



RESEARCH REPORT

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SEPARATE BUT CERTAINLY NOT EQUAL 2003 CAPAA FINDINGS

In 2002, the Ralph J. Bunche Center for African American Studies at UCLA was awarded a five-year grant stemming from discussions with the Ford Foundation about the Center's concerns with the repeal of Affirmative Action in California's public institutions via the passage of Proposition 209, and the subsequent decline in African American admissions to the University of California (UC) system. This context provides the preliminary rationale for our interest in undertaking a research agenda that has comparative implications for the rest of the nation, as other states wrestle with increasing efforts to dismantle affirmative action. Over the next four years the College Access Project for African Americans (CAPAA) will examine the current status of, challenges to, and strategies for increasing opportunity in higher education in California for African Americans.

This report chronicles the results of studies culminating from three mini-grants the project awarded in 2003. In a year in which we celebrate the 50th anniversary of Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka decision ending legalized segregation in American schools, we find a troubling trend in California toward resegregation and the concomitant inequalities. Renee Smith Maddox was funded to consider the impact that California Proposition 209 has had on African American access to California's public institutions of higher education. Robert Teranishi, Walter R. Allen, and Daniel G. Solórzano

were commissioned to study the role that disparities in K-12 education in California public schools play in structuring unequal access at the college level in the state. Finally, Anthony B. Maddox was funded to propose a model for increasing the capacity of African American families to participate effectively in the College Preparation (CP) process.

The Impact of Proposition 209

Proposition 209 appeared on the California ballot in 1996. The measure holds that "the state shall not discriminate against, or grant preferential treatment to, any individual or group on the basis of race, sex, color or ethnicity, or national origin in the operation of public employment, public education, or public contracting."¹ This meant that the University of California² and California State University³ systems would no longer consider race or ethnicity in the application process. Students entering the UC and CSU system in the fall of 1998 were the first to see the effects of the law.

The African American population in the UC system saw a noticeable drop in enrollment following the implementation of Proposition 209 in 1998. Between 1997 and 1998, African American freshman enrollment dropped by 24 percent, from 917 to 739, although the number of African American applicants increased slightly, to 2151 from 2141 ([Chart 1](#))⁴. The

¹ California, *Proposition 209, Text of Proposed Law* (1996), sec. 31.

² The University of California system consists of eight undergraduate universities: Berkeley, Davis, Irvine, Los Angeles, Riverside, San Diego, Santa Barbara, and Santa Cruz. It is also referred to as the UC system.

³ The California State University system consists of twenty-three undergraduate universities and will now be referred to as CSU system.

⁴ University of California Office of the President, *Statistical Summary of Students and Staff*, (Oakland, CA: University of California Office of the President, 2003).

Chart 1. African American Applicants and Enrollment in the UC System

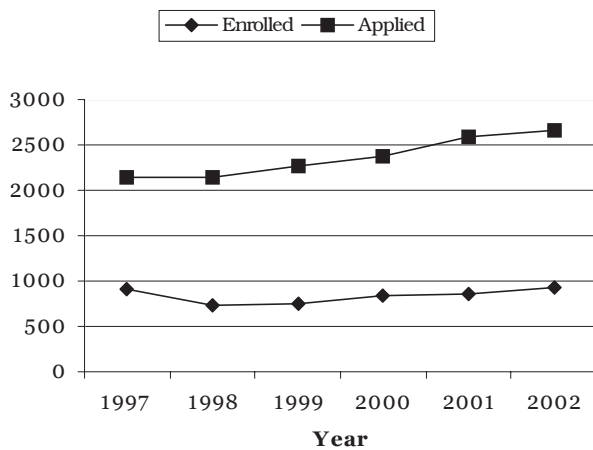
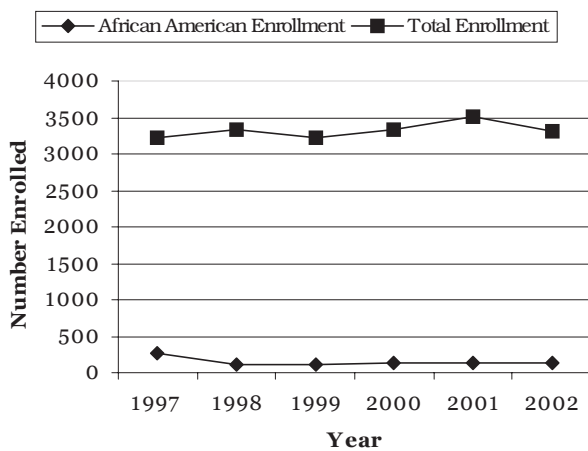


Chart 2. African American and Total Enrollment at UC Berkeley



most significant drop in enrollment that year was seen at UC Berkeley where African American freshman enrollment dropped by 51 percent, from 257 to 122, although the total freshman enrollment increased by 5 percent, to 3333 from 3215 (Chart 2)⁵.

California has the second largest black population among the nation's states (about 2.3 million people). Yet, in 1999 only 3 percent of African American high school graduates in California were fully eligible for admission to the UC system compared to 13 percent of Whites, 30 percent of Asians, and 4 percent of

Latinos.⁶ During that same period, African Americans represented 3.3 percent of the UC undergraduate enrollments despite making up nearly 7 percent of the state's overall population. At the most competitive UC Campuses—Los Angeles, Berkeley, and San Diego—acceptance rates for African Americans declined sharply between 1997 and 2002. Table 1 shows that rates dropped from 38.4 percent to 19.0 percent at UCLA, from 49.6 percent to 21.5 percent at Berkeley, and from 54.7 percent to 26.5 percent at San Diego.

Shifting Demographics

Perhaps one of the most important issues facing the educational system in the United States is the changing face of an increasingly diverse society. While the nation as a whole is experiencing dramatic demographic changes, California is one of the few states where "minorities" will soon be in the majority (Table 2). In 2000, Latinos, Asian Pacific Americans, and African Americans represented 49.1 percent of the total population in California—by 2010 their proportion is expected to increase to 54.6 percent.

Underrepresented Minorities

Underrepresented minorities—defined by the UC Office of the President as African Americans, Latinos/Chicanos, and American Indians—declined in freshmen enrollment in 1998.⁸ But in following years, enrollment of underrepresented minorities steadily increased, driven primarily by a significant increase in Latino/Chicano enrollments, which rose to 4222 in 2002 from 2948 in 1998 (Chart 3).⁹ African American enrollment during the period held steady at levels below that of 1997 until 2002, and then only barely surpassed the 1997 figure (1997: 917, 1998: 739, 1999: 756, 2000: 832, 2001: 856, 2002: 936).

UC Riverside

In 2002, the number of African American freshman in the UC system was virtually unchanged from the previous year, due primarily to continuing increases in the percentage of black students enrolled at UC Riverside, which rose from 5.6 percent in 2001 to 5.8

⁵ UC Berkeley Office of Student Research, *Undergraduate Admission Statistics*, (Berkeley, CA: UC Berkeley Office of Student Research, 2003).

