⁷ Earning differentials by level of education have increased steadily over the past 35 years.⁸ In 2005, salaries of individuals with four-year college degrees were on average 62% more than those with only a high school diploma.⁹ In addition, California is projected to have a shortage of one million college-educated workers by 2020, making the need to increase level of postsecondary educational attainment urgent for the state as well.¹⁰

Southern California, with nearly half the community colleges in the state and a wide range in terms of size, demographics, and transfer patterns, is an ideal lens through which to examine community colleges in the state. The area is home to the nation's largest concentration of Latino students, about a fifth of the total in the enormous Southern California megalopolis. As such, the

⁶ Grant, D. M. 2000. "A demographic portrait of Los Angeles County, 1970 to 1990." *Prismatic Metropolis: Inequality in Los Angeles*: 51–80.

⁷ W. N. Grubb, *Working in the Middle: Strengthening Education and Training for the Mid-Skilled Labor Force* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1996).

⁸ S. Baum and J. Ma, *Education Pays: The Benefits of Higher Education for Individuals and Society* (College Board Trends in Higher Education Series, 2007).

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ C. Moore, N. Shulock, and C. Jensen, *Crafting a Student-Centered Transfer Process in California: Lessons from Other States* (California State University, Sacramento: Institute for Higher Education Leadership & Policy, 2009).

lessons learned through this region have important implications for the nation, as California largely portends the changes on the horizon for the rest of the United States.

This study's regional approach, looking at all 51 community colleges in Southern California, affords comparisons between institutions in the region and reveals the impacts housing and school segregation have on educational opportunity. To date, no study has examined the interplay of segregation, community colleges, and educational equity and access. Our hope in this report is to further discussions about creating change in a system that continues to marginalize low income and students of color from access to an equitable education and a promising future.

This paper examines California community colleges in the Southern California region (Ventura, Los Angeles, Riverside, San Bernardino, Orange and San Diego counties). We begin by reviewing the major policies impacting California community colleges, beginning with the California Master Plan for Higher Education, and consider the current policy and economic context. We then examine freshmen pathways in the region, specifically the largest pathways from strong and weak promoting high schools to community colleges. Next, we analyze transfer rates and patterns in the region, focusing on the variations between race/ethnic groups within and across institutions. The paper concludes with a discussion of the findings and the implications for future research.

California Community College Context

For California's low-income students and students of color, community colleges often serve as the initial access point to a four-year university. As such, they play a critical role in preparing California's future. Community colleges have the enormous task of providing and ensuring access to four-year universities for the majority of students in the state as well as some of its most marginalized and underserved students. With Latinos becoming a rapidly growing and dominant segment of the state's college-age population and the majority of the young adult population by 2014,¹¹ there has to be a large investment by the state to provide access to a four-year university for Latinos. With 80% of Black and Latino college students in community college, these communities are disproportionately affected by the lack of opportunities and resources that exist for students in our community colleges.

The Master Plan's Unrealized Promises

California's concentration of college students in community college can be traced back to the 1960 Master Plan for Higher Education, which created a three-tiered system of higher education: the University of California, California State University and California Community Colleges. When created, the mission of the Master Plan was to provide all students equal access through multiple pathways to a quality postsecondary education in the state. Under this system, the most prepared and qualified high school students directly enter the University of California (top 12.5%) or California State University (top 33.3%), while the remaining two-thirds begin their education at a community college. The Master Plan also assures all community college students, who meet and fulfill a set number of

¹¹ The Campaign for College Opportunity, *Return on Investment: A Latino Snapshot* (2010) <http://www.collegecampaign.org/assets/docs/res-lib/ROI-Latino-Snapshot.pdf> (accessed March 16, 2010)

minimum requirements, guaranteed admission to one of the 33 public four-year universities in the state.

When the Master Plan was created, it was praised by the nation as a great step forward in equalizing higher education in the country; the Master Plan principles of “access, affordability and excellence” resonated with many people in the country. In the first years of implementation, the Master Plan opened opportunities for low-income and minority students to earn a college degree. At the time of its inception student fees were low, and for those who needed financial assistance the state provided grants to help offset the cost of books and housing. However, over the years different propositions and policy initiatives, budget constraints, skyrocketing student fee increases, dismal investment for enrollment growth, and increasing selectivity by universities have severely compromised California’s ability to abide by the principles of the Master Plan.

The Master Plan helped produce a remarkable array of world class University of California campuses close to almost all students in the state. But it rested on some assumptions that were not closely examined for a long time. First, the plan assumed that state and local property taxes would provide the funding for universal access to community colleges. Its second premise suggested that all the community colleges would be good enough to permit qualified students to transfer and to function successfully on four-year campuses. Third, the Plan presumed that opportunity would be equal across the state. Fourth, it supposed that students who started out in the community colleges would have an equal opportunity to finish college if they succeeded in their studies. And although the state has produced some remarkably good community colleges, none of these assumptions has been fulfilled.

Serving the Underprepared at Comparably Low Expense

Community colleges function as a critical access point to a postsecondary education, and by extension, access to economic and social mobility for poor, working class, Black, Latino, and first-generation college students. Community college students are also more likely to be under-prepared for higher education. In California, half of entering community college students are directed to basic skills courses.¹² Upon entering the community college, many of these students find that they need extensive remediation in order to succeed in college credit-bearing courses.

In addition to serving as an access point for students in need of extra support, California community college fees are the one of the lowest in the country at \$36 per unit. California State University fees are four times that cost per unit, the University of California is nine times the cost, and private institutions are much more expensive still. Many students are, however, unaware of the direct and indirect costs accrued in the typical five years California community college transfer students spend prior to transferring. Much of this is due to the time students spend in remediation, which often involves serious loss of income, drives up the real cost of transfer for students, and represents a regressive expense disproportionately affecting the most under-prepared students.¹³ Moreover, non-

¹² Academic Senate for California Community Colleges, “Issues in Basic Skills Assessment and Placement in California Community Colleges (2004).

¹³ T. Melguizo, L. S Hagedorn, and S. Cypers, “Remedial/Developmental Education and the Cost of Community College Transfer: A Los Angeles County Sample,” *The Review of Higher Education* 31, no. 4 (2008): 401–431.

tuition costs such as books and housing are similar for students at community colleges and four-year institutions.

California data consistently show low rates of successful transfer from most community colleges, and policy discussions often treat this as a problem of creating better on-campus supports and agreements between the two-year and four-year campuses, but recent research finds little support for the theory that better articulation agreements make a difference.¹⁴ Obviously, if it is a more deeply rooted system of inequality that is built on segregated and unequal opportunities and preparation before college, then more far reaching remedies must be considered.

The Resource Failure: Restricted Revenue Streams, Rising Costs, and Volatile Spending

Over the years, tax policy and ensuing budget cuts have compromised California's ability to adhere to the principles of the Master Plan. In 1978, California voters passed Proposition 13, "The Peoples Initiative to Limit Property Taxation," which radically capped property tax rates for families and companies and required a two-thirds majority for any future tax increases. As a result, local funding for community college districts basically disappeared.¹⁵ Future tax cuts only served to compound the problems. Voter-passed public safety initiatives for juvenile incarceration and mandatory sentencing have inadvertently placed additional cost burdens on the education system. California presently spends more on funding prisons than on public higher education.¹⁶

California higher education spending has also been volatile, varying from year to year and used as a balance wheel in the state budget. To further compound matters, community college revenue from the state has been the most unpredictable, being largely dependent on local revenue streams.¹⁷ All of these limits to revenue for community colleges have made California increasingly unable to meet the basic needs and demands of its growing and diverse state.

There is no substantial commitment to increase funding to support growing enrollment, especially for community colleges. For instance, the state's per-pupil spending for community college students in 2007 was \$5,591 (far less than is spent on high school students), and for CSU and UC students it was \$11,829 and \$21,778 respectively.¹⁸ In comparison to per-pupil spending for community colleges in other states, California spends approximately \$2,000 less per student, and this is projected to decrease in the coming years.¹⁹ For the 2010-2011 year, the state has increased

¹⁴ Josipa Roksa and Bruce Keith, "Credits, Time, and Attainment: Articulation Policies and Success After Transfer," *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* 30, no. 3 (2008): 236 -254.

¹⁵ Prop 13 states, "Districts receive a portion of the 1% countywide property tax based on their proportional share of property tax revenue received from their community prior to tax control," cited in Center for Community College Policy, Education Commission of the States, *State Funding for Community Colleges: A Fifty-State Survey* (Denver, CO: 2000).

¹⁶ Phillip Reese, "Higher Education vs. Prisons: See Where California's Money Goes," *The Sacramento Bee* <http://www.sacbee.com/2010/01/06/2442430/higher-education-vs-prisons-see.html>

¹⁷ J. Santos. Latino Education Summit. University of California, Los Angeles. 2010.

¹⁸ California Legislative Analyst's Office. "The 2010-11 Budget: Higher Education." <http://www.lao.ca.gov/laoapp/main.aspx> (accessed March 8, 2010)

¹⁹ P. Burdman, "Does California's Master Plan Still Work?" *Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning* 41, no. 4 (2009): 28-35.

community college funding,²⁰ but it still leaves about 60,000 students unfunded across the community colleges.²¹ In addition to the lack of support from the state, the UC, CSU and community colleges have passed on to students some of the burden of budget shortfalls by significantly increasing student fees, nearly doubling the cost in the UCs and CSUs in the last ten years, and almost tripling it in the last two decades for community colleges.²²

Opening up three small university campuses, the University of California and the California State University have increased enrollment by only a few thousand over the last 10 years, but continue to receive the majority of the state's funding support.²³ Meanwhile, community colleges continue to contend with steady increases in enrollment and simultaneous cuts to funding. This places an enormous amount of stress on community colleges. In order to deal with enrollment growth and decreased funding, community colleges have also tried to balance shortfalls by increasing fees, cutting classes, and decreasing services to students. As a result, current students are taking fewer classes, have little to no guidance from counselors, and find it difficult to enroll in required courses, or any courses at all.²⁴

An Increasingly Diverse State Shift and Changes in Enrollment Patterns

The Master Plan was created to meet the needs and demands of what was then a far more homogenous, white, Baby Boomer generation. Fifty years later, California is experiencing another surge of students seeking a postsecondary education--the majority of whom are nonwhite. By the most recent estimates, the California population under 18 years of age is now 50% Latino. In 2008, Latinos composed 44% of the traditional college age population (those ages 18-24), but only 38% of high school graduates.

As shown in Table 1, while white students compose a relatively large segment of high school graduates eligible for the UC/CSU, Asian students lead all racial/ethnic groups, graduating with the UC/CSU requirements at twice the rate of Black and Latino students. Asian students make up 14% of all high school graduates, but compose 23% of high school graduates with UC/CSU requirements.

²⁰ For community colleges propose funding I \$219.4 million, while funding for CSU/UC will increase by \$373 million for CSU and \$423 million for UC.

