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AUTHOR	Allen, Walter R.; Bonous-Hammarth, Marguerite; Teranishi, Robert
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ABSTRACT

Patterns and trends in the participation of African Americans in higher education in California were studied using data collected by the California Postsecondary Education Commission and the California Department of Education on high school preparation, high school completion, and college enrollment across public and private sectors of California higher education. Using a river or pipeline analogy, the study shows that the chronic under representation of African Americans in California higher education results from historical, deep, systematic, and persistent racial inequities in K-12 educational opportunities and restricted flow or access into postsecondary programs. California leads the United States in the total number of African Americans enrolled in higher education, although the proportion of African American students enrolled in higher education continues to decline. Close to 76% of all African Americans in public elementary school graduate from high school, but only 13% go on to graduate from institutions in the California state higher education systems. Higher education opportunities in California parallel a racial apartheid system and reflect extreme socioeconomic inequities. An excellent and accessible public higher education system fueled California's meteoric economic prosperity, and the diminished and declining opportunities for African Americans in California higher education threaten the state's economic, democratic, and cultural vibrancy. (Contains 36 figures and 24 references.) (SLD)

STONY THE ROAD WE TROD...

The Black Struggle for Higher Education in California

By

Walter R. Allen, Ph.D.
Marguerite Bonous-Hammarth, Ph.D.
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Executive Summary

In California and nationally, the underrepresentation of African Americans in higher education is a stubbornly persistent problem. Much of what we know about the status of African Americans in the American educational system is gained by understanding the factors that facilitate or restrict student progress in the academic pipeline. The changes currently underway in California – its demographic shifts in an era of anti-affirmative action legislation; its disparate expenditures on public elementary education compared to other states and to expenditures on prison industry; and the paucity of minority graduates from California's most prestigious colleges and universities – signal ongoing challenges for African American youth to gain access and success in California higher education.

The data used for this report are drawn from information collected by the California Postsecondary Education Commission (CPEC) and the California Department of Education (CDE) on high school preparation, high school completion and on college enrollment across public and private sectors of California higher education. We describe patterns and trends in six areas: academic preparation at the secondary level, undergraduate and graduate enrollment, undergraduate and graduate degree completion, and participation in the teaching profession.

The most significant findings are:

- **"College begins in kindergarten."** Using a river or pipeline analogy, we show that the chronic underrepresentation of Blacks in California higher education is due to historical, deep, systematic, persistent racial inequities in K-12 educational opportunities and restricted flow or access into postsecondary programs.

- **"Blacks in California are a significant group to study."** A significant proportion of the nation's African American population resides in California. California is second, after the state of New York, in the total number of African American residents. California leads the nation in the total number of African Americans enrolled in higher education. Paradoxically, the proportion of California's total population that Blacks represent is among the lowest in the nation. The same is true

for the Black proportion of total college enrollment in the state. The declining African American proportions of California's total population and of total college enrollment are trends that are projected to continue and accelerate in the future.

- **"Black high school graduates do not enroll in college in equal rates."** While close to 76 percent of all Blacks in public elementary schools graduate high school, only 13 percent of these students go on to graduate from the University of California (UC) and the California State University (CSU). By contrast, 78 percent of Asian elementary school students and 86 percent of Whites graduate high school, with 40 percent of Asians and 25 percent of Whites eventually graduating from UC and CSU. Overall, African American males and females represented 1.2 percent and 2.1 percent, respectively, of the total 1999 undergraduate enrollment in California institutions of higher education. By comparison, Black males and Black females were 7.3 percent of total high school graduates statewide.

- **"Higher education in California parallels a racial apartheid system."** Whites and Asians disproportionately enroll at UC and Blacks and Latinos most often attend CSU and California Community Colleges (CCC). The University of California system qualifies for designation as an "Asian Serving Institution," since overall system enrollment (and enrollments on 7 of 9 campuses) exceeds the threshold of 25 percent established to define "Hispanic Serving Institutions." In the CSU, there are 5 Asian Serving Institutions, 4 Hispanic Serving Institutions, and 1 "African American Serving Institution."

- **"Higher education opportunities in California reflect extreme socio-economic inequities."** The University of California system disproportionately serves the children of upper- and middle-class families, while the student enrollment in the Community College system is disproportionately from lower-income and working-class families.

- **"The California Department of Corrections incarcerates mostly poor, uneducated inmates of color."** In California, there are more Black men in prison than in college. Black males are 3 percent of the state population, 25 percent of the prison population and 1.2 percent of the undergraduate student population. The annual cost per prison inmate equals college tuition for six students (California Department of Corrections, 2002).

- **"An excellent, accessible system of public higher education fueled California's meteoric economic prosperity."** State spending on public higher education represents a prudent investment in the development of human potential, which pays sizeable economic, social and cultural dividends. Unfortunately, the recent response to the pressures and politics of skyrocketing demand for postsecondary education has been to erect more and more barriers to access. Failure to expand higher education opportunities to match demand has contributed to the extreme underrepresentation of African Americans in the UC and CSU systems. The diminished, declining

opportunities for Blacks in California higher education threaten the state's economic, democratic and cultural vibrancy.

Other findings:

- In 1999 only 3 percent of African American high school graduates were fully eligible for admission to the University of California, compared to 13 percent of Whites, 30 percent of Asians, and 4 percent of Latinos.

- Around three-quarters of both Blacks and Asians who enter kindergarten graduate high school; however, Asian Americans are three times more likely to graduate college.

- For the academic year 1997-1998, 28 percent of African American high school graduates, compared to 41 percent of Whites, 58 percent of Asians/Pacific Islanders, 44 percent of Filipinos and 24 percent of Latinos, completed course eligibility requirements for admission to the University of California.

- The ban on affirmative action greatly reduced Black first-time freshmen (FTF) student enrollment in the University of California and California State University. FTF enrollment at UC between 1995 and 1998 dropped by 22 percent for Blacks and by 15 percent for Latinos. While enrollment levels of these two groups of freshmen have increased steadily since 1998, Black enrollment continues to lag behind the modest levels it had reached before the ban, particularly at the premier campuses.

- The total undergraduate enrollment of African Americans in California's independent colleges and universities grew rapidly in response to the state ban on affirmative action in public institutions of higher education. In 1998, private colleges enrolled twice as many Black students as the much larger University of California system.

- Between 1990 and 1998, Black first-time freshmen enrollment declined at UC by 20 percent and increased at CSU, CCC and private colleges by 10 percent, 5 percent, and 53 percent, respectively. Between 1996 and 1998, Black FTF declined across all sectors of four-year, public higher education: -15 percent at UC and -7 percent at CSU. Black FTF grew by 15 percent at CCC and by 26 percent at private colleges.

- During a 10-year period, Black graduate enrollment at the University of California declined (-10 percent) while Black enrollment at California State University and at private colleges and universities increased (respectively, by 36 percent and 81 percent). However, these growth trends were dwarfed by the substantially larger gains for Asians (+75 percent at UC, +40 percent at CSU and +125 percent at privates) and Latinos (+21 percent at UC, +114 percent at CSU and +146 percent at privates). White graduate enrollment at the University of California exceeded total graduate enrollments for Black, Asian and Latino groups combined.

- The majority of degrees earned by African Americans were associate's degrees (Associate of Arts or Associate of Science). Blacks earned more baccalaureate degrees (Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science) from California State University than from the University of California. From 1990-1999, Blacks experienced the largest growth in degrees earned at CSU (+70 percent), followed by the community colleges (+66 percent), independent colleges (+38 percent) and UC (+19 percent).

- The number of master's (Master of Arts or Master of Science) degrees earned by African Americans increased over the decade in UC (+14 percent), CSU (+200 percent) and independent institutions (+10 percent). White-earned master's degrees declined in number; however, White total UC degrees were nearly double the combined total MA/MS degrees for all non-White groups.

- Although the number of doctoral degrees earned by Blacks grew at UC (+97 percent) and at private colleges and universities (+211 percent), these degrees represented small actual numbers for Blacks (respectively, 61 doctoral degrees at UC, and 118 doctorates at independent institutions). Blacks earned three times as many doctoral degrees from independent universities than from public universities. Whites retained their great advantage, earning three times more doctorates than the combined total for all non-Whites.

- During a 10-year period, the number of professional degrees earned by Blacks at UC declined slightly (from 98 to 97 degrees), and doubled at independent institutions (from 38 to 188 degrees earned). However, these statistics belie the fact that Blacks earned the smallest number of first-professional degrees compared to their White, Asian or Latino peers. In fact, Whites earned more professional degrees than the combined total of all the groups of color.

- African Americans are underrepresented among instructional faculty in California. Black faculty underrepresentation is most extreme in the University of California, the top tier of the state's educational system. Generally, in California, a largely White faculty is teaching an increasingly non-White student body at all levels.

- African American females have discernibly different trends across all measures of academic achievement compared to African American males. Black women more often complete college preparatory curriculum, graduate high school and enroll in college. In fact, Black females are nearly twice as likely as Black males to enroll in UC and CSU.

- Black male and Black female college enrollments declined in all public institutions but increased at private institutions from 1990 to 1999. Black male private college enrollment grew by more than one-third and Black female enrollment grew by roughly three-quarters.

- In 1999, there were 96 percent more Black female first-time freshmen than males at UC, 68 percent more at CSU, 3 percent more at CCC, and 135 percent more at private colleges.

- In 1999 Black females outnumbered Black male undergraduates nearly at 2 to 1 at UC, CSU, CCC and independent institutions of higher education. With the exception of Asian FTF at CCC where Asian males outnumbered females, females across all other sectors outnumbered males within their ethnic groups.

- From 1990 to 1999, the overall the pattern was increases in earned BA/BS, MA/MS and doctoral degrees for Blacks in UC, CSU, CCC and independent institutions. However, since 1995 and the ban against affirmative action, Black enrollment in UC and CSU has declined. This latter pattern forebodes a dramatic reversal in the previously upward trend in Black degree attainment.

THE NEGRO NATIONAL ANTHEM[1]

By James Weldon Johnson

Lift every voice and sing
Till earth and heaven ring,
Ring with the harmonies of liberty;
Let our rejoicing rise
High as the listening skies,
Let it resound loud as the rolling sea.
Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past has taught us,
Sing a song full of the hope that the present has brought us,
Facing the rising sun of our new day begun
Let us march on till victory is won.

Stony the road we trod,
Bitter the chastening rod,
Felt in the days when hope unborn had died;
Yet with a steady beat,
Have not our weary feet
Come to the place for which our fathers sighed?
We have come over a way that with tears have been watered,
We have come, treading our path through the blood of the slaughtered,
Out from the gloomy past,
Till now we stand at last
Where the white gleam of our bright star is cast.

God of our weary years,
God of our silent tears,
Thou who has brought us thus far on the way;
Thou who has by Thy might
Led us into the light,
Keep us forever in the path, we pray.
Lest our feet stray from the places, Our God, where we met Thee;
Lest, our hearts drunk with the wine of the world, we forget Thee;
Shadowed beneath Thy hand,
May we forever stand.
True to our GOD,
True to our native land

[1] Text by James Weldon Johnson (1871-1938); music by John Rosamond Johnson (1873-1954). Originally written by Johnson for a presentation in celebration of Abraham Lincoln's birthday. This song was first performed by children in Jacksonville, Fla.

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Overview of the Problem

Racial inequality in U.S. higher education has been stubbornly persistent. Since the epic 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision overturned the doctrine of "Separate but Equal" and outlawed racial discrimination in the nation's schools, the educational progress of African Americans has been like a song played in several keys. The major chords reveal that Black educational access and attainment has improved dramatically since the *Brown* decision (Allen and Jewell, 1995). Today, African Americans are no longer legally segregated by race in the nation's schools and their enrollment in higher education and their graduation rates have increased substantially. The minor chords of this song reveal a less harmonious picture, however. African Americans continue to lag substantially behind White and Asian Americans in college enrollment, academic performance and degree attainment. Despite a generation of concerted policy and programmatic efforts – and three decades of affirmative action – African Americans remain decidedly underrepresented on the nation's campuses (Allen, Spencer, and O'Connor, 2002; Nettles and Perna, 1997; Wilds, 2000).

The state of California personifies this paradox of African American gains in education on many fronts alongside persistent problems – and in some instances, declines. In this connection, this report illustrates the representation of African American students at critical junctures in California's educational pipeline. More specifically, we examine high school completion, undergraduate and graduate attendance rates, and degree attainment for African American students in California's system of higher education.

The significance for the study of California's system of higher education begins with the state's reputation for a higher education system that provides access and quality of education

unrivaled by other states. The California educational system consists of thousands of public elementary, middle and secondary schools, 106 community colleges, and 31 public universities. These are complemented by hundreds of private schools, colleges and universities. However, despite the comprehensiveness of this educational system, there continue to be pronounced inequities in student educational experiences and achievement, as well as educational resources and opportunities.

Postsecondary educational inequities are apparent in the extreme racial and ethnic differences in eligibility rates for admission to the state's public university systems, the California Community College system (CCC), the California State University (CSU) and the University of California (UC). College eligibility is an important measure of equity, given the California Master Plan's promise of admission to the UC system for the top 12.5 percent of high school graduates; admission to the CSU system for the top 33.5 percent of high school graduates; and admission to the CCC system for the top 50 percent of high school graduates in the state. In theory, the Master Plan promised college opportunity to all of California's qualified citizens and residents (Douglass, 1997). In reality, the dream of a college education has been little more than that for too many Black, Brown and poor Californians.

Approximately 80 percent of first-time freshmen (FTF) students who attend the University of California system come from public high schools in California. Yet urban high schools with large enrollments of low socioeconomic status and ethnic minority students account for the fewest number of incoming freshmen to the University of California (California Postsecondary Education Commission, 1996,.1997). The California Postsecondary Education Commission (CPEC) estimated that while 11.1 percent of all 1996 high school graduates were fully eligible for admission to UC, only 2.8 percent of African American (45 percent below 1990 rate of 5.1 percent) and 3.8 percent of Latino high school graduates were UC-eligible. In

contrast, 12.7 percent and 30 percent of their White and Asian counterparts, respectively, were fully UC-eligible. A similar disparity in CSU eligibility exists with 54.4 percent of Asian public high school graduates being fully eligible in 1996 versus 36.3 percent for their White peers. (The 1996 eligibility rate for African Americans was 13.2 percent, a 29-percent drop from 1990 rate of 18.6 percent.) By comparison, the CSU eligibility rate for Latino high school graduates was 13.4 percent – less than half the statewide average of 29.6 percent. In many respects, California's problems with African American and Latino higher education access and equity reflect the national crisis with regard to race and educational achievement. For purposes of this report, we will restrict our attention to the underrepresentation of African Americans in California's colleges and universities. However, recognizing California's cultural diversity and the variety of ways that race affects educational outcomes, we report, where possible, data for each of the four major racial/ethnic groups.

The African American "Educational Pipeline" (or River) in California

It is instructive to think of the steps leading to the successful completion of college as part of a larger, more complex process. Alexander Astin (1993) has used the notion of an "educational pipeline" to convey this idea while Michael Olivas (1986) used the notion of a "river" to convey the same picture. William Bowen and Derek Bok (1998) also opted for the analogy of a river in their highly influential book, *The Shape of the River*. Whether the analogy is organic or inorganic, the intent is to present successful completion of college as part of a larger, multi-faceted, unitary process. Along the way are distinct steps or stages; associated with each stage are expected attitudes, skills and behaviors that prepare students for the next step in the process. At each of these critical junctures, the pool of students eligible for the next step in

the road to a college degree is reduced. In Astin's terminology, the pipeline narrows at each stage and some proportion of students are siphoned out of the flow headed toward college degrees. In Bowen/Bok's and Olivas' terminology, dams, backwaters and tributaries at each critical stage divert some proportion of students out of the mainstream leading to a college degree. In any case, the end result is a substantial decrease in the numbers of Black (and Latino) students who complete college and go on to high-status professions.

We need to understand the process better – as a whole and in stages – by which the many are reduced to a few on the path leading from the earliest years of schooling to college graduation. Indeed the Achievement Council reminds us that "college begins at kindergarten" – or more explicitly, the foundations for college success are laid during preschool and the first year of school and are built upon through elementary, middle and high school. It is particularly vital that we understand educational attainment as a holistic process, unfolding over the life span, if we are to address the question of persistent racial inequities in rates of college attendance and graduation among students here in California and nationally.

From a life span perspective, it is useful for our purposes to think about the educational outcomes for an average, synthetic cohort of 100 African American elementary school children. Using an approach based on Solórzano (1994, 1995), Figure 1 shows that 76 of these students can be expected to graduate high school. Of these graduates, only 21 will have completed course requirements or be UC/CSU-eligible. Eleven of the 43 who attend public colleges in California will graduate with a bachelor's degree (8 from CSU and 3 from UC). Only three of the original 100 students will earn master's degrees and one will earn a doctoral or professional degree. Appendix Figures A-1 through A-5 illustrate the educational pipelines in California for each of the five racial/ethnic groups.

Figure 1: African American Educational Pipeline in California, 1998

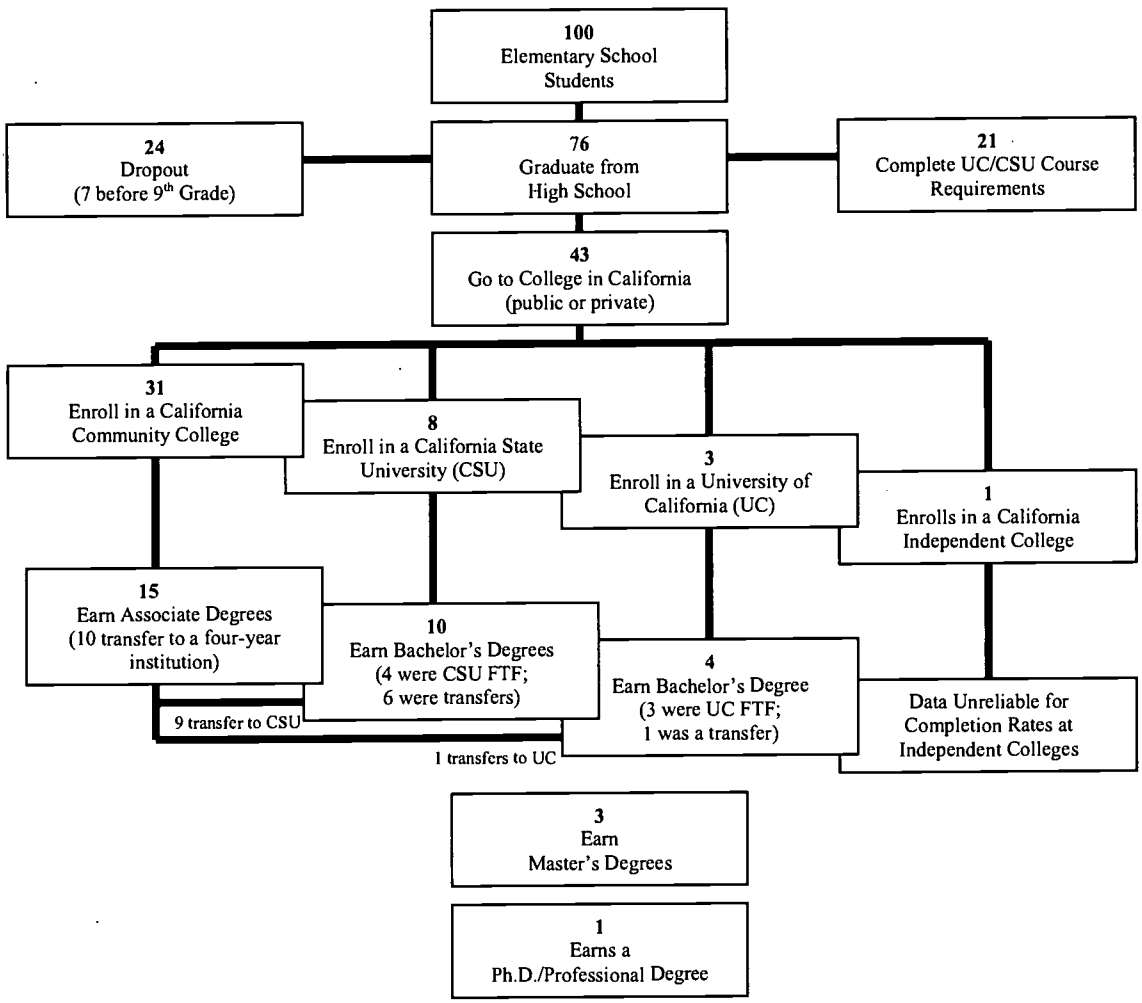
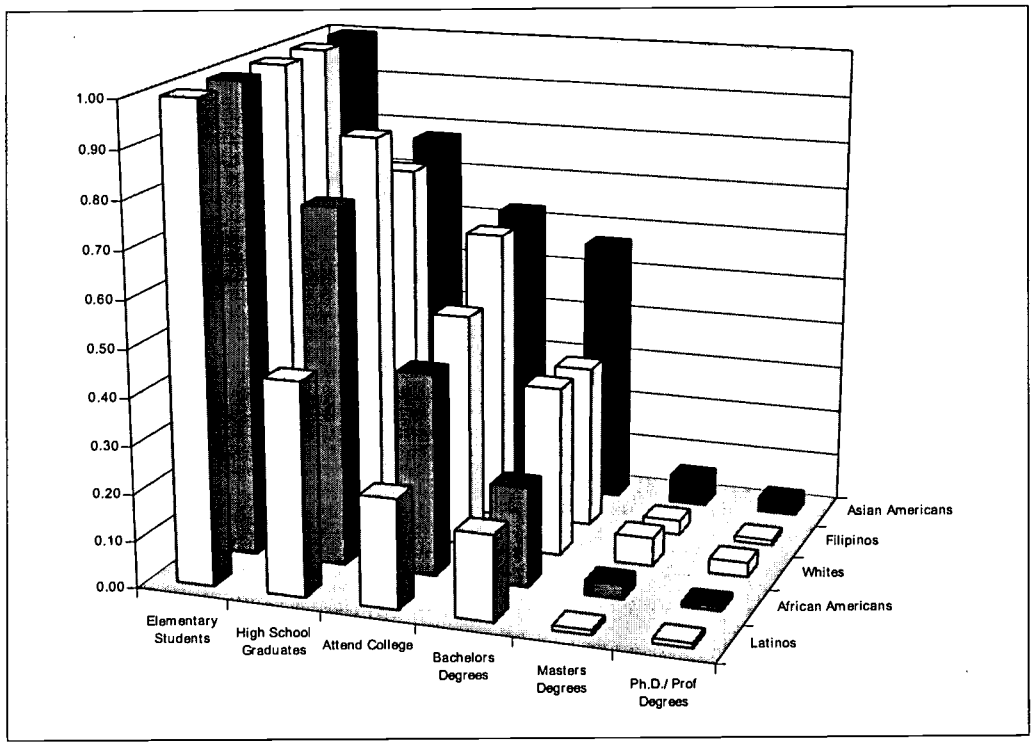


Figure 2 shows African American educational pipeline outcomes relative to the other major racial/ethnic groups in California (also see Appendix, Table A-1). For example, although 33,148 Asian Americans[1] graduate from high school compared to 21,165 African Americans (78 percent and 76 percent, respectively), the Asian American college graduation rate is three times higher (16,137 Asians vs. 3,761 Blacks). This translates to 40 percent of all Asian students in elementary school eventually graduating UC and CSU compared to only 13 percent of Black

[1] Note: This statistic excludes students identifying as "Filipino."

elementary school students. What was a 2-percent difference between Asians and Blacks four years earlier at the point of high school graduation expands dramatically to a difference of 26 percentage points in terms of college graduation rates.

