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The Civil Rights Project/*Proyecto Derechos Civiles*

June 2011

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Proyecto Derechos Civiles

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Gary Orfield and Patricia Gándara

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**Economic Crisis and the California State Public
University: The Institutional, Professional,
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The CSU Crisis and California's Future: A Note on the Series

This series of reports analyzes the impact of the fiscal cutbacks on opportunity for higher education in the California State University system from a variety of perspectives. The huge network of 23 universities serves the largest number of BA level students in the state. The CSU has a much larger undergraduate student body than the UC system and educates many more Latino and African American students. Many CSU students are first-generation college students struggling to get an education in difficult times. Among Latinos and African Americans, most are the first in their family to get a degree.

The studies were commissioned under the direction of the Civil Rights Project/*Proyecto Derechos Civiles* (CRP) at UCLA. Though the CRP is a research center at UCLA and the UC system has its own severe challenges, we acknowledge that the CSU system is the linchpin in providing equitable access to higher education in this state. California is in the midst of a full-blown crisis of college access and completion, and this crisis threatens the future of the state and its communities. The California economy is projected to decline if more students do not complete BA degrees.

Current budget cuts are only the latest chapter in a long pattern of underfunding higher education in the state. Over the last 20 years, state contributions to the CSU have declined by 43.6%, while student fees have increased 103%. These studies address only one sector of society—higher education. But they arise from an awareness that the only secure way into the middle class is through the college door. Our goal is to help policy makers and the voting public to consider the depth and danger of the cuts, their long-term impacts, and what may be done to preserve the promise of a vital future for California and its State University system.

The series was produced with very low budgets and involved considerable contribution of effort by the authors and editors. The basic idea was to produce a series of reports analyzing available data, or data that could be collected for a low cost, and try to present a number of independent assessments of impacts on various aspects of this large system. We followed our customary procedure of issuing a call for research on a variety of important questions, soliciting proposals from interested scholars, sending the research proposals to outside experts in the field for review, and then commissioning authors to prepare reports. The draft reports were discussed at a roundtable on the UCLA campus, which led to suggestions for editing.

The research costs were shouldered by the California Faculty Association, the Ford Foundation, and the Civil Rights Project. Though the Faculty Association has a very strong interest in a number of these issues, the Association had no role in commissioning or evaluating the studies. They respected the traditional scholarly process we require from all funders of Civil Rights Project research. We grant all interested instructors or other groups the right to reproduce these reports without any payment of royalties or permissions, so long as authorship is appropriately credited. Authors have final control of their own manuscripts and the opinions expressed in them are the conclusions of those authors. This series is available for reading at civilrightsproject.ucla.edu.

PART 1

SQUEEZED FROM ALL SIDES

Patricia Gándara and Gary Orfield

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

The Civil Rights Project thanks the administration of CSU Northridge for access and the implementation of the student survey on campus. The authors would particularly like to thank Provost Harold Hellenbrand and Bettina Huber, Director of Institutional Research, for their thoughtful comments and support of this survey, as well as the CSUN faculty who cooperated in distributing and collecting the instrument. Joseph Antunez was an invaluable resource in the Provost's office. We also thank Moon S. Ko for help with analysis.

FOREWORD

California long enjoyed rapid growth, abundant jobs, and expanding college opportunity—key elements of the California dream. Now the state is struggling to recover from its worst economic crisis in generations, a demographic slowdown, a devastating collapse of the wealth of the state's families from the housing crisis, and severe cutbacks in higher education. California's students are being asked to pay much more to get less. There can be no doubt that these are extraordinary times and if California is to emerge from its worst fiscal crisis in modern times, it will require sacrifice on everyone's part. Yet, in spite of a lot of discussion about the budget crisis, there has been too little analysis of the consequences of the budget cuts and far too little information on how the cuts have affected the lives and prospects of our young people trying to finish college and prepare for a future.

A recent report from the non-partisan Public Policy Institute of California predicts that the state will be short one million college graduates needed in 2025 to fill the jobs that require a BA. Another recent study from the National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education projected that by 2020 California would begin to see an 11% reduction in its per capita earnings if the state was not able to immediately increase the number of college graduates. Higher education is the economic engine of the state and that engine produces jobs, and it is in this context that California is slashing the budgets of its colleges and universities. No institution is more central in producing the college degrees that the state so desperately needs than the California State University (CSU), the nation's largest system of public universities.