²¹ California Community College Chancellor's Office, *California Community Colleges Chancellor Jack Scott Comments on the State Budget Passed by the Legislature* October 8, 2010

²² 2000 students' fees for UC undergraduate students were \$5,300 and for CSU students \$2,460; today UC students are paying \$10,302 in fees while CSU students are paying \$4,429. California Postsecondary Education Commission. "Fees at California's Public Colleges and Universities." Draft report, March 2009.

<http://www.cpec.ca.gov/SecondPages/CommissionReports.asp> (accessed March 14, 2010)

²³ California State University, accessed on May 29, 2009 <http://www.calstate.edu/pa/info/milestones.shtml>

²⁴ California Community Colleges Chancellor's Office. *California Community College Chancellor Jack Scott Announces 2009-10 Enrollment Decline: Concerns Mounting as Budget Cuts Impact Student Access.*

<http://www.cccco.edu/ChancellorsOffice/InTheNews/PressReleases/tabid/183/Default.aspx> (accessed May 7, 2010)

Table 1. Racial Composition of California's Youth, 2008

	Less than 18 Years of Age (%)	18-24 Years (%)	High School Graduates (%)	Proportion of All Graduates with UC/CSU Requirements (%)
Asian	10	12	14	23
Black	6	7	7	5
Latino	50	44	38	25
White	29	34	38	44
Multiracial	5	3	2	2

Sources: State of California, Department of Finance, E-3 Race / Ethnic Population Estimates with Age and Sex Detail, 2000–2008. Sacramento, CA, June 2010, California Department of Education.

Across all racial/ethnic groups, males are less likely to graduate from high school eligible to attend the UC/CSU; statewide, 30% of males were eligible as compared to 38% of females. Only one in five of Black and Latino male high school diploma holders has met the requirements for UC/CSU admission. Table 2 illustrates these gender discrepancies are prevalent across all racial/ethnic groups.

Table 2. High School Graduates with UC/CSU Requirements by Race and Gender

	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
Asian	49	59	54
Black	20	27	23
Latino	19	26	23
White	36	44	40
Multiracial/Other	29	35	32
Average	30	38	34

Source: California Department of Education, 2008

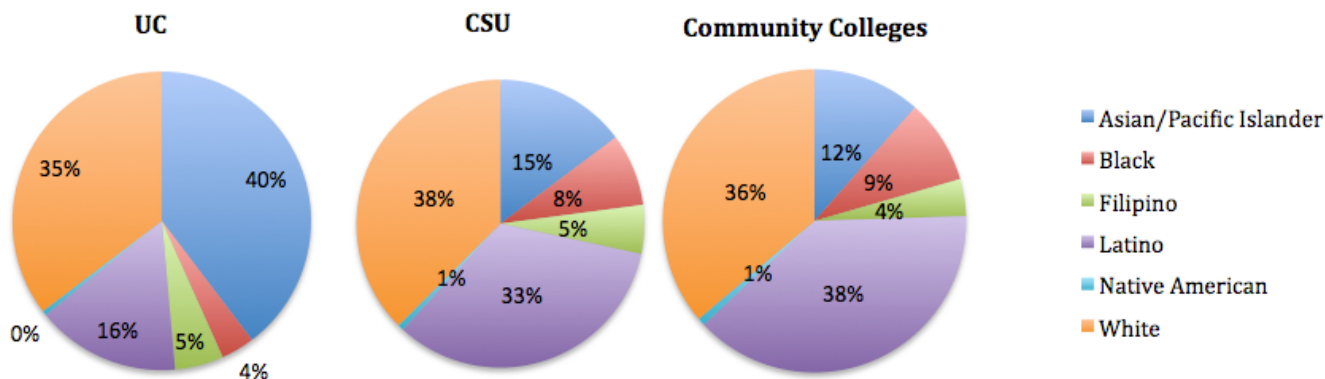
Uneven Racial and Ethnic Diversity in Public Postsecondary Systems

The demographics across California's public postsecondary systems vary considerably (summarized in Figure 1 by postsecondary system sector). The University of California enrolls 226,040 undergraduate students across its 10 campuses. Asian students are strongly overrepresented in the UC system, where Blacks and Latinos are strikingly underrepresented. Asian students are 12% of high school students yet compose 40% of the UC student body. Black and Latino students compose 3% and 13%, respectively, of the UC student body.²⁵ The California State University system enrolls 437,008 students at 23 campuses. The demographics of the CSU more closely parallel those of the K-12 system. The California State University system is predominantly white (36%) and Latino (24%), with

²⁵ California Postsecondary Education Commission, *Higher Education Enrollment* <http://www.cpec.ca.gov/OnLineData/OnLineData.asp> (2008)

Asian and Black students composing a smaller portion of the student population (17% and 6%, respectively).²⁶

Figure 1. Enrollment in Southern California Postsecondary Institutions, 2008



California’s community colleges serve about 2.9 million students at 112 campuses. Their demographics are similar to those of the CSU, but with greater proportions of Latino students. White students are at 35% of the population and Latinos are 30%, representing the largest groups; Asian (15%) and Black (8%) represent the smallest.²⁷ Figure 2 (below) summarizes enrollment in Southern California’s community colleges by racial/ethnic group between 1998 and 2007.

The population of college students in the state has increased both in size and diversity over the last 50 years. Enrollment capacity at the University of California has grown far more slowly than the population. In the past 10 years, California experienced steady increases in the number of college bound students, with little capacity for enrollment growth, and decreased funding from the state. It is projected that by 2014, California will have 640,000 more students seeking a college education than it is capable of serving.²⁸ At the same time, California has begun to follow the example of other public institutions, such as the University of Virginia and the University of Michigan, in pursuing more out-of-state students as a means of increasing revenue—which some researchers say is a move toward privatization of public education.²⁹

The Southern California region includes four UC campuses (Los Angeles, Irvine, Riverside and San Diego), nine CSUs (Dominguez Hills, Fullerton, Long Beach, Los Angeles, Northridge, San Bernardino, San Diego, San Marcos and Pomona) and several prominent private universities (The Claremont Colleges, University of Southern California, Loyola Marymount, Occidental College and the University of San Diego) as well as many for-profit postsecondary campuses. The community colleges are broadly distributed to offer education within commuting distance to almost all students in the

²⁶ Ibid.

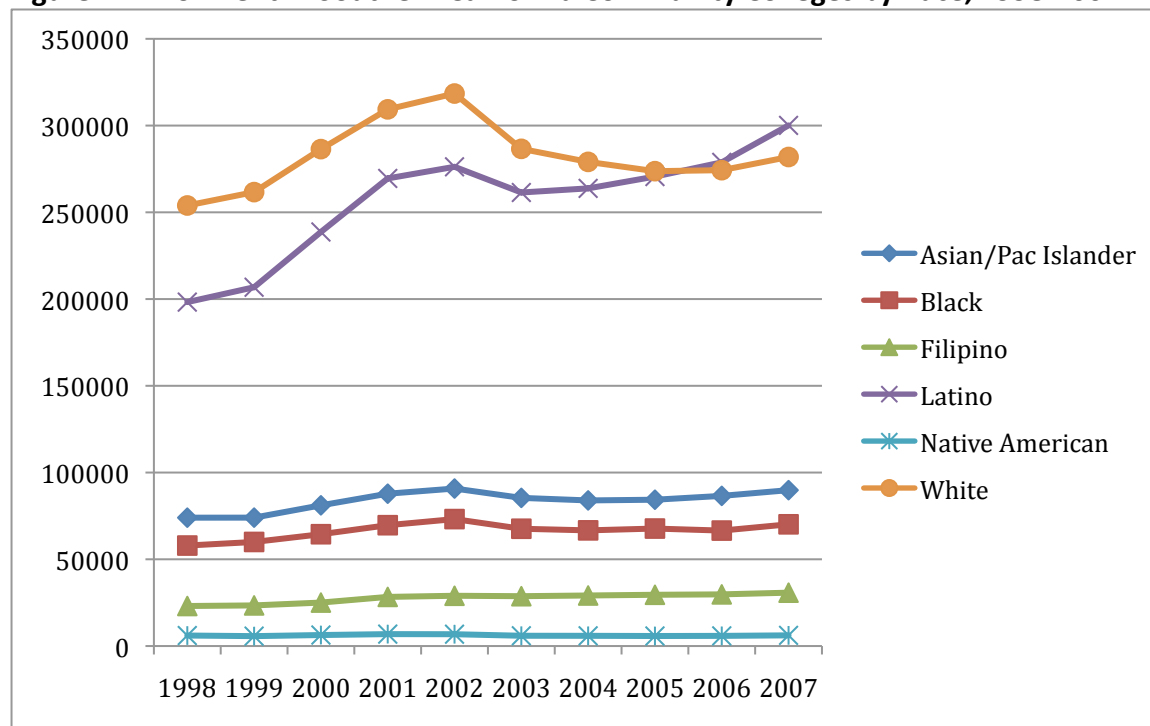
²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ The Campaign for College Opportunity, “2006 Fast Facts” www.collegecampaign.org

²⁹ J. Santos, *Latino Educational Summit* (University of California, Los Angeles, 2010).

region. Given the concentrated population, there are 21 community colleges in Los Angeles County. San Diego County and Orange County, which each have populations close to 3 million, have eight and nine community colleges, respectively. Taken together, it is an incredibly diverse set of postsecondary institutions that enroll students from a wide range of social classes, racial and ethnic groups, and prior academic experiences. However, it is also a highly stratified area, with the majority of Black and Latino students enrolled at community colleges.

Figure 2. Enrollment in Southern California Community Colleges by Race, 1998-2007



Source: California Postsecondary Education Commission

The counties in the region range widely in racial and ethnic distributions and by the wealth and average educational levels of the communities they serve, summarized below in Table 3. Los Angeles, which has a population three times the size of Orange County and 12 times the size of Ventura County, has the smallest proportion of white inhabitants. Orange, San Diego, and Ventura Counties have higher per capita incomes and levels of education than Los Angeles, Riverside, and San Bernardino Counties. Los Angeles, Riverside, and San Bernardino have greater proportions of families living below the poverty level and are largely Latino and Black (combined Black and Latino populations range from 49 to 56%). In contrast, the populations of Orange, San Diego, and Ventura Counties are predominantly white and Asian (combined ranges from 58 to 64%).

Table 3. Demographic and Economic Characteristics of Southern California by County, 2008

	Los Angeles	Orange	Riverside	San Bernardino	San Diego	Ventura
Demographics						
Total Population	9,832,137	2,985,995	2,055,232	1,999,753	2,965,943	793,814
Asian (%)	13	17	5	6	10	6
Black (%)	9	2	6	9	5	2
Latino (%)	47	33	43	47	30	37
White (%)	29	47	43	36	51	52
Education						
High School Graduate or Higher (%)	78	83	79	77	85	82
College Graduate or Higher (%)	28	35	20	18	34	30
Income						
Per Capita Income	\$27,264	34,550	24,836	22,243	30,898	32,555
Families Below Poverty Level (%)	15	7	9	11	8	6
Geography						
Land Area (Sq. miles)	4,084	789	7,207	20,052	4,200	1,845
Number of Cities	88	34	26	24	18	11

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2006-8 American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates.