Figure 2: Educational Pipeline Outcomes by Race/Ethnicity in California, 1998



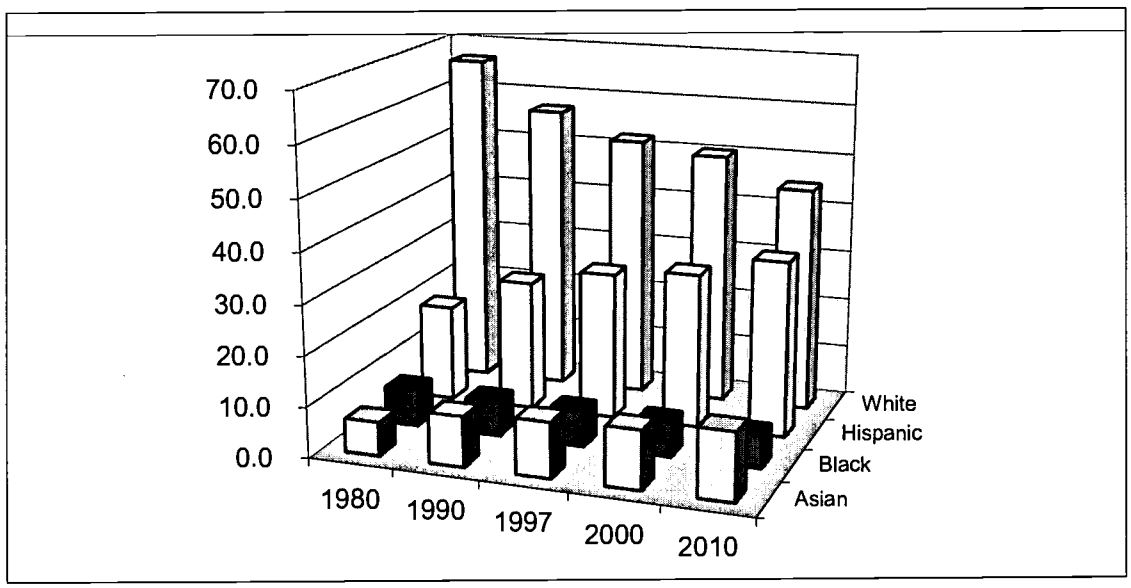
Similarly, 128,405 White elementary school students graduate high school (86 percent) and 37,138 of these students eventually graduate UC and CSU (25 percent). While there is a 10-percent difference in the high school graduation rates between Whites and Blacks (86 vs. 76 percent), White graduation rates from UC and CSU are one-and-a-half times higher than for Blacks (13 vs. 25 percent). While Latino high school graduates outnumber Blacks (87,742 vs. 21,165), the percentage of Blacks graduating high school is much higher (76 percent vs. 45 percent). The percentage differences for college are similar (3,761 Blacks or 13 percent of their elementary school population vs. 13,445 Latinos or 7 percent).

African Americans in California: A Demographic Perspective

Proportionally the presence of African Americans in California has always been small relative to their numbers and concentration in the southern states and in many urban areas across the country. Over the past 30 years, the proportion of Blacks in California seemed smaller still, given California's exploding Latino and Asian populations (Figure 3, Table A-2). For this reason, people sometimes lose sight of the absolute demographic size and significance of California's African American population. One in 14 African Americans lives in California (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). In 1998, California had a total population of 2,455,570 African Americans, second in the nation to New York, which had a total Black population of 3,219,676 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Yet African Americans only represented 7.5 percent of California's total population – well below the 12.8 percent they comprise in the total U.S. population. Compare California's absolute and relative figures for African Americans to those of a southern state like Mississippi, where the 996,700 Blacks living in the state comprised 36.5 percent of that state's total population. For further perspective, it is instructive to compare the racial demography of California to that of the U.S. as a whole. For California in 2000, the racial breakdown was as follows: Whites – 59.5 percent; Blacks – 6.7 percent; Latinos – 32.4 percent; and Asians – 12.2 percent. California's racial demography was dramatically different from that of the United States as a whole: Whites – 75.1 percent; Blacks – 12.3 percent; Latinos – 12.5 percent; and Asians – 4.6 percent.

From 1970 to 1998, California's Black population grew by 75 percent, an impressive rate of growth under normal circumstances. However, this rapid growth rate was nearly insignificant alongside the astounding rates of increase for California's Latino and Asian/Pacific Islander populations. Over the same period, the state's Latino population grew by 310 percent (2,423,610 to 9,938,776), while the Asian population grew by 455 percent (671,210 to 3,724,845).

Figure 3: Racial/Ethnic Composition of California by Selected Groups, 1980, 1990, 1997, 2000, and 2010



When sheer numbers are considered, we see that African Americans are a decidedly numerical minority relative to Latinos, Asians/Pacific Islanders and Whites at all stages of the educational pipeline in California. This is not surprising given the demography of the state. While 3,761 Blacks graduated from college in 1998, the comparable numbers for the other groups were: Whites – 37,138, Asians/Pacific Islanders – 16,137, Filipinos – 3,310, and Latinos – 13,445 (Table A-1). This disparity was even more pronounced among high school graduates, where the number of African Americans receiving high school diplomas (21,165) was barely half that for Asians/Pacific Islanders and Filipinos (42,711 total). Significantly more Whites (128,405) and Latinos (87,742) also graduated high school in California compared to Blacks.

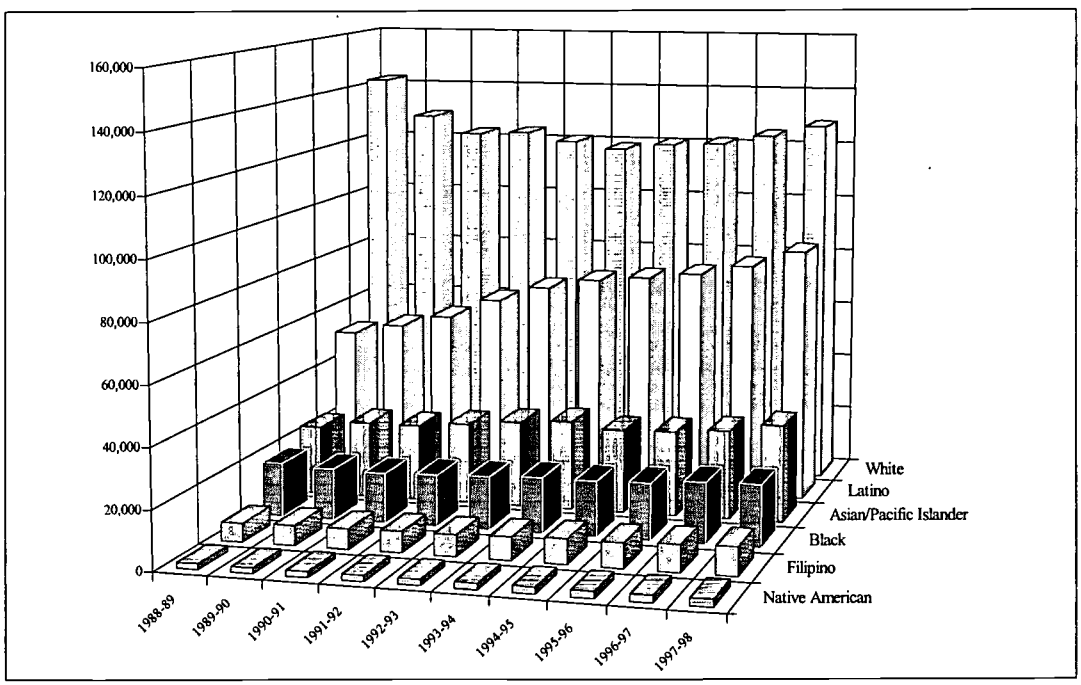
It should also be noted that California actually leads the nation in the total number of African Americans enrolled in higher education. California reported 153,200 Blacks attending college compared to 137,711 in New York; no other state in the nation reported more than 94,000 Black students enrolled in college (NCES, 1997). This fact, added to California's being the second most populous state in terms of the total number of African American residents, make

very clear California's importance to Black equity, access and success in higher education in the United States.

High School Preparation

Questions about college access for African Americans have traditionally focused on the quantity and the quality of the pool of students available for college. Recent CPEC data show that while the rate of public high school graduation has increased for students from all ethnic backgrounds (Figure 4, Table A-3), African Americans consistently comprise less than 8 percent of all high school graduates (CPEC, 1999a). Compared to the steady growth in the numbers of high school graduates among Asian/Pacific Islander, Filipino, and Chicano/Latino students (40 percent, 51 percent and 69 percent, respectively), the growth rate of high school completion among African Americans remains the second lowest after White student rates. However, White students continue to comprise the largest population of high school graduates in California despite a 10-percent decline in overall numbers for the period.

Figure 4: California Public High School Graduates by Race/Ethnicity, 1988-1998



The data also suggest that in the future, there will be no significant changes in the numbers of African Americans completing secondary education. In 1997, African Americans represented 7.5 percent of the total public high school graduates. Whites comprised 45.4 percent of graduates, with Asian/Pacific Islanders and Latinos comprising 11.7 percent and 31.0 percent, respectively. These data suggest a dire picture in terms of the numbers of Black students entering the pipeline for college.

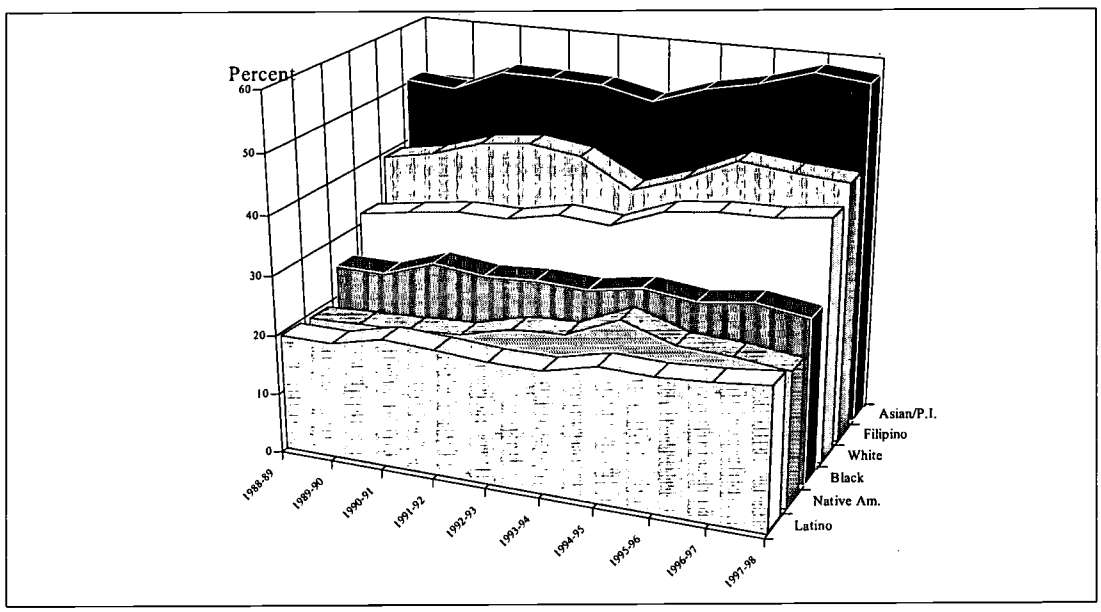
High school completion is only one measure of student eligibility for college; other measures – entrance test scores, grades, courses taken – focus on student readiness for the academic challenges of college. Nevertheless, high school marks a critical milestone for students in the academic pipeline. Not only do high schools provide the opportunities for social and academic engagement that foster important critical thinking and developmental skills among students, but these institutions also introduce students to more rigorous coursework as a foundation for future college studies.

In California, admissions representatives at the University of California and the California State University review the pattern of courses completed by each applicant to assess an individual applicant's preparation for college. For example, these "A-F" (recently expanded to "A-G") courses taken in high school include a required four years of English, three years of math, and two years of laboratory science to meet minimal eligibility for UC campus admission. CPEC data show that African American completion of A-F coursework in high school remains well below statewide rates generally and in particular behind the completion rates for Asians, the fastest growing population graduating from secondary education, and the completion rates for Whites, the slowest growing population of high school graduates (CPEC, 1999a).

As seen in Figure 5 and Table A-4, only 27.8 percent of African Americans, compared to 41.0 percent of Whites, 57.7 percent of Asians/Pacific Islanders and 44.0 percent of Filipinos,

completed A-F coursework required for UC admissions in 1997. Throughout the 10 years of our comparison, A-F coursework completion rates were lower for Latinos and Native American students than for Blacks (23.8 percent and 22.5 percent, respectively, in 1997).

Figure 5: "A-F" Completion Rates in Relation to California Public High School Graduates by Ethnicity, 1988-98

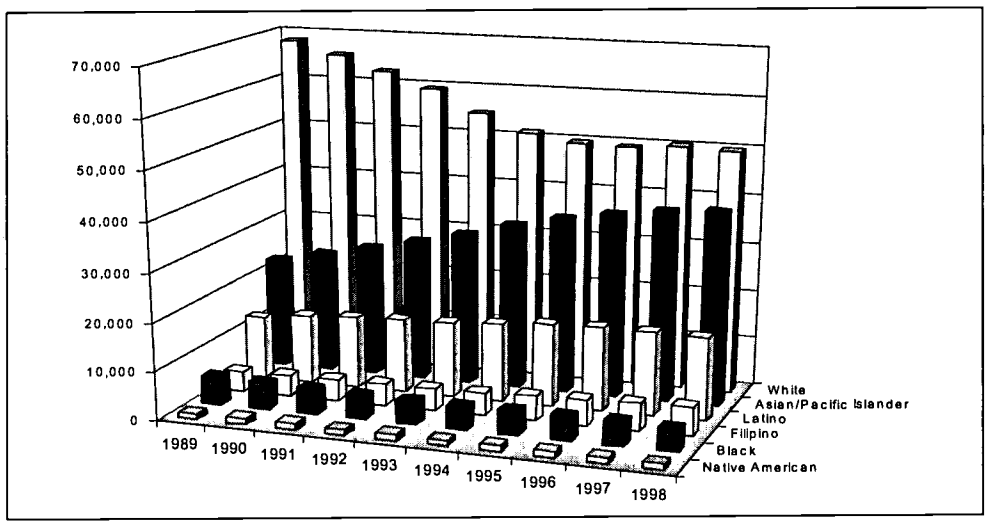


In general, these findings suggest that African Americans, while enjoying slight growth in their high school graduation rates during the last decade, are consistently less likely to complete the A-F curriculum requirements for college eligibility. These findings also suggest that African American students, already comprising the minority of college applicants, will in the future be even less competitive than their peers for college admissions. Further, when admitted to college, California's Black students will likely encounter greater academic challenges to persist to college graduation because of more limited academic preparation at the high school level.

African American College Enrollment Patterns

Undergraduate enrollment figures reveal striking declines in the numbers of African Americans who attended the University of California from 1989 to 1998 (Figure 6, Table A-5). Over this period, UC experienced a 7-percent increase in total undergraduate enrollments, but Black enrollment declined by 18 percent from 5,796 in 1989 to 4,749 in 1998.

Figure 6: Undergraduate Enrollment by Ethnicity at the University of California, Fall 1989 to Fall 1998



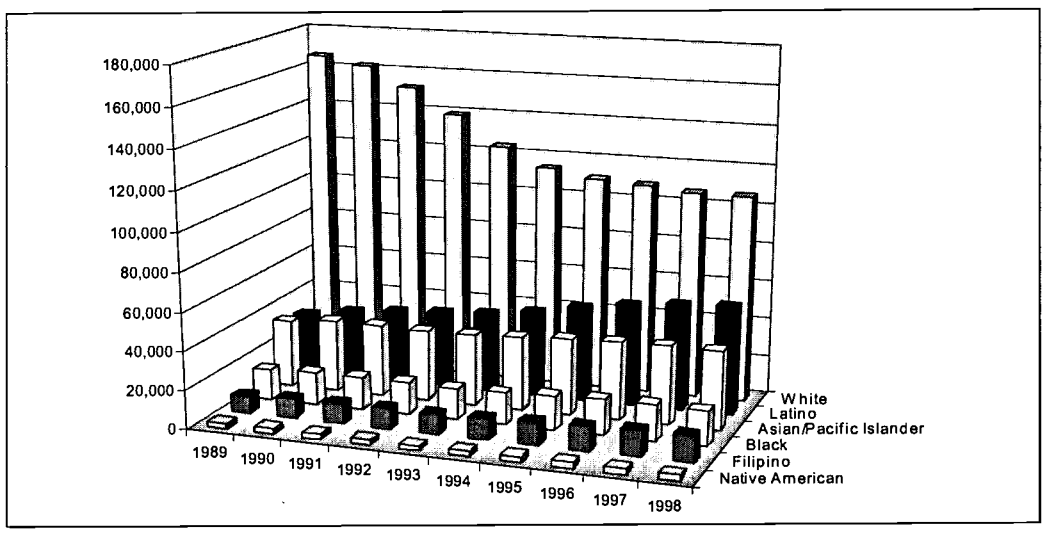
This dramatic slide in Black undergraduate enrollment at the University of California has continued as the full effects of bans by the UC Regents and by the state's electorate on affirmative action are registered. On July 20, 1995, the UC Board of Regents approved SP-1, an order banning the use of race, religion, sex, color, ethnicity or national origin as criteria for admission to the University and/or educational programs. One year later, state voters approved Proposition 209, which eliminated the use of affirmative action in public college admissions.

Beyond the ban on affirmative action, it is likely that other factors, such as the rapid growth in Asian American enrollment, are partly related to declining Black enrollment in the University of California. Over this period, there were sizeable declines in total enrollment

among Whites, dropping 27 percent from 68,187 to 49,879 (Figure 6, Table A-5). Unlike African American total enrollment, the enrollment for Asians rose by 73 percent (22,993 to 39,813), for Filipinos by 45 percent (4,102 to 5,962), and for Latinos by 29 percent (13,071 to 16,905).

Black student enrollment figures for 1989 to 1998 at the California State University are somewhat more encouraging (Figure 7, Table A-6). We see over this period a decline in CSU's total undergraduate enrollment of 4 percent but a 13-percent increase in total Black enrollment (15,669 to 17,663). In 1998, Blacks comprised 6.3 percent of all enrolled undergraduates at CSU, compared to Whites at 38.2 percent, Asians/Pacific Islanders at 14.6 percent, Filipinos at 4.8 percent, and Latinos at 20.3 percent.

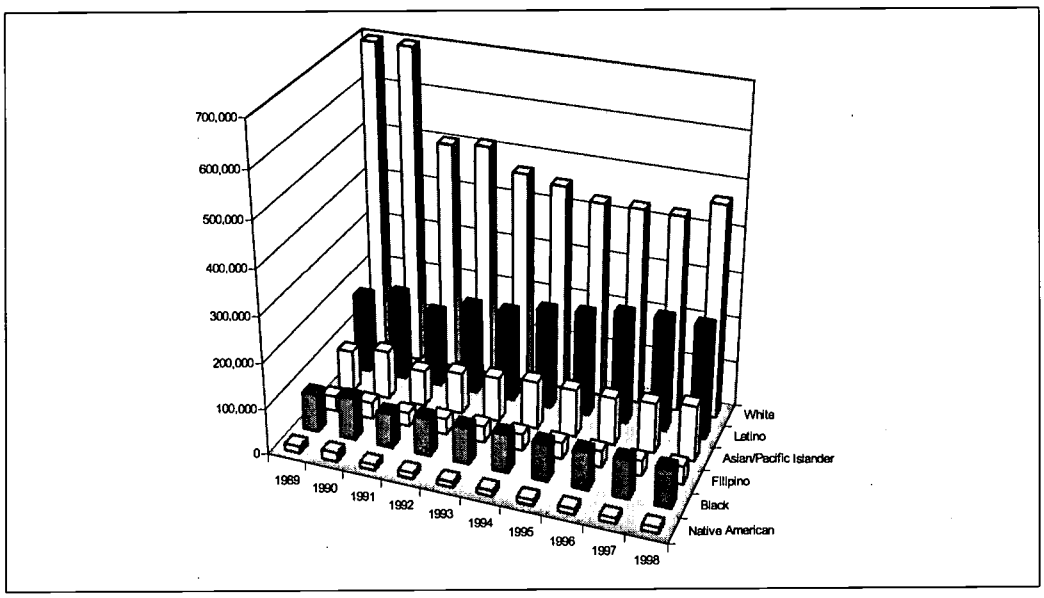
Figure 7: Undergraduate Enrollment by Ethnicity at the California State University, Fall 1989 to Fall 1998



Compared to Blacks, White CSU undergraduates experienced a 36-percent decline in total undergraduates (166,287 to 106,444) during that decade. Total enrollment for Asian/Pacific Islander students rose by 16 percent (35,115 to 40,714), and Latino total enrollment rose by 76 percent (32,149 to 56,431).

When we turn our attention to the California Community College system, the third tier in the California Master Plan for Higher Education, we see that from 1989 to 1998, Black total enrollment more or less held steady – 82,961 to 83,529 (Figure 8, Table A-7). In 1989, Blacks comprised 7 percent of all community college undergraduates; by 1998, Blacks were 8 percent of the total. By comparison, in 1998 Whites were 44 percent, Asians/Pacific Islanders at 11 percent, Filipinos at 4 percent, and Latinos at 23 percent.

Figure 8: Undergraduate (for Credit) Enrollment by Ethnicity at California Community Colleges, Fall 1989 to Fall 1998



The pattern of a downward shift in African American college enrollments across the state's academic hierarchy – that is, decreased Black enrollment at UC, accompanied by increased Black enrollments at CSU and CCC – has been referred to as a "cascade effect." From another view, this same pattern can be interpreted as the creation of an apartheid system of higher education in California, where the most prestigious higher education tier – UC – becomes nearly the exclusive purview of White and Asian students. On the other hand, Black and Latino

students are redistributed among the lower tiers of this postsecondary educational prestige system.