⁶ W.R. Allen, M. Bonous-Hammarth & R. Ternashi, "Stony the Road We Trod: The Black Struggle for Higher Education in California," *CHOICES University of California, Los Angeles* (2002).

⁷ University of California Office of the President, *Application and Admittance Data 1997-2002*, (Oakland, CA: University of California Office of the President, 2003).

⁸ University of California Office of the President, *Statistical Summary of Students and Staff*, (Oakland, CA: University of California Office of the President, 2003).

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

Table 1. Acceptance Rates for African American Applicants in the UC System 1997-2002

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Berkeley	49.6%	20.3%	28.3%	28.4%	23.9%	21.5%
Davis	74.0%	51.9%	51.0%	46.2%	47.5%	45.1%
Irvine	54.9%	47.6%	44.4%	34.8%	46.8%	36.6%
Los Angeles	38.4%	23.6%	24.0%	22.0%	18.1%	19.0%
Riverside	69.2%	62.8%	69.6%	69.7%	65.5%	64.1%
San Diego	54.7%	27.8%	19.8%	19.5%	21.4%	26.5%
Santa Barbara	70.4%	54.3%	42.7%	37.9%	40.8%	42.5%
Santa Cruz	72.2%	64.6%	62.2%	69.7%	63.2%	60.0%

Data Source: University of California Office of the President, *Application and Admittance Data 1997-2002*

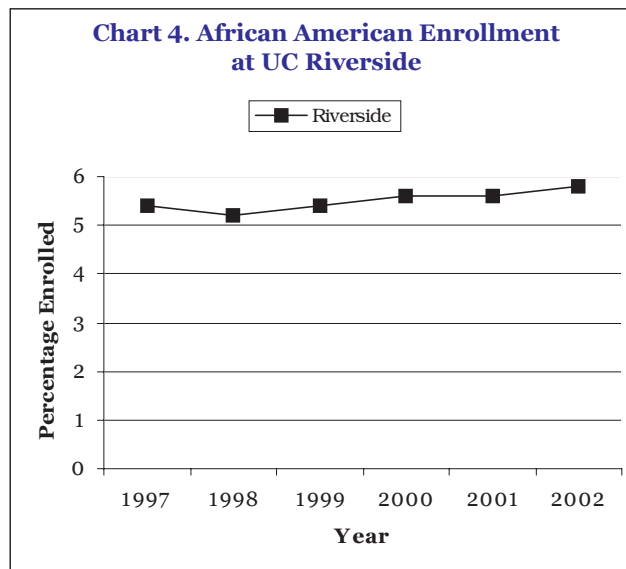
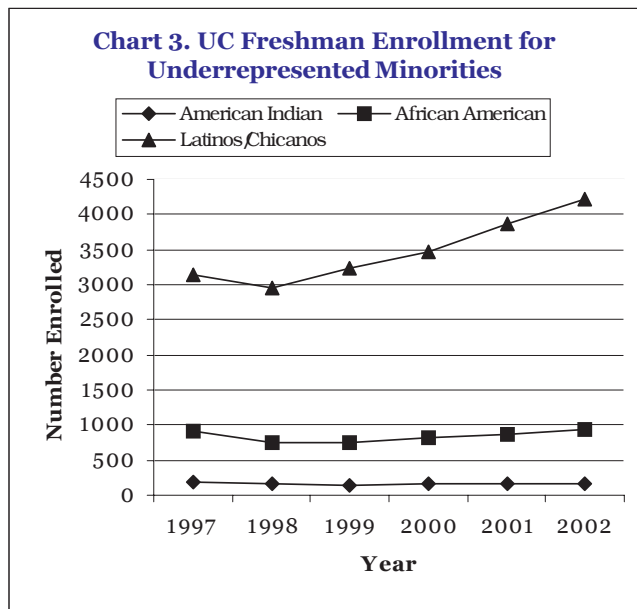


Table 2. Racial/Ethnic Composition of California, 1980-2010

	California					United States
	1980	1990	1997	2000	2010	2000
Asian/Pacific Islander	6.7	9.9	10.9	11.5	13.3	3.6
Black	7.5	7	7	6.8	6.4	12.1
Latino	19.2	25.9	29.3	30.8	34.9	12.5
White	66.6	57.2	52.2	50.3	44.8	69.1

Note: Above figures are in millions Data Source: California Department of Finance and the U.S. Census Bureau, 2000

percent in 2002 (Chart 4).¹⁰ UC Riverside houses numerous outreach programs targeted towards African American high school students.

UCLA

Table 3 reveals applicant and admission figures for various racial/ethnic groups who attended the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) from 1997-2002. African Americans in particular experienced the most significant drop in the number of high school graduates admitted to UCLA. A year after the affirmative action ban (1997), African Americans represented approximately 5 percent of students admitted; but by 2002 this figure had declined to 3.6 percent—despite the fact that African American applicants increased over this span from 1,272 in 1997 to 1,757 in 2002.

4

Policy Changes in Affirmative Action in 2003

Equal protection lawsuits were brought against the University of Michigan in 2003. That summer, the Supreme Court made two monumental decisions regarding affirmative action in the United States. The decisions reaffirmed the importance of diversity in the university or college environment but forbade the use of any quota-type system, including granting a particular number of points to underrepresented students of color.¹¹ The University of Michigan subsequently changed its undergraduate admission requirements to include a short essay on diversity.¹²

Later in 2003, UC Berkeley admission policies were scrutinized for favoring “marginally academically qualified” students over “hundreds of highly qualified students”.¹³ The UC Board of Regents reported that over 400 students were admitted to UC Berkeley in 2002 with SAT scores of 600-1000, much lower than the 1337 average reported the year before. The report also notes that over 3,000 applicants with scores over 1400 were not admitted, in the same year. Of these students, approximately 10 percent were African American, Latino, or American Indian.¹⁴ The report from the UC Board of Regents calls for a more comprehensive study of admissions, including data regarding race and ethnicity.¹⁵

On the special election ballot in October 2003,

California voters vetoed Proposition 54. The proposition would have forbidden race-based data collection in all public institutions, including the UC system. If the proposition had passed, the UC Board of Regents would have been unable to collect the data that it recommended collecting just a few weeks prior.

Diminishing Outreach and Data Gaps

The fallout from Proposition 209 and subsequent budget crises have led to reductions in financial aid and reductions in outreach services (e.g., tutoring, mentoring, recruitment, counseling, summer transition programs) intended to equalize higher educational access. While implications about merit and individual capacity have historically clouded our understanding of educational access and outcomes, an extensive body of scholarship now exists that points to factors such as real preference programs (i.e., “legacy” seats or alumni set-aside programs) and percentage plans,¹⁶ which are working in tandem to curtail African Americans’ access to higher education.