Freshmen Pathways to Community Colleges: Location Matters

Flows of First-Time Freshmen

The California statewide high school graduation rate is just over 70%, and only 60% among Black and Latino students.³⁰ Among the 376,393 students who graduated from California public high schools in 2008, more than half of these students (55%) enrolled in a public postsecondary institution, and of these students, 61% went to a community college (see Figure 3 for a summary of postsecondary outcomes for California high school students in 2008).³¹ In fact, the flow of first-time freshmen from California high schools to community colleges has increased steadily over the last 15 years. In 1994, there were 92,393 first-time freshmen enrolling in community college; by 2008, this figure had grown to 119,937, for an overall increase of nearly 30%.³² In Southern California, 120,348 first-time freshmen enrolled in a postsecondary institution in 2008, with 66% enrolling in community college.³³ Nationally, California ranks last in the proportion of college students at four-year institutions and is nearly at the bottom in the proportion of students obtaining a bachelor's degree.³⁴ With capped enrollments at the University of California and California State University, the majority of

³⁰ California Dropout Research Project, *Statistical Brief 11*. <http://cdrp.ucsb.edu/> (accessed March 14, 2010)

³¹ California Postsecondary Education Commission, "First-Time Freshmen 1994-2008." (2010). <http://www.cpec.ca.gov/OnLineData/FreshmenTotals.asp?Seg=C> (accessed March 15, 2010).

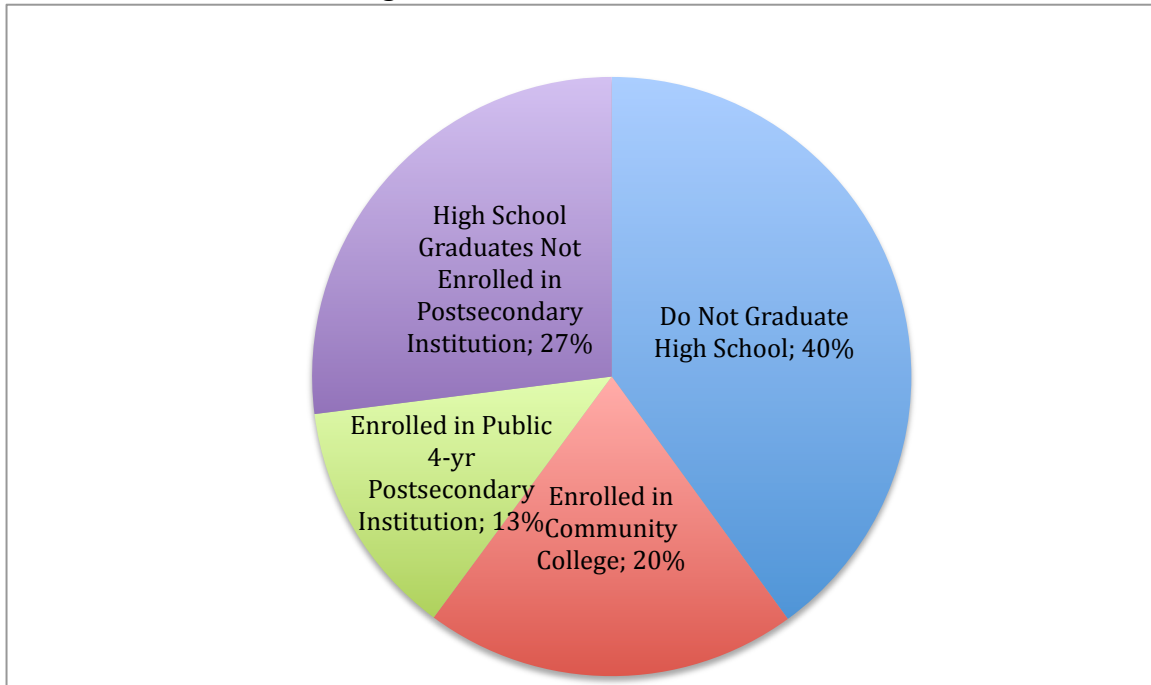
³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Saul Geisher, "Beyond the Master Plan: The Case of Restructuring Baccalaureate Education in California." University of California, Berkeley: Center for Studies of Higher Education, November 2010).

students are relegated to community colleges, where the likelihood of completion and/or transfer is bleak.

Figure 3. Outcomes for California High School Students, 2008



Sources: California Postsecondary Education Commission & California Department of Education

Pathways from Schools with Strong and Weak Promoting Power

We now examine the flows to community college from the region’s schools with the strongest and weakest high school completion rates, measured by successful transitions from one grade to the next (promoting power), which is strongly related to graduation rates. Many of the patterns of economic and racial segregation found in high schools persist in the community college system. The crisis of high school completion in the nation is strongly concentrated in a small fraction of “dropout factory” high schools, which are overwhelmingly concentrated in largely segregated urban schools with very high concentrations of impoverished students.³⁵ Large numbers of students who graduated from some of the lowest-performing high schools are now attending some of the community colleges with the lowest transfer rates in the state. Likewise, students from some of the highest-performing high schools who did not go directly to a four-year university are now attending some of the highest-performing community colleges in the state. While there are many community colleges in the region that serve large numbers of students from both high- and low-performing high schools, there are too many schools that tend to serve primarily one group over another.

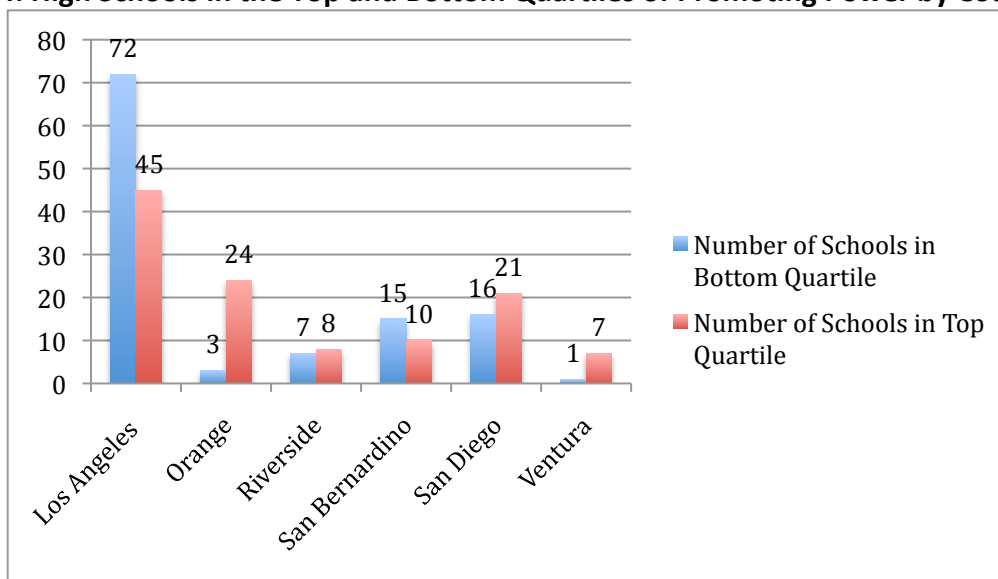
³⁵ R. Balfanz and N. Legters, “Locating the Dropout Crisis: Which High Schools Produce the Nation’s Dropouts?” in *Dropouts in America: Confronting the Graduation Rate Crisis*, ed. Gary Orfield (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press, 2004) 85-106.

We used measures of promoting power to identify the highest- and lowest-performing high schools in the region. Measures of promoting power are well-established proxies for high school graduation rates. Schools in the region with weak and strong levels of promoting power were identified via three-year averages of promoting levels between 2005 and 2007.³⁶ The schools in the bottom quartile of promoting power in Southern California include the region’s “dropout factories,” defined as those with promoting power of 60% or less, as well as schools that are faring slightly better, with promoting power between 60 and 65%.

In Southern California, the bottom quartile included 114 schools with promoting power levels ranging from 23 to 65%. At these schools, on average only 50% of students who began their studies as freshmen were still enrolled by their senior year. These low-performing schools are concentrated in Los Angeles County, where 72 high schools represent 63% of all schools in the region in the bottom quartile of promoting power. The next largest concentrations of low promoting power schools are found in San Bernardino and San Diego Counties, where there are 15 and 16 of these schools respectively. Figure 4 shows the distribution of the highest- and lowest-performing high schools by county.

The 115 schools in the upper quartile had levels of promoting power between 87 and 100% and were more dispersed throughout the region. In the next section, we examine the differentiated pathways to community college from low- and high-performing high schools.

Figure 4. High Schools in the Top and Bottom Quartiles of Promoting Power by County, 2005-2007



³⁶ See <http://www.all4ed.org/promotingpower> for details on the calculation of promoting power.

Segregated Pathways from High- and Low-Performing Schools

California Postsecondary Education Commission data were collected on freshmen pathways to community colleges in the region. We restrict our analysis to large flows, defined as 50 or more students annually, and use the average flows from 1994-2008 to identify consistent patterns for the high schools in the upper and bottom quartiles of promoting power. Among the high schools in the bottom quartile of promoting power, there are 78 large pathways to community colleges in the region. However, many of these high schools with weak promoting power do not have *any* large pathways to institutions of higher education whatsoever. In contrast, among the strong-promoting high schools, there are not only many more large pathways to community colleges (98 in all), but also many high schools that solely have large pathways to four-year institutions. These high schools essentially act as superhighways to college.