The data do not support the often-discussed notion that Black student transfers from the CCC system to UC and CSU will offset losses due to the ban on affirmative action. Over the decade, African American community college transfers to UC dropped by 16 percent (272 to 228) and transfers to CSU dropped by 8 percent (2,657 to 2,442) (Tables A-8 and A-9). From 1995-96 to 1997-98, these declines were even more pronounced. Black transfers from CCC to UC decreased by 41 percent (386 to 228), while transfers to CSU were down by 14 percent (2,836 to 2,442).

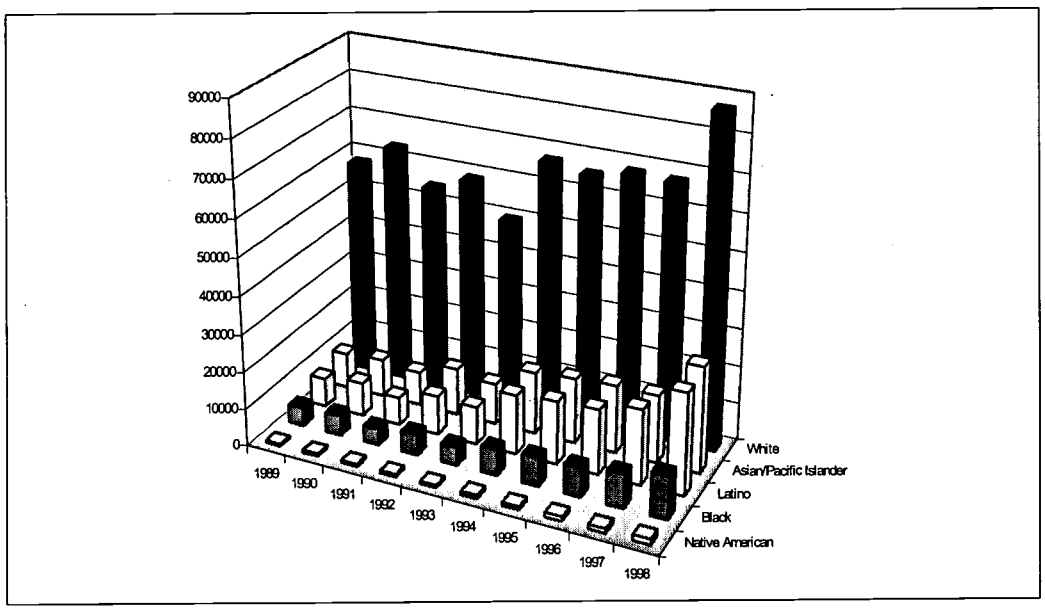
At a time when total undergraduate enrollment declined in the community college sector by 11 percent, White undergraduate enrollment declined by 33 percent (698,685 to 467,578). The total undergraduate enrollment for Asians/Pacific Islanders grew by 34 percent (89,802 to 120,253). Filipino enrollment rose by 23 percent from 31,316 to 38,496. Latino total enrollment in this sector also increased – by 42 percent from 173,654 to 246,444 freshmen.

California's independent colleges and universities (Association of Independent California Colleges and Universities [AICCU]) are another option for African American students. The independent colleges and universities referenced in this report are members of the AICCU (Appendix, Figure A-6). From 1989 to 1998, undergraduate enrollments grew in the independent sector by 34 percent, the fastest growth compared to any other sectors of higher education. We see a dramatic increase of 58 percent (4,946 to 11,414) in Black undergraduate enrollment in private four-year institutions (Figure 9, Table A-10). Nearly half of this growth (23 percent) occurred between 1996 and 1998 (8,777 to 10,832).

Clearly one response of African American students to more negative racial climates and declining opportunities in the public university system has been to turn increasingly to private

institutions. Of course, the fact remains that private institutions ultimately lack the physical capacity to accommodate the statewide demand of African American students for college "seats." Nationally private institutions (many of which are Historically Black Colleges and Universities) enroll around 20 percent of all Black college students (Wilds, 2000). More to the point, presently in the state of California, private institutions enrolled twice as many Black students than the entire University of California system (10,832 vs. 4,749).

Figure 9: Undergraduate Enrollment by Ethnicity at Independent Institutions, Fall 1989 to Fall 1998



During this 10-year period, the state's private institutions also experienced dramatic increases in Asian/Pacific Islander and Latino enrollments. The total undergraduate enrollment for Asians/Pacific Islanders grew by 96 percent (13,470 to 26,420). Latino undergraduate enrollments at the private institutions rose by 114 percent (9,783 to 20,895). White overall enrollment was also up by 51 percent (57,630 to 87,105). In general, there seems to be an increased trend toward enrollment in independent colleges and universities across all groups.

In order to understand the patterns in total undergraduate enrollment, we need to observe enrollment changes that occurred for the large pool of incoming freshmen in higher education that affected the overall trends (Tables A-11 to A-14). The decline in Black first-time freshmen enrollment at UC between 1989 and 1998 was precipitous – a 41-percent drop from 1,268 to 749 (Table A-11). In 1998, Blacks comprised just 2.9 percent of FTF at UC, compared to Whites at 34.4 percent, Asians/Pacific Islanders at 30.1 percent, Filipinos at 4.9 percent, and Latinos at 11.5 percent.

During this period, the enrollment of White first-time freshmen decreased by 18 percent (10,678 to 8,750) and Latino FTF declined by 2 percent (2,982 to 2,929). Other peer groups experienced major growth in their freshmen enrollment at UC: enrollment grew by 64 percent for Asians/Pacific Islanders and by 56 percent for Filipinos. In actual numbers, Asian/Pacific Islander FTF rose from 4,676 to 7,671 and Filipino FTF increased from 805 to 1,252.

The data showed that Black FTF enrollment declined at UC from a record high of 970 in 1995 to 900 a year later. Between 1996 and 1998, Black first-time freshmen declined again (-17 percent) from 900 to 749. These declines were echoed among Latino FTF enrollment during the same period, translating to a 9-percent decline from 3,203 to 2,929. Between 1996 and 1998, Whites also experienced FTF declines (by 4 percent) from 9,084 to 8,750 freshmen, while Asians/Pacific Islanders experienced an 8-percent gain from 7,085 to 7,671 freshmen.

At CSU, there was a 15-percent increase (1,854 to 2,123) in Black FTF between 1989 and 1998 (Table A-12). By 1998, Blacks comprised 6.8 percent of all CSU first-time freshmen, compared to Whites at 36.7 percent, Asians/Pacific Islanders at 14.3 percent, Filipinos at 6.4 percent, and Latinos at 22.8 percent. However, concealed in these statistics is a drop in Black FTF by 10 percent from a high of 2,357 freshmen in 1996 to 2,123 freshmen in 1998. During the same two-year period, there was growth in FTF for Whites (by 10 percent from 10,462 to

11,504), for Asians/Pacific Islanders (by 13 percent from 3,956 to 4,475), for Filipinos (by 12 percent from 1,797 to 2,012) and for Latinos (by 2 percent from 6,973 to 7,137).

Between 1989 and 1998, Whites experienced a 24-percent decline in FTF enrollment (15,101 to 11,504). Asian/Pacific Islander FTF enrollment at CSU dropped by 2 percent (4,560 to 4,475). FTF enrollment grew for Filipinos grew by 28 percent (1,578 to 2,012) and for Latinos by 59 percent (4,489 to 7,137).

During the same period, the enrollment of Black FTF enrollment at CCC grew by 8 percent – 8,085 to 8,768 (Table A-13). In 1998, Blacks comprised 7.2 percent of all freshmen at CCC, compared to Whites at 41.0 percent, Asians/Pacific Islanders at 9.9 percent, Filipinos at 3.8 percent, and Latinos at 28.0 percent. However, similar to the enrollment decline patterns observed at UC and CSU between 1996 and 1998, Black FTF declined at CCC (by 4 percent) from an enrollment high of 9,143 in 1996 to 8,768 in 1998. During this two-year period, White, Asian and Latino groups experienced FTF enrollment gains.

Between 1989 and 1998, White FTF enrollment in community colleges dropped by 17 percent (60,177 to 49,963). FTF enrollment among Asians/Pacific Islanders rose by 59 percent, (7,592 to 12,081) and by 28 percent among Filipinos (3,668 to 4,679). Latino FTF enrollment rose by 70 percent (20,091 to 34,068).

Black FTF enrollment at independent colleges and universities grew by 12 percent (from 235 to 263 freshmen) during this period (Table A-14). By 1998, Blacks comprised 4.9 percent of all freshmen at private colleges and universities, compared to Whites at 59.3 percent, Asians/Pacific Islanders at 14.2 percent, Filipinos at less than 1 percent, and Latinos at 15.0 percent. Between 1989 and 1998, Black FTF dropped by 2 percent in the private sector from 269 to 263 freshmen. A pattern of FTF decline was mirrored by Whites (-15 percent), Asians/Pacific Islanders (-26 percent), Filipinos (-29 percent) and Latinos (-21 percent).

Gains in FTF enrollment in this sector during the 10 years grew modestly by 10 percent for Whites (3,438 to 3,154 freshmen). Asian/Pacific Islander and Latino peers experienced more growth. During this period, Asian/Pacific Islander enrollment grew by 14 percent (664 to 756) and Latino enrollment grew by 2 percent (778 to 796).

The short-term effects of affirmative action policy changes discussed earlier in this section have been significant: from 1995 to 1998, African American FTF enrollment dropped by 17 percent at UC, by 10 percent at CSU, by 4 percent at CCC and by 2 percent at independent schools. Together, these declines translated to a loss of 766 Black freshmen that significantly impacted the representation of Blacks relative to their peers.

As regards Black enrollment in graduate/professional schools, we see patterns that parallel those at other levels of enrollment (Figures 10-12, Tables A-15 to A-17). Overall, Black enrollment in UC is down by 10 percent (1,408 to 1,274) with a 17-percent drop since 1995 (1,537 to 1,274). Black graduate enrollment at CSU increased from 1989 to 1998 by 36 percent (2,838 to 3,861). By comparison, the enrollment of African American students in graduate programs at independent institutions leaped by 82 percent (2,761 to 5,007), with an increase of 45 percent (2,760 to 5,007) since 1992. Repeating the patterns from above, Black students are being displaced from the generally more prestigious UC system to CSU and independent institutions.

From 1989 to 1998, White graduate enrollment patterns and trends were similar to those for Blacks except with one important caveat – the much larger White enrollment was better able to absorb declines at UC (-16 percent – 24,993 to 21,130) and CSU (-27 percent – 47,275 to 34,390). On the other hand, White graduate enrollment in private institutions increased by 24 percent (44,683 to 55,392). Asian/Pacific Islander graduate enrollment increased at UC (+75 percent), CSU (+40 percent) and independent colleges (+125 percent). Latino graduate

enrollments in California also increased across all institutional contexts from 1989 to 1998: UC (+21 percent), CSU (+114 percent) and independent colleges (+146 percent).

Figure 10: Graduate Enrollment by Ethnicity at the University of California, Fall 1989 to Fall 1998

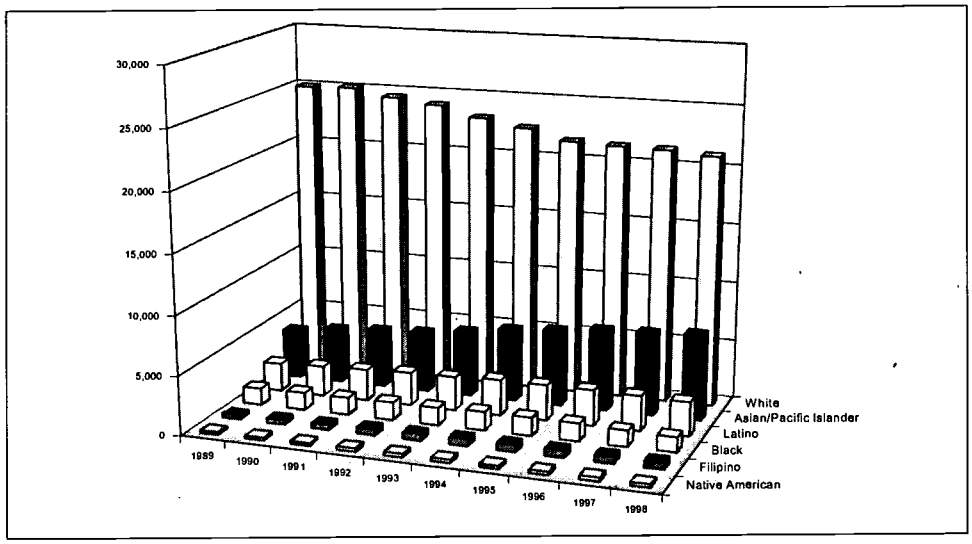


Figure 11: Graduate Enrollment by Ethnicity at the California State University, Fall 1989 to Fall 1998

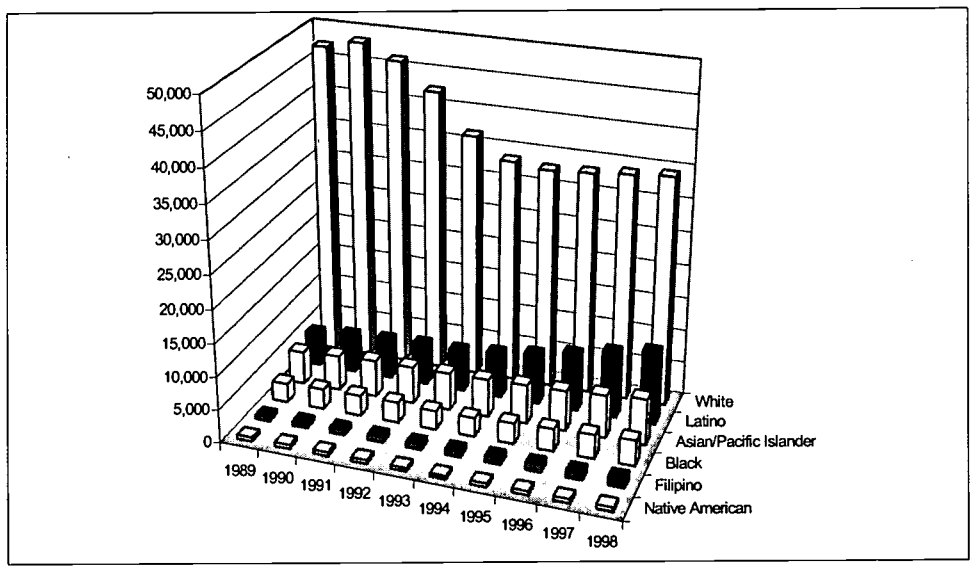
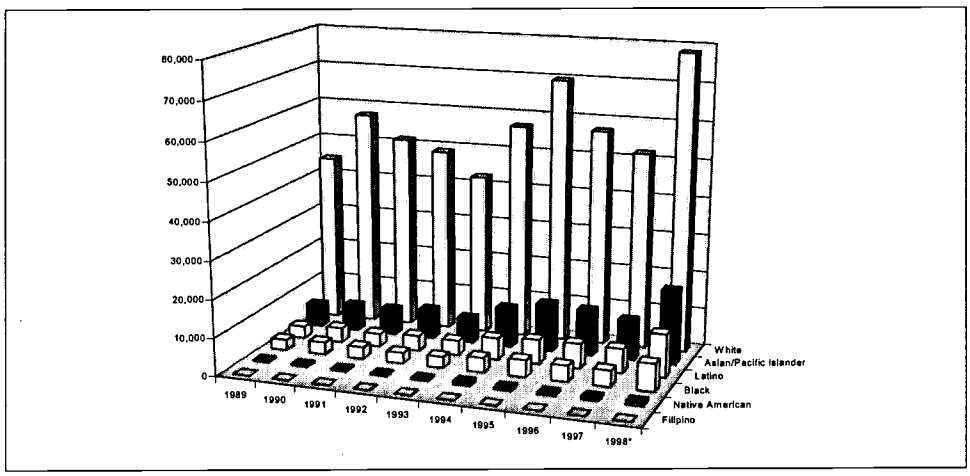


Figure 12: Graduate Enrollment by Ethnicity at Independent Institutions, Fall 1989 to Fall 1998

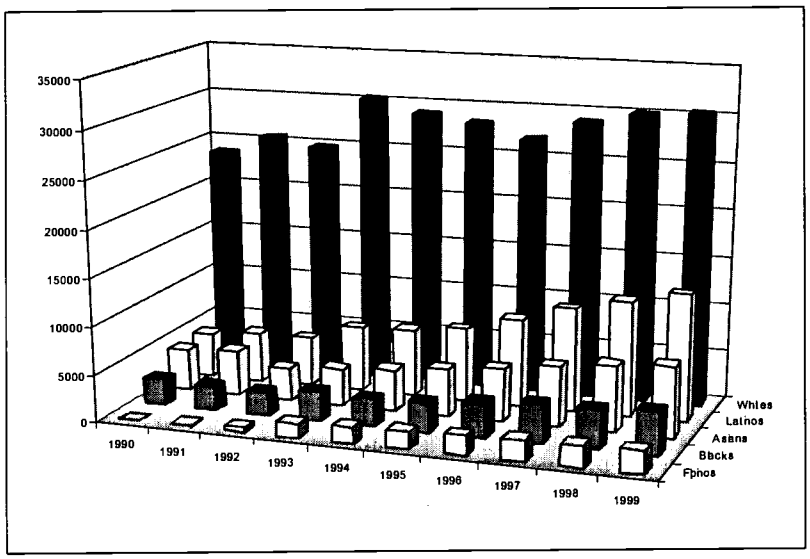


African American Earned Degrees

In many respects, earned degrees are the pot of gold at the end of the college rainbow. Successful graduation opens doors for advanced study and professional employment opportunities. An examination of earned degree patterns among African Americans in California from 1990 to 1999 is quite instructive (Figures 13-23, Tables A-18 to A-28).

To no one's surprise, the majority of degrees earned by Blacks are Associate of Arts (AA) or Associate of Science (AS) degrees awarded through the community college system. The number of associate's degrees awarded to African Americans increased by 66 percent (2,726 to 4,532) during this 10-year period (Figure 13, Table A-18). Peers in other racial/ethnic cohorts experienced similar or higher growth with the exception of White associate recipients, whose increase was a modest 28 percent. Asians/Pacific Islanders earned 68 percent more associate's degrees during this period, Filipinos earned 62 percent more, and Latinos earned a record 182 percent more degrees.

Figure 13: Associate's Degrees by Ethnicity at California Community Colleges, 1990 - 1999



Still, compared with African Americans, Whites earned six times as many associate's degrees (30,439), Asians/Filipinos earned twice as many (9,785), and Latinos earned nearly three times as many (13,229). In 1999, African Americans comprised only 7.1 percent of all associate's degrees earned at community colleges, compared to 47.5 percent for Whites, 11.5 percent for Asians/Pacific Islanders, 3.8 percent for Filipinos, and 20.7 percent for Latinos.

From 1990 to 1999, the number of African Americans who earned Bachelor of Arts (BA) or Bachelor of Science (BS) degrees from UC actually increased by 19 percent (841 to 1,003). However, the trend is much more complex than this synopsis suggests (Figure 14, Table A-19). From 1990 to 1994, the number of Blacks earning UC baccalaureates rose by 37 percent (841 to 1,154) and declined until 1999. Specifically, from 1994 to 1998, there was a 14-percent decline in UC baccalaureates earned by Blacks (1,154 to 987).

Compared to Blacks, the number of White peers earning UC bachelor's degrees also declined from 1990 to 1999 – 21 percent overall during this period (16,243 to 12,886) with a 20-

percent decline occurring between 1994 and 1999 (16,032 to 12, 886). Earned UC degree totals for Asians/Pacific Islanders, Filipinos and Latinos all increased during the decade: for Asians/Pacific Islanders, the number doubled (4,274 to 8,556); Filipinos saw a 71-percent gain (696 to 1,188); and earned degrees doubled for Latinos (1,987 to 4,043). By 1999, Blacks comprised only 3.2 percent of all baccalaureate recipients at UC, compared to Whites at 41.3 percent, Asians/Pacific Islanders at 27.5 percent, Filipinos at 3.8 percent, and Latinos at 13.0 percent. From 1990 to 1999, African Americans increased their total earned CSU bachelor's degrees by 70 percent (1,621 to 2,758) – a very impressive gain, to be sure. Nevertheless, African Americans earned fewer BA/BS degrees from CSU than any of the major racial/ethnic groups (Figure 15, Table A-20). Whites earned more than nine times as many CSU bachelor's degrees in 1999 compared to Blacks (24,252 vs. 2,758). Further, the other major racial/ethnic groups realized even more dramatic gains in total earned degrees for this period: for Asians/Pacific Islanders, a 58-percent increase (4,786 to 7,581), and for Latinos, a 141-percent increase (3,902 to 9,402).