If the colleges remain full, and students who can manage somehow pay the rapidly rising tuition, it is easy to assume that things are working out. But at what cost to the state? If students take significantly longer to graduate and their education must be subsidized for 25% or more time, are there truly any savings to the state? If these young people are delayed in entering the job force because they are short courses they need to graduate, how much does it cost the state in foregone tax revenues? Will the state accommodate the rising demand for higher education?

For the first report, *Squeezed from all Sides*, we surveyed students on one of the largest CSU campuses to ask them how the changes are affecting their lives. What they told us shows that the challenges they face are severely limiting their opportunities and taking years out of their productive lives; these challenges are putting great stress upon families that are already disrupted by the loss of jobs and income. Too many students are helping support their families, who can no longer help them. Latino and black students are especially hard hit but many white students and their families face all of these problems as well.

Most students are determined to keep going, because they know the consequences of not finishing college, especially in a state where the decent middle class jobs for people without degrees are shrinking away. But students are also facing an alarm-

ingly high level of stress. As we face the prospects of making a very bad situation still worse, it is important for Californians to listen seriously to the voices of California's students, and to weigh the urgent question: at what cost are we shifting the burden to these young people?

We understand very well that the state of California faces a terrible financial crisis that will not be resolved without significant sacrifice. We know that the poor, the elderly, those with physical and mental illnesses and many others are suffering badly and that critical basic services are being cut. But California is a state with many resources that have not been tapped and we have broken the pact that the state has historically made with the young—to educate them so that they can compete with the rest of the country and the world, and so that each generation can reach beyond the boundaries of the prior one to build the state's future. This generation is being asked to pay much more for much less and to do it in the worst economic situation since the Great Depression. Older generations that were offered excellent public higher education at a much lower price have now voted to offer this generation less for much higher costs, even while higher education has become much more crucial for the future of all Californians. The choices are grim. Either we develop the talent of our young people or we decline. There is no easy answer in this difficult time, but we all need to listen carefully to the struggling students who are the state's future.

Patricia Gándara and Gary Orfield

SQUEEZED FROM ALL SIDES

Patricia Gándara and Gary Orfield

THE CSU AND OPPORTUNITY IN CALIFORNIA

The 23 campuses of the California State University system constitute the nation's largest system of BA-granting public universities, offering a rich array of fields of study. The system is not open enrollment. Students need to be in the top third of California students to qualify and some campuses are becoming far more competitive. The CSU is the key to mobility for young people in the state and particularly important for students of color. Twenty-one (21) percent of its graduates are Latino and 5 percent are black. The number of Latino graduates is well over twice the UC number and the number of black BA recipients is more than three times the UC number, as is the small number of American Indian graduates.¹ Although these differences are partially explained by the much smaller size of the UC system and the smaller share of its enrollment in undergraduate programs, the CSU system obviously has great importance for the mobility of students of color and struggling families of all races. Reductions in resources and access will affect the life chances of all groups of students in the state. In a state with a relatively small sector of private non-profit four-year college enrollment, the CSU plays a particularly critical role in higher education. The banning of affirmative action in the state by Proposition 209 makes it critically important for civil rights purposes. Among other important roles, the CSU is the source of the great majority of California's teachers.

The Campus

We surveyed more than 2,000 students at the CSU Northridge (CSUN) campus, which enrolls more than 35,000 students and is one of the 50 largest universities in the nation though it is just one of the 23 CSU campuses. CSUN reflects the rich diversity of California with thirty percent (30%) of students European American/White, 31% Latino, 7% African American, and 11% Asian (inclusive of all Asian subgroups). Like the nation's colleges in general, it was predominantly female in 2010, 57% female, 43% male. Among Latinos, 62% of the students were female as were 70% of black students.

Across the CSU system 53% of all students are from nonwhite backgrounds as are 50% of CSU Northridge students. It has the largest teacher preparation program of any of the CSU campuses at a time when raising the quality of teachers is a central goal of education reform. Research clearly shows that well-trained and experienced teachers are the most precious resource of our schools.

¹ 2009 data, California Postsecondary Education Commission website, downloaded Feb. 1, 2011. pec.ca.gov/StudentData/EthSnapshotGraph.asp.

The Survey

The survey was anonymous and consisted of about 20 questions asking students about aspects of their academic, financial, and future plans as well as half a dozen demographic questions. It also offered the opportunity for students to write a short comment about their personal situation if they chose to do so. Remarkably, more than three-fourths of the respondents chose to write a comment. The survey took approximately 10 to 15 minutes to complete.