Schools in the bottom quartile of promoting power are more likely to send large numbers of students to community colleges with greater proportions of Black and Latino students. Conversely, students from high schools with the strongest levels of promoting power tend to enroll in community colleges that are largely white and Asian. To demonstrate these patterns, we examine community colleges by their levels of segregation, and compare the number of pathways from strong and weak high schools for community colleges in the following categories:³⁷

- Intensely segregated: 90 to 100% minority
- Majority underrepresented minority (URM): more than 50% Black and Latino
- Highly diverse: less than 50% URM and less than 50% white and Asian
- Majority white and Asian: more than 50% white and Asian
- Majority white: more than 50% white

Figure 5. Pathways from High and Low Performing High Schools

³⁷ Categories modified from G. Orfield and C. Lee *Racial Transformation and the Changing Nature of Segregation*. (Cambridge, MA: The Civil Rights Project at Harvard University 2006)

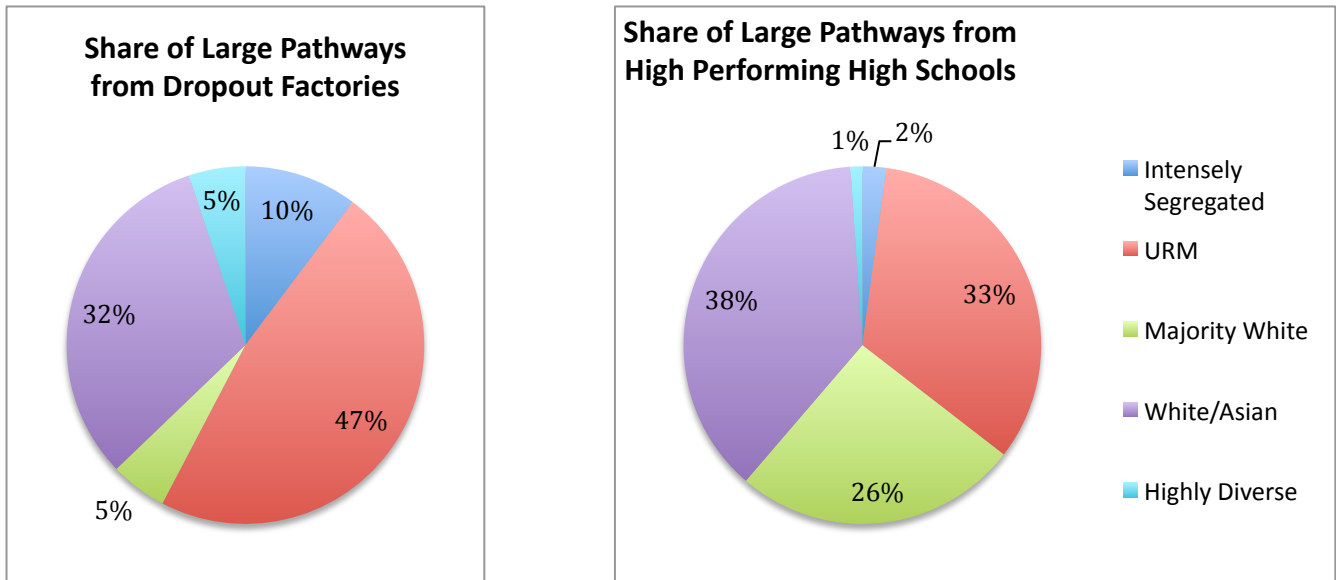


Figure 5 summarizes the proportion of large pathways from dropout factory high schools and high-performing high schools to community colleges according to the community colleges' levels of segregation. Five of the community colleges in Southern California are intensely segregated institutions, 90 to 100% minority. All are in Los Angeles County and draw disproportionately from high schools in the bottom quartile of promoting power, with eight large pathways from these high schools and only two pathways from those in the upper quartile of promoting power (see Table 4). Thus, students at intensely segregated community colleges are most likely to find themselves among students from dropout factory high schools.

Table 4. Pathways to Intensely Segregated Community Colleges (90 to 100% Minority)

Two-Year Institution	County	Strong Promoting Power Pathways	Weak Promoting Power Pathways	White (%)	Black (%)	Latino (%)
Compton Community College	Los Angeles	0	0	10	54	36
East Los Angeles College	Los Angeles	2	5	9	4	70
Los Angeles Mission College	Los Angeles	0	2	6	5	78
Los Angeles Southwest College	Los Angeles	0	0	3	61	36
Los Angeles Trade-Technical College	Los Angeles	0	1	1	27	59

Source: California Postsecondary Education Commission

The pathways from the weakest and strongest high schools in the region to the 17 community colleges that are majority underrepresented minorities (more than 50% Black and Latino) are comparatively more balanced (see Table 5). There were 31 large pathways from high schools with strong promoting power, and 37 from those with weak promoting power. However, while as a group these majority URM community colleges seem to be drawing a more balanced mix of students, closer

examination reveals that, in fact, five of the institutions in this group draw large pathways exclusively from the high schools with strong promoting power. The trend is most pronounced at Southwestern College, which is two-thirds Latino and has four large pathways from strong promoting power high schools. Similarly, five of the community colleges that are majority underrepresented minorities have large pathways only from high schools with weak promoting power. These schools are almost all in Los Angeles, and, in some instances, the pattern is especially pronounced: Los Angeles Valley College has six large pathways from the weakest high schools in the region and none from the strongest.

A quarter of the community colleges in Southern California have a majority of white and Asian students (14 institutions). Pathways to these institutions are summarized in Table 6. Six of these institutions are in Orange County. In Los Angeles, Santa Monica College and Pasadena City College, some of the most successful schools in the region, are included in this group. Large pathways from the strongest-performing high schools in the region outnumber those from low-performing high schools (35 versus 25). In addition, half of these schools solely have large pathways from the strongest-performing high schools in the region (and none from the weakest). However, there are also two colleges in this group that have only large pathways from the weakest-performing high schools, and, in fact, Pierce College in Los Angeles has a large number of pathways from the low-performing high schools (9).

**Table 5. Pathways to Majority Underrepresented Minority Community Colleges
(more than 50% underrepresented minority)**

Two-Year Institution	County	Strong Promoting Power Pathways	Weak Promoting Power Pathways	White (%)	Black (%)	Latino (%)
Antelope Valley College	Los Angeles	1	0	37	22	33
Cerritos College	Los Angeles	1	4	16	9	60
Chaffey Community College	San Bernardino	2	2	28	12	48
Citrus College	Los Angeles	1	0	34	6	47
College Of The Desert	Riverside	1	1	30	3	59
El Camino College	Los Angeles	6	4	22	20	36
Long Beach City College	Los Angeles	1	0	28	15	37
Los Angeles City College	Los Angeles	0	3	20	12	45
Los Angeles Harbor College	Los Angeles	0	4	17	15	47
Los Angeles Valley College	Los Angeles	0	6	32	6	45
Mt. San Antonio College	Los Angeles	10	4	19	5	46
Oxnard College	Ventura	2	0	18	4	68
Rio Hondo College	Los Angeles	0	3	13	3	72
Riverside City College	Riverside	2	4	35	12	41
San Bernardino Valley College	San Bernardino	0	2	24	20	47
Southwestern College	San Diego	4	0	13	5	66
West Los Angeles College	Los Angeles	0	0	15	43	31

Source: California Postsecondary Education Commission

About a fifth of the region's community colleges are majority white, listed in Table 7. These schools are much more likely to have large pathways from the strongest-performing high schools in the region. There are 24 pathways from high performing high schools into majority white community colleges, compared to a mere four from the lower-performing schools in the region. Each of the counties in the region has at least one majority white community college, and in San Diego there are four.

Only a handful of community colleges in the region are not intensely segregated, majority underrepresented minority, or majority white and/or Asian. These schools are highly diverse and have few large pathways from any of the weakest or strongest high schools and are listed in Table 8. Although these schools are regarded as highly diverse, all are 48 to 50% underrepresented minority, and very close to meeting the threshold for classification as majority underrepresented minority.

**Table 6. Pathways to Majority White and Asian Community Colleges
(more than 50% white and Asian)**

Two-Year Institution	County	Strong Promoting Power Pathways	Weak Promoting Power Pathways	White (%)	Black (%)	Latino (%)	Asian (%)
Barstow College	San Bernardino	0	0	49	14	28	30
Coastline Community College	Orange	0	0	43	10	17	7
College of the Canyons	Los Angeles	0	0	48	6	30	24
Cypress College	Orange	3	0	31	6	32	28
Fullerton College	Orange	5	0	37	4	39	4
Golden West College	Orange	3	0	42	2	20	13
Mt. San Jacinto College	Riverside	2	0	48	8	33	17
Orange Coast College	Orange	7	0	47	2	22	25
Pasadena City College	Los Angeles	9	8	19	6	38	6
Pierce College	Los Angeles	0	9	40	7	33	15
San Diego Mesa College	San Diego	0	2	45	7	22	21
San Diego Miramar College	San Diego	2	0	45	5	17	17
Santa Monica College	Los Angeles	2	6	40	12	29	11
Santiago Canyon College	Orange	2	0	43	2	42	4

Source: California Postsecondary Education Commission

Table 7. Pathways to Majority White Schools, 2008 (more than 50% white)

Two-Year Institution	County	Strong Promoting Power Pathways	Weak Promoting Power Pathways	White (%)	Black (%)	Asian (%)	Latino (%)
Copper Mountain College	San Bernardino	0	0	67	7	3	17
Crafton Hills College	San Bernardino	1	0	59	5	4	28
Cuyamaca College	San Diego	1	0	57	7	4	22
Glendale Community College	Los Angeles	3	1	59	2	9	24
Grossmont College	San Diego	1	2	53	9	7	21
Irvine Valley College	Orange	1	0	51	2	29	12
MiraCosta College	San Diego	3	0	57	5	6	26
Moorpark College	Ventura	5	0	65	3	8	19
Palo Verde College	Riverside	0	0	52	10	5	30
Palomar College	San Diego	4	1	54	4	6	31
Saddleback College	Orange	5	0	70	2	9	15

Source: California Postsecondary Education Commission

Table 8. Pathways to Highly Diverse Community Colleges

Two-Year Institution	County	Strong Promoting Power Pathways	Weak Promoting Power Pathways	Asian (%)	Black (%)	Latino (%)	White (%)
San Diego City College	San Diego	0	1	8	13	36	33
Santa Ana College	Orange	0	2	11	3	47	34
Ventura College	Ventura	0	0	4	3	45	43
Victor Valley College	San Bernardino	1	1	3	13	35	45

Source: California Postsecondary Education Commission

Many of the community colleges in the region serve concentrations of students from weak- or strong-performing high schools, and fewer serve significant numbers of both types of students. The overall picture shows that about a fifth of the colleges serve significant numbers of students from only weak high schools, another group serves only highly successful high schools and a third group serves only schools that are in the middle. In short, it is a huge system with very differentiated pathways. The colleges serving the weak high schools have a substantially higher average enrollment of Black and Latino students.

Transfer Rates and Volume by Race and Ethnicity

Community colleges are critical to providing access to higher education for the majority of California students, yet there is little transparency or accountability regarding student outcomes. Uncovering transfer rates requires deciphering the methodology developed by the state for calculating the transfer rate. The California Postsecondary Education Commission (CPEC) provides data on enrollment and transfer flows of students from community colleges to four-year institutions, and transfer rates are calculated for cohorts of students by the California Community College Chancellor’s Office. There are myriad difficulties in calculating the transfer rate. The number of students transferring (the numerator) is relatively straightforward. However, with some students taking courses at community college and four-year institutions simultaneously, or starting out at a four-year college and transferring to a community college, and then back again, determining whom to count as a transfer student is a bit more complicated. But it is the denominator of the transfer rate, determining which students to count as potential transfer students, that is the most complicated. This is related to the fact that the great majority of students who enter community colleges saying they want to transfer never do so. As a result, most statistical studies calculate a transfer rate only for students who have made some significant initial steps towards doing so.

Clifford Adelman, long-time federal data analyst, has developed a widely used approach. He suggests that only students who earned 10 college credits or more at the community college and then transferred and earned at least 10 credits at the four-year institution can be counted as part of the transfer population.³⁸ Importantly, this technique omits very large numbers of students who believe they are on the path to earn a B.A. when they enroll in community college, but who end up making no real significant progress.