There continues to be a serious data gap that constrains our ability to correlate the various factors that work in concert to reduce access to institutions of higher learning. Current research undertaken by policy centers and think tanks (i.e., Policy Analysis for California Education at the University of California, Berkeley, Stanford University’s Institute for Higher Education Research, and the Tomas Rivera Policy Institute) explores issues such as the disconnect between college admissions-related policies and current higher education preparation practices in secondary schools, and the gap between policy development and educational research. Yet, much of this research fails to focus on African Americans and their access to higher education.

Racial Inequalities in Our Secondary Schools

The California public education system includes thousands of elementary and secondary schools, 106 community colleges, and 31 colleges and universities.¹⁷ California’s public higher education system is among the largest, most comprehensive, and most distinguished in the United States. These publicly supported educational institutions are complemented by

¹¹ *Grutter v. Bollinger*, 6th Circuit US Court of Appeals (2003). *Gratz v. Bollinger*, 6th Circuit US Court of Appeals (2003).

¹² David G. Savage, “Michigan Takes New Path to School Diversity,” *Los Angeles Times*, 29 August 2003, A11.

¹³ Rebecca Trounson, Tony Perry, and Stuart Silverstein, “UC Berkeley Admissions Scrutinized,” *Los Angeles Times*, 4 October 2003, B1.

¹⁴ Stuart Silverstein and Rebecca Trounson, “UCLA, Cal Rejections Baffle High SAT Scores,” *Los Angeles Times*, 20 November 2003, A1.

¹⁵ Rebecca Trounson, Tony Perry, and Stuart Silverstein, “UC Berkeley Admissions Scrutinized,” *Los Angeles Times*, 4 October 2003, B1.

¹⁶ An alternative admission policy based on high-school class rank that guarantees admission to the top 4% of graduates at California high schools, top 10% in Texas, and the top 20% in Florida. This policy establishes the requirements for who can automatically be admitted to public universities.

¹⁷ California Postsecondary Education Commission, *Toward A Unified System*, (Sacramento, CA: California Postsecondary Education Commission, 1998).

**Table 3. UCLA Applicants and Percent Admitted
Freshmen by Ethnicity (Fall 97-2002)**

Ethnicity	1997 (N) Admits	1998 (N) Admits	1999 (N) Admits	2000 (N) Admits	2001 (N) Admits	2002 (N) Admits
American Indian	(143) .8%	(178) .5%	(179) .4%	(176) .5%	(181) .4%	(198) .4%
African Americans	(1,272) 5.1%	(1,247) 3.0%	(1,308) 3.4%	(1,480) 3.3%	(1,531) 3.3%	(1,757) 3.6%
Chicano/Latino	(3,619) 15.3%	(3,960) 10%	(4,055) 11%	(4,574) 11.7%	(5,256) 12.7%	(6,100) 13.9%
*Asian Americans	(9,863) 35.7%	(9,900) 36%	(11,023) 37.7%	(11,576) 37.6%	(12,089) 37.2%	(12,968) 38.3%
White Americans	(8,827) 33%	(8,414) 31%	(10,500) 33.3%	(10,389) 33.3%	(10,949) 32.2%	(12,134) 31.1%
Other Unknown	(1,350) 5.5% (910) 4.7%	(1,386) 5.3% (3,982) 14.3%	(1,575) 6% (2,193) 8.2%	(1,672) 5.3% (2,395) 8.5%	(1,831) 5.3% (2,585) 8.8%	(1,897) 4.9% (2,463) 7.7%
Total	(25,984) 9,621	(29,067) 9,699	(30,962) 9,312	(32,262) 9,886	(34,422) 9,875	(37,517) 9,428

N= Total # of applicants * Includes Filipino Americans Note: Figures include California high school seniors only. Non-residents are not included. Data Source: University of California Office of the President (UCOP)

hundreds of private schools, colleges, and universities. The public higher education system alone serves nearly two million students each year.

Despite the breadth of California's educational system, there is considerable inequity in student educational experiences and outcomes, the educational settings where they are expected to learn, and the resources available to promote student learning. These educational inequities are most apparent in the differential rates at which various racial/ethnic groups of high school graduates achieve eligibility and access to the state's public university systems, the California State University (CSU) and the University of California (UC).¹⁸

The Coleman Report¹⁹ found that children's educational opportunities are sharply differentiated across high schools. Race and socioeconomic status con-

tinue to have implications for access to quality secondary education. For instance, where students reside largely determines where they attend school.²⁰ Rumberger and Willms²¹ found that after controlling for student background characteristics, racial segregation in schools is strongly associated with differences in resources and outcomes across schools. In other words, the children who live and attend school in the concentrated poverty zones of urban, inner-city communities are almost exclusively low-income students of color.²²

Racial groups are sharply divided by differential access to college preparatory curriculum such as Advanced Placement (AP) courses, which play an increasingly important role in college admissions.²³ For example, in the fall of 2000 at University of California, Los Angeles, first-time freshmen had an average of 17 Advanced Placement courses during high school

¹⁸ W.R. Allen, M. Bonous-Hammarth, and R. Teranishi, "Stony the Road We Trod: The Black Struggle for Higher Education in California," *CHOICES University of California, Los Angeles* (2002).

¹⁹ J.S. Coleman, E. Campbell, C. Hobson, J. McParland, A. Mood, F.D. Wienfeld, & R. York, "Equality of Educational Opportunity," *U.S. Government Printing Office* (1966).

²⁰ P. Gandra, *Over The Ivy Walls: The Educational Mobility of Low Income Chicanos* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995); G. Orfield, *The Growth of Segregation in American Schools: Changing Patterns of Separation and Poverty Since 1968* (Alexandria: National School Boards Association, Council of Urban Boards of Education, 1993).

²¹ Rumberger & Wilms, "The Impact of Racial and Ethnic Segregation on the Achievement Gap in California High Schools," *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* (1992).

²² P. Gandra, *Over The Ivy Walls: The Educational Mobility of Low Income Chicanos* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995); G. Orfield, *The Growth of Segregation in American Schools: Changing Patterns of Separation and Poverty Since 1968* (Alexandria: National School Boards Association, Council of Urban Boards of Education, 1993).

²³ J. Oakes, *Keeping Track: How Schools Structure Inequality* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

²⁴ University of California Office of the President, *Official Admission and Forecast Files*, (Oakland: University of California Office of the President, 2000).

and a grade point average (GPA) of 4.20 on a 4.0 scale.²⁴ Top students at affluent schools with a wide range of advanced and demanding courses clearly have greater opportunities to attend the most selective colleges compared to their counterparts at high-poverty schools, which offer fewer college preparatory courses.²⁵

There are also within-school variations across race and class that can influence students' preparation and access to higher education.²⁶ Within-school variations across race and class have been identified where ability grouping and tracking practices result in disproportionate (and often inappropriate) placement

of racial and ethnic minority students in the lowest groups.²⁷ These long-standing practices have had a significant negative effect on these students' opportunity to learn. McDonough²⁸ identified within-school differences in access to academic and college counseling resources, which are often influenced strongly by a lack of resources available to serve all students. Students are often tracked or targeted as a priority for receiving service while others are assumed to not be "college material."