The Sample

The survey was conducted in the fall of 2010. Upper division core classes were sampled. The great majority of students in the sampled classes completed surveys in the classroom with 82% of students responding for a total of 2,158 returned. The very high response rate and significant number of respondents lend confidence in the findings. The great majority of the respondents were upperclassmen--38% were seniors and 45% were juniors. Just 13% were sophomores, and 5% were freshmen. The average age of respondents was 23 years old, with 91% unmarried, 94% childless, and 90% citizens.

The focus was on students who had been on campus for several years, who could reflect on changes to their educational situation that accompanied the deepening recession and concomitant increases in tuition and fees. Eighty-three percent (83%) of respondents were full-time students who had been attending this or another CSU campus continuously. Although many also worked, these were overwhelmingly serious full-time students deeply committed to finishing college.

The demographics of the respondents mirror very closely the demographics for the university: 60% female, 40% male; 36% European American; 30% Latino; 5% African American; 8% Asian/Pacific Islander (including Southeast and South Asian, 11.4%), and 18% "mixed" or "other." Other ethnic categories constituted 2% or fewer of students.

Table 1. Study Sample by gender, race, and ethnicity²

	Frequency/Percentage									
	White (N=758)		Latino (N=616)		AfAm (N=108)		Asian (N=173)		Other (N=409)	
Female	442	58.3	382	62.0	76	70.4	100	57.8	254	62.1
Male	316	41.7	234	38.0	32	29.6	73	42.2	155	37.9

² We do not include in this table or in the analyses very small groups, such as Southeast Asian and Native American, because of instability of findings due to the very small numbers in the sample. However we did collect data for these groups. Targeted research with substantial samples of these groups would be very useful because they surely face the same challenges.

MAJOR FINDINGS

College is a complicated time for many students and much more challenging now. The CSU students surveyed reported stresses from many directions, with resources shrinking, costs rising, and out-of-school burdens growing. Students had faced mid-year tuition increases with another ten percent increase coming in September. They are living in one of the states most damaged by the recession and among the slowest to recover. The pressures they feel are many sided.

Shift in Student-Parental Roles

Helping their children to successfully complete college is one of the central goals of many parents, but now many are asking their children for help. For many in our sample, the economic recession has reversed the typical roles of students and parents. Parents facing economic crises must often take help from students that are simultaneously trying to support themselves and pay increasing college costs. Parents find themselves without resources and needing help in the worst economy of their lifetimes. Brothers and sisters have to ask our students for help as the weak economy has pummeled job hopes for the young. Policymakers need to understand the extraordinary situation young people are facing today when they make decisions about aid and tuition levels.

Table 2. *Has the economic crisis (since 2008) increased your family's need for financial support from you?*

	Frequency (N=2,123)	Percentage
Yes	1,245	58.6%
No	878	41.4%

Approximately half of all students noted that their parents provide less support for them than before the recession and more than a third noted that at least one of their parents has had their salary reduced as a result of the economic downturn. Most respondents noted that they were responsible to help support or provide emergency help for other family members. 45% of these students noted that they had to provide this support for parents, 38% for siblings. Of course, in some cases students are helping both.

These challenges reflect the economic crisis many parents are facing. For example, one in sixteen had their home foreclosed or was facing foreclosure. Home equity is the major source of wealth for most families and a basic part of family stability. Losing the family home and losing whatever wealth had been accumulated are devastating blows. California's housing bubble, the surge of joblessness, and the widespread use of predatory loans have created a meltdown in the housing market that is affecting many students very directly.

On other fronts, the parents of more than one out of ten students had lost their job and more than a fifth had their income reduced. One in nine couldn't pay their bills. With families providing less support for the students, and many parents reversing roles and needing help from their children while they are full-time students, the situation is causing a squeeze from all sides.

Table 3. *Impact of the recession (since 2008) on your parents' economic situation.*

	Frequency³ (N=3,938)	Percentage
None	373	9.5%
Their situation has improved	67	1.7%
One or more parents has been laid off	415	10.5%
One or more parents have had hours or salary reduced	838	21.3%
Home foreclosed or foreclosure threatened	224	5.7%
Family has lost medical coverage	302	7.7%
Family cannot pay bills	448	11.4%
Parents provide me less support than in the past	1,009	25.6%
Other	262	6.7%

Some students cannot afford housing. "Because of financial issues," said one, "I don't have a place to live. I couch surf from place-to-place so my parents could be able to afford medical expenses." Needless to say, it is hard to find a good place to study in someone else's place. Another student also discussed the struggle to pay rent as his family could no longer provide it: "I no longer live rent free because my family's income has gone down, so I use my grant money to pay rent and help my mom and brother."