California's reported transfer rates are calculated in a related way. The state tracks cohorts of first-time college freshmen who enrolled in a transfer level math or English course, enrolled in a minimum of 12 attempted units, and transferred within six years of initial enrollment. The state adjusts the rates for variables or factors considered outside the control of the colleges: the percentage of students 25 years or older, the bachelor degree attainment of the population, and the percentage 25 years or older in a college's service area.³⁹ California also provides a statewide Student Right-to-Know Rate,⁴⁰ which reports completion and transfer rates over a three-year period for cohorts of transfer-seeking first-time, full-time students. The average transfer rate in Southern California community colleges using the first method is 39%, while under the second method it is 17%.

The California Community College Chancellor's Office Transfer Velocity Project provides transfer data for cohorts of students who began their studies at a California community college between 1997 and 2003. We rely on the Transfer Velocity report data here, using the six-year transfer rates, as it is the only transfer rate data readily available that can be disaggregated by race/ethnicity.

Some of the strongest transfer schools in the state are found in Southern California. Santa Monica City College, Pasadena City College and Orange Coast College consistently transfer the highest number of students to UC and CSU. Taken together, one-quarter of all community college students in the region transferring to a UC came from one of these three campuses, and almost one-eighth came from Santa Monica College alone.

Transfer Rates by County

For the cohort of freshmen entering community college in 2003-04, an average of 38% transferred within six years. Table 9 lists the six-year transfer rates by race/ethnicity for each of the

³⁸ C. Adelman, *Moving into Town—and Moving On: The Community College in the Lives of Traditional-Age Students* (Washington, DC: US Department of Education, 2005) 202.

http://eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/custom/portlets/recordDetails/detailmini.jsp?_nfpb=true&_ERICExtSearch_SearchValue_0=ED496111&ERICExtSearch_SearchType_0=no&accno=ED496111 (accessed March 6, 2010)

³⁹ California Community College Chancellor's Office, *Transfer Rate Study of California Community Colleges* (2005-06 Report).

<http://www.cccco.edu/ChancellorsOffice/Divisions/TechResearchInfo/ResearchandPlanning/ResearchReports/tabid/299/Default.aspx>

⁴⁰ According to the California Postsecondary Education Commission, "In compliance with Department of Education's Student Right-to-Know Act, all colleges and universities receiving Title IV funds are required to report various points of information to students, employees and prospective students. The Student Right-to-Know Act requires an institution that participates in any federal student financial assistance program to disclose information about graduation or completion rates to current and prospective students."

<http://www.cpec.ca.gov/CollegeGuide/InfoForStudents.asp> (accessed March 6, 2010).

counties in Southern California. By county, the transfer rate averages were highest in Orange County at 46%, and lowest in Riverside at 30%. Transfer rates for Black students by county ranged from a low of 27% in San Bernardino to a high of 39% in San Diego. Similarly, Latino transfer rates by county ranged from average (38%) in Ventura to well below average (2%) in San Bernardino. White and Asian students were more likely to transfer, except in Riverside and San Bernardino. The highest transfer rate for any single groups was 61% for Ventura County Asian students. San Bernardino County had the lowest average transfer rates for both Latino and Black students.

Table 9. Six-Year Transfer Rates by County and Race/Ethnicity, 2003-04 Cohort

County	Black (%)	Asian (%)	Filipino (%)	Latino (%)	Pacific Islander (%)	White (%)	Total (%)
Los Angeles	33	54	31	29	35	41	37
Orange	34	57	32	37	33	45	46
Riverside	36	35	22	27	16	32	30
San Bernardino	27	36	28	26	30	34	32
San Diego	39	51	40	34	27	42	40
Ventura	37	61	37	38	47	42	41

Source: California Community College Chancellor's Office Transfer Velocity Report

Highest and Lowest Transfer Rates in the Region

Without exception, the community colleges with the highest overall transfer rates are majority white and Asian (see Table 10). However, even in these institutions with relatively high transfer rates, Black and Latino students transfer much less frequently. Los Angeles County's 21 community colleges are among the highest- and lowest-performing in the state. Los Angeles Southwest and Los Angeles Trade-Technical College transferred fewer than 10 students each to a UC in 2008-09, while Santa Monica College occupied the other extreme. Orange County has nine colleges with some of the highest transfers to CSU and UC. The strongest schools in Orange County include Orange Coast College and Saddleback College, which transfer large numbers of students to CSU. Riverside County has just four community colleges, with Riverside City College as its strongest transfer school. San Bernardino has six community colleges and all have relatively low transfer rates to both UC and CSU. In San Diego, San Diego Mesa College and Palomar College send large numbers of students to CSU and UC.

The community colleges in the region with the largest number of transfer students each year are listed in Table 11. Santa Monica College leads the region in the number of student transfers, with close to 2,000 students transferring each year. The majority of Santa Monica College transfer students went to UCLA in 2008, a very highly selective campus, followed closely by Cal State Northridge. The following table shows the transfer destinations and volume for the top five transferring institutions in the region.

Table 10. Six-Year Transfer Rates for 2003-04 Cohort, Upper Quartile of Schools in the Region

Two-Year Institution	County	Asian (%)	Black (%)	Filipino (%)	Latino (%)	White (%)	Total (%)	Racial Majority
Santa Monica College	Los Angeles	68	46	47	41	64	58	White/Asian
Irvine Valley College	Orange	62	48	35	44	55	55	White
Moorpark College	Ventura	62	39	33	47	54	53	White
Glendale Community College	Los Angeles	62	31	25	32	57	50	White
Coastline Community College	Orange	64	29	0	39	37	49	White/Asian
Saddleback College	Orange	58	51	35	38	51	49	White
Santiago Canyon College	Orange	54	0	48	44	50	49	White/Asian
Orange Coast College	Orange	57	30	40	37	49	48	White/Asian
San Diego Mesa College	San Diego	56	46	44	41	50	48	White/Asian
Fullerton College	Orange	64	43	44	38	48	47	White/Asian
Pasadena City College	Los Angeles	61	36	38	31	50	47	White/Asian
Pierce College	Los Angeles	51	31	40	32	50	45	White/Asian
San Diego Miramar College	San Diego	55	41	43	42	42	45	White/Asian
<i>Average</i>		<i>60</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>51</i>	<i>49</i>	

Source: California Community College Chancellor's Office Transfer Velocity Report

Table 11. Southern California Community Colleges with Largest Number of Transfer Students, 2008

Community College	County	Total Enrollment	Transfers to UC & CSU	Largest Receiving Institutions	6-Year Transfer Rate (%)	Racial Majority
Santa Monica College	Los Angeles	54,878	UC (919) CSU (1,011)	UCLA (516) CSU-Northridge (510)	58	White/Asian
Orange Coast College	Orange	34,790	UC (555) CSU (1,303)	UCLA (235) CSU-Fullerton (602)	48	White/Asian
Pasadena City College	Los Angeles	45,324	UC (565) CSU (1,222)	UCLA (206) CSULA (500)	47	White/Asian
Mt. San Antonio College	Los Angeles	69,627	UC (332) CSU (1,258)	UCLA (90) Cal Poly Pomona (471)	40	URM
El Camino College	Los Angeles	41,700	UC (296) CSU (1,031)	UCLA (113) CSU-Dominguez Hills (385)	35	URM

Source: 2008 California Postsecondary Education Commission, Higher Education Data

The community colleges with the lowest number of transfer students are listed in Table 12. With respect to institutions transferring small numbers of students, Palo Verde Community College transferred the fewest; only 12 students transferred to a UC/CSU in 2008. The highest transfer colleges seem to be concentrated in Los Angeles on the west side and just north of the city (with the exception of El Camino College). Colleges transferring the smallest numbers of students are concentrated in counties directly south and east of Los Angeles and tend to have a smaller total enrollment.

Table 12. Southern California Community Colleges with Lowest Number of Transfer Students, 2008

Community College	County	Total Enrollment	Transfers to UC & CSU	Largest Receiving Institutions	6-Year Transfer Rate (%)	Racial Majority
Palo Verde Community College	Riverside	6,290	UC 1 CSU 11	UC-Santa Cruz (1) CSU-San Bernardino (8)	16	White
Copper Mountain Community College	San Bernardino	3,330	UC 8 CSU 41	UC-Riverside (3) CSU-San Bernardino (18)	15	White
Barstow Community College	San Bernardino	6,310	UC 7 CSU 44	UC-Riverside (4) CSU-San Bernardino (22)	34	White/Asian
Compton Community College	Los Angeles	10,060	UC 0 CSU 84	CSU-Dominguez Hills (62)	19	Black
Coastline Community College	Orange	22,768	UC 10 CSU 105	UC-Irvine (5) CSU-Fullerton (69)	49	White/Asian

Source: 2008 California Postsecondary Education Commission, Higher Education Data

Very low transfer rate colleges for the 2003-04 cohort were found in all areas except Orange County. The institutions with the lowest transfer rates in the region are listed in Table 13. The absolute lowest transfer rates were at some of the smallest institutions in the region, but East Los Angeles College, which is one of the largest community colleges in the region, made the list of the least successful.

Black and Latino Transfer Trends

Almost all of the 51 community colleges in the region had Latino transfer rates lower than the overall transfer rate (for a complete and detailed list of transfer patterns for Black and Latino students please see Tables 19-22 in Appendix).⁴¹ On average, the Latino transfer rate was 31%, seven percentage points below the regional average of 38%. Somewhat surprisingly, Santa Monica College, which has the highest six-year transfer rate for the 2003 cohort at 58%, has the one of the greatest

⁴¹ All transfer rate data in this report are six-year transfer rates from the Transfer Velocity report, available from the California Community Colleges Chancellor's Office at <http://webprod.cccco.edu/datamarttrans/dmtrnsstucsel.aspx>

disparities, with the Latino transfer rate 17 points lower than the overall transfer rate. Mt. San Jacinto was a notable exception as being the only community college in the upper quartile of Latino transfer rates and having a Latino transfer rate on par with the overall transfer rate.

Table 14 lists the institutions with Latino transfer rates in the upper quartile of the region, listed in descending order according to the Latino transfer rate for the 2003-04 cohort. Taken together, the Latino transfer rate across this group of schools was about the same as the overall state average at almost 40%. On average, 115 students from each of these schools transferred within six years.