Table 4. Regional Locale and Enrollment by Race/Ethnicity in California Public High Schools, 2002 (see page 16 for citation)

	All High Schools (n=823)	APA Schools (n=19)	Latino Schools (n=209)	Black Schools (n=11)	White Schools (n=373)
Regional Locale					
Urban	234 (28.4%)	9 (47.4%)	95 (45.5%)	10 (90.9%)	34 (9.1%)
Suburban	358 (43.5%)	10 (52.6%)	55 (26.3%)	1 (9.1%)	185 (49.6%)
Rural	231 (28.1%)	0 (0.0%)	59 (28.2%)	0 (0.0%)	154 (41.3%)
Enrollment by Race/Ethnicity					
Native American	12,840 (1.4%)	283 (0.2%)	1,906 (0.4%)	59 (0.3%)	7,306 (2.0%)
Asian American	147,425 (9.0%)	21,895 (60.5%)	20,304 (4.4%)	781 (5.5%)	37,813 (5.4%)
Latino	575,920 (34.1%)	4,636 (13.1%)	323,995 (70.6%)	5,086 (24.1%)	98,640 (16.2%)
Black	120,227 (7.1%)	1,785 (5.1%)	28,459 (6.0%)	12,114 (66.6%)	19,269 (2.8%)
White	607,753 (44.8%)	6,745 (17.5%)	62,066 (16.0%)	432 (2.3%)	403,308 (71.2%)
Other	59,784 (3.7%)	1,280 (3.6%)	11,696 (2.4%)	210 (1.2%)	15,043 (2.4%)
Total Enrollment	1,523,949	36,423	448,426	18,682	581,379

²⁵ W.R. Allen, M. Bonous-Hammarth, and R. Teranishi, "Stony the Road We Trod: The Black Struggle for Higher Education in California," *CHOICES University of California, Los Angeles* (2002); D. Wilds & R. Wilson, *Sixteenth Annual Status Report on Minorities in Higher Education*, (Washington: American Council on Education Press, 1998).

²⁶ J.S. Coleman, E. Campbell, C. Hobson, J. McParland, A. Mood, F.D. Wiefeld, & R. York, "Equality of Educational Opportunity," *U.S. Government Printing Office* (1966); R. Teranishi, "'Raced' Perspectives on College Opportunity: Examining Asian Americans Through Critical Race Theory," *Equity and Excellence in Education* 35, no. 2 (2003): 144-154.

²⁷ J. Oakes, *Keeping Track: How Schools Structure Inequality* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

²⁸ P. M. McDonough, *Choosing Colleges: How Social Class and Schools Structure Opportunity* (New York: SUNY Press, 1997).

Demographic Overview of California Public High Schools

The state of California has a total of 823 comprehensive public high schools distributed across urban (28.4 percent), suburban (43.5 percent) and rural (28.1 percent) areas. The average rate of eligibility for the Federal Free Meal Program (FRM), a common measure of social class, was 11.9 percent. The average total enrollment per school across all high schools was 1,852 students (Table 4).

The racial/ethnic breakdown of California's public high schools is a reflection of California's diverse racial population. California public high schools are comprised of Asian Americans (9.0 percent), Latinos (34.1 percent), Blacks (7.1 percent), and Whites (44.8 percent). Although there was not any single racial/ethnic group that made up the majority of California's high school population, some individual schools had a single racial/ethnic group that comprised the majority.

In California, there were 19 schools that had an Asian Pacific American (APA) majority population (i.e., greater than 50 percent). Across these 19 schools, the average proportion of students who were APAs was 60.5 percent. Asian Americans across all high schools represented a slightly higher average proportion of students with parents who had not completed high school (18.6 percent) compared to the statewide average (18.0 percent). However, APA majority schools had an average rate of students with parents who were college graduates (30.9 percent) that was greater than the state average (25.4 percent) and almost equal to the average at White majority schools (31.0 percent). Secondary schools where the majority of the population was APAs were concentrated in both suburban (52.6 percent) and urban (47.4 percent) locales.

There were 209 high schools in the state of California with a majority of Chicano/Latino students enrolled. The average proportion of Chicano/Latinos in these schools was 70.6 percent. These statistics attest to the dramatic demographic transition underway in California, as Chicano/Latinos continue to comprise a larger fraction of the state's population. Latino schools had, on average, the greatest proportion of students with parents who did not complete high school (36.7 percent) and the lowest proportion of students with parents who graduated from college (14.3 percent). Nearly half of all Latino schools were located in urban neighborhoods (45.5 percent), yet

many were also located in suburban (26.3 percent) and rural (28.2 percent) locales. Chicano/Latino schools had the largest average total enrollment (2,146 students) of all high schools in the state.

There were 11 high schools in the state of California with an African American majority student enrollment. In African American majority schools, the average proportion of students who were Black was 66.6 percent. Nearly 20 percent of students' parents at Black schools did not complete high school, which was only slightly higher than the average at Asian schools (18.6 percent), but more than twice the rate at White schools (8.0 percent). Interestingly, nearly all of the Black schools were located in urban areas (91 percent) with only one school located in a suburban neighborhood and none in a rural locale. Black schools had an average total enrollment that was lower than the state average at 1,698 students.

There were 373 schools with a White majority, making these schools the largest number of schools with a majority concentration of any single racial group. White schools also had the highest average concentration of any single racial group overall with White students comprising 71.2 percent of the students. The second largest proportion of students attending White majority schools was Chicano/Latinos, who represented an average of 16.2 percent of the total population in White schools. White schools had the highest proportion of students with college-educated parents (31 percent) and the lowest proportion of parents who had not completed high school (8 percent), thereby producing the greatest concentration of middle and upper-class students in the state. White schools were mostly concentrated in suburban (49.6 percent) and rural (41.3 percent) areas and their lowest representation was in urban neighborhoods (9.1 percent). White schools had the lowest average enrollment of students at 1,559.

Some students were more likely to attend schools where their racial/ethnic group was the majority. For example, only 15 percent of APA youth attended an APA majority school. However, 66 percent of White students attend White majority schools and 56 percent of Latinos attended Latino majority schools. By comparison, Black students were the group least likely to attend their respective racial majority school with fewer than 10 percent of Black students in the state attending Black majority schools. Twenty-four percent of California's African American high school students attended Chicano/Latino schools. When combined, Latinos and African Americans in Latino

²⁹ G. Orfeld, "The Growth of Segregation in American Schools: Changing Patterns of Separation and Poverty Since 1968," *National School Boards Association, Council of Urban Boards of Education* (1993).

majority schools constituted an average of 95 percent of all enrolled students.