The recession has hit immigrant families particularly hard. The construction industry, which employs a significant number of immigrants, has largely collapsed, putting these students in the kind of position one undocumented young woman describes: "As a young woman in college, helping to support my family, it is extremely difficult... I had to take on more hours causing my grades to plummet. Seeing my family and my parents struggle is really tough mentally, spiritually, and psychologically and being an AB540 student sometimes makes me feel more hopeless and frustrated."

Those students with families of their own face pressures that are sometimes even greater than those of other students: "I am a single mom with an entire family of parents and siblings depending on me for help," one wrote on our survey. "We are," she wrote, "in a dire situation."

³ Respondents were directed to mark as many as applied therefore the number and percentage reflect more than the total number of respondents.

Long-term joblessness, as has been the case for many Californians, has been shown to greatly diminish the chance of successful reemployment. The ongoing economic and social collapse that often ensues puts incredible pressure on college students: “My parents were both laid off 2 years ago and still haven’t found jobs. They have problems paying their house payments and bills. I’ve had to send them money so payments won’t be late for them. I work as much as I can without it interfering with school” This is not the classic college experience of older generations.

Table 4. *Impact of the recession on your parents’ economic situation, by race*

	Frequency/Percentage									
	White (N=759)		Latino (N=617)		AfAm (N=108)		Asian (N=173)		Other (N=411)	
None	179	23.6	64	10.4	16	14.8	35	20.2	62	15.1
Their situation has improved	25	3.3	18	2.9	2	1.9	4	2.3	14	3.4
One or more parents has been laid off	107	14.1	159	25.8	21	19.4	31	17.9	76	18.5
One or more parents have had hours or salary reduced	253	33.3	300	48.6	43	39.8	66	38.2	152	37.0
Home foreclosed or foreclosure threatened	57	7.5	76	12.3	17	15.7	13	7.5	58	14.1
Family has lost medical coverage	67	8.8	131	21.2	20	18.5	20	11.6	53	12.9
Family cannot pay bills	124	16.3	161	26.1	28	25.9	24	13.9	98	23.8
Parents provide me less support than in the past	306	40.3	314	50.9	55	50.9	84	48.6	216	52.6
Other	102	13.4	70	11.3	9	8.3	12	6.9	56	13.6

Students from every racial group are facing the challenge of having to help out family members while supporting themselves through college, but the burden is distributed somewhat differently by ethnicity. More than 40% of Asian and Latino students compared to 26% of white students and 20% of African Americans reported having to help out parents. Thirty-five percent (35%) of Latinos and 32% of African Americans reported having to help support siblings, compared to 19% of white students, and 29% of Asians. Latino parents were the most hard hit by job layoffs or having had

hours reduced; 49% of Latino students and 40% of African American students said at least one parent had hours or salary reduced compared to 33% of white. Meanwhile, 26% of Latino and 19% of African Americans had a parent who had lost a job, compared to 14% of white students. Latino men have traditionally been employed at high levels with relatively low wages but this recession has hit many of their most important job categories. Many families of all races are in serious trouble, but for families of color it is more a depression than a severe recession.

Table 5. *Student responsibility for helping to support or provide emergency help to any other family members, by race*

	Frequency/Percentage									
	White (N=759)		Latino (N=617)		AfAm (N=108)		Asian (N=173)		Other (N=411)	
Parents	195	25.7	248	40.2	22	20.4	70	40.5	141	34.3
Siblings	146	19.2	215	34.8	34	31.5	51	29.5	128	31.1
Other relatives	99	13.0	69	11.2	16	14.8	27	15.6	55	13.4

Students facing reduced earnings, and increased expenses

Students, too, have lost hours or have lower paying jobs as a result of the recession, so many are working more jobs or having to make ends meet with less income. It is hard to work one's way out of the hole when one cannot find enough work or faces lower wages and still rising costs. "I had to take a break from school," one student wrote, he "didn't have enough money and my parents can't help because their own jobs are at stake. I lost my job, for over 5 months I was unemployed due to the city job cuts . . ." Costs rising, out of work and parents' jobs threatened, the obstacles were closing in.