Figure 14: Bachelor's Degrees by Ethnicity at the University of California, 1990 - 1999

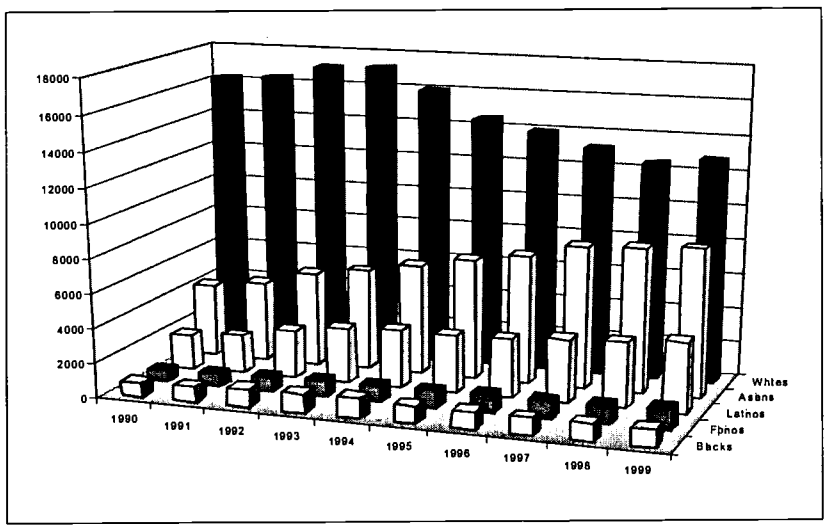
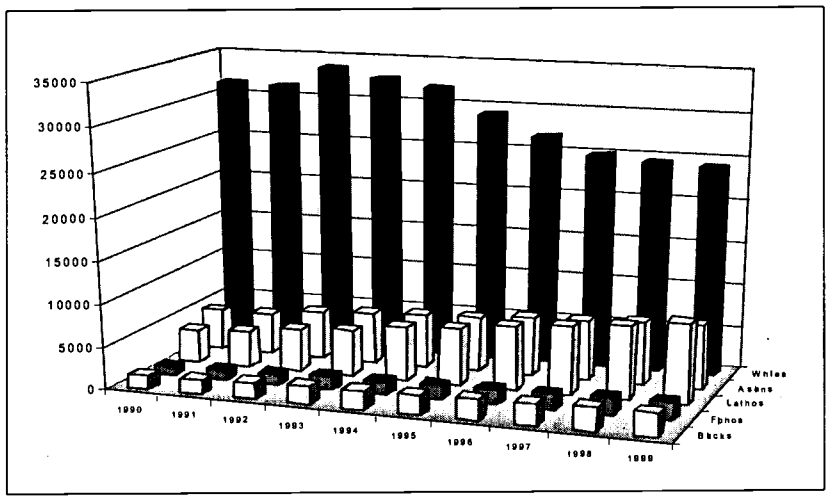


Figure 15: Bachelor's Degrees by Ethnicity at the California State University, 1990 - 1999



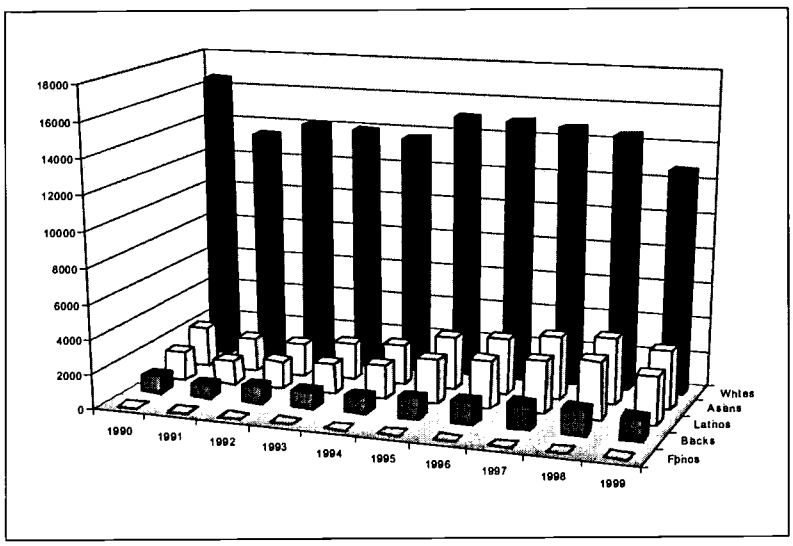
By 1999, African Americans comprised a slightly larger percentage of undergraduate degree recipients at CSU than at UC. Blacks represented 5.0 percent of the total baccalaureate pool, compared to Whites at 44.2 percent, Asians/Pacific Islanders at 13.8 percent, Filipinos at 3.9 percent, and Latinos at 17.2 percent. Although the White degree total declined over the past decade by 23 percent (31,626 to 24,252), Whites remained the largest ethnic/racial cohort completing baccalaureates at CSU.

The increase in bachelor's degrees earned from independent institutions by African Americans between 1990 and 1999 was significant (Figure 16, Table A-21). Over this period, Black degree production rose by 37 percent (1,000 to 1,376). This gain was overshadowed by an increase of 61 percent in degrees earned by Asians[2] (2,278 to 3,670) and a 92-percent increase in Latino earned BA/BS degrees (1,594 to 3,061). During the decade, the number of bachelor's degrees awarded to Whites by private institutions declined by 17 percent (16,587 to 13,665).

[2] NOTE: Data from AICCU institutions for the ethnic/racial category "Asian" include those students who identify as Asian/Asian American and Pacific Islander as well as Filipino, compared to data from other sectors that disaggregate Filipino as a separate ethnic/racial category.

Blacks comprised 5.6 percent of all baccalaureate degrees awarded by private four-year institutions in 1999, compared to Whites at 55.3 percent, Asians at 14.9 percent, and Latinos at 12.4 percent. Despite the degree decline for Whites during the 10-year period, their presence is apparent as the largest cohort of undergraduate degree recipients.

Figure 16: Bachelor's Degrees by Ethnicity at Independent Institutions, 1990 - 1999

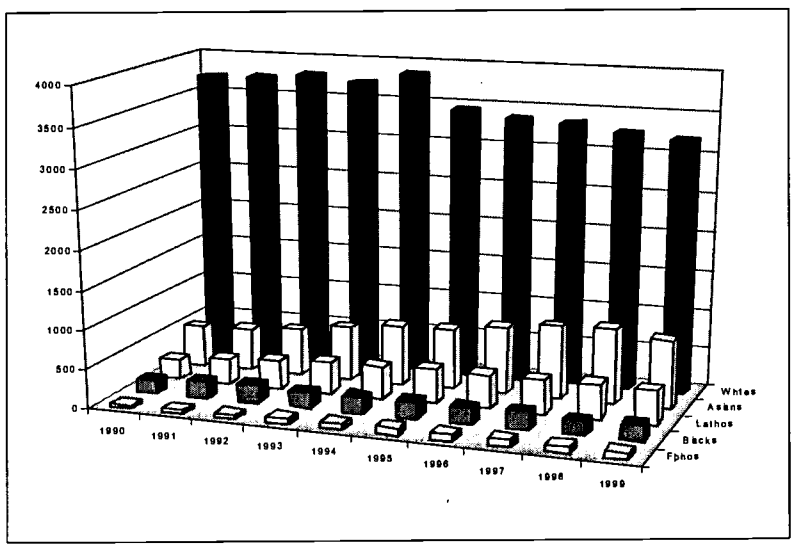


African Americans experienced a 14-percent gain in earned UC Master of Arts (MA) or Master of Science (MS) degrees during the period from 1990 to 1999 (Figure 17, Table A-22). From 1990 to 1992, the total number of degrees awarded to Blacks rose by 35 percent from a low of 176 to a high of 237. By 1998, this total of earned MA/MS degrees dropped by 22 percent to 186 degrees and then rose to 201 degrees by 1999. On balance, then, the number of master's degrees earned from UC by African Americans over the period remained stable – and sparse.

By comparison, there were increases in the number of earned UC MA/MS degrees awarded to Asians (up 70 percent from 252 to 429), Filipinos (by 152 percent from 33 to 83), and Latinos (by 67 percent from 520 to 870). The number of master's degrees awarded to Whites by UC decreased over this period by 14 percent (3,725 to 3,211). Still, Whites

represented the majority of those earning master's degrees at UC in 1999, holding twice the total number of degrees awarded to Blacks, Latinos, Asian/Filipinos and Native Americans combined. In 1999, Blacks comprised only 3.2 percent of master's degree recipients at UC, compared to Whites at 51.1 percent, Asians/Pacific Islanders at 6.8 percent, Filipinos at 1.3 percent, and Latinos at 13.9 percent.

Figure 17: Master's Degrees by Ethnicity at the University of California, 1990 - 1999

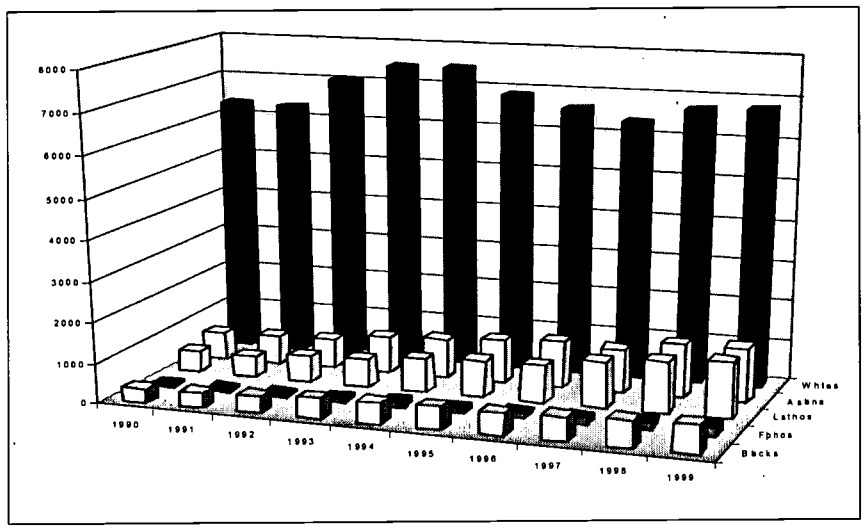


African Americans made considerably more progress during the 10-year period in earning master's degrees from the California State University system with a 197-percent increase, from 66 to 196 degrees (Figure 18, Table A-23). There was a 7-percent gain in master's degrees completed by Whites during the same years (6,371 to 6,811). However, substantial gains were registered by each of the other main non-White racial groups: growth by 162 percent for Asians/Pacific Islanders (533 to 1,394), by 109 percent for Filipinos (338 to 706), and by 112 percent for Latinos (659 to 1,394).

By 1999, Blacks comprised only 1.4 percent of all master's degrees completed at CSU, compared to Whites at 49.8 percent, Asians/Pacific Islanders at 10.2 percent, Filipinos at 5.2

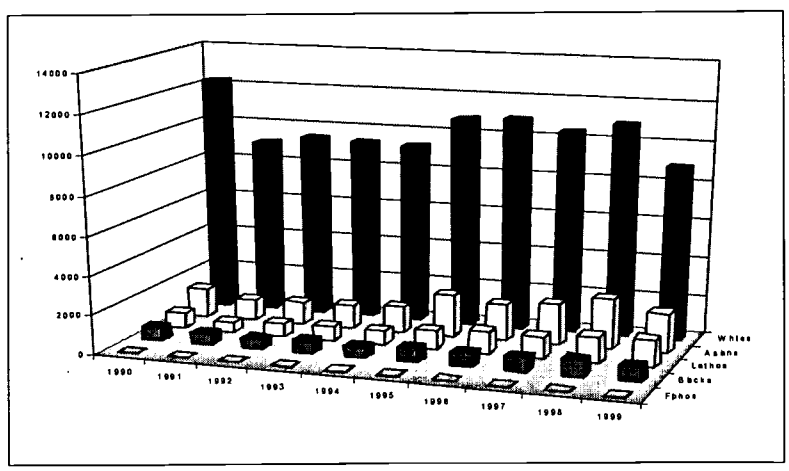
percent, and Latinos at 9.9 percent. Again we see an extreme White advantage: Whites' total earned CSU master's degrees were nearly double the combined total of MA/MS degrees for all non-White racial groups.

Figure 18: Master's Degrees by Ethnicity at the California State University, 1990 – 1999



African Americans gained 10 percent in the total number of master's degrees earned from independent institutions, increasing from 693 to 764 degrees completed (Figure 19, Table A-24). From 1990 to 1999, the number of master's degrees earned at private institutions increased by 73 percent for Asians/Pacific Islanders (804 to 1,388) and by 40 percent for Latinos (1,462 to 2,046). Earned MA/MS degrees declined for Whites by 28 percent (12,258 to 8,884).

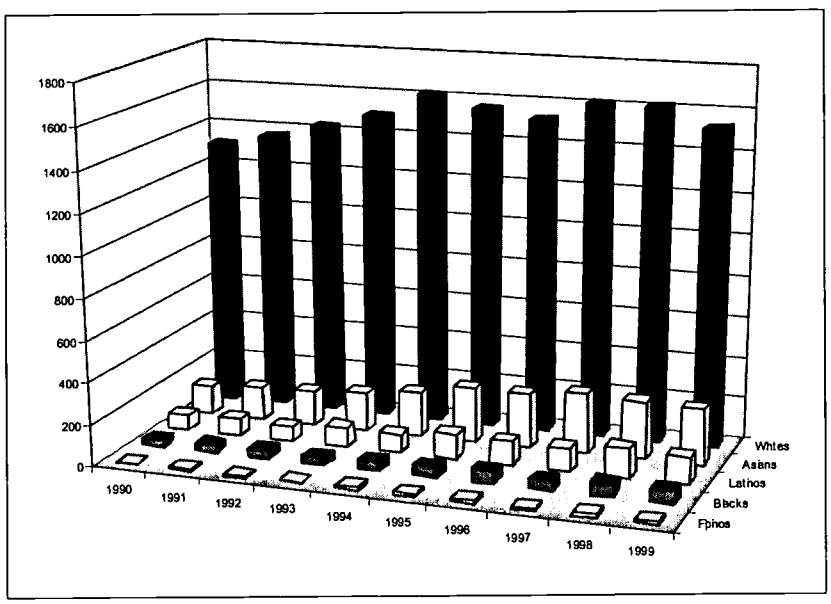
Figure 19: Master's Degrees by Ethnicity at Independent Institutions, 1990 - 1999



Repeating a now-familiar pattern, Whites in the state doubled the total number of master's degrees from private colleges compared to all the other non-White racial/ethnic groups combined. By 1999, African Americans comprised 4.5 percent of all MA/MS degrees earned at private four-year institutions, compared to the majority earned by Whites at 52.7 percent, Asians at 8.2 percent, and Latinos at 12.1 percent.

African Americans continue to be painfully underrepresented in the "rare air" of UC-earned doctoral degrees (Figure 20, Table A-25). In 1990, 31 Blacks were awarded doctorates by UC; 10 years later, that number had grown to 61 – a significant gain of 97 percent, but in fact reflecting relatively sparse actual numbers. The number of White doctoral recipients also rose by 16 percent from 1,317 degrees in 1990 to 1,530 degrees in 1999. Similarly, the number of doctorates awarded to Asian/Pacific Islander students increased over this period by 96 percent (139 to 273), and the number awarded to Filipinos grew by 467 percent from 3 to 17 degrees. Latinos began the period with 72 earned doctorates and by 1999, their degree total had only grown to 129 (79 percent).

Figure 20: Doctorate Degrees by Ethnicity at the University of California, 1990 - 1999



In short, despite dramatic statistical gains for Blacks, Latinos and Asians over the period in doctorates earned at UC, the actual number of degrees awarded to those students was relatively small. By 1999, Blacks represented only 2.3 percent of all doctorates awarded by UC, compared to Whites at 58.1 percent, Asians/Pacific Islanders at 4.9 percent, Filipinos at less than 1 percent, and Latinos at 10.4 percent.

Of course, the striking irony is that added together, the UC doctorates earned in 1999 by people of color (480) were less than one-third of the total number of doctorates awarded to Whites (1,530). In 1990, Whites earned five times more UC doctorates than all the doctorates received by Blacks, Asians/Pacific Islanders, Filipinos and Latinos combined (1,317 vs. 245). By the end of the decade, the White/non-White disparity in earned UC doctoral degrees was 25 to 1.

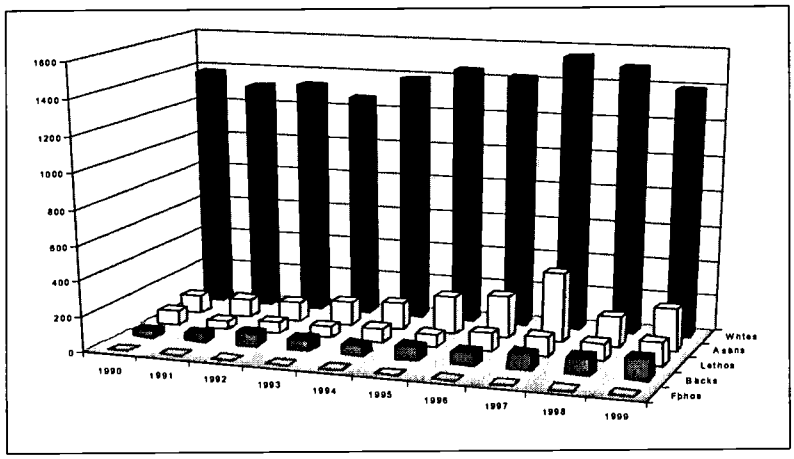
The picture is only slightly improved with doctorate degrees granted by independent institutions (Figure 21, Table A-26). Although having fewer "seats," these programs granted nearly 20 percent more doctorates to African Americans in 1999 than did UC the same year (118 vs. 97).

During the period from 1990 to 1999, the number of doctorates earned by Blacks at private colleges increased by a staggering 211 percent, but represented an increase from 38 to only 118 degrees. Similarly, doctorates earned by Asians increased 63 percent (78 to 127) and those earned by Latinos increased by 130 percent (103 to 237). Doctorates earned by Whites increased just 1 percent during this same period, but reflected the majority of doctorates earned at independent colleges (1,379 to 1,394).

In general, Asians earned nearly half as many doctorates as Latinos at these institutions (127 compared to 237 degrees). In 1999, Blacks represented 4.7 percent of all doctorates earned at private colleges, compared to Whites at 55.9 percent, Asians at 5.1 percent, and Latinos at 9.5

percent. At this rate, it will take more than three generations, or 50 to 75 years, for people of color in California to close the doctorate degree "achievement gap" with Whites.

Figure 21: Doctorate Degrees by Ethnicity at Independent Institutions, 1990 - 1999



In 1990, UC awarded 98 professional degrees to African Americans; by 1999, the number of professional degrees awarded to African Americans declined to 97 (Figure 22, Table A-27). By comparison, UC awarded 808 professional degrees to Whites in 1999 compared to 1,160 awarded in 1990 – a decline of 30 percent. The number of professional degrees earned by Asians/Pacific Islanders increased by 9 percent from 177 in 1990 to 193 in 1999, and the degrees awarded to Filipinos during this period grew by an astounding 73 percent (22 to 38 degrees). Professional degrees earned by Latinos rose by 44 percent from 298 to 430. In 1999, Blacks comprised 5.4 percent of all first-professional degree recipients at UC, compared to Whites at 45.3 percent, Asians/Pacific Islanders at 10.8 percent, Filipinos at 2.1 percent, and Latinos at 24.1 percent.

The extreme White advantage in earned professional degrees was also apparent when we examined professional degree production in independent institutions (Figure 23, Table A-28). The number of professional degrees earned by Whites at private colleges nearly equaled the total

number of professional degrees earned by Blacks, Asians and Latinos combined (2,861 vs. 2,866).

In 1990, Blacks earned 120 professional degrees; by 1999 this figure doubled to 241 degrees awarded by independent institutions. In 1999, Blacks comprised 4.8 percent of all professional degree recipients at independent colleges, compared to Whites at 57.4 percent, Asians/Pacific Islanders at 7.2 percent, and Latinos at 22.4 percent. Blacks earned the fewest number of professional degrees in this sector compared to Asian and Latino students of color (Figure 23, Table A-28).

Figure 22: Professional Degrees by Ethnicity at the University of California, 1990 - 1999

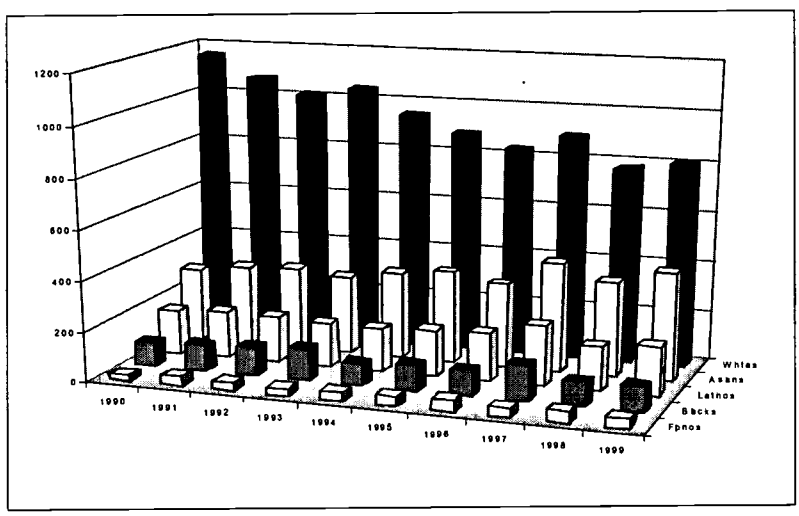
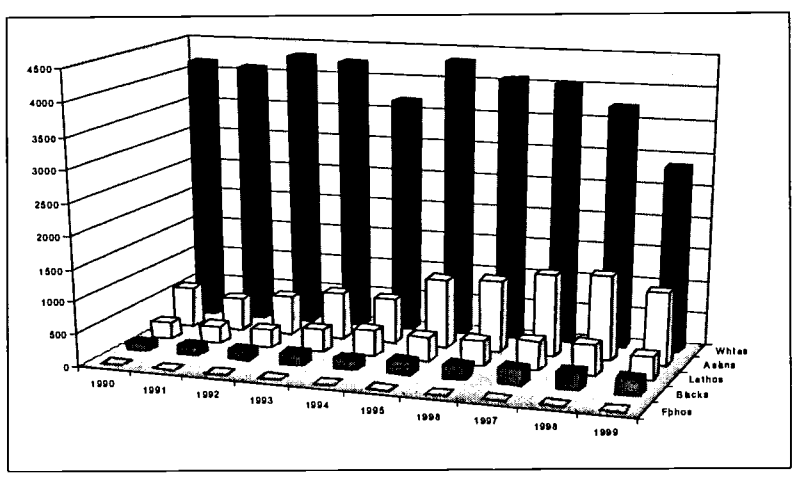


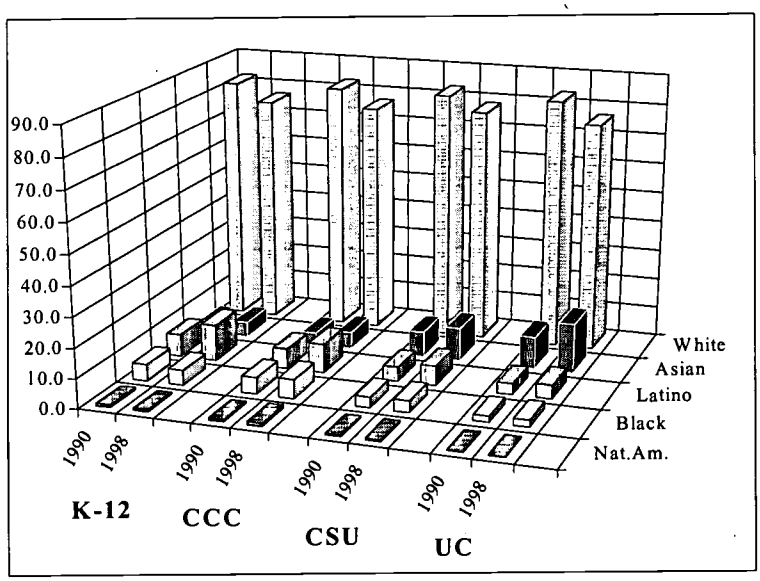
Figure 23: Professional Degrees by Ethnicity at Independent Institutions, 1990 - 1999



African American Instructional Faculty in California Public Education

African Americans are substantially underrepresented among instructional faculty in California's public educational institutions (Figure 24, Table A-29). Predictably – in light of the racial educational disadvantage revealed to this point – the Black presence on faculties declines and becomes sparser as one moves up the educational status/level hierarchy. In 1990, the proportion of African American faculty in UC was 2.1 percent; eight years later, that proportion remained essentially unchanged and disproportionately low at 2.3 percent. Over the same period, the proportion of Black faculty in CSU also did not improve to any substantial extent (3.6 to 3.9 percent). In short, the very institutions expected to provide leadership in educational diversity and to produce African American graduates to assist with implementing educational change were themselves guilty of stagnation and exclusion as regards addressing the problem of Black underrepresentation among faculty.