Status Indicators

Status indicators (college eligibility and college-going rates) for the state were examined within the context of the extreme racial segregation that characterizes California public high schools, a phenomenon found in schools across the nation.²⁹ Students from different racial/ethnic backgrounds were also analyzed within the context of schools where they are a racial minority as well as in schools where they are the majority.

University of California eligibility can be measured in a range from minimum to competitive eligibility. Examining eligibility in this fashion is revealing, given that high schools and UC campuses across the state have pronounced inequities in eligibility and acceptance rates of students from different race/ethnic groups (Table 5).

For students attending public high schools statewide, the average UC minimum eligibility rate was 22.2 percent overall; the UC moderate eligible rate was 6.6 percent; and UC competitive eligibility rate was 3.0 percent. At the state level, APAs and Whites had higher minimum, moderate, and competitive eligibility rates than Latinos and Blacks. However,

the eligibility rates for different racial/ethnic groups were not consistent across the different categories of schools with different racial concentrations. In many cases, eligibility rates varied widely for racial/ethnic groups, depending on the racial concentration of the high school attended.

For example, although African American students had an average minimum eligibility rate of only 13.5 percent in the state overall, the rate among Black students who attended APA majority schools was 46.5 percent. For Latino students who also had a low average statewide minimum eligibility rate of only 13.7 percent, the rate among Chicano/Latino students who attended APA schools was much higher (34.6 percent). Latino students who attended White schools also had a higher minimum eligibility rate (18.1 percent) than the average among Latinos at Latino majority schools. However, the gap between eligibility rates of Black students attending Black majority and White majority schools was not as large as it was for Latino students (less than 5 percent).

White and Asian student eligibility rates were highest in White and Asian majority high schools. When White or APA students attended Black or Latino majority schools, their college eligibility rates were significantly lower. In general, minimum eligibility rates for White and/or Asian students who attended Black and Latino majority high schools were two to three times lower than for White and Asian students

Table 5. UC Minimum, Moderate, and Competitive Eligibility Rates to UC Campuses, 2000 (see page 16 for citation)

	All High Schools (n=823)	APA Schools (n=19)	Latino Schools (n=209)	Black Schools (n=11)	White Schools (n=373)
Asian Americans					
UC Minimum Eligibility	64.1%	81.4%	59.5%	34.8%	68.6%
UC Moderate Eligibility	17.6%	31.1%	10.6%	6.3%	22.9%
UC Competitive Eligibility	7.6%	18.7%	3.3%	2.9%	10.5%
Latinos					
UC Minimum Eligibility	13.7%	34.6%	7.2%	15.3%	18.1%
UC Moderate Eligibility	3.0%	13.4%	0.5%	1.2%	4.5%
UC Competitive Eligibility	1.0%	5.7%	0.1%	0.8%	1.5%
Blacks					
UC Minimum Eligibility	13.5%	46.5%	12.6%	8.9%	13.5%
UC Moderate Eligibility	3.0%	17.8%	1.5%	0.6%	3.7%
UC Competitive Eligibility	1.0%	6.1%	0.1%	0.2%	1.5%
Whites					
UC Minimum Eligibility	20.2%	32.8%	13.3%	6.0%	23.8%
UC Moderate Eligibility	6.7%	13.6%	3.7%	2.0%	8.1%
UC Competitive Eligibility	2.9%	6.4%	1.3%	0.6%	3.5%
Totals					
UC Minimum Eligibility	22.2%	62.5%	12.0%	12.5%	26.2%
UC Moderate Eligibility	6.6%	24.0%	2.0%	1.2%	8.8%
UC Competitive Eligibility	3.0%	13.9%	0.7%	0.5%	3.9%

who attended Asian or White majority schools.

The most pronounced differences in eligibility rates between Black and Latino majority schools and White and Asian majority schools were with respect to moderate and competitive eligibility rates. Across all racial groups, students had competitively eligible rates at White majority schools that were many times higher than at Latino or Black majority high schools. For example, while there were 49,007 Latino graduates from Latino majority schools and 16,570 Latino graduates from White majority schools, there were 324 Chicano/Latinos who were moderately or competitively UC-eligible from Latino majority schools compared to 690 from White majority schools. At Latino majority schools, fewer than a half of 1 percent of the Latino graduates were moderately or competitively eligible for UC compared to 4 percent of Latino graduates from White majority schools. White and Asian students also had much lower moderate and competitive eligibility rates when they attended Black and Latino majority schools than was true when they attended White and Asian majority schools. For example, in Black majority schools, the average number of White students competitively eligible for UC admissions was less than 1 percent. Asians who attended White majority high schools were nearly four times more likely to be competitively

UC-eligible than if they attended Black majority schools. These inequitable eligibility rates had implications for the college-going rates of different racial groups attending California's racially segregated public high schools.

While 54 percent of all graduates from California high schools enrolled in Californian public institutions of higher education, there was great unevenness by race/ethnicity in the proportion of students who attended community colleges (33.4 percent), CSUs (13.1 percent) and UCs (7.6 percent). A greater proportion of APA (20.3 percent) and White graduates (12.4 percent), compared to Latino (4.5 percent) or Black (3.4 percent) high school graduates, attended UC campuses (Table 6). A higher proportion of Asian American high school graduates (16.1 percent) also attended CSU compared to other race/ethnic groups. Attendance at CSU campuses was more equitable among Latino (10.6 percent), Black (9.7 percent) and White (9.5 percent) California high school graduates. Chicano/Latino (40.5 percent) and African American (34.1 percent) high school graduates had greater representation at community colleges than Asians (27.6 percent) and Whites (28.3 percent). However, just as eligibility rates varied for students of different racial backgrounds across high schools with different

Table 6. UC, CSU, and Community College Attendance Rates, 2000 (see page 16 for citation)

	All High Schools (n=823)	APA Schools (n=19)	Latino Schools (n=209)	Black Schools (n=11)	White Schools (n=373)
Asian Americans					
Percent attending UC	20.3%	28.3%	18.4%	19.7%	21.4%
Percent attending CSU	16.1%	14.6%	17.0%	5.0%	17.2%
Percent attending Community College	27.6%	31.4%	31.5%	20.4%	25.9%
Latinos					
Percent attending UC	4.5%	5.3%	2.7%	4.3%	5.7%
Percent attending CSU	10.6%	8.9%	9.3%	8.5%	13.0%
Percent attending Community College	40.5%	47.0%	39.7%	39.5%	44.4%
Blacks					
Percent attending UC	3.4%	8.2%	2.8%	3.5%	3.1%
Percent attending CSU	9.7%	10.6%	10.8%	10.7%	9.1%
Percent attending Community College	34.1%	32.6%	44.0%	29.6%	29.9%
Whites					
Percent attending UC	12.4%	11.4%	9.6%	6.3%	13.7%
Percent attending CSU	9.5%	8.9%	8.7%	13.2%	10.6%
Percent attending Community College	28.3%	24.3%	30.6%	12.1%	28.5%
Totals					
Percent attending UC	7.6%	21.9%	4.7%	5.3%	8.1%
Percent attending CSU	13.1%	15.0%	11.4%	11.2%	15.1%
Percent attending Community College	33.4%	34.5%	38.3%	31.3%	32.2%

Table 7. SAT Test-Taking Rates and Performance, 2000
(see page 16 for citation)

	All High Schools (n=823)	APA Schools (n=19)	Latino Schools (n=209)	Black Schools (n=11)	White Schools (n=373)
SAT test takers	113,629	5,103	22,807	1,152	51,306
Average number of test takers/school	138.1	268.6	109.1	104.7	137.5
Average SAT verbal score	480.1	497.8	433.5	392.9	512.7
Average SAT math score	495.8	564.2	447.4	388.9	524.3
Average SAT total score (V+M)	981.9	1,062.1	885.8	781.8	1,043.9

racial compositions, so did college-going rates and college destinations.