Often the problems are multidimensional: "My father got laid off 3 years ago, got a new one at a pay cut. I got my new job but now they are cutting hours and minimum wage makes it hard to support yourself." The student and the father are both in very tenuous job situations. Another reports a flock of concerns: "Rent has gone up, work hours have gone down, and my family seems to have financial obligations, so I feel bad asking for help." Students wonder where to turn.

When both the college and the students face economic cuts at the same time, the results on students' lives cumulate. One student told how the interaction of the economy, the surging fees and the shrinking class offerings create a deeply discouraging situation. It is, the student wrote, "harder to find a job and hours are cut. Classes are cut, fees [have] gone up, all this makes it harder and longer to finish school." Another student spoke of having to work two jobs, one to help his father who has a terminal illness, and the other to support himself, but with all of this, and trying to be a full-time student he notes, "I sometimes do not buy my books for class because I cannot afford it." When it gets to this point, of course, the educational consequences become

painfully apparent, even in the short run, as a student tries to understand a subject and pass exams without the book to study.

About 80% of all students say it is harder to meet expenses today than two years ago; about 30% say it is much harder, or they simply cannot meet their costs. Students live with uncertainty and anxiety. "It's an endless feeling of worry," one writes, "I never know if I can afford the next semester and I hate that."

Table 6. *If you have been in college for more than one year, how difficult is it to meet your costs today compared to one or two years ago?*

	Frequency (N=2,054)	Percentage
Less difficult	28	1.4%
The same	292	14.2%
A little more difficult	1,162	56.6%
A lot more difficult; Cannot meet costs	572	27.8%

Table 7. *If it is more difficult, why?*

	Frequency (N=5,255)	Percentage
College fees and costs have gone up	1,616	30.8%
My expenses have increased	832	15.8%
It is harder to find a job to help support myself	635	12.1%
It is hard to get extra hours at my job	555	10.6%
My family is having a harder time helping me	815	15.5%
It is harder to get a loan	213	4.1%
I have maxed out my loan eligibility	80	1.5%
I have maxed out or no longer qualify for grants	150	2.9%
Credit cards have been terminated or maxed out	252	4.8%
Other	107	2.0%

White students, as a group, though seriously affected, are modestly less affected by the economic downturn. 23% say it is much more difficult or impossible to meet expenses, while over 30% of all other major groups say this. The primary reasons students report for their economic predicament are their fees having gone up and their family having a harder time helping them.

Table 8. *If you have been in college for more than one year, how difficult is it to meet your costs today compared to one or two years ago? (by race/ethnicity)*

	Frequency/Percentage									
	White (N=720)		Latino (N=595)		AfAm (N=102)		Asian (N=162)		Other (N=390)	
Less difficult	12	1.7	5	.8	1	1.0	3	1.9	5	1.3
The same	119	16.5	75	12.6	11	10.8	16	9.9	51	13.1
A little more difficult	422	58.6	330	55.5	59	57.8	92	56.8	214	54.9
A lot more difficult; Cannot meet costs	167	23.2	185	31.1	31	30.4	51	31.5	120	30.8

Table 9. *If it is more difficult, why?*

	White (N=759)		Latino (N=617)		AfAm (N=108)		Asian (N=173)		Other (N=411)	
College fees and costs up	549	72.3	472	76.5	88	81.5	137	79.2	314	76.4
Expenses increased	273	36.0	279	45.2	44	40.7	54	31.2	156	38.0
Harder to find a job to help support myself	194	25.6	198	32.1	46	42.6	48	27.7	127	30.9
Hard to get extra hours at my job	177	23.3	175	28.4	26	24.1	38	22.0	118	28.7
My family is having a harder time helping me	271	35.7	245	39.7	44	40.7	64	37.0	164	39.9
It is harder to get a loan	72	9.5	45	7.3	18	16.7	18	10.4	52	12.7
Maxed out my loan eligibility	26	3.4	18	2.9	7	6.5	7	4.0	19	4.6
Maxed out/ no longer qualify for grants	36	4.7	53	8.6	9	8.3	12	6.9	36	8.8
Credit cards terminated or maxed out	76	10.0	83	13.5	17	15.7	19	11.0	53	12.9

Another student writes of having his work days on his campus job cut by the furloughs from the state budget cuts, and frozen hourly wages for 5 years, but is trying to cope with "Rent increasing, food increasing, gas increasing, car insurance, medical expenses not covered by insurances increasing." Some of the responses were plaintive: "Can't afford it all . . . College is so expensive. Parking \$180 a semester. Books \$500 a semester, tuition \$3,000. Rent \$700. Car \$300. Food \$300. You tell me how I can do this!"