Figure 24: Composition of Full-Time Instructional Faculty in California Public Education, 1990 and 1998



There was some decline in the numbers of White CSU (82.6 percent to 77.8 percent) and UC (83.1 percent to 76.2 percent) faculty from 1990 to 1998. Over this same period, there were some gains in the representation of Asians and Latinos in the UC faculties (comprising from 10.8 percent to 16.6 percent for Asians, and from 3.7 percent to 4.6 percent for Latinos). For CSU, the proportion of faculty identifying as Asian increased from 8.5 percent to 11.1 percent, and the employment of Latinos among faculty grew from 4.8 percent to 6.6 percent. However, both the CSU and UC faculties remained overwhelmingly White and male. More specifically, the two systems continue to be overwhelmingly dominated by older, White men.

At the K-12 level, there was a decline in the proportion of Black schoolteachers (5.6 percent to 5.1 percent). There was also a decline for Whites (82.1 percent to 76.2 percent). Despite these changes, Whites persisted as the extreme majority of teachers in school systems that increasingly enrolled majority students of color. Both the proportion of Asian and Latino teachers in this sector increased during this period, from 4.2 percent to 5.1 percent for Asians and from 7.5 percent to 12.1 percent for Latinos. But once more, we see that Whites maintained disproportionate and stunning advantages, comprising the clear majority among faculty in each sector.

Race, Gender and Success in the Academic Pipeline: The High School Years

Pivotal research such as *Educating the Majority* (Pearson, Shavlik and Touchton, 1989) has revealed important gender patterns in the academic pipeline leading to higher education. Females comprised 47.3 percent of high school-aged (15- to 19-year-olds) Californians in 1990 and approximately 49 percent in 2000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001). Our analyses show that women comprised the majority of high school students in California who completed courses

required for college admissions, represented the majority of high school graduates and comprised the majority of those enrolling in higher education. However, there were discernibly different trends for African American females and males in comparison to their Caucasian, Latino and Asian peers.

Figures 25 and 26 (Table A-30 and Table A-31) show that in 1999, for African Americans, females represented the majority of students completing A-F courses for college preparation (55.7 percent) and the majority of those graduating from high school (51.9 percent). A total of 2,324 African American males and 3,475 females comprised only 5.5 percent of the total 106,208 students who completed A-F coursework. When disaggregated further by race and gender, these statistics show that Black males and females comprised only 2.2 percent and 3.3 percent, respectively, of the total pool – the smallest proportion of completers after Native American/American Indian males and females (who separately comprised less than 1 percent each). Across the remaining ethnic and gender categories, there were 24,283 White males (22.9 percent); 30,276 White females (28.5 percent); 11,204 Asian males (10.5 percent); 12,953 Asian females (12.2 percent); 8,973 Latino males (8.4 percent); 12,128 Latino females (11.4 percent); 252 Native American/American Indian males (.2 percent); and 340 Native American/American Indian females (.3 percent). In contrast to the small percentage of African Americans, White men and women represented the majority of A-F completers in 1999 at 51.4 percent, but there were nearly 6,000 fewer White males than females who finished this important type of college preparation.

A larger proportion of females also graduated from high school, representing 51.9 percent of the total 298,821 graduates in 1999. The breakdown of 1999 high school graduates across race and gender groups was 65,485 Caucasian males (21.9 percent); 68,537 Caucasian females (22.9 percent); 21,815 Asian males (7.3 percent); 22,200 Asian females (7.4 percent); 44,736

Latino males (15.0 percent); 50,602 Latino females (16.9 percent); 10,199 Black males, (3.4 percent); 11,797 Black females (3.9 percent); 1,245 Native American males (.4 percent); and 1,413 percent Native American females (.5 percent).

Figure 25: A-F Completion by Race and Gender, 1999

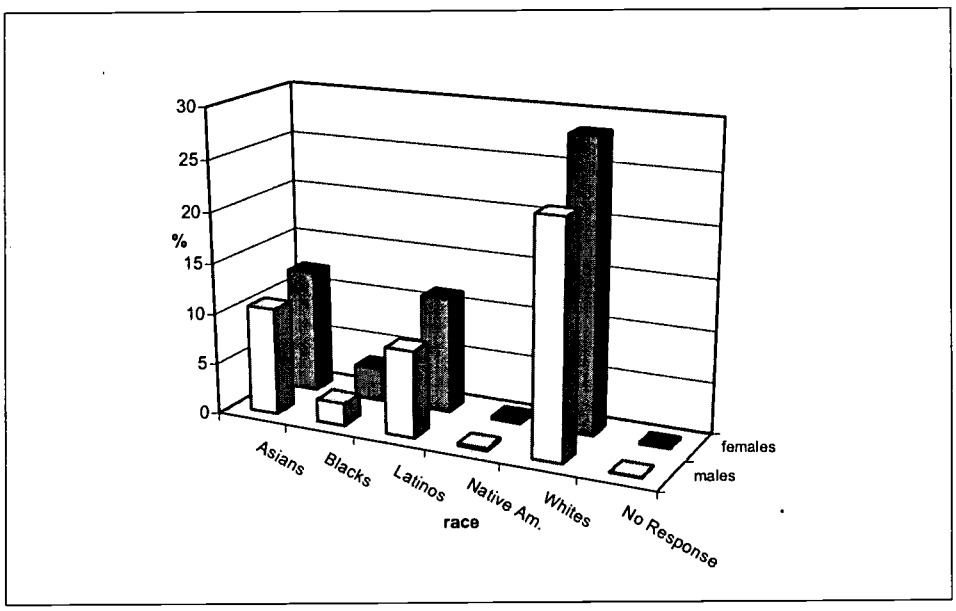
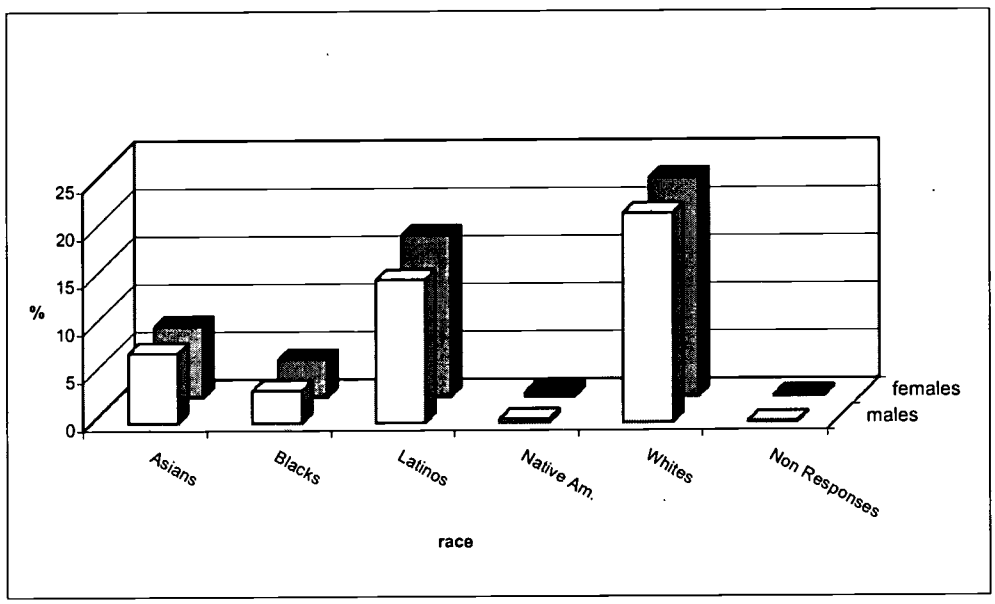
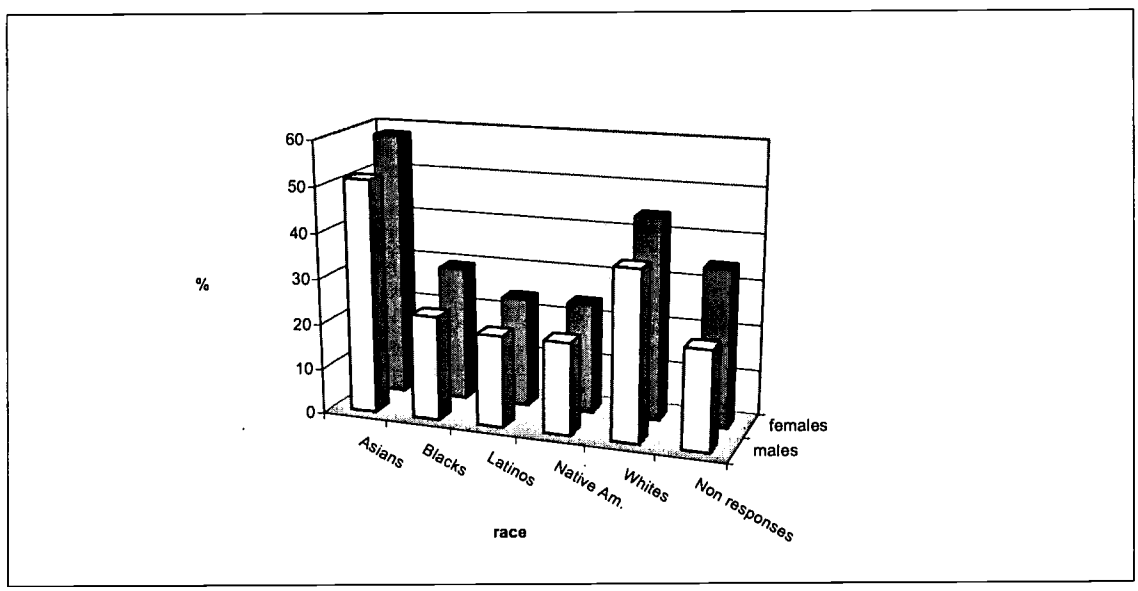


Figure 26: California Public High School Graduates by Race and Gender, 1999



African Americans comprised less than 7 percent of the high school graduates in 1999, but in a pattern observed across all ethnic groups, more females than males graduated from secondary school (Figure 27). In general, these findings are a source of concern for all graduating high school students, and specifically for the smaller numbers of African Americans, Latinos and Native Americans who graduate high school. The low proportion of graduating seniors who complete A-F courses poses a severe handicap for these students' future academic aspirations and pursuits (e.g., competitiveness in the college admissions pool and college persistence).

Figure 27: "A-F" Completion in Relation to California High School Graduates by Race and Gender, 1999



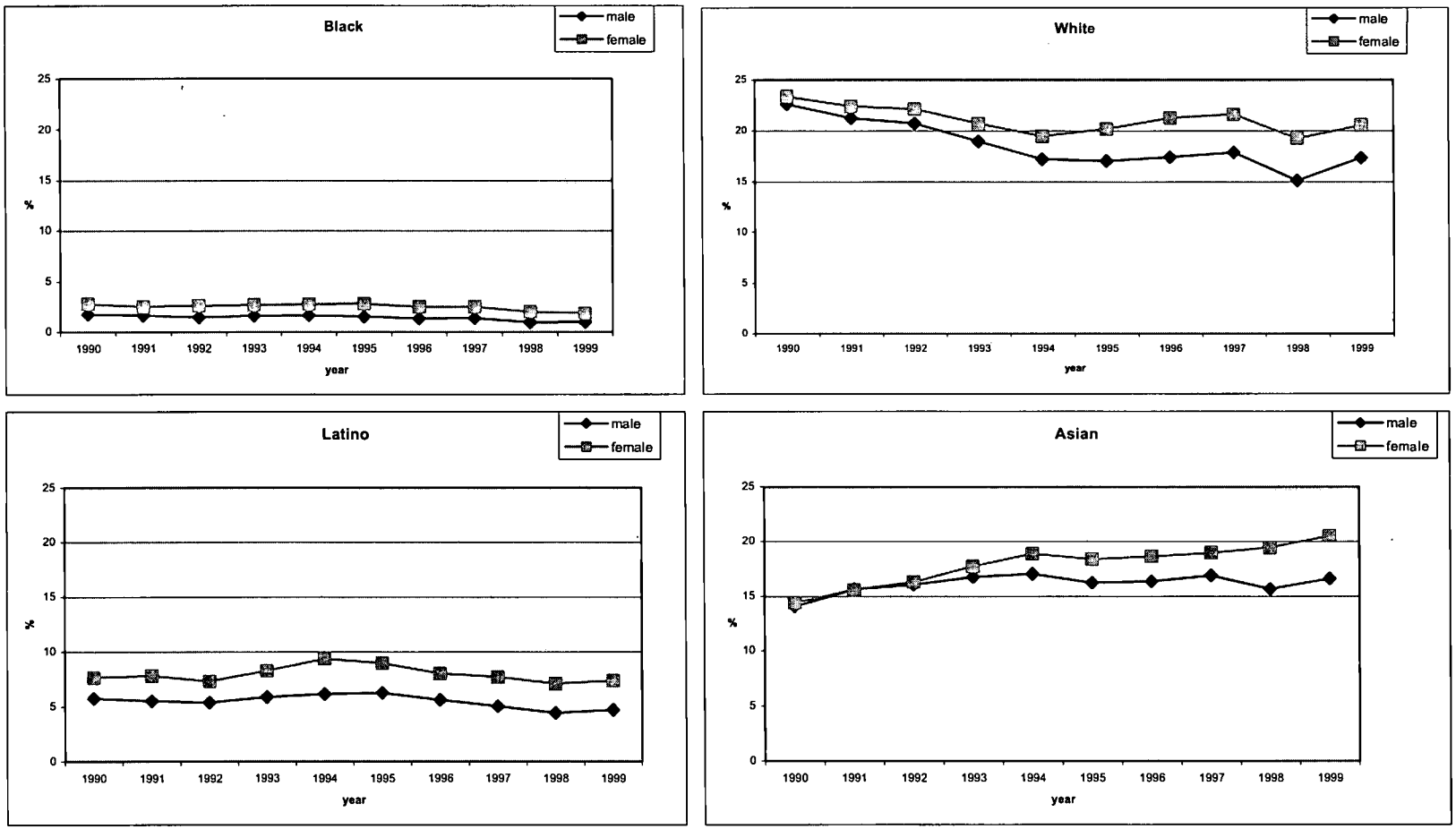
Freshmen Enrollment by Race and Gender

As stated earlier in this report, FTF enrollment for the UC, CSU, CCCs, and private four-year colleges and universities (AICCU) showed overall increases in the 10-year period between 1990 and 1999. At UC, enrollment for Black male and female freshmen decreased while

enrollments increased for their White female, Latino male and female, and Asian male and female peers (Figure 28, Table A-32). Specifically, 29 percent fewer Black males (257) and 14 percent fewer Black females (503) enrolled as UC FTF by 1999 compared to 10 years earlier. By contrast, FTF enrollment among White males dropped slightly by 3 percent during this same period, with White males (4,596) comprising 17.5 percent of the total enrollment in 1999. White females represented 20.8 percent of the total FTF enrollment in 1999, a growth of 12 percent to 5,446 freshmen. UC enrollment among Asian male and female freshmen showed the largest change during this period – a 50-percent increase for Asian males (4,408 freshmen) and an 80-percent change for Asian females (5,440 freshmen). By the close of 1999, Asians comprised nearly 40 percent of the freshmen enrolled at UC – Asian males at 16.8 percent and Asian females at 20.7 percent. Latino male enrollment grew by 4 percent, comprising 4.8 percent of the total FTF enrollment, or 1,249 students. Latina freshman enrollment grew even further by 23 percent, representing 7.5 percent of all freshmen, or 1,955 students.

Looking at race and gender differences, we see that twice as many Black females than Black males enrolled at UC as FTF in 1999. This discrepant gender pattern is not represented in such great disparity within any other racial/ethnic category. While the crisis of Black male underrepresentation in college has been discussed widely in the literature (Carter, 1982; Patton, 1988; Thomas, 1989), finding still another example of its persistence in this new millennium offers little comfort to educators since the numbers of college-age Black females and Black males are fairly equal in the general population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001). Our data for Black peers showed that 15.6 percent more White females than White males enrolled as freshmen in 1999, 36.1 percent more Latino females than Latino males, and 19.0 percent more Asian females than Asian males. These patterns are consistent with national trend data that show

Figure 28: First-Time Freshmen Enrollment at the University of California for Selected Ethnic Groups by Gender, 1990-1999



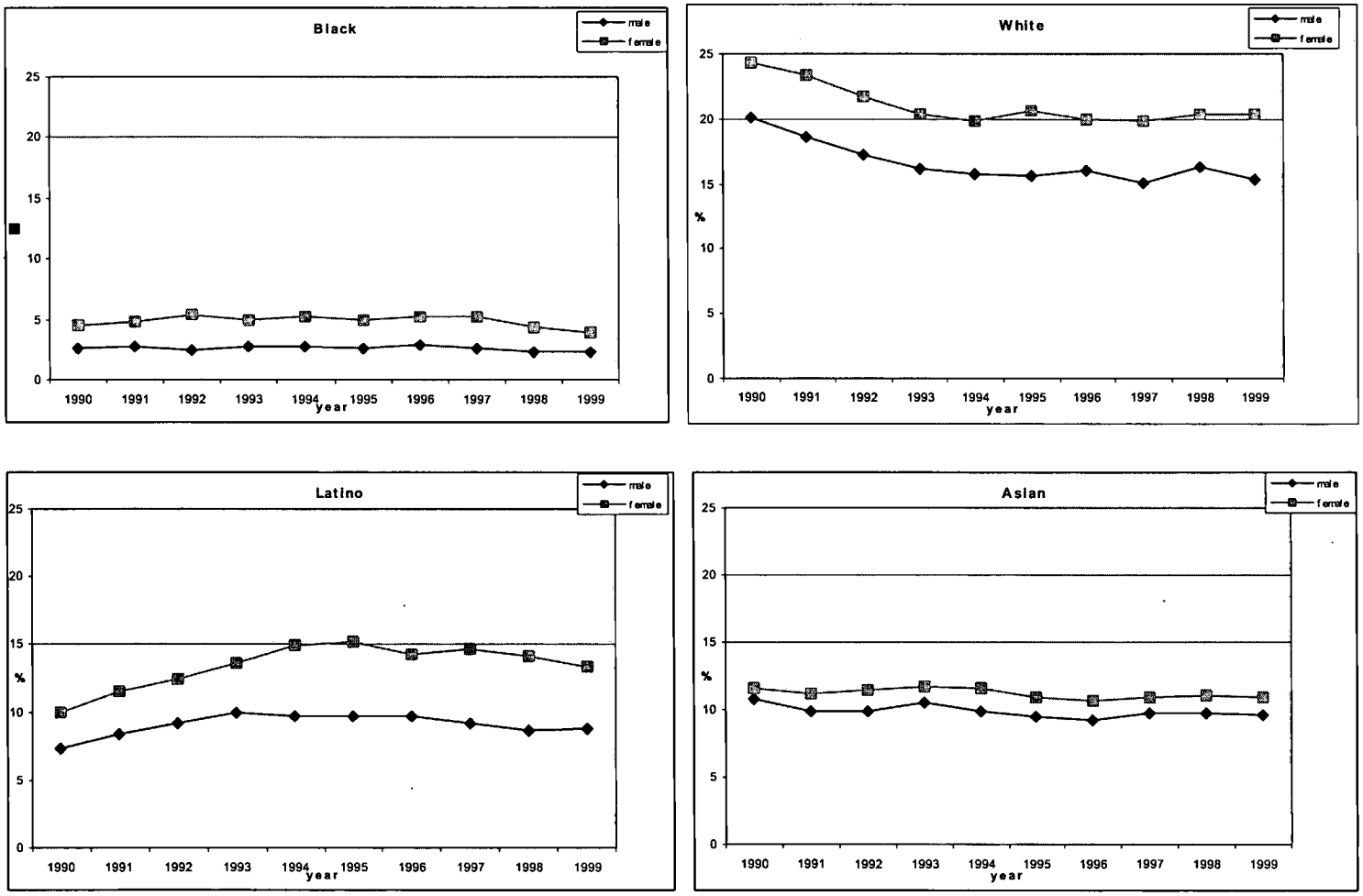
males to be underrepresented in U.S. higher education. These patterns are much more extreme among African Americans.

Trends for African American, White, Latino and Asian FTF at CSU showed increased enrollments for all race and gender subgroups except White males (who saw a decline) between 1990 and 1999 (Figure 29, Table A-33). During this period, Black male enrollment at CSU grew by 10 percent to 816 freshmen, and Black female enrollment grew by the same rate (10 percent) to 1,371 freshmen. Black males comprised 2.4 percent of the total CSU FTF enrollment in 1999 and Black females comprised 4.1 percent of this pool.

By contrast, White male enrollment declined by 7 percent to 5,290 between 1990 and 1999. In 1999, White males represented 15.4 percent of all CSU freshmen. Freshmen enrollment among White females grew modestly over this period (a 3-percent increase to 7,007 freshmen), representing 20.7 percent of the total freshmen for the year. The enrollment for Asians showed more modest growth than at UC (a 9-percent increase for Asian males and a 14-percent increase for Asian females). These numbers represented 3,285 Asian male and 3,733 Asian female freshmen at CSU or 9.7 percent and 11.1 percent, respectively, of the total freshmen enrolling in this sector in 1999. Latino males and females had the largest enrollment changes from 1990 to 1999, with the number of Latino males climbing 47 percent to 2,994, and the numbers of Latino females rising 65 percent during the decade to 4,588. In 1999, Latino males comprised 8.9 percent, and Latinas comprised 13.6 percent of all freshmen at CSU.

Within ethnic group, there were 68 percent more Black female than Black male freshmen enrolling at CSU by 1999 (1,371 females compared to 816 males). There were 33 percent more White females and White males in the same pool, 14 percent more Asian females than Asian males, and 20 percent more Latino females than Latino males.