Greater proportions of Asian and White graduates who attended Asian and White majority high schools enrolled at a UC campus than was true for graduates from Latino or Black majority schools. However, White and Asian graduates had fairly even attendance rates at CSU campuses and community colleges, regardless of the race/ethnic composition of the high school they attended. Yet students from Black majority high schools exhibited the lowest CSU and UC attendance out of the four ethnic/racial groups (only graduates of Latino majority high schools had lower UC attendance rates). In other words, while college attendance rates for Asian and White graduates were fairly consistent and high across all the high schools, their rate of attending a UC campus was much higher when they attended a White or Asian majority high school.

Black and Latino students were also more likely to attend a UC and CSU campus if they graduated from a White or Asian majority high school. However, the rate at which Black and Latino graduates attended community colleges was actually higher at White and Asian majority schools than when they attended Black and Latino majority schools. Therefore, while there was a larger college-going rate for Black and Latino students at White and Asian majority schools, much of the gains were to their community college-going rates.

This section discussed the status of equity in California in terms of postsecondary outcomes. There were distinct differences between the college eligibility and college-going rates at public high schools with different racial/ethnic compositions. The following section examines the leading indicators

for racially segregated schools in order to better understand the precursors of these differences in college eligibility and college attendance.

Leading Indicators

Our analysis of the leading indicators for inequity in California's secondary schools focuses on the SAT college admissions examination and AP academic program participation (i.e., courses and exams). The SAT exam has historically been a major barrier for students of color and low-income students because of the role it has played in determining admissions to the most selective institutions. Primarily, the barrier that the SAT exam represents rests in the uneven test-taking rates and test scores across different racial/ethnic groups. The AP program is another factor that has played an increasingly important role in determining access to higher education. It can provide students with higher GPAs, greater postsecondary academic preparation, and access to some of the best academic resources in schools. We are interested here in the relationship between SAT and AP opportunities/performance as measures of academic achievement, resources, and enrichment in high schools with different race/ethnic majorities.

In 2000, a total of 113,629 students from California public high schools took the SAT I exam. Across all schools, this was an average of 138 students per school. The average combined verbal and math score among these students was 982. Consistent with national averages, students in California fared better on the SAT math section (495.8) than on the SAT verbal section (480.1). These state SAT averages provide a baseline for comparing scores across different racially segregated schools.

In terms of test-taking rates, on average, more

Table 8. AP Course Enrollment and Test-Taking Rates and Performance, 2000 (see page 16 for citation)

	All High Schools (n=823)	APA Schools (n=19)	Latino Schools (n=209)	Black Schools (n=11)	White Schools (n=373)
AP total enrollment	226,250	11,199	49,657	2,157	99,163
Male enrollment	44.8%	46.4%	41.7%	37.6%	46.1%
Female enrollment	55.2%	53.6%	58.3%	62.4%	53.9%
Number of AP exam takers	99,801	5,251	24,014	919	43,442
Average	121.3	276.4	114.9	83.5	116.5
Total number of AP exams	169,521	10,977	37,622	1,549	75,886
Average	206.0	577.7	180.0	140.8	203.4
AP exam passing scores	106,199	8,074	19,328	370	52,608
Average	129.0	424.9	92.5	33.6	141.0
AP passing rate	52.2	65.5	46.9	18.1	56.1

students from APA majority schools (268.6) and White majority schools (137.5) took the SAT exam than did students who attended Latino majority (109.1) and Black majority public high schools (104.7). However, this discrepancy is greatly magnified when we consider that Latino and Black majority (and to a lesser extent, Asian majority) schools tended to have higher enrollment rates than White majority schools. In other words, the proportion of students who took the SAT provides a telling picture of the disparate test-taking rates across different race/ethnic composition high schools (Table 7).

There were also differences in students' performance on the SAT exam across high school racial/ethnic contexts. Students who attended APA majority schools had the highest average total test scores (1,062.1) and students who attended Black schools had the lowest average total test scores (781.8). Students at White schools had the highest average SAT verbal scores (512.7) and the students at APA majority schools had the highest SAT math scores (564.2). Students who attended Black majority schools scored the lowest on the verbal section (392.9) and on the math section (388.9).

The disparate SAT test-taking rates and scores are reason for concern because of the significant role that these exams play in determining the type of institution a student is competitively eligible to attend. In many cases, test scores and GPA are the primary measure for admissions to the most selective public universities in California. Differential test-taking rates and

performance on the SAT exam across schools with different concentrations of racial/ethnic groups provide strong evidence of racial/ethnic inequalities in high school educational opportunity and achievement.

Another disparate resource that provides evidence of racial/ethnic inequality across California's public high schools is the AP program. Previous research revealed that among 823 comprehensive public high schools in California, there were 144 schools with 15 or more AP courses, 333 schools with four or fewer AP courses, and 169 schools that did not offer any AP courses.³⁰ This study also found that schools with greater proportions of Black and Latino schools were more likely to have fewer AP courses than schools with greater proportions of White and Asian students.

In 2000, there were 226,250 students enrolled in AP programs throughout the state. Among these students, there were 99,801 students who took 169,521 AP exams with a passing rate of 52.2 percent. APA majority schools had a much higher proportion of their students (30.7 percent) enrolled in AP courses than at schools with White (17 percent), Latino (11 percent) and Black (11 percent) majorities. Students from White majority public high schools represented 38.1 percent of the total enrollment in California, but accounted for 43.8 percent of all students enrolled in AP courses. However, while students at Latino majority schools represented nearly one-third of the total enrollment in the state, they represented only 21 percent of all AP students.

³⁰ R. Teranishi, "'Raced' Perspectives on College Opportunity: Examining Asian Americans Through Critical Race Theory," *Equity and Excellence in Education* 35, no. 2 (2003): 144-154.