Some are changing their career plans. "It's difficult because my parents do not support me and the college fees have gone up. I planned on going to graduate school but I already have student loans to pay so I've changed my decision about it."

Classes Closed, Years Lost.

Students feel that they are paying much more for much less in terms of educational opportunities and that the colleges are requiring courses they cannot offer.

Two thirds of all students say they have been unable to get the classes they need to make regular progress toward their degree. Most think it will take them at least one year longer to graduate as a result. That is another year of costs and a year of lost income. One worries: "Classes are extremely hard to get, pushing back my graduation [and] causing me more debt to pay back. . . .It has now made me question whether or not I can go to grad school."

Another student wrote about the "vicious cycle" she is in, having to pay more and more for full-time enrollment so that she can have access to financial aid, although she can't get the classes she needs. So she finds herself mounting up debt without getting appreciably closer to her goal of graduation. Yet, she doesn't see an option because she needs the financial aid to continue in school: "I am unable to get classes, and I feel so uneasy paying more money just so I can take classes I don't need, so that I can keep my full-time student status, so I can receive financial aid, student discounts, etc."

Cutbacks in classes may not look serious from the outside, but they have multiple ripple effects throughout the economy, and literally take a year or more of paying work out of a student's life, deepening his or her debts substantially. They also increase the cost to the state to graduate each student, and reduce the capacity of the campuses to take in new students. Less work, less income, and fewer taxes paid have broader impacts, of course, on local and state revenues. It costs the campus and the state to crowd facilities and overburden staffs with students who should have graduated already. Short term savings can bring long-term costs. On a personal level they can mean many things, including putting off marriage and family and not taking care of medical problems. Almost 8 of 10 students reported that the inability to get the classes they need is delaying their graduation.

Table 10. *Do you think it will take you longer to finish your degree because of an inability to get classes?*

	Frequency (N=2,117)	Percentage
Yes	1,632	77.1%
No	485	22.9%

Inadequate funding of counseling staff also puts greater pressures on the institution as well as the students. Faced with the decrease in availability of classes, they often don't know what to do. Should they take classes they don't need just to stay in school? Will they lose aid and face bill collectors demanding repayment of loans if they leave for a time? Are there other classes they could take that they are not aware of? What are the consequences of going part-time? Students are having to make difficult choices with little guidance: "I did not attend spring semester of 2010 because I could not get classes. The classes had too many students on the waiting list. The advisement center had only appointments for freshmen, it was very difficult to see an advisor." Lack of good advice can raise costs and delay completion.

"I pay tuition and don't take the classes I need to graduate and I pay tuition at a junior college to get the classes I do need," writes one student caught in this bind, "I pay tuition at CSUN because I don't want to get disenrolled." Another reflects on the maze he's caught in: "I planned to graduate spring 2009 but because I can't afford school and can only get into a few classes I probably won't graduate until fall 2011. Very stressful and at times makes me want to drop out . . ."

About half of all students responding to the survey estimated that it would take them longer than anticipated to complete college because of their financial situation. Most students believe it would take another year; another quarter believes it will take more than an additional year.

Table 11. *If you think it will take longer to finish your degree because of your financial issues, how much longer?*

	Frequency (N=1,034)	Percentage
One semester	260	25.1%
One year	519	50.2%
More than one year	255	24.7%

For some students the lack of availability of classes has had the impact of changing their entire program of study, and in the case of the following student, almost certainly reducing her competitiveness in her chosen field as a result: "I was enrolled in the honors program and with the cuts they cut the thesis from the honors program and didn't offer the replacement capstone class in the semester I needed it, so I had to drop out of the program because I didn't have the money for an extra semester to take the thesis capstone class. I will also have to postpone or give up on grad school because of the cost." Not having the honors program can, of course, seriously affect the student's prospects for professional school admission. One out of 5 white students and one of 4 students of color considers giving up getting a degree because it has become too difficult.

Students experience extreme physical and emotional stress

The single most common word used in written comments by students was “stress.” Over and over students wrote about the extreme stress they are under. This is affecting their grades, their motivation, and their mental and physical health. Sometimes we forget the very human stories behind these numbers, and the psychic pain that a lot of these students are experiencing. One writes of “extreme depression every day ever since last year. Finding it hard to stay motivated in school.” Another says, “I am a very stressed out student. I am trying to pay the bills now and help my parents with the grants and loans I have. But later on I wonder if I will be able to pay off the debt in loans I already have.” They talk about how the squeeze of many pressures hurts their academic work: “I cannot get into classes I need. I don’t have enough time to do homework because I have to work. These kinds of problems make me agitated, depressed, and confused.” Another writes sadly, “I’m worried every day if I can afford my bills and gas to school.... The pressure is on.”