Figure 29: First-Time Freshmen Enrollment at California State University for Selected Ethnic Groups by Gender, 1990-1999



The enrollment of freshmen at CCC showed the most balanced enrollment patterns for males and females among African Americans (Figure 30, Table A-34). Specifically, enrollment for Black males grew by 4 percent between 1990 and 1999 to 3,979 freshmen and rose by 7 percent to 4,108 Black females. Black males comprised 3.6 percent of the total freshmen enrolled for 1999 in CCC, and Black females comprised 3.7 percent of this pool.

Compared to the 10-percent overall growth in CCC by 1999, enrollment decreased by 13 percent to 22,376 White male freshmen, and decreased by 16 percent to 22,666 White female freshmen between 1990 and 1999. Asian and Latino males and females also showed positive enrollment gains during this period: 25 percent for 7,565 Asian males; 35 percent for 7,266 Asian females; 53 percent for 15,287 Latino males; and 72 percent for 18,270 Latino females. In 1999, White males and White females comprised the largest percentage of CCC FTF – 20.5 percent and 20.7 percent, respectively, compared to 6.9 percent for Asian males, 6.6 percent for Asian females, 14.0 percent for Latino males, and 16.7 percent for Latino females.

There were only 3 percent more Black females than Black males enrolled as CCC first-time freshmen. By contrast, there was a 1-percent difference between White female and White male freshmen, approximately 4 percent fewer Asian females than Asian males, and 20 percent more Latinas than Latinos.

At private colleges and universities, African American males comprised 1.6 percent and African American females comprised 3.7 percent of the total FTF pool in 1999 (Figure 31, Table A-35). For Black male freshmen, their 50-percent growth rate between 1990 and 1999 translated to only 102 Black males by the end of the period. Black females showed an equally high growth rate during the period – an increase of 54 percent – resulting in only 240 Black female freshmen enrolled by 1999.

Figure 30: First-Time Freshmen Enrollment at California Community Colleges for Selected Ethnic Groups by Gender, 1990-1999

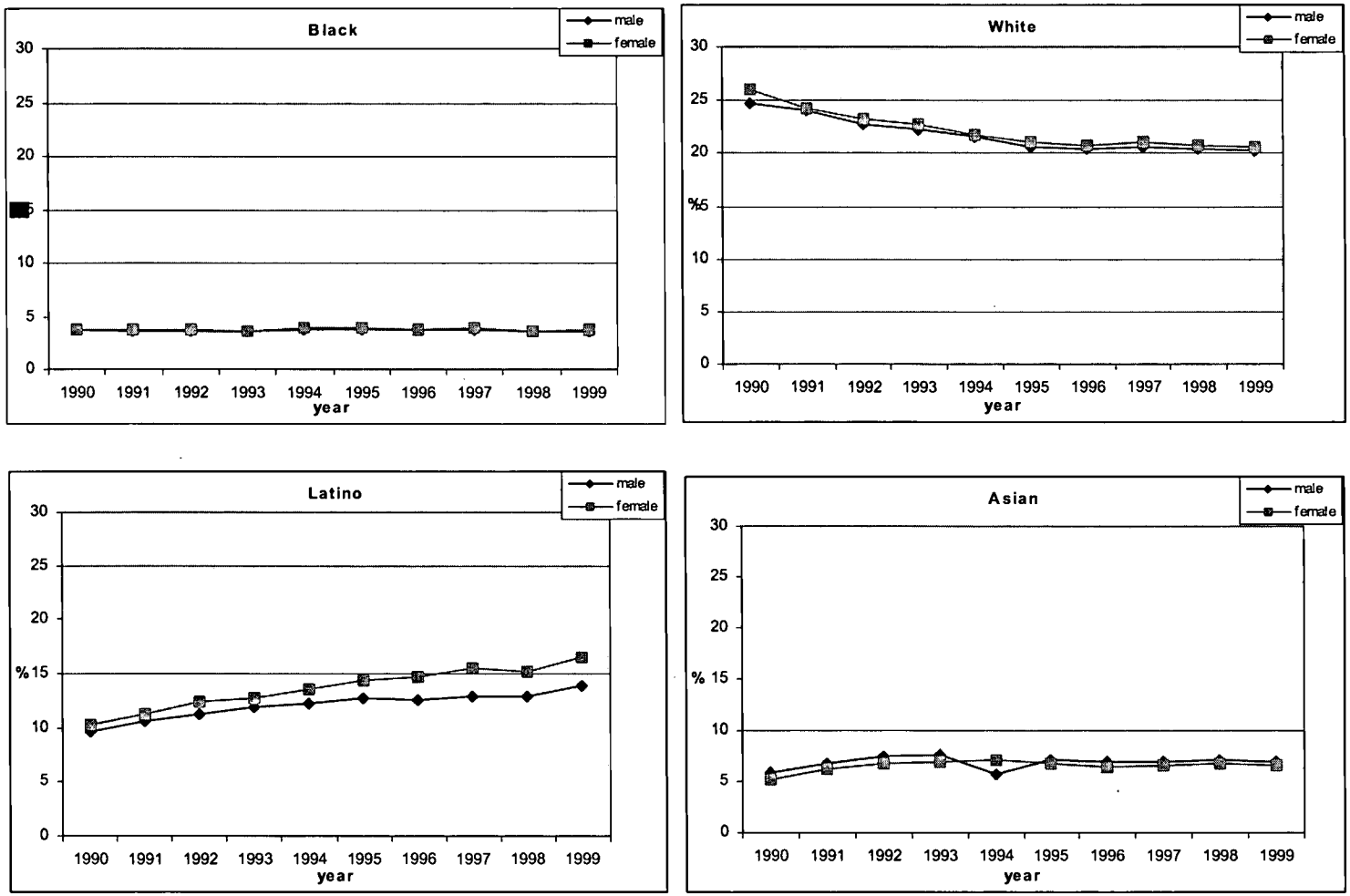
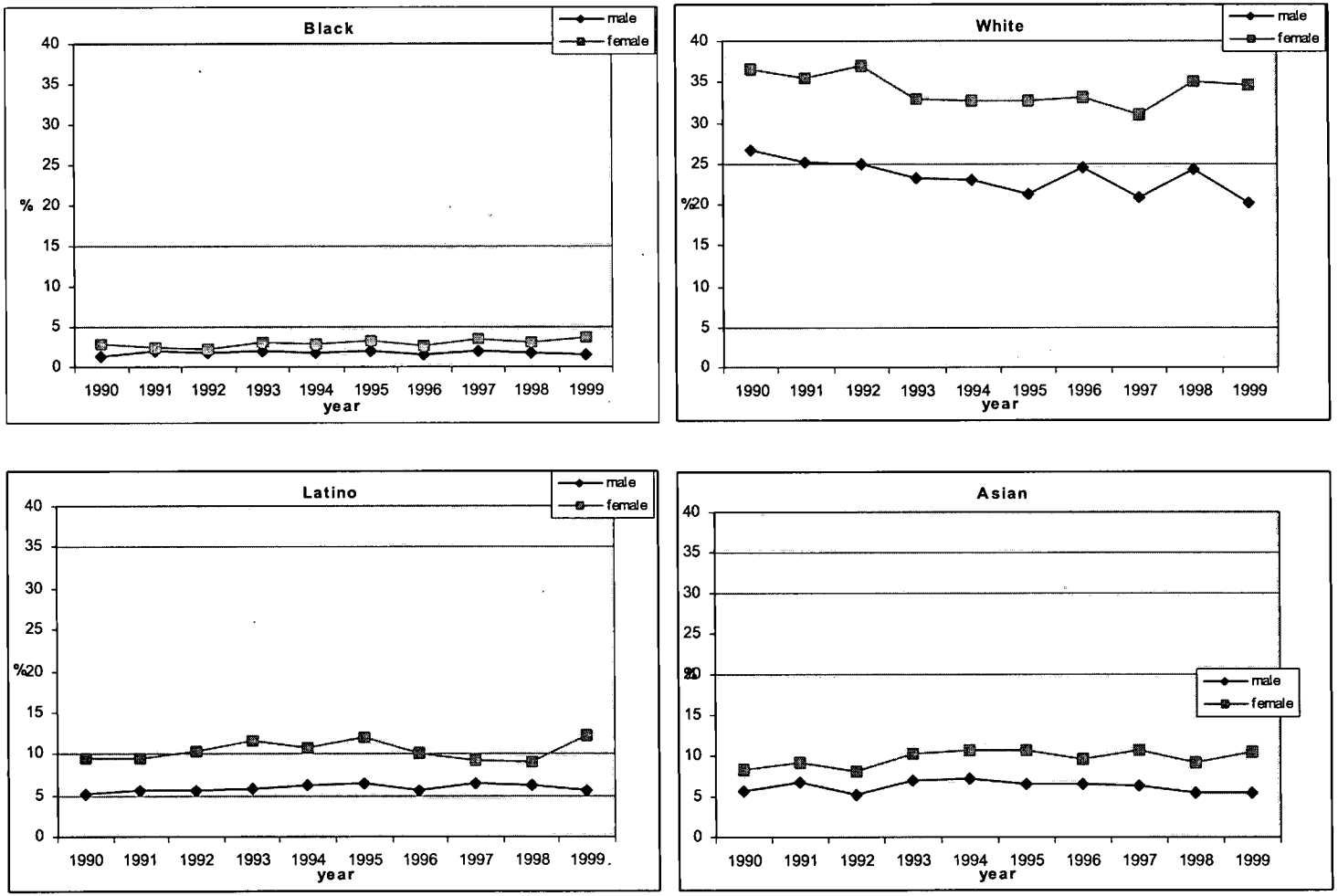


Figure 31: First-Time Freshmen Enrollment at Independent Institutions for Selected Ethnic Groups by Gender, 1990-1999



Private college FTF enrollment among White males dropped by 10 percent during this period to 1,317 and for White females by 12 percent to 2,259. White males and females represented 20.3 percent and 34.8 percent, respectively, of the 1999 total freshmen enrollment in private colleges and universities. Freshmen enrollment grew by 13 percent for Asian males (348) in 1999 and rose for Asian females by 50 percent (688). Asian males and females comprised 5.4 percent and 10.6 percent, respectively, of the total FTF enrollment. While enrollments grew at substantial rates during this period for Latino males (an increase of 29 percent) and for Latino females (an increase of 52 percent), these gains translated to 361 Latino males comprising only 5.6 percent and 790 Latino females comprising 12.1 percent of total freshmen enrollment in 1999.

We see a startling pattern among 1999 freshmen with more than double the number of Black female to Black male freshmen. By comparison, White females outnumbered their male counterparts nearly 2 to 1, Asian females outnumbered Asian males by 2 to 1, and Latinas outnumbered Latinos by over 2 to 1. These data show that the greatest disparities among freshmen by race and gender exist at private colleges and universities.

Total Undergraduate Enrollment by Race and Gender

In terms of total undergraduate enrollment, UC recorded the highest growth between 1990 and 1999 of all sectors in higher education (Figure 32, Table A-36). Enrollment among all undergraduates rose by 10 percent at UC, declined by 4 percent at CSU, declined by 13 percent at CCC, and grew by 33 percent at independent institutions.

Figure 32: Total Undergraduate Enrollment at the University of California for Selected Ethnic Groups by Gender, 1990-1999

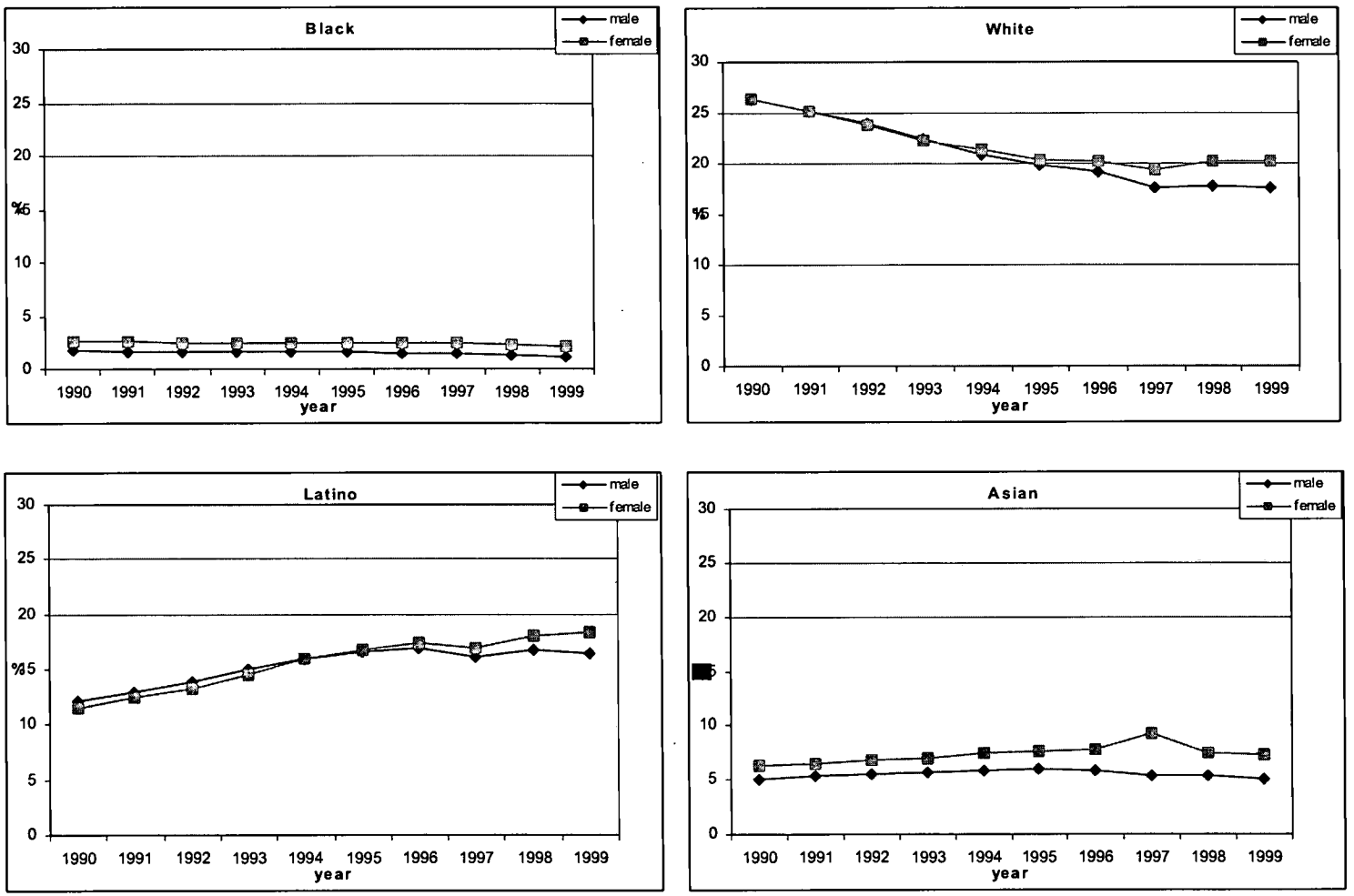
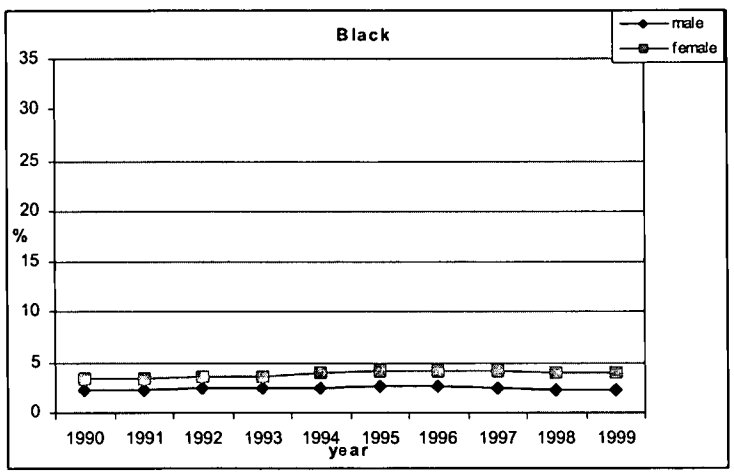
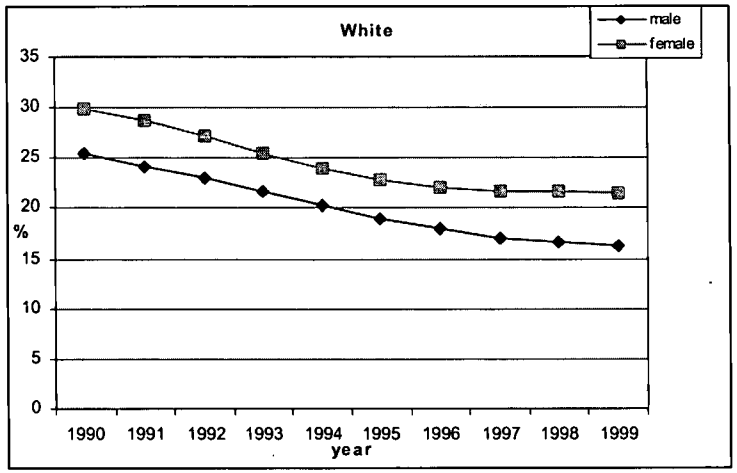
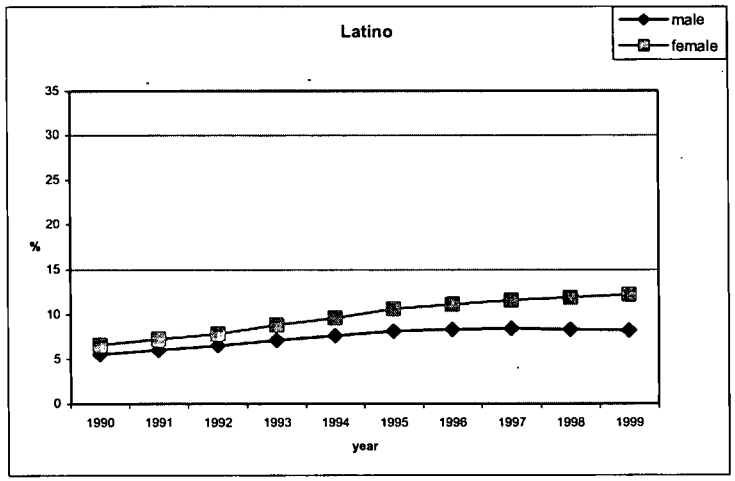
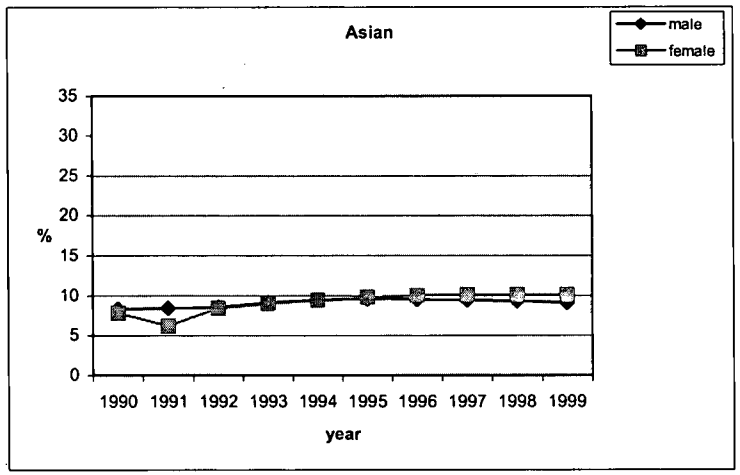


Figure 33: Total Undergraduate Enrollment at the California State University for Selected Ethnic Groups by Gender, 1990-1999









At UC, the enrollment among Black males declined 26 percent during these 10 years to 1,657 undergraduates in 1999, and declined 16 percent to 2,870 Black females. Black males and females comprised 1.2 percent and 2.1 percent, respectively, of the total UC undergraduate population.

Enrollment of White male and female UC undergraduates also dropped between 1990 and 1999. Total enrollment fell for White males by 27 percent to 24,089 undergraduates and dropped by 16 percent to 27,483 White females in 1999. Even with these stark drops, White males comprised 18 percent of all UC undergraduates, and White females represented 20.5 percent of the pool. In contrast to the declines for African Americans and Whites at UC, undergraduate enrollment of Asian males grew by 49 percent to 22,376. The number of Asian females increased by 75 percent to 24,970. Enrollment rose for Latinos by 10 percent to 7,019 undergraduates and for Latinas by 28 percent to 9,951. By 1999, the undergraduate student body at UC was 16.7 percent Asian male, 18.7 Asian female, 5.2 percent Latino male, and 7.4 percent Latina.

Undergraduate enrollment fell among Whites during this decade by 38 percent for White males and by 30.2 percent for White females (Figure 33, Table A-37). In 1999, White males were 17 percent of the total CSU undergraduate enrollment (46,303 students), and White females were 22 percent or 61,099 CSU undergraduates. Undergraduate enrollment grew for Asians/Pacific Islanders (+7 percent for Asian males and +25 percent for Asian females). By 1999, there were 25,987 Asian/Pacific Islander male undergraduates at CSU (9 percent of the total student body) and 28,678 Asian/Pacific Islander female undergraduates (10 percent of students). In 1999, Latino males at CSU represented only 8.5 percent of the student body; however, their numbers increased by 45 percent between 1990 and 1999. During this period,

Latina enrollment increased by 78 percent to 34,725 students. By 1999, Latinas comprised 13 percent of all CSU undergraduates.

Undergraduate enrollment at the California community colleges declined by 13 percent between 1990 and 1999. In the same period, there was an 11-percent decline for Black males and a 6-percent decrease for Black females (Figure 34, Table A-38). In 1999, there were 32,451 Black males enrolled in CCC (3.0 percent of total) and 51,152 Black females enrolled (4.8 percent of total).

Enrollment among White CCC students also declined during the 10-year period, 35 percent for males and 33 percent for females. In 1999, White males comprised 18 percent of all CCC undergraduates (191,401 students) and White females comprised 25 percent (270,606 students). Enrollment increased by 6 percent for Asian males and by 16 percent for Asian females during the decade. In 1999, 7 percent of all CCC undergraduates were Asian males (72,343 students) and 8 percent were Asian females (83,902 students). Enrollment also grew by 36 percent for Latinos (120,687) and by 54 percent for Latinas (160,090).

African American males represented 4,069 students or 2.3 percent of the total undergraduate population at private four-year institutions in 1999 (Figure 35, Table A-39). African American females represented 6,763 students or 3.8 percent of this population, reflecting increases of 36 percent and 76 percent from 1990 to 1999.