Table 13. Southern California Community Colleges with Lowest Overall 6-Year Transfer Rates, 2003-04 Cohort

Two-Year Institution	County	Black (%)	Asian (%)	Filipino (%)	Latino (%)	White (%)	Total (%)	Racial Majority
Copper Mountain College	San Bernardino	5	0	0	14	17	15	White
Palo Verde College	Riverside	19	20	0	14	18	16	White
Compton Community College	Los Angeles	17	33	0	19	0	19	Intensely Segregated
Los Angeles Southwest College	Los Angeles	28	67	--	28	100	29	Intensely Segregated
Los Angeles Trade-Technical College	Los Angeles	32	49	25	27	10	29	Intensely Segregated
Rio Hondo College	Los Angeles	28	50	40	24	27	29	URM
College Of The Desert	Riverside	52	32	23	28	33	30	URM
Oxnard College	Ventura	33	65	35	27	31	30	URM
Southwestern College	San Diego	32	55	42	28	36	32	URM
Cerritos College	Los Angeles	25	57	30	27	28	32	URM
East Los Angeles College	Los Angeles	28	47	33	26	39	32	Intensely Segregated
Victor Valley College	San Bernardino	33	35	25	26	36	33	Highly Diverse
Los Angeles City College	Los Angeles	25	48	33	25	36	33	URM
Average		27	43	24	24	32	28	

In 2009, 9,370 Latino students transferred to a CSU or UC from one of the community colleges in the region. Eighty-three percent transferred to a CSU. Los Angeles community colleges transferred

the greatest numbers of Latinos to a CSU, with East Los Angeles College, Mt. San Antonio College, and Cerritos College each transferring upwards of 400 students.⁴²

Table 14. Highest Six-Year Transfer Rates for Latinos from the 2003-04 Cohort

Two-Year Institution	County	Number of Latino Students Transferring	Latino Transfer Rate (%)	Overall Transfer Rate (%)
Moorpark College	Ventura	112	47	53
Santiago Canyon College	Orange	118	44	49
Irvine Valley College	Orange	47	44	55
San Diego Miramar College	San Diego	35	42	45
San Diego Mesa College	San Diego	121	41	48
Santa Monica College	Los Angeles	191	41	58
Ventura College	Ventura	154	39	40

Source: California Community College Chancellor's Office Transfer Velocity Report

The six-year transfer rate for Black students in the 2003-04 cohort was 34%, higher than that of Latinos, but lower than the overall average in the region. Black student transfer rates ranged from 0% at Santiago Canyon College (table 18) to a high of 52% at the College of the Desert (table 15). In contrast to Latino students, there were several institutions in which the six-year transfer rates for Black students were higher than the overall transfer rate (table 15). Seventeen of the community colleges in the region had a Black student transfer rate that was the same (4) or better than the overall transfer rate (13). Almost half of these institutions (8) were also in the upper quartile of Black student transfer rates, presented in the following table. Table 15 listed the institutions in the region with the highest transfer rates for Black students.

Table 15. Highest Six-Year Transfer Rates for Black Students, 2003-04 Cohort

Two-Year Institution	County	Number of Black Students Transferring	Black Transfer Rate (%)	Overall Transfer Rate (%)	Ranking in Number of Black Transfers
College Of The Desert	Riverside	16	52	30	33
Saddleback College	Orange	22	51	49	26
Irvine Valley College	Orange	11	48	55	38
Los Angeles Valley College	Los Angeles	32	48	42	19
Citrus College	Los Angeles	23	47	40	23
San Diego Mesa College	San Diego	56	46	48	9
Santa Monica College	Los Angeles	86	46	58	4
Palomar College	San Diego	34	46	42	18
Mt. San Antonio College	Los Angeles	61	44	40	8
Fullerton College	Orange	22	43	47	24
Cuyamaca College	San Diego	21	42	36	27
San Diego Miramar College	San Diego	67	41	45	35

⁴² California Postsecondary Education Commission, *Enrollment—Full-Year Transfers to Public Institutions* (2009).

College of the Canyons	Los Angeles	43	41	43	32
West Los Angeles College	Los Angeles	94	41	37	2

Source: California Community College Chancellor's Office Transfer Velocity Report

Several of the community colleges in the region that are in the upper quartile for the overall transfer rate have large discrepancies between the transfer rates by race, and actually have much lower transfer rates for Black and Latino students. Table 16 includes the institutions in the region with discrepancies of more than 10 percentage points between Black and Latino transfer rates compared to the overall average. Since Black and Latino students are included in the calculation of the overall transfer rate, the gap between Black and Latino students and Asian and white students is greater still. All but one of these community colleges is majority white/Asian.

Table 16. Institutions with Greatest Transfer Rate Discrepancies by Race

Two-Year Institution	County	Black Transfer Rate (%)	Latino Transfer Rate (%)	Overall Transfer Rate (%)	Racial Majority
Glendale Community College	Los Angeles	31	32	50	White
Coastline Community College	Orange	29	39	49	White/Asian
Orange Coast College	Orange	30	37	48	White/Asian
Santa Monica College	Los Angeles	46	41	58	White/Asian
Pierce College	Los Angeles	31	32	45	White/Asian
Los Angeles Harbor College	Los Angeles	29	26	41	URM
Pasadena City College	Los Angeles	36	31	47	White/Asian
Crafton Hills College	San Bernardino	25	26	38	White

Source: California Community College Chancellor's Office Transfer Velocity Report

The average transfer rate for Asian students in the region was 51%, well over the regional average, while for white students it was 41%. Native American, Filipino, and Pacific Islander transfer rates were similar to those of Latinos at 31-32%.⁴³ Included in this group of institutions, with the greatest transfer rate discrepancies by race, are some of the institutions serving the most students: Pasadena City College had the largest cohort in 2003-4, and Orange Coast College and Santa Monica College both had cohorts that were much larger than the regional average. These large discrepancies impact particularly large numbers of students. These discrepancies require further investigation but do not, of course, show that they are caused by the community colleges, since all groups do not come to college with equal preparation. Even being far below the average transfer rate in the strongest colleges, students of color are much more likely to transfer from these institutions than from low-transfer colleges.

Most institutions in the bottom quartile for Latino six-year transfer rates are also in the bottom quartile for overall transfer rates. Table 17 lists the institutions in the region with the lowest transfer rates for Latino students. In this group, the transfer rates range from a low of 14% to a high of

⁴³ Native American, Filipino, and Pacific Islander transfer rates for the most part are not included in this report due to space limitations. These data are available upon request from the authors, and also accessible via the Transfer Velocity Project at <http://webprod.cccco.edu/datamartrns/dmtrnsstucsel.aspx>

27%. Interestingly, among these low-transferring institutions are some of the institutions that are actually transferring the greatest raw numbers of Latino students relative to the region. East Los Angeles College, Cerritos College, Rio Hondo, Chaffey College, El Camino College, and Oxnard College all transferred more Latino students than the regional average. That means, of course, that they had large Latino enrollments and very high proportions of Latino students who failed to transfer. Los Angeles County community colleges have the majority of the colleges with the lowest Latino transfer rates. Indeed, half of the community colleges in Los Angeles County are in the bottom quartile. All but one of the six community colleges in San Bernardino are in the bottom quartile as well (San Bernardino Valley College is the exception).

Table 17. Lowest Transfer Rates for Latinos

Two-Year Institution	County	Number of Latinos Transferring	Latino Transfer Rate (%)	Overall Transfer Rate (%)	Ranking in Number of Latino Transfers
Copper Mountain College	San Bernardino	5	14	15	51
Palo Verde College	Riverside	8	14	16	50
Compton Community College	Los Angeles	41	19	19	44
El Camino College	Los Angeles	172	24	35	12
Rio Hondo College	Los Angeles	199	24	29	8
Los Angeles City College	Los Angeles	97	25	33	30
Crafton Hills College	San Bernardino	36	26	38	45
East Los Angeles College	Los Angeles	309	26	32	3
Los Angeles Harbor College	Los Angeles	76	26	41	37
Victor Valley College	San Bernardino	54	26	33	39
Cerritos College	Los Angeles	245	27	32	5
Chaffey Community College	San Bernardino	186	27	34	10
Los Angeles Trade-Technical College	Los Angeles	112	27	29	26
Oxnard College	Ventura	133	27	30	18
Barstow College	San Bernardino	26	27	34	47
Antelope Valley College	Los Angeles	88	27	34	33
West Los Angeles College	Los Angeles	44	27	37	43

Source: California Community College Chancellor's Office Transfer Velocity Report

As with the bottom quartile transfer rate schools for Latinos, some of the institutions with relatively high transfer rates (Santiago Canyon College) actually have quite low transfer rates for Black students. Table 18 lists the institutions in the region with the lowest transfer rates for Black students. El Camino College, which transferred the greatest number of Black students in the 2003-04 cohort, also had one of the lowest transfer rates for Black students at 26%. Similarly, Los Angeles Southwest transferred a relatively higher number of Black students, the fifth highest in the region, but had a low overall and Black transfer rate. These were schools with large Black enrollments with high percentages of students left behind.

Table 18. Lowest Transfer Rates for Black Students

Two-Year Institution	County	Number of Black Students Transferring	Black Transfer Rate (%)	Overall Transfer Rate (%)	Ranking in Number of Black Transfers
Santiago Canyon College	Orange	0	0	49	51
Copper Mountain College	San Bernardino	1	5	15	50
Compton Community College	Los Angeles	38	17	19	14
Palo Verde College	Riverside	5	19	16	46
Crafton Hills College	San Bernardino	5	25	38	44
Los Angeles City College	Los Angeles	27	25	33	21
Cerritos College	Los Angeles	30	25	32	20
El Camino College	Los Angeles	98	26	35	1
Santa Ana College	Orange	6	27	35	43
East Los Angeles College	Los Angeles	7	28	32	42
Rio Hondo College	Los Angeles	5	28	29	47
Los Angeles Southwest College	Los Angeles	71	28	29	5

Source: California Community College Chancellor's Office Transfer Velocity Report

Findings

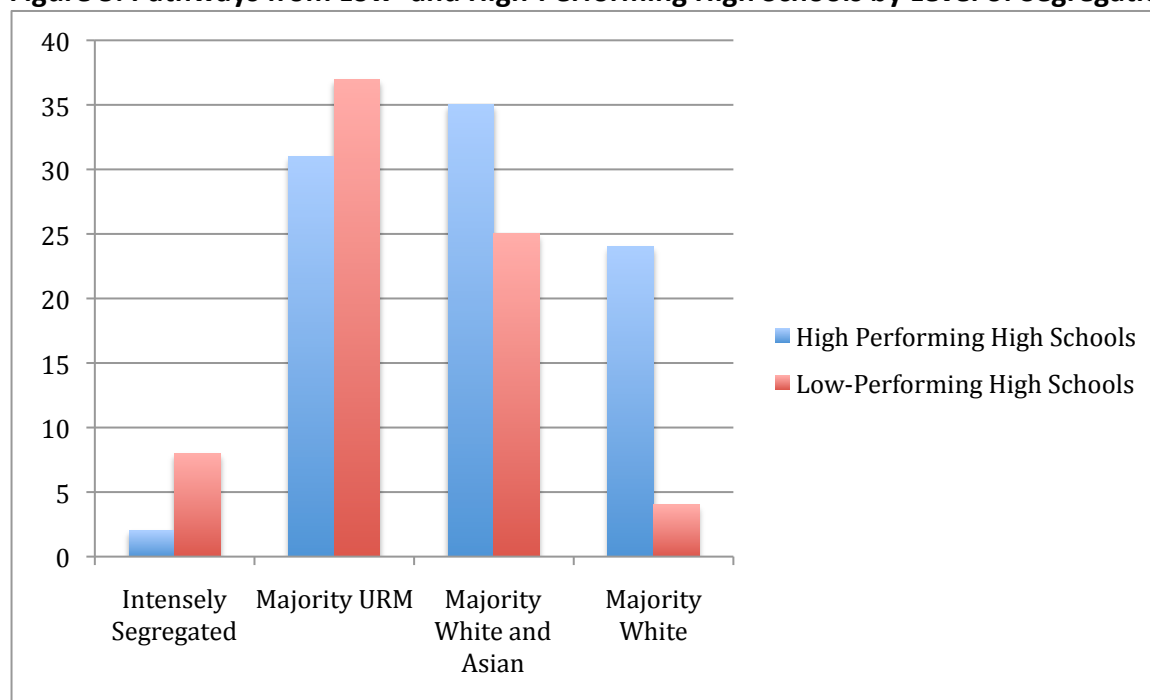
This study aimed to answer two questions concerning the opportunities Black and Latino students from segregated communities have in accessing an equitable education through the community college system. Here we summarize and discuss the findings as they relate to each of our research questions.