“It’s difficult to go to school and concentrate knowing that your family is in need. My parents are also both sick and we no longer have medical insurance. I’m in constant fear that they’ll die. I work the maximum hours at work and take classes in the evening. I’m usually tired from being awake since early in the morning, so I tend to doze off in class. . . . or I have to be in a constant battle to stay awake.”

“Some days I feel absolutely awful. I work hard and I’m afraid of getting sick or of any other “unforeseen” difficulty coming up because I’m afraid I won’t be able to handle things.”

Many of these students are trying hard to be responsible family members, students, and citizens, working as much as they can and studying hard, trying to help support parents and siblings while also trying to meet personal educational and career goals. But it is clear that many are stressed far beyond a healthy level. Some of the students wrote what could only be described as cries for help. Some are being pushed beyond their ability to cope with the stress. And, of course, mental health services, even if they could take the time from work and classes to receive them, are being cut back too.

CONCLUSION

We knew, of course, when we did this survey that students were in trouble, but we didn’t know how deep it was or how many would reach out, even through the anonymity of a questionnaire, to tell us about the stress of their lives. Both of the authors of this report were first-generation college students at public universities and understand very well how college can change one’s life. When the state of California adopted the Master Plan for Higher Education in 1960 it made a social contract with the young people of the state to provide them with a higher education. But the state has broken that social contract for many of its students. California has great wealth, but it also has many millions living in poverty with very low levels of education. Prior to the

budget cuts of the last two years, California ranked 32nd in the nation with respect to per capita expenditures for higher education from state and local revenues. Perhaps there is a failure to understand that we are all in this together.

The Civil Rights Project has had a long-term interest in college access in California. Before the Great Recession, in 2006 we wrote: “. . . .we need to remember two basic things—that we made huge progress on issues of access [to higher education] during the past in very difficult times in a society not nearly as rich as we are today. We created the world’s greatest system of public higher education, we trained a new generation of creative leaders from among the World War II veterans the country feared would not be able to find jobs after the war. A generation later, during the civil rights era, our colleges helped create a substantial middle class and a rapidly growing intelligencia in communities that had never had one and were widely believed by whites in a racially stratified society to be incapable of generating one. When we consider the scale of the challenges we face today, we have tokeep in mind the example of truly great breakthroughs in our past. . . .California can once again provide the model for what higher education-- at its best—can be. The destiny of th[e] state rests on the courage of policy makers, both within universities and within government, to move aggressively to recapture what has been lost, to reclaim the hope of millions of students who can make enormous contributions to this society if only given the chance.”⁴

We believe these comments are all the more applicable today. We can lay the burdens of a generation of Californians, who chose not to invest in its schools and colleges, on the backs of those who have struggled and continue to struggle to overcome declining educational opportunities--in the midst of a Great Recession no less. Or we can acknowledge that our future rests on today’s students. If we care about the future of this state then there is only one option -- to listen to these struggling students and to find ways to lift the burdens and preserve the state’s promise. As we face proposals to raise the barriers still higher and to provide no spaces for the expanding numbers of college-ready students, we need to recognize that it is not only their future but our own that is on the line.

4 G. Orfield and P. Gándara, “Fateful Decisions”, in Gándara, Orfield and C. Horn, *Expanding Opportunity in Higher Education*, SUNY Press, 2006, p. 288-289. (This book was the result of a conference cosponsored with the University of California where scholars from around the nation presented studies focusing on the threats to college opportunity in California).

PART 2

TWO STUDIES OF A FACULTY IN CRISIS

**Faculty under Siege:
Demoralization and Educational Decline in CSU**

Gary Orfield

**The Worst of Times:
Faculty Productivity and Job Satisfaction
During the CSU Budget Crisis**

Helen H. Hyun, Rafael M. Diaz & Sahar Khoury

FOREWORD

Universities are institutions whose function is to bring good students and good faculty together in ways that produce learning and prepare people for success in their adult lives, in their jobs and as members of communities and professions. You cannot have a good university without good faculty, and you cannot have optimal education unless the faculty has the curriculum, skills, and time to impart not only knowledge of important details of subjects, but also true understanding, lifelong skills, and a desire to continue to learn. Everything else is important-- but what happens in the classroom and in the professor's office talking with students is the center of the enterprise. We asked the students about the growing obstacles they face in *Squeezed from All Sides*, the first report in this series on CSUs. To understand the fully impact of cutbacks on opportunity, we have to think how they diminish the capacity of students to do their work.