A greater proportion of students from APA and White majority schools took at least one AP exam than was true for students attending Latino and Black majority schools (Table 8). Again, this disparity is more dramatic when we control for the size differences of these schools. Students from APA majority schools had the highest passing rate (65.5 percent) while students from Black majority schools had the lowest passing rate (18.1 percent). Students from Latino majority schools had a higher passing rate than students at Black schools (46.9 vs. 18.1).

The passing rate of students at Latino majority schools can be misleading because of the performance of Latino students on the Spanish language exam. At one school in Los Angeles, for example, the greatest number of AP exams completed were the Spanish Language and Spanish Literature subject areas. For these subject areas, students from this particular high school had the highest passing rates. When you remove the passing rates on Spanish Language and Literature exams, however, the total average AP passing rate falls dramatically to 2.6 percent (down from 48 percent).

Because of the disparities in test performance, we thought it would be important to examine the students’ access to quality teachers. By examining the teaching faculty in public high schools across the state, we hoped to better understand differential college eligibility rates and academic preparation. In particular, we wanted to gain some insight into the

sources of differences in achievement rates on the SAT and AP exams across schools with different racial/ethnic concentrations. In total, there were 61,640 teachers in California public high schools. Ninety percent of this faculty was made up of fully credentialed teachers. Although teaching credentials were required of all teachers in schools to ensure proper training and basic performance for teaching, there were also nearly 8 percent of teachers with emergency credentials and a smaller proportion on university/district internships. One percent of teachers were on waiver status, which excuses them from the requirement of having a current credential to teach in California public high schools.

There is great disparity in the rate of teacher credentials across racially segregated high schools. For example, White (93.5 percent) and Asian (90.2 percent) majority schools had higher rates of teachers with full credential status. Fewer teachers at Latino (82.3 percent) and Black (78.6 percent) majority high schools were fully credentialed. Latino and Black majority high schools had larger proportions of teachers on emergency credentials, working as interns, or on waiver status. The average proportion of teachers on emergency credentials at Chicano/Latino (14.6 percent) and African American (16.5 percent) majority schools was actually more than twice the rate at White (7.1 percent) or Asian (7.3 percent) majority schools. This raises serious questions about the relative caliber, quality, and experience of teachers across high schools in the state

Table 9. Teacher Experience and Credential Rates, 2000 (see page 16 for citation)

	All High Schools (n=823)	APA Schools (n=19)	Latino Schools (n=209)	Black Schools (n=11)	White Schools (n=373)
Total number of teachers	61,640	1,563	17,690	773	23,898
Teachers fully credentialed	90.7%	90.2%	82.3%	78.6%	93.5%
Teachers on university internship	0.4%	1.0%	0.7%	1.6%	0.5%
Teachers on district internship	0.3%	0.1%	0.5%	2.8%	0.2%
Teachers with emergency credential	7.9%	7.3%	14.6%	16.5%	7.1%
Teachers on waiver status	1.0%	1.2%	1.9%	1.1%	1.0%
Average years in school	14.7	16.7	13.9	13.6	15.2
Average years in district	12.0	14.5	11.6	10.8	12.0
First-year teachers	5.5%	4.8%	6.8%	8.7%	4.1%
Second-year teachers	4.8%	4.9%	5.7%	4.0%	3.7%
First- and second-year teachers	5.2%	4.9%	6.2%	6.4%	3.9%

with different race/ethnic student compositions (Table 9).

Related to the experience level of high school teachers, we also examine teacher tenure and retention rates. At White and APA majority schools, teachers had higher average numbers of years teaching in their schools and their districts (15.2 and 16.7 years, respectively) than did teachers at Latino and Black majority schools (13.9 and 13.6 years, respectively). Inversely, Latino and Black majority schools had a greater proportion (6.2 and 6.4 percent, respectively) of faculty in their first or second year of teaching than White (3.9 percent) or APA (4.9 percent) majority high schools. These patterns suggest that turnover rates tend to be higher for teachers in Latino and Black majority schools.

We ran Pearson correlations to examine the statistical relationship between leading indicators and the total enrollment of underrepresented minorities (defined as Blacks and/or Latinos) (Table 10). We found that as the proportion of underrepresented minority (URM) students increased, there was a statistically significant negative association with SAT scores, AP course-taking, and AP exam passing rates. For teacher experience variables, we found that as the proportion of a school's URM population increased, the proportion of the teachers with full credentials decreased and the proportion of teachers with emergency credentials increased. These patterns further attest to the disparities in resources and postsecondary opportunities found in the cross-tabulations.

These findings provide convincing evidence that access to California public higher education is associated with racial/ethnic segregation and educational disparities in the state's public high schools. We see a picture of unequal educational opportunity, eligibility and college-going rates from public high school to public higher education in California. These disparities are magnified at the most selective tier of public higher education—namely, the UC system. Students attending Black and Latino schools were less likely to apply, be admitted or enroll in the UC system than at the predominately White or Asian schools. Similar disparities by high school race/ethnic composition in access to quality resources were apparent.

Latino and Black students were more likely to be confined to Chicano/Latino and African American majority schools that had fewer educational resources such as high quality curriculum, which limited opportunities to pursue higher education. Black and Latino majority schools were more likely to have lower teacher retention rates, less experienced teachers, and fewer teachers who were fully credentialed. High turnover rates for teachers result in more discontinuity for students and require more part-time and substitute teachers to fill the void of an incomplete faculty. The ultimate result is diminished teacher effectiveness. The lack of educational resources in Black and Latino majority schools not only disadvantaged the Black and Latino majority, but also their White and APA counterparts. In Black and Latino majority high schools, White and APA students did not exhibit the same levels of college eligibility

Table 10. Correlations between School Resources and Racial Composition of Schools (see page 16 for citation)

		Proportion of URM Enrollment
Average SAT score	Pearson Correlation	-.772
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	823
AP course-taking rate	Pearson Correlation	-.102
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.004
	N	823
AP exam passing rate	Pearson Correlation	-.286
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	823
Teachers with full cred.	Pearson Correlation	-.489
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	822
Teachers with emergency cred.	Pearson Correlation	.434
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	822

and college attendance rates as were characteristic for White and Asian majority schools. White and APA majority schools were rich in educational resources and thus provided the best opportunity for access to public higher education.

When Latinos and Blacks attended predominately White high schools, however, their college-going rates only increased for community colleges. For African American students, in particular, who attended predominately White high schools, their college eligibility rates were actually lower than in Black majority high schools. This raises questions related to issues of equity for Black and Latino students within White majority high schools—inequities that apparently lay the foundations for continuing inequities later in higher education and achievement.

The results of this study also provide some evidence to the behavioral dimension of the effects of school context. Further challenging students at Latino and Black schools is the lower average parental education level. Previous studies³¹ have identified the challenges that first-generation college-going students face in their College Preparation (CP) process. This is exacerbated by poor resources, such as guidance counselors, effective college counseling, and college-preparatory curriculum which is positively correlated with lower parental education levels and higher enrollment rates of African Americans and Latinos. In the final section of this report, these difficult realities provide a context for the development of a “college knowledge” model—one that aims to increase the capacity of African American families to participate more effectively in the CP process.