Question # 1: How does high school performance relate to the levels of racial and ethnic segregation in receiving institutions?

We used the pathways from high schools with strong and weak promoting power as a measure of equitable access to the economic and social mobility afforded via the community college system. In order to determine patterns in student flows of high school students, we examined community colleges by their levels of segregation and compared the pathways from strong and weak high schools to community colleges that were either intensely segregated, majority underrepresented, highly diverse, majority white and Asian, or majority white. The data show that many of the community colleges in the region are serving large concentrations of students either from weak- or strong-performing high schools. Colleges serving large numbers of students from weak-promoting high schools have a substantially higher enrollment of Black and Latino students, while those that are majority white and/or Asian have large concentrations of students from some of the strongest-performing high schools in the region. In addition, many colleges are receiving students from both high- and low-performing high schools. Figure 6 summarizes the proportion of large pathways from strong- and weak-performing high schools to community colleges according the level of segregation in the community college.

All of the intensely segregated colleges are part of the Los Angeles community college district, and, with the exception of East Los Angeles College, none have large pathways from strong-promoting high schools. These are clearly institutions where students face cumulative isolation and unequal educational opportunity. Community colleges that have majority underrepresented minority student enrollment are comparatively more balanced in their pathways across the region, with 55% of the pathways we examined coming from high schools with weak-promoting power. Conversely, majority white and Asian colleges are also more balanced with 58% of the pathways we examined from strong-promoting high schools. Lastly, majority white colleges are strikingly different, with 86% of the pathways we examined from strong-promoting high schools. At the extremes of these categories is where we see the starkest differences in levels of segregation and educational opportunity. Students who live near and attend community colleges that are intensely segregated, or majority Black and Latino, typically are in colleges where a great number of fellow students come from weak-promoting high schools, whereas students from majority white and/or majority white/Asian colleges will encounter students coming from schools with high promoting power. Students from weaker high schools tend to have weaker academic preparation and require more remediation, and their colleges and their faculty tend to focus more on those needs.

Figure 5. Pathways from Low- and High-Performing High Schools by Level of Segregation



Source: California Postsecondary Education Commission

Question #2: How do transfer outcomes relate to the ethnic and racial composition of the community college? Specifically, which institutions in the region have the highest and lowest transfer rates for Black and Latino students?

We find a clear relationship between levels of segregation in community colleges and respective transfer rates. All of the community colleges in the upper quartile of transfer rates are majority white/Asian or majority white. Most of the colleges in the bottom quartile of transfer rates are majority underrepresented minority or intensely segregated (more than 90% minority). However, two of these schools (Palo Verde College and Copper Mountain) are majority white, and are located in low-income neighborhoods of Riverside and San Bernardino Counties. There are issues clearly needing further examination in some of the Inland Empire colleges, perhaps related to the relatively less affluent and less educated white and Asian populations in those counties.

Turning our attention to institutional discrepancies in transfer rates, we found large gaps in the number of Black and Latino students at some of the leading transfer colleges in the region. Thus, Black and Latino students at these high-transfer institutions are still less likely to transfer than white and Asian students from the same college—though more likely than their counterparts in the segregated institutions. In addition to needing to address the segregation across institutions, there is evidence of segregation within the institutions--often referred to as “second generation segregation.”⁴⁴

Some of the community colleges in the region serving some of the greatest numbers of Latino students, and able to transfer the greatest number of Latinos students each year, actually have some of the lowest overall transfer rates in the region. For example, East Los Angeles Community College has a 26% Latino transfer rate, one of the lowest Latino transfer rates in the region, yet transferred 309 students (from the 2003-04 cohort), which was the third highest number of Latino transfers in the region. Similarly, El Camino Community College had a low transfer rate for Black students (at 26%), but transferred more Black students than any other institution in the region. This tells us that community colleges that are serving some of the largest numbers of minority students, and consistently transferring more Black and Latino students across the region, have dismal overall transfer rates for both of these groups.

Conclusion

“Now is the time to build a firmer, stronger foundation for growth that will not only withstand future economic storms, but one that helps us thrive and compete in a global economy. It’s time to reform our community colleges so that they provide Americans of all ages a chance to learn the skills and knowledge necessary to compete for the jobs of the future.”

-President Barack Obama

In July 2009, President Barack Obama outlined a plan to reform our nation’s colleges in an address at Macomb Community College in Michigan. The President’s American Graduation Initiative called for an additional five million community college graduates by 2020. To help achieve this goal, the president has called for \$12 billion dollars to increase graduation rates, improve facilities and develop new technology.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, the American Graduation Initiative funding was

⁴⁴ R. A. Mickelson, “Subverting Swann: First-and Second-Generation Segregation in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools,” *American Educational Research Journal* 38, no. 2 (2001): 215.

⁴⁵ M. Shear and D. De Vise, “Obama Announces Community College Plan,” *The Washington Post* (July 2009) <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/07/14/AR2009071400819.html>

significantly slashed by the time the Healthcare and Education Reconciliation Act was passed, but it is still regarded as landmark higher education legislation, particularly for community colleges. Community colleges will receive \$2 billion in support from the Community College and Career Training Initiative, which will help community colleges increase completion of degrees, certificates, and other industry-recognized credentials; more than \$3.5 billion is added in student financial assistance in the form of Pell Grants, \$1 billion in workforce training programs, and \$40 million in work study programs.⁴⁶ The Healthcare and Education Reconciliation Act also provides \$2.55 billion for Historically Black Colleges and Universities and other minority serving institutions, \$750 million in grants that states could apply for to bolster access and graduation rates and, most importantly, the initiation of the Federal Direct Loan program that removed the middlemen from student loan programs. These comprehensive higher education reforms are, however, not unique to the Obama Administration. During President Clinton's administration, there was also a significant push to recommit to higher education by increasing Pell grants and creating the HOPE and Lifetime Learning credits, which provided more opportunities for students to access a college education. One major difference in President Obama's initiative is an explicit commitment to supporting growth in our community colleges. In October of 2010, President Obama hosted the first-ever White House Summit on Community Colleges, highlighting the important and critical role community colleges play in developing our workforce, and reaffirming his goal of producing five million more degrees and certificates in the next 10 years, in which community colleges will play a significant role.

California is among the states where community college reforms have the potential to make a significant impact. By 2020 California will need one million new educated workers to meet the demands of our growing economy. If California is to prepare sufficient workers to meet the needs of the labor market, and to fulfill the promise of access, excellence and affordability set forth in the Master Plan, then there is no alternative but to improve transfer rates to four-year universities throughout the state and especially in Southern California.

Systemic problems, increased enrollment and decreased funding have severely compromised California's commitment to the community college system, as promised in the Master Plan for Higher Education. Now more than ever, we have to call into question the state's promise of access to higher education, especially for Black and Latino students whose major -- and sometimes only -- access point to a four-year university is through a local community college.

California has a highly selective and stratified higher education system that relies heavily on its community colleges to educate and transfer students to a four-year university. The reality is that for most students who live and attend schools in racially segregated communities, their opportunities and access to an equitable education are severely compromised. In the absence of real access to education, inequalities are perpetuated.

There are severe differences in access and opportunities that exist across our region. While the 51 community colleges spread across several districts in our region are theoretically preparing

⁴⁶ White House Summit on Community Colleges, *Fact Sheet*

http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/White_House_Summit_on_Community_Colleges_Fact_Sheet.pdf

students for the same labor market and the same institutions of higher education, the reality is that our districts have fractured communities along race and income lines, creating a political struggle that harms the community in general and vulnerable groups in particular.⁴⁷ Latinos in California are segregated more than any other ethnic group in our community colleges, which is beginning to have severe consequences for our students. For instance, East Los Angeles College, which enrolls the most Latino students out of any community college in the region, both in terms of the total number of students and percentage of the overall population, had the lowest transfer rate (8.6%) in 2005.

California's Master Plan has placed the responsibility of educating the majority of college students in the state to the most fragmented and decentralized of the three systems. As it stands, the Master Plan is broken; it provides the majority of low-income, Black and Latino college students with access only to a college offering little hope for success. With community colleges in the state providing students different types of opportunities for transfer, different levels of access to a UC or CSU, a student's success has more to do with what community college they attend and where they live than an individual student's drive. With the majority of low-income, Black and Latino students attending overpopulated community colleges that offer little support or guidance, the opportunities the majority of students in the state have to a system that is "accessible and affordable," no matter how excellent it may be, is a distant and dismal reality.

Our state needs vast systemic reform; we offer the following recommendations for fulfilling the promise of access, affordability, and excellence:

1. **Recognize and Reward Success.** It is also important to recognize and reward community colleges that transfer and graduate large numbers of students, particularly students from underrepresented groups, first-generation college students, and those matriculating who need remediation. Rewarding successful community colleges will provide community colleges an incentive to improve their transfer rate among the students who are most in need of attention. Recognition for transfer equity by race should not only be defined by the aggregate transfer rate, but also having more equal transfer rates across groups. Existing state systems pay for enrollment and do not finance or reward the hard work of helping students from weak high schools to succeed and transfer.
2. **Streamline the Transfer Process.** A uniform articulation agreement between the 112 community colleges in the state would be one step closer towards equal access. Currently there are myriad policies and initiatives that use a piecemeal approach to make sense of the transfer process for students seeking transfer to a wide range of institutions. Although there are mechanisms in place to help students access the information needed to make sense of the transfer process (such as www.assists.org), it is still overwhelming for a student to keep track of the different transfer requirements needed for each institution. In September 2010, Governor Schwarzenegger signed into law a unified transfer process for community college students seeking transfer to a CSU, although it is still too early to measure the effectiveness. The UC should also institute such an initiative.