Total enrollment for White males in private four-year colleges declined by 4 percent during this period to 44,953 students, or 25.6 percent of the total undergraduate population in 1999. Enrollment for White females rose by 11 percent to 56,844 students in 1999 (32.4 percent of total). Asian and Latino student enrollments in private colleges also increased over the period, with Asian male enrollment rising by 78 percent to 11,920 students in 1999 (6.8 percent of total). The enrollment for Asian females doubled to 14,500 students in 1999 (8.3 percent of total).

Latino enrollments also doubled during the period to 8,548 students in 1999, or 4.9 percent of the total private-college undergraduate student population. Enrollment for Latinas increased by 128 percent to 12,347 students in the same period. Even with this growth, Latino men and women only comprised 4.9 percent and 7.0 percent of all undergraduates enrolled in private institutions. These data reveal that African American females continued to lead African American males in high school preparation for college, in high school graduation rates and often in college enrollment. However, fewer Black males and females entered UC and CSU as first-time freshmen or were represented in the total undergraduate population relative to the other racial/gender student groups.

From 1990 to 1999, Black males and females experienced the largest losses in FTF enrollment at UC and the largest gains at private four-year institutions. There was only modest growth for Black males and females at CSU and at CCC during this period. However, CCC and CSU were the higher education sectors where Black freshmen enrolled in the largest numbers and represented the largest proportion of all enrolled freshmen.

During this same period, African American students experienced large declines in overall undergraduate enrollment at UC. This exacerbated the fact that Blacks already represented the smallest percentage of all undergraduates from the four major racial/ethnic groups. African American male and female enrollments also decreased at CCC. However, CCC continued to have the largest Black enrollment of any sector in California's higher education system. What major gains there were in Black undergraduate enrollment occurred at private colleges and universities (+36 percent for Black males and +76 percent for Black females).

Extreme gender disparities were persistent reminders that college enrollment among Black females eclipsed that of their male counterparts (Figure 36, Table A-40). At a time when

Figure 34: Total Undergraduate Enrollment at California Community Colleges for Selected Ethnic Groups by Gender, 1990-1999

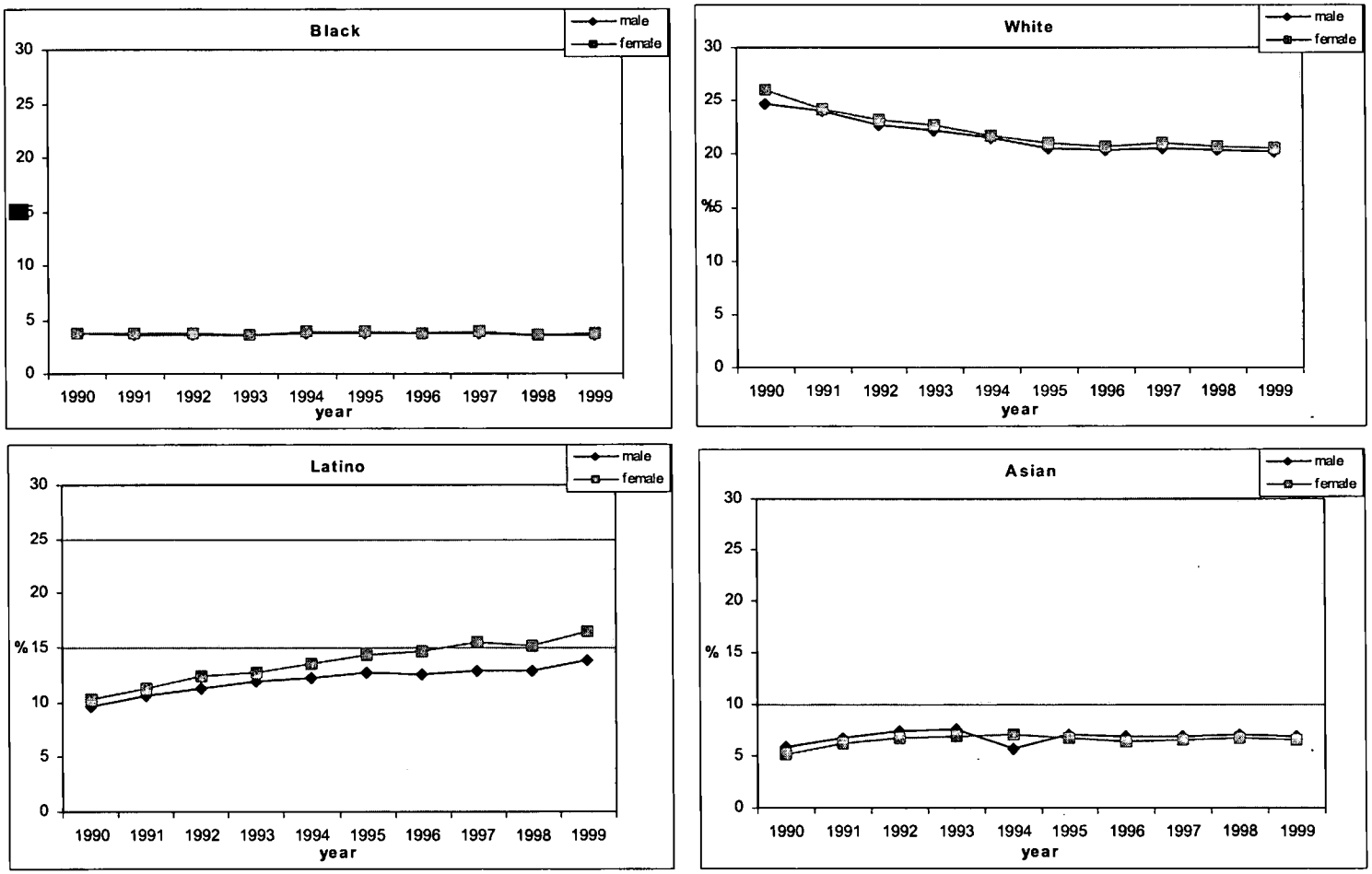
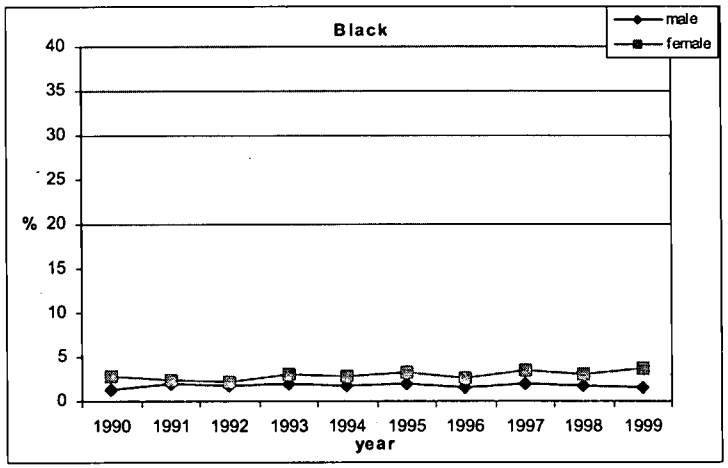
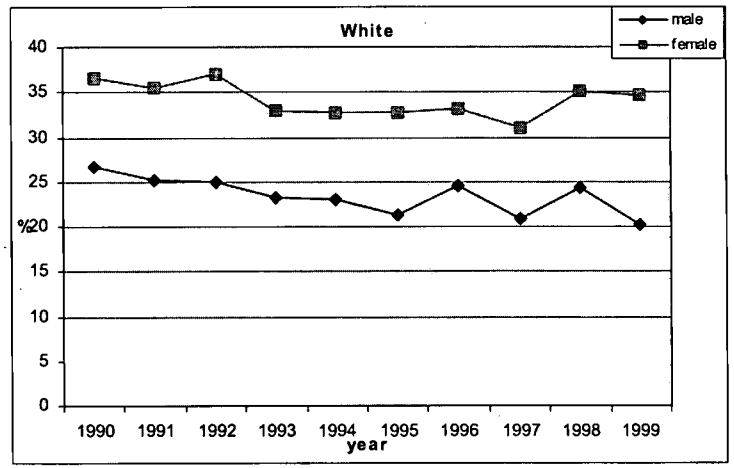
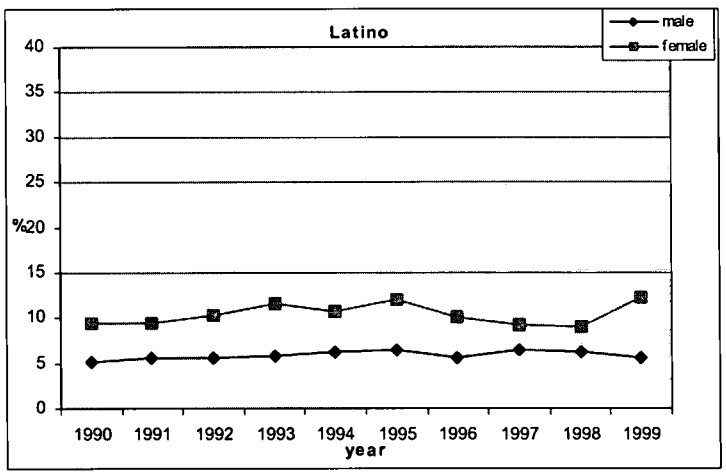


Figure 35: Total Undergraduate Enrollment at Independent Institutions for Selected Ethnic Groups by Gender, 1990-1999







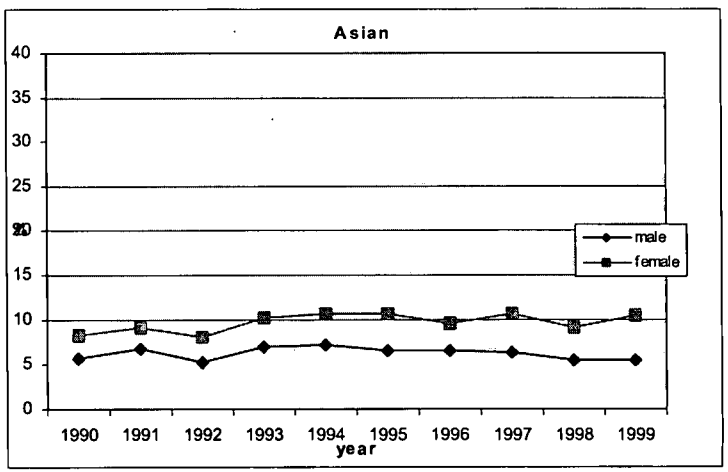
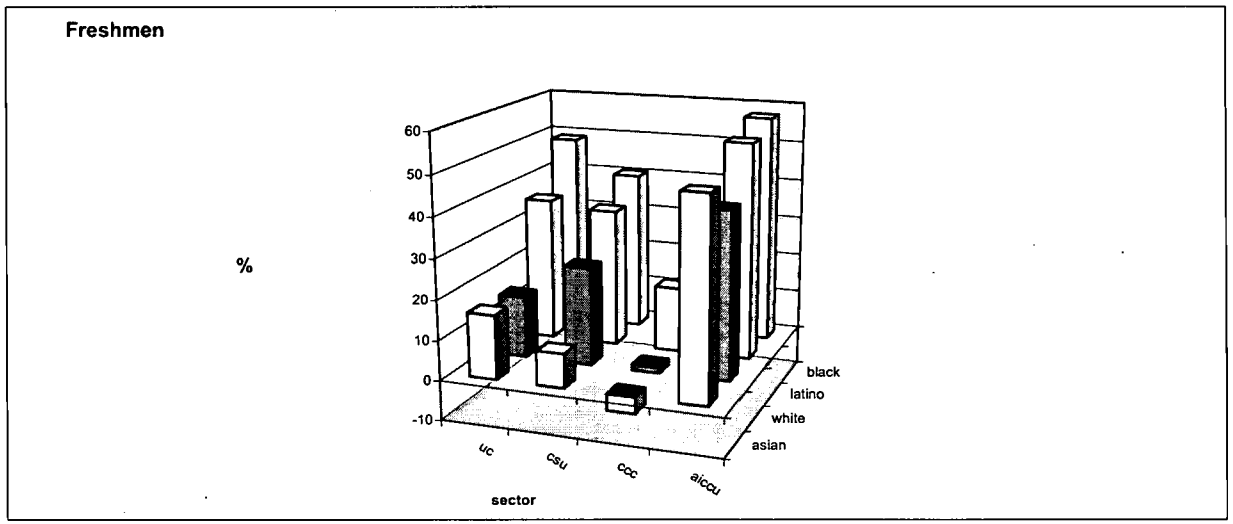
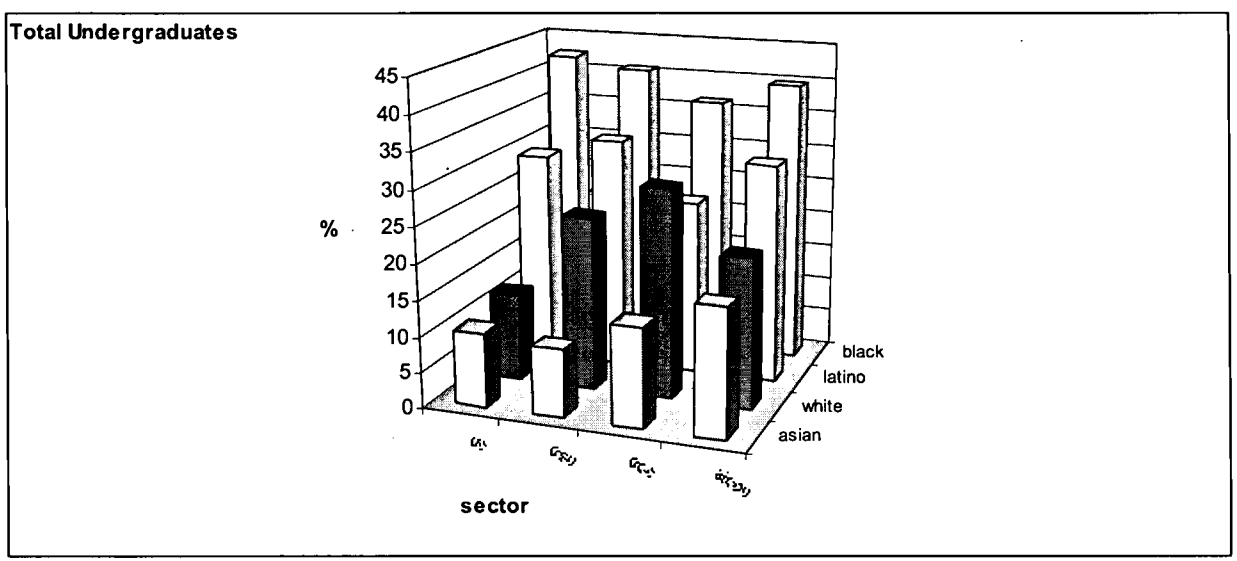


Figure 36: Gender Gaps in First-Time Freshmen and Undergraduate Enrollment by Selected Ethnic Group and Sector, 1999





males and females were nearly equal in the African American college-age population, extreme gender gaps were evident at private institutions (2.33 females to males among FTF and 1.66 females to males among total undergraduates) and at UC (1.96 Black female to male freshmen and 1.73 percent Black female to male undergraduates). The data also show that gender gaps were greatest in the private-school sector for African Americans, Caucasians, Latinos and Asians. However, gender disparities were most extreme for African Americans across all ethnic/racial groups at UC, CSU and private institutions.

These data show that institutions need to develop and expand strategies to attract more students from underserved populations to higher education opportunities. These strategies must also motivate and encourage males and females from underrepresented groups to see higher education as valid, viable life options.

Dreams Deferred: Summary and Implications

The state of California is a major player on the national and world stages. As a key U.S. gateway to Latin America and the Pacific Rim, a thriving media capital and financial center, and home to 1 of 12 Americans, California warrants close scrutiny. This is especially true in the area of public higher education, where the California Master Plan for higher education long served as a model for many other states to emulate. So it is reasonable, indeed imperative, that we ask, "How has public higher education in California weathered the challenges of shifting demographic and economic tides and the arrival of a new millennium?"

In particular, this report asks, "How have African Americans fared in the California system of higher education?" For obvious historical reasons, African Americans have been at the center of debates and efforts to broaden educational opportunities in the Untied States. The

empirical record shows dramatic gains for African Americans in educational access and achievement since slavery and Jim Crow segregation (Allen and Jewell, 1995). However, under closer examination, that same record reveals persistent inequalities by race in educational opportunities and achievement across the nation.

This report's examination of the status of African Americans in California higher education opens dialogue on broader themes related to educational equity, student access and achievement (Carroll and Allen, 2000). Demographic shifts that produced an increasingly diverse population of high school graduates by race and ethnicity have not been accompanied by substantive, structural changes in how K-16 addresses the educational needs of students of all socio-cultural backgrounds and academic abilities. California continues to lose far too many students from the academic pipeline from K-12 leading to higher education. In addition, Black, Latino, male, immigrant and poor students continue to be disproportionate among the students lost from the pipeline. The size and growth of California's African American population pales in comparison to the much larger numbers for the Asian/Pacific Islander and Chicano/Latino communities. Nonetheless, today African Americans comprise 6 percent of the state's population, or more than 2 million residents. Statistics show that Black student academic performance, college enrollment and degree completion rates are at best status quo and too often in serious decline (Allen, Spencer, and O'Connor, 2002). This reveals the overwhelming failure of California's Master Plan for Higher Education (and various other strategies) to address and improve educational disparities at the college level for a substantial segment of its population, namely, African American students.

On the secondary school level, African American students trailed their peers from other racial/ethnic groups on many key indicators of academic achievement. Representing 7.3 percent of the students graduating from public high schools in the state, Blacks have persistently lower

levels of college preparation in terms of A-F coursework, lower standardized test scores and lower grade point averages. Our research reported elsewhere also reveals that California's African American students are systematically disadvantaged during the K-12 years in terms of academic curriculum, teacher resources, physical plant, educational funding and community resources (Allen and Jewell, 1995; Carroll and Allen, 2000). These findings suggest that absent aggressive and effective interventions, African American students will continue to represent a small, shrinking and increasingly underprepared group in the queue for competitive college admission.

California has gained renown for its Master Plan, a tiered system of higher education designed to ensure broad student access to advanced educational opportunities. Comprised of the UC, CSU, CCC and independent institutions, this system enrolls nearly 2 million undergraduates alone. Trend information from 1989 through 1998 shows major increases overall in undergraduate enrollment at independent institutions (+34 percent), followed by gains at UC (+7 percent) and losses at CSU (-4 percent) and at CCC (-11 percent) for all students. While Black UC undergraduate enrollment declined significantly during this period (-18 percent), Black enrollment increased at CSU (+13 percent), at CCC (by less than 1 percent) and at independent institutions (+58 percent) (Tables A-5 to A-8).

In 1998, the largest percentage of the total African American undergraduate pool attended CCC (7.8 percent), followed by CSU (6.3 percent) and UC (3.6 percent). A larger fraction of Black undergraduates attended independent colleges (5.7 percent) than were enrolled in UC. By contrast, White students were the majority of total undergraduates attending private colleges (53.2 percent) and the largest number of all undergraduates enrolled at UC (37.7 percent), CSU (38.2 percent) and CCC (43.9 percent).

The graduate enrollment findings of this report show a disturbing trend toward further decline of African American students in the enrollment and degree completion pool. Enrollment of Blacks dropped precipitously at UC, a premiere training institution for researchers and other professionals who assume leadership positions in the state. Since 1995, when UC Regents' decisions and the 1996 statewide Proposition 209 policies attacked and dismantled affirmative action in admissions, a chilling, unfriendly climate has confronted Black and Brown students on campuses in the state. The rising graduate enrollments for African Americans at CSU and at independent institutions suggest displacement of Black students from the generally more prestigious UC institutions into universities that may lack comparable capacity and resources to provide the most competitive research and professional training opportunities. In general, the findings for graduate enrollment across California institutions show that African Americans comprise a small and diminishing percentage of the total enrollments, compared to Asian/Pacific Islander, Chicano/Latino and White peers. The slight growth in enrollment at UC campuses has not translated to increased representation for Black students at the graduate level. Rather, the independent sector is where the gains in enrollment have been greatest for Black students at the graduate level.

In terms of degree attainment, the number of associate's, master's, bachelor's and doctoral/professional degrees earned by African Americans has lagged behind degree attainment for other racial/ethnic groups. Limited increases among Blacks in receiving undergraduate degree attainment from UC (from 1990-94 and from 1997-99) suggest the need for close examination of the retention strategies and practices used by UC campuses to facilitate academic progress for minority students.

The pattern of small and declining doctoral and professional degree completion among African Americans portends additional problems with the academic pipeline of the future since

diverse instructional staff and professionals will not be entering and expanding the productivity of our workforce. In 1999, independent colleges and universities in California conferred 20 percent more doctorates and 40 percent more professional degrees among African Americans than our premiere research institution, the University of California. Together private and public universities award 10 times fewer doctoral and professional degrees to African Americans than were awarded to their peers from other racial/ethnic groups. These findings suggest that Black students currently engaged in graduate studies are not garnering the best training opportunities, or the most advantageous credentials, to make them sufficiently competitive for future teaching, research and other professional opportunities. In addition, the paucity of students currently in the earlier stages of the educational pipeline guarantees limited future representation of Black professionals in workplace settings that champion – and rely on – multiculturalism and diversity (i.e., academia, government, business and industry).

A major question in examining the status of African Americans in higher education has been to understand how to improve access and achievement at critical points in the academic pipeline for Black students. The lessons from history teach us that African Americans remain underserved by California public higher education. At the same time, Blacks continue to be overrepresented among the state's poor and incarcerated populations. The affirmative action policies that were successful in improving the representation of Blacks, Latinos and other minority students in California are now either greatly restricted or dismantled. The stunning declines of African American student enrollment post SP-1 and Proposition 209 signal the reversal of the limited progress that Blacks made in California higher education after the Civil Rights Movement and hard-fought court battles for access and equity.

It is a cruel irony – and testament to the changing contours of race and inequity in American society – that African Americans who were at the forefront of the successful struggle

to open America's colleges and universities to broader, more diverse participation now face exclusion from the nation's most prestigious institutions (Byrd-Chichester, 2000). Although White women and Asian Americans have been the main beneficiaries of affirmative action policies, the discourse of the anti-affirmative action movement continues to focus more so on Blacks and Latinos. Moreover, there is silence about other commonly practiced versions of affirmative action in higher education that were left unchallenged and unchanged by the "anti-affirmative action" movement, e.g., legacy admits, Veteran's preferences, and special-talent admits. Most striking of all is the fact that the extreme dominance of Whites, rooted in this society's history of "White Supremacy," remains largely unchanged and essentially uncontested (Almaguer, 1994; Feagin, 2000). The extreme racial advantages accruing to White men – and increasingly to White females – in California's system of higher education persist.