‘College Knowledge’ Networking

The substantial impact of a college education on a student’s potential future (including socioeconomic status, employment, and standard of living) makes CP a high stakes activity. One complicating factor is that decision-making strategies of all the stakeholders (i.e., youth, parents, families, educators, counselors, and admissions representatives) are critically influenced by the interdependent relationships among stakeholders—the robustness of their networks and the quality and relevance of information passing through them.

The problem of access to higher education may be framed as a problem of access to *knowledge*. Knowledge, the result of intellectual activity (e.g., experimentation, sharing, observation, research,

analysis) improves decision-making and can result in desired college outcomes. But, many parents and families do not have access to as much knowledge about college as they may need. For example, first-generation college-bound adolescents do not have college-experienced parents and grandparents to serve as knowledge resources for higher education. Some students in secondary schools with counselor-to-student ratios of thousands-to-one are not likely to get the individualized attention needed to learn what they need to know about college. High socioeconomic status families are not only more likely to have knowledge resource options in their familial, social, and professional circles, but they can also afford to buy knowledge in the open marketplace, if necessary. So it would then seem that the “*haves*” are those most likely to be the “*knows*” while the “*have-nots*” are those who probably are the “*know-nots*.”

The *have-nots* could nevertheless be the *knows* if they had access to robust knowledge networks that could support their decision-making. Such networks would help parents and families achieve a balance between knowledge gained by *learning* and knowledge gained by *outsourcing* (acquiring it from elsewhere for free or a fee). Learning agents could serve as advisors that help plan learning activities with decision makers while simultaneously serving as brokers of public and private knowledge. In the CP domain, adolescents have access, although limited, to such agents in the form of high school and college counselors. Educators have professional development communities that keep them informed of advances in pedagogy, standards, and curricula. College representatives regularly collaborate with benchmarking institutions and consultants to get a sense of the preparedness of college-bound students. But where are the advisors and brokers, independent of the institutions represented by other stakeholders, that support parent and family knowledge acquisition? Without affordable and available third-party learning agents, parents and families are often at risk of being the *least* knowledgeable about college.

With so much of the burden of college knowledge acquisition placed on parents, more research is needed to investigate how parents learn and *learn how to learn* about higher education. From the perspective of parent metacognition, for example, there is much to discover about ease of learning (EOL) judgments: predictions of the aspects of CP that are easy to learn and strategies that make CP easy to learn. Also needed is greater insight on parent

³¹ E. C. Warburton, R. Burgarin, A. M. Nun?ez, & C. D. Carroll, *Bridging the Gap: Academic Preparation and Postsecondary Success of First Generation Students*, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research Improvement, 2001).

metaknowledge: what parents know they know about college. Learning agents armed with this insight could help make CP easier to learn for parents and families. One approach to investigating parent college knowledge is to take an inventory of what parents know. Many knowledge engineers at the dawn of the development of expert systems have discovered that people are not always aware of what and how they learned what they know. Not only is human knowledge thought to be explicit, it is often tacit. Experts and novices have very different ways of codifying and using knowledge. Expertise involves combining, structuring, and compiling experiences, heuristics, etc., and making very good guesses (i.e., decisions) novices would not routinely make. Sometimes this knowledge literally cannot be articulated and thus is difficult to extract. Expert knowledge is also not thought to be exhaustive or complete. Many parents are novices to college-related learning and may not have a sense of what they know and don't know about college. They are nonetheless asked to take risks to act on knowledge they *believe* they have.

To prepare for such an inventory, an epistemological framework is suggested. First, knowledge comes in flavors: *know-what* (e.g., declaratives), *-who* (e.g., individuals, organizations), *-when* (e.g., events, timelines) *-where* (e.g., video, audio, images, text) *-why* (e.g., histories, causalities) and *-how* (e.g., procedures, methods). Next, these flavors exist as combinations of explicit, tacit, known, and unknown knowledge. Knowledge you *know you have* is explicitly known. You may freely retrieve and use it. Knowledge you *know you don't have* is explicitly unknown. You need know-what, -who, -where, -why, or -how to take advantage of it. Knowledge you *don't know you have* is tacitly known. You may freely retrieve and use it but cannot articulate that you have it. Knowledge you *don't know you don't have* is tacitly unknown. You are unaware it exists, if it does at all.

A parent's goals should be to consciously acquire sufficient explicitly known knowledge to support college decision-making. It is not necessary (nor is it possible) for the parent to know everything, but she or he should have a sense of their risk behavior. Risk-neutral parents expect to win. Risk-taking parents expect to lose. Risk-averse parents assume risk by incentives. For example, quite often, parents may be inclined to underestimate the true cost of college in time, money, knowledge, and relationships. Families that start the college search process at the beginning of a student's senior year, have about five months to

learn about, save for, and contact people regarding college. Whether they are aware of it or not, they are engaged in risk-taking behavior.

Exposure to risk may be reduced, however, by membership in a knowledge network. Much of a parent's need-to-know may be found distributed across various network resources. There is an emerging science of networks that can provide a valuable perspective for investigating the dynamics of African American college knowledge networks. Modern theories of networks borrow from many disciplines: sociology, computer science, biology, economics, mathematics, engineering, and physics. It is convenient to consider a network as a graph, which is a structure of nodes and links. Links may have arrows suggesting directionality of connectivity. Parents may be considered nodes in a network of other parental and organizational nodes. Future Project-supported studies will employ this network framework to better understand the CP process for African American families.

Conclusion

In an increasingly diverse society, racial segregation in neighborhoods and schools is rising, rather than decreasing.³² Given that educational resources and opportunities are racially disparate, we must strive to reconceptualize the role of race in equitable access to higher education. We are hopeful that this research will inform policy planning and decisions related to college opportunities and educational equity. This study provides strong evidence for the degree to which social stratification in higher education access is associated with racial segregation and inequities in educational resources and CP. In racially segregated schools, imperatives for educational failure disproportionately fall on people of color.

The problems identified throughout this research report have been stubbornly persistent, resisting various solutions in the form of laws, policies, and programs. We are at a crucial juncture in the debate about higher education reform. The pressure for change is mounting. California—which has been at the leading edge of demographic racial, ethnic, cultural, political and economic shifts nationally—holds important lessons for the rest of the country as we move into the twenty-first century. As always the question remains, how do we best reconcile the country's past heritage of White supremacy and racial hierarchy with a new, increasing reality of racial/ethnic and cultural diversity?

³² G. Orfeld, "The Growth of Segregation in American Schools: Changing Patterns of Separation and Poverty Since 1968," *National School Boards Association, Council of Urban Boards of Education* (1993); A. Portes & R. G. Rumbaut, *Immigrant America: A portrait*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

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