⁴⁷ G. Orfield, "Metropolitan School Desegregation: Impacts on Metropolitan Society," *Minnesota Law Review* 896 (1995-1996): 836

3. **Alignment Across Institutional Sectors.** Far too many students are surprised when they are placed in remedial courses upon entering the community college. Increased alignments between sending high schools and receiving community colleges can reduce the need for remediation. Specifically, the end of course requirements for seniors should at a minimum approximate the entry-level course requirements at the community college. This can be facilitated through the development of courses that are jointly developed by high schools and community colleges. Dual enrollment programs for high school students can also begin to bridge the gap between the two sectors, but will only do so in a meaningful way if access is extended to a wide range of students, and not solely high-performing students.
4. **Information and Integration.** Since many of the problems are rooted in separate and unequal high schools feeding separate and unequal colleges, it is important to increase opportunities for high school students to transfer to stronger high schools. The right of students in weak high schools to transfer to other schools is a basic part of No Child Left Behind, but very little has been done to open up opportunities to enroll in schools with a much better graduation rate and pathway to college. Students and parents should receive much better information and there should be an expansion of magnet schools as well as honors programs with serious pre-collegiate courses in all high schools. Community college students should receive more information about the relative transfer success of various campuses, in addition to underlining their right to enroll in more successful campuses that may be further from home.
5. **Increase Funding.** California leaders and citizens must realize it is unrealistic to expect our institutions to grow and expand if there is no funding to support that growth. California's voters, especially those who benefited from the early years of the Master Plan's implementation, need to recognize that we have to reinvest in our colleges. Current funding is not sufficient to meet the objectives set forth in the Master Plan, and the severe reductions during the economic crisis have intensified these problems. The UC and CSU system are demanding substantially more tuition from students, and the UC campuses are accelerating fundraising efforts and drawing in more high-paying out of state students. The community colleges cannot do any of these things and receive far less money per student than high schools. Demand is soaring while course offerings are dropping sharply, creating additional barriers and costs to students wishing to obtain degrees, certificates or transfers. Counseling resources are far too limited, especially for students who have a great deal of catching up to do and little understanding of the transfer process.

If the state does not act now to address the inadequacies of the higher education system, and increase the low transfer rates from community colleges, there will be severe and lasting consequences for the vitality of its youth and next generation of workers. To make matters worse, these consequences will be most profoundly felt among Latino youth, who will compose the majority population within 10 years and rely overwhelmingly on community colleges to afford access to postsecondary education. If the state is interested in preparing the next generation of skilled workers, then it has to invest now in our community colleges and to insist that these patterns be changed.

Appendix

Table 19. Six-Year Transfer Rates by Race/Ethnicity, 2003-04 Cohort

Two-Year Institution	County	Black (%)	Asian (%)	Hispanic (%)	White (%)	Total (%)
Antelope Valley College	Los Angeles	39	49	27	37	34
Barstow College	San Bernardino	33	50	27	35	34
Cerritos College	Los Angeles	25	57	27	28	32
Chaffey Community College	San Bernardino	32	48	27	38	34
Citrus College	Los Angeles	47	55	30	46	40
Coastline Community College	Orange	29	64	39	37	49
College of the Canyons	Los Angeles	41	58	36	44	43
College Of The Desert	Riverside	52	32	28	33	30
Compton Community College	Los Angeles	17	33	19	0	19
Copper Mountain College	San Bernardino	5	0	14	17	15
Crafton Hills College	San Bernardino	25	40	26	41	38
Cuyamaca College	San Diego	42	40	29	38	36
Cypress College	Orange	39	53	32	34	37
East Los Angeles College	Los Angeles	28	47	26	39	32
El Camino College	Los Angeles	26	54	24	40	35
Fullerton College	Orange	43	64	38	48	47
Glendale Community College	Los Angeles	31	62	32	57	50
Golden West College	Orange	38	48	28	44	43
Grossmont College	San Diego	34	51	32	42	40
Irvine Valley College	Orange	48	62	44	55	55
Long Beach City College	Los Angeles	31	45	32	38	36
Los Angeles City College	Los Angeles	25	48	25	36	33
Los Angeles Harbor College	Los Angeles	29	49	26	41	41
Los Angeles Mission College	Los Angeles	29	59	32	34	35
Los Angeles Southwest College	Los Angeles	28	67	28	100	29
Los Angeles Trade-Technical College	Los Angeles	32	49	27	10	29
Los Angeles Valley College	Los Angeles	48	57	32	47	42
MiraCosta College	San Diego	37	48	29	46	42
Moorpark College	Ventura	39	62	47	54	53
Mt. San Antonio College	Los Angeles	44	58	30	41	40
Mt. San Jacinto College	Riverside	36	39	36	36	36
Orange Coast College	Orange	30	57	37	49	48
Oxnard College	Ventura	33	65	27	31	30
Palo Verde College	Riverside	19	20	14	18	16
Palomar College	San Diego	46	48	36	43	42
Pasadena City College	Los Angeles	36	61	31	50	47
Pierce College	Los Angeles	31	51	32	50	45
Rio Hondo College	Los Angeles	28	50	24	27	29

Table 19. continued, Six-Year Transfer Rates by Race/Ethnicity, 2003-04 Cohort

Two-Year Institution	County	Black (%)	Asian (%)	Hispanic (%)	White (%)	Total (%)
Riverside City College	Riverside	38	48	31	42	38
Saddleback College	Orange	51	58	38	51	49
San Bernardino Valley College	San Bernardino	34	43	34	34	35
San Diego City College	San Diego	32	58	32	42	38
San Diego Mesa College	San Diego	46	56	41	50	48
San Diego Miramar College	San Diego	41	55	42	42	45
Santa Ana College	Orange	27	49	29	38	35
Santa Monica College	Los Angeles	46	68	41	64	58
Santiago Canyon College	Orange	0	54	44	50	49
Southwestern College	San Diego	32	55	28	36	32
Ventura College	Ventura	39	55	39	40	40
Victor Valley College	San Bernardino	33	35	26	36	33
West Los Angeles College	Los Angeles	41	53	27	42	37

Source: California Community College Chancellor's Office Transfer Velocity Report

Table 20. Transfers to UC and CSU from Colleges with at Least 20% Black Enrollment, 2008

Community College	County	Total Enrollment	Black Student Enrollment (%)	Black Portion of Transfers (%)	Total Transfers
Los Angeles Southwest College	Los Angeles	8,026	60.9	81	184
Compton Community College	Los Angeles	4,694	54.4	58.6	99
West Los Angeles College	Los Angeles	10,850	43.2	49.5	206
Los Angeles Trade-Technical College	Los Angeles	17,144	27	32.4	219
Antelope Valley College	Los Angeles	14,449	21.7	12.7	559
El Camino College	Los Angeles	24,352	20.5	12.8	1,237
San Bernardino Valley College	San Bernardino	13,581	19.8	21.2	386

Source: California Postsecondary Education Commission, Higher Education

Table 21. Transfers to UC and CSU from Majority Latino Community Colleges, 2008

Community College	County	Total Enrollment	Latino Student Enrollment (%)	Latino Portion of Transfers (%)	Total Transfers
Los Angeles Mission College	Los Angeles	9,833	77.6	78.0	232
Rio Hondo College	Los Angeles	16,692	72	70.0	520
East Los Angeles College	Los Angeles	30,096	70	66.5	813
Oxnard College	Ventura	7,313	68.1	71.9	224
Southwestern College	San Diego	16,710	66	62.0	727
Cerritos College	Los Angeles	22,517	60	54.1	860
College Of The Desert	Riverside	10,924	59.4	47.0	355
Los Angeles Trade-Technical College	Los Angeles	17,144	58.9	56.6	219

Source: California Postsecondary Education Commission, Higher Education

Table 22. Racial/Ethnic Composition of Southern California Community Colleges by County, 2008

	Asian (%)	Black (%)	Filipino (%)	Latino (%)	White (%)
LOS ANGELES COUNTY					
Antelope Valley College	3	22	3	33	37
Cerritos College	11	9	4	60	16
Citrus College	7	6	3	47	34
College of the Canyons	7	6	4	30	48
Compton Community College	3	54	2	36	3
East Los Angeles College	15	4	1	70	9
El Camino College	14	20	5	36	22
Glendale Community College	9	2	5	24	59
Long Beach City College	12	15	4	37	28
Los Angeles City College	15	12	6	45	20
Los Angeles Harbor College	9	15	10	47	17
Los Angeles Mission College	3	5	2	78	10
Los Angeles Southwest College	1	61	1	36	1
Los Angeles Trade-Technical College	5	27	2	59	6
Los Angeles Valley College	7	6	4	45	32
Mt. San Antonio College	21	5	5	46	19
Pasadena City College	28	6	4	38	19
Pierce College	11	7	5	33	40
Rio Hondo College	8	3	2	72	13
Santa Monica College	13	12	3	29	40
West Los Angeles College	7	43	2	31	15
<i>Los Angeles Average</i>	13	12	4	45	26
ORANGE COUNTY					
Coastline Community College	25	10	2	17	43
Cypress College	21	6	8	32	31
Fullerton College	15	4	3	39	37
Golden West College	30	2	3	20	42
Irvine Valley College	29	2	3	12	51
Orange Coast College	24	2	2	22	47
Saddleback College	9	2	2	15	70
Santa Ana College	11	3	1	47	34
Santiago Canyon College	6	2	2	42	43
<i>Orange County Average</i>	17	3	3	31	46
RIVERSIDE COUNTY					
College Of The Desert	3	3	2	59	30
Mt. San Jacinto College	4	8	4	33	48
Palo Verde College	5	10	2	30	52
Riverside City College	6	12	3	41	35
<i>Riverside County Average</i>	5	10	3	43	39

Table 22. continued	Asian (%)	Black (%)	Filipino (%)	Latino (%)	White (%)
SAN BERNARDINO COUNTY					
Barstow College	4	14	2	28	49
Chaffey Community College	6	12	3	48	28
Copper Mountain College	3	7	3	17	67
Crafton Hills College	4	5	2	28	59
San Bernardino Valley College	5	20	2	47	24
Victor Valley College	3	13	2	35	45
<i>San Bernardino County Average</i>	5	14	2	42	37
SAN DIEGO COUNTY					
Cuyamaca College	4	7	3	22	57
Grossmont College	7	9	5	21	53
MiraCosta College	6	5	3	26	57
Palomar College	6	4	3	31	54
San Diego City College	8	13	5	36	33
San Diego Mesa College	17	7	6	22	45
San Diego Miramar College	17	5	11	17	45
Southwestern College	3	5	12	66	13
<i>San Diego County Average</i>	9	7	6	32	46
VENTURA COUNTY					
Moorpark College	8	3	3	19	65
Oxnard College	4	4	5	68	18
Ventura College	4	3	3	45	43
<i>Ventura County Average</i>	6	3	3	40	48

Source: California Postsecondary Education Commission