The dominance of Whites, and the increasingly White and Asian face of California's campuses, is paralleled by the continued overrepresentation of economically affluent, privileged students on the state's most prestigious public campuses. Meanwhile, enrollment and graduation of economically disadvantaged students – of all races and genders – continues to decline precipitously at UC. This pattern of racial, social, economic and educational apartheid is yet another cruel irony, given that the original purpose of publicly supported higher education was to expand college access, thereby opening up real opportunities for higher educational and occupational success to African Americans, the nation's poor and other previously excluded groups (Jewell, 2000). What has been missing from debates around affirmative action in California higher education and the emerging patterns of racial and class apartheid in the state's most prestigious institutions are questions about how this all relates to historic and contemporary patterns of race, class and inequality in the state (Jewell, 2000). Needless to say, questions abound surrounding whether equitable opportunity to succeed will ever be available for all racial,

ethnic, gender and class groups in this state. More specifically, the chronic, persistent underrepresentation of African Americans in California higher education will continue to vex and plague the state, providing evidence of the failed promise of true democracy and equality.

What happens to a dream deferred?

Does it dry up
like a raisin in the sun?
Or fester like a sore—
And then run?
Does it stink like rotten meat?
Or crust and sugar over—
like a syrupy sweet?

Maybe it just sags
like a heavy load.

Or does it explode?[3]

[3] "Harlem[2]" by Langston Hughes.

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Appendix

Figure A-1: African American Educational Pipeline in California, 1998

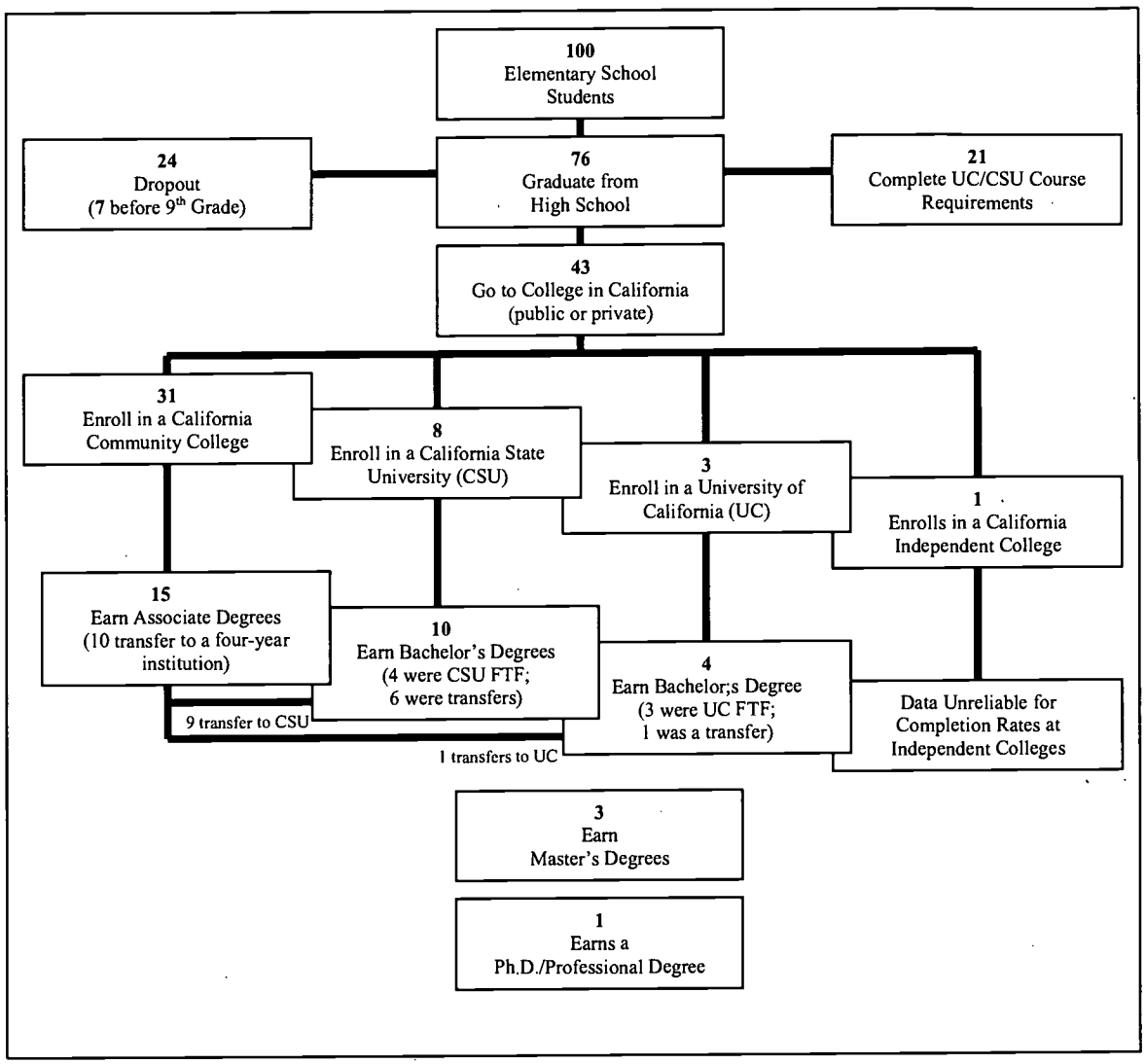

Figure A-2: Latino Educational Pipeline in California, 1998

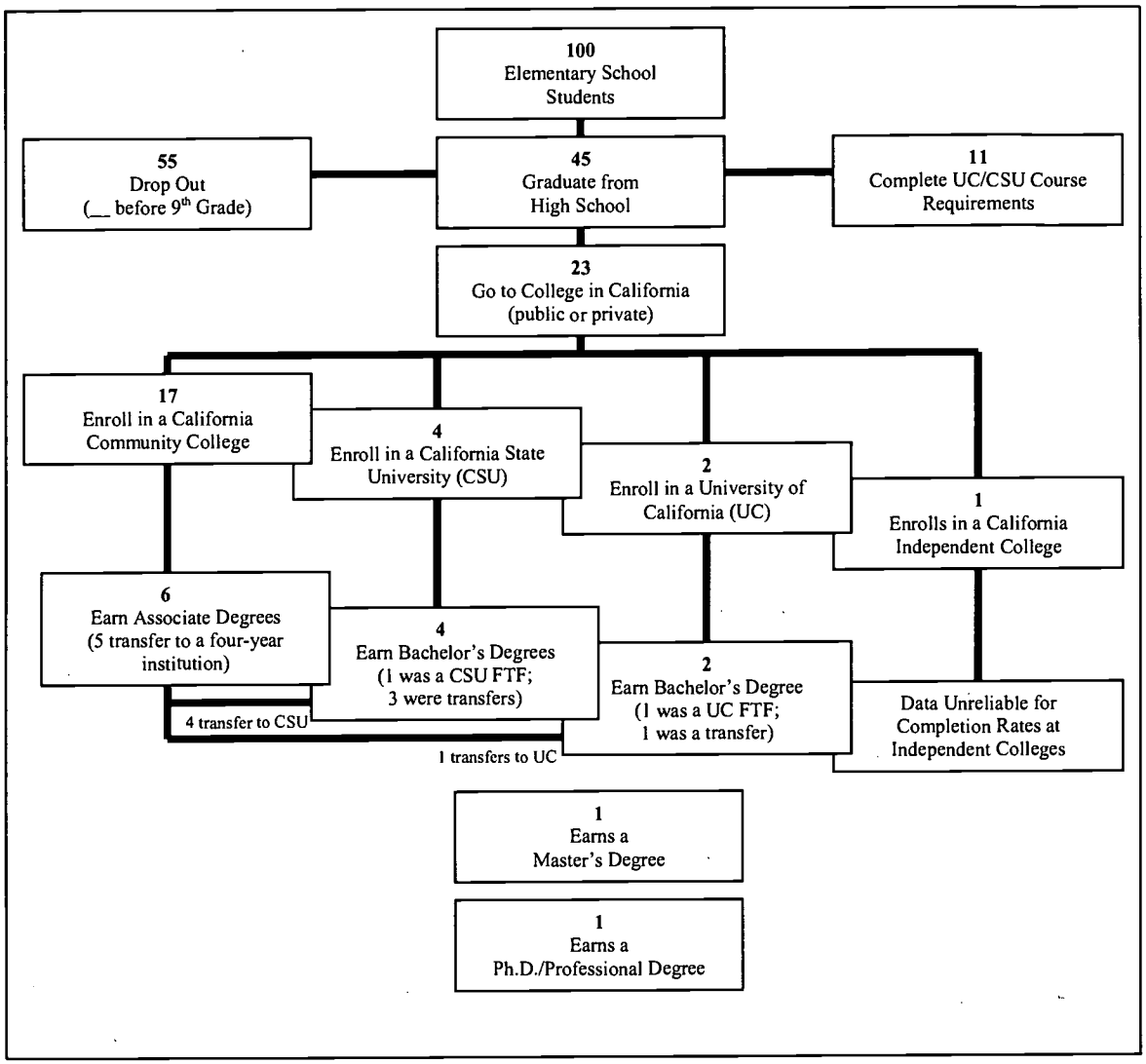

Figure A-3: Filipino Educational Pipeline in California, 1998

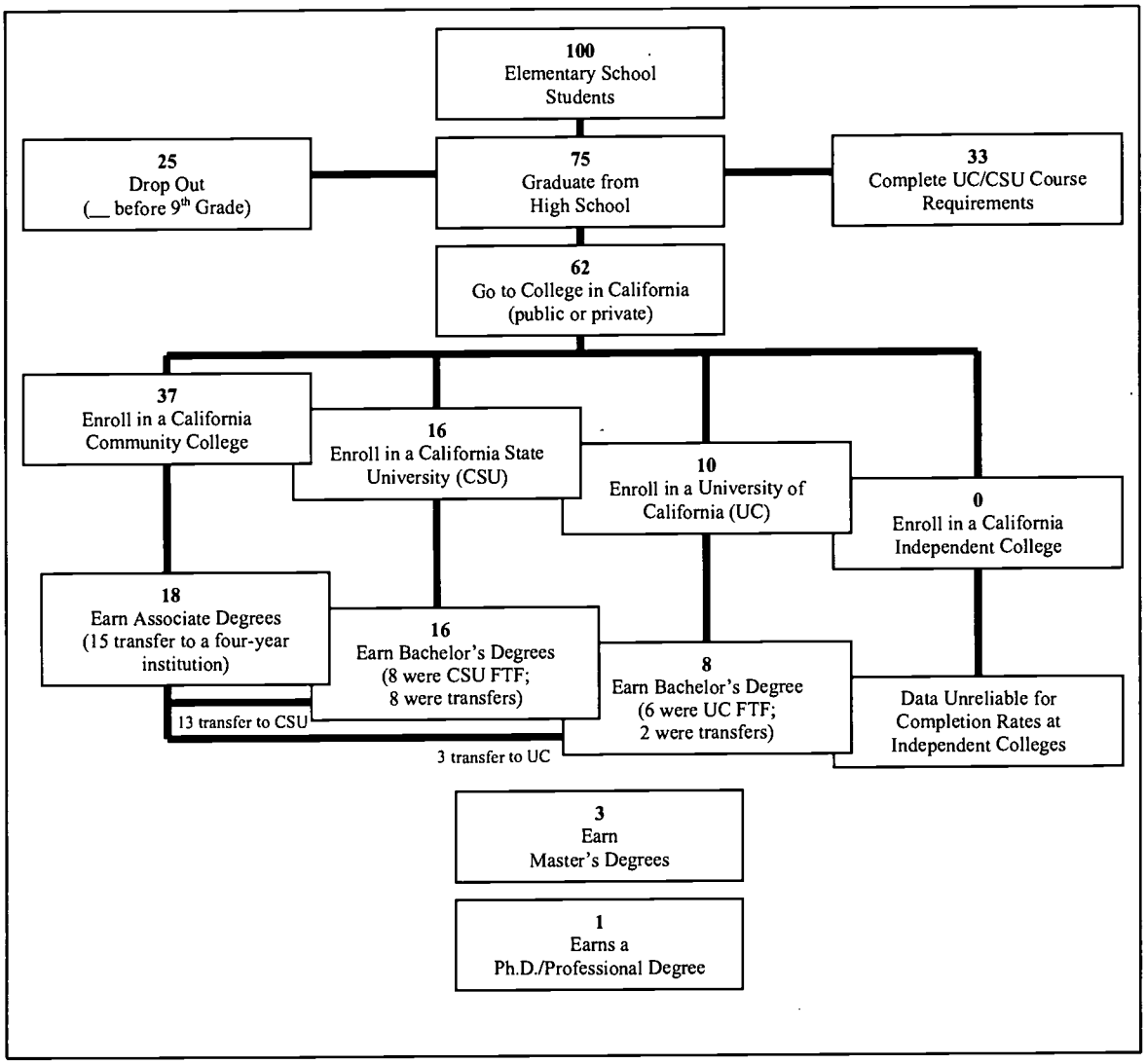

Figure A-4: Asian American Educational Pipeline in California, 1998

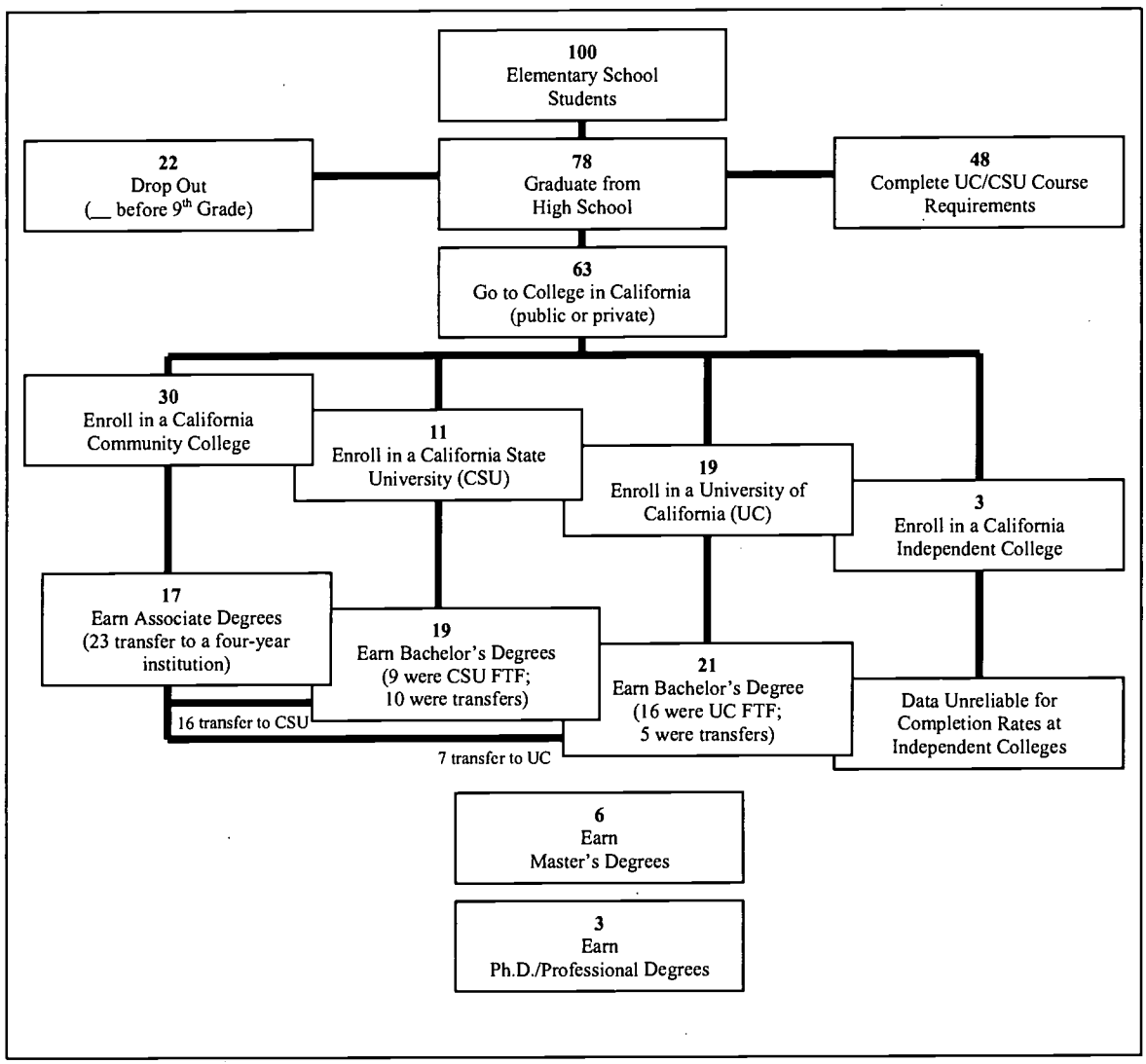

Figure A-5: White Educational Pipeline in California, 1998

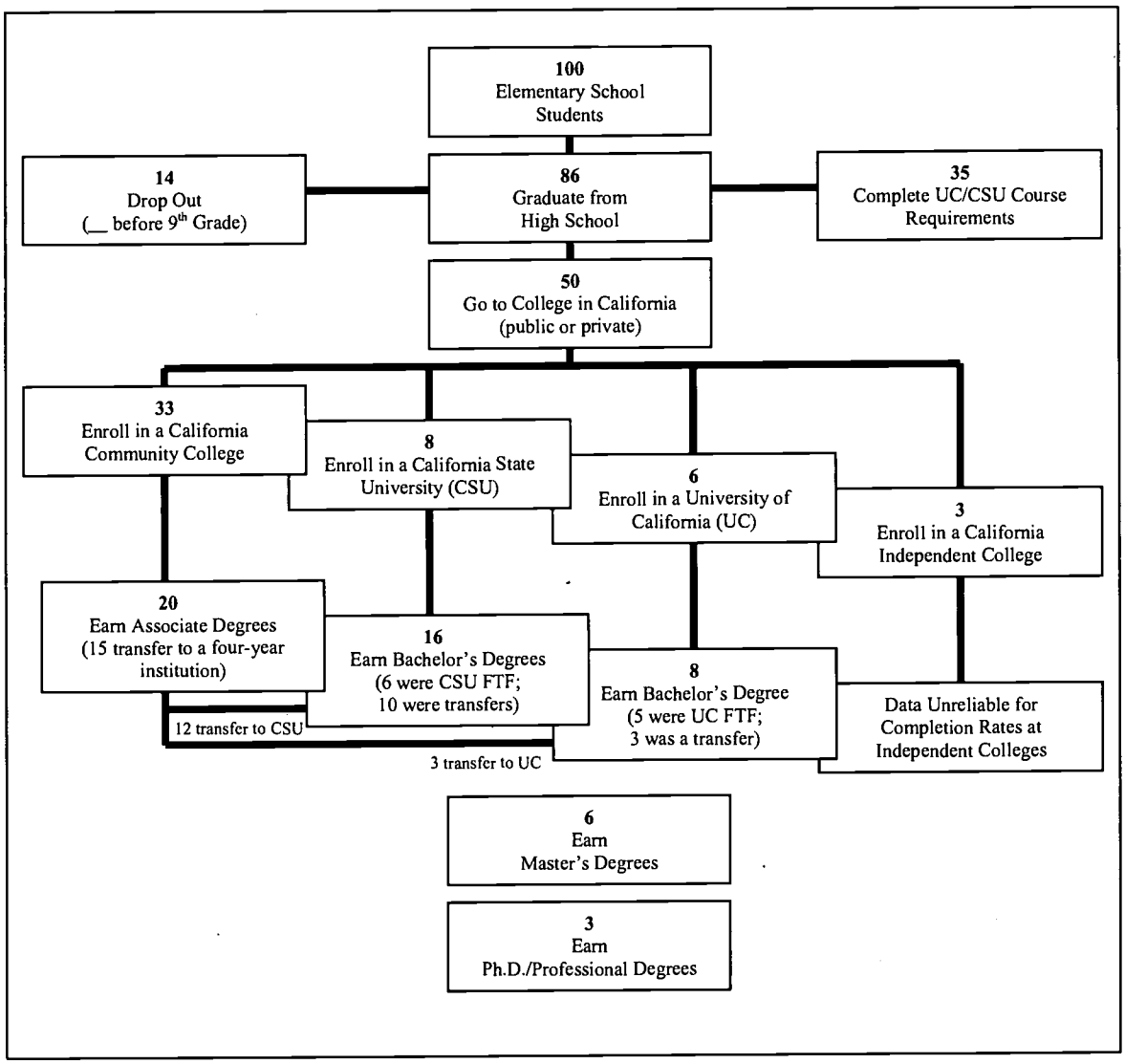

Figure A-6: The Association of Independent California Colleges & Universities Index of Member Institutions

1. American Academy of Dramatic Arts	2. Art Center College of Design
3. Azusa Pacific University	4. Biola University
5. California Baptist University	6. California College of Arts & Crafts
7. California Institute of Technology (Cal Tech)	8. California Institute of the Arts
9. California Lutheran University	10. Chapman University
11. Charles R. Drew University of Medicine and Science	12. Claremont McKenna College
13. Cogswell Polytechnical College	14. College of Notre Dame
15. Concordia University	16. Dominican College of San Rafael
17. Fresno Pacific University	18. Golden Gate University
19. Harvey Mudd College	20. Holy Names College
21. Hope International University	22. Humphreys College
23. John F. Kennedy University	24. La Sierra University
25. Loma Linda University	26. Loyola Marymount University
27. Marymount College	28. The Master's College
29. Menlo College	30. Mills College
31. Mount St. Mary's College	32. National University
33. New College of California	34. Occidental College
35. Otis College of Art and Design	36. Pacific Oaks College
37. Pacific Union College	38. Patten College
39. Pepperdine University	40. Pitzer College
41. Point Loma Nazarene University	42. Pomona College
43. Saint Mary's College of California	44. Samuel Merritt College
45. San Francisco Art Institute	46. San Francisco Conservatory of Music
47. Santa Clara University	48. Scripps College
49. Simpson College	50. Stanford University
51. Thomas Aquinas College	52. United States International University
53. University of Judaism	54. University of La Verne
55. University of the Pacific	56. University of Redlands
57. University of San Diego	58. University of San Francisco
59. University of Southern California	60. University of West Los Angeles
61. Vanguard University of Southern California	62. Westmont College
63. Whittier College	64. Woodbury University

Free-Standing Graduate Professional Schools

65. California School of Professional Psychology
66. Claremont Graduate University
67. The Fielding Institute
68. Los Angeles College of Chiropractic
69. Pacific Graduate School of Psychology
70. Phillips Graduate Institute
71. Saybrook Graduate School and Research Center
72. Southern California College of Optometry
73. Western University of Health Sciences

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