Professors in the CSU feel that the cutbacks that have already occurred, before the large additional cuts coming this year, severely undermine educational opportunity in the university and sharply reduce their ability to do their job the way they think it ought to be done. Professors say they are teaching more but doing it less well, and that the students are seriously losing out. They say that they and their colleagues are having serious doubts about their profession and the institutions in which they teach. Professors are expected to teach, to carry out research, and to do community service. Often they worked hard for many years to get their jobs in competitive universities, which are designed to educate students in the top third of California students. To get their jobs and keep them, professors have earned doctorates, often at leading universities, and carried out and published significant original research. Many have devoted their careers to the Cal State system. The system reported 11,712 full time faculty in the 2009-10 academic year, approximately 4600 full professors, 2700 associate professors and 2700 assistant professors, as well as many lecturers and part-time faculty teaching particular courses. Most were 50 years or older and a fifth were over 60, suggesting that many will need to be replaced in the foreseeable future. Universities are hard to build and they must continually hold and recruit faculty if they are not to decline.

As a professor who has trained many young professors, I know both that academic jobs are very demanding and that the public doesn't really understand the challenges faculty face, nor the time and dedication it takes to do all the jobs well. Teaching takes serious preparation and good teaching is a very demanding job. Faculty members must reduce an important field of knowledge to a series of lectures, discussions, labs and other methods of instruction; figure out how to present new knowledge in a way that commands attention and motivates students to learn; keep up-to-date in their field; assess and give feedback to their students, and work personally with students who are having trouble in the course or whose studies are seriously threatened by other academic or personal issues. People don't realize that it can take a day to prepare one lecture or that it can take a week of working at home after hours to seriously correct a large set of papers from students needing to improve their writing and understanding of a field.

When a course involves learning or improving skills of importance throughout life, such as effectively understanding how to acquire and evaluate new information or to communicate and write seriously at a professional level, among others, the consequences of good teaching are very great. The teaching tasks require a substantial amount of time and concentration. In addition to teaching, all academic institutions require that faculty participate in many collective decisions, which entails additional time and energy at university meetings and in committee work. CSU faculty are trained as researchers and have to produce research to get positions and promotions. The universities gain from having active research because research is a substantial source of funding for the university and produces many jobs for students, as well as knowledge that contributes to the state and its economy. Students also gain because conducting research requires faculty to keep up with developments in the field so their teaching does not become obsolete. They also often bring excitement about their research into class. University faculty also play many active roles in community organizations and civic life, something that adds informed participants and leaders to many activities while also helping professors understand and teach about concrete applications of knowledge in a field. If a university were a business, the great majority of its capital would be its faculty.

Massive effort over many years has gone into recruiting and retaining good faculties for the CSU campuses. What we find in the research released today is faculty who feel that their situation is deteriorating critically in major aspects of their job, that they are able to offer less to their students, and that their students are suffering. The faculty like their jobs and their students, but have little confidence in the future.

Conditions that seriously limit faculty are directly linked to some of the most serious frustrations experienced by students.

Student surveyed in our first report, *Squeezed from All Sides*,⁵ reported that they were not getting the classes they needed to graduate, and that they were likely to lose another year waiting to complete their major. Under very serious financial and personal stress during an economic crisis that was hurting them and their families, students were delayed from graduating. This delay made an already very hard situation for students that much worse, costing another year of tuition and related expenses and denying them the credentials and the time to find full-time work. With fewer instructors hired by the campus and many cancelled classes, faculty are teaching bigger classes. They are coping with the increased numbers by cutting back their expectations for student work. They just don't have the time to do the things that they think necessary given the numbers of students they teach. Fewer class offerings overall, with harried and deeply disenchanted faculty, able to give less attention to students needing help—all of this is a poor recipe for the future of California students.

The two independent studies comprising this report complement each other. One is based on surveys from across the system and the other is an in-depth look at two doz-

5 Available at civilrightsproject.ucla.edu

en faculty on one campus. Neither of these studies had a random sample of professors responding; we cannot claim that the responses reported reflect the total faculty. Since they are entirely separate studies, asking different questions in different places and in different ways, it is important to observe strong common themes that emerge from both. I believe that it is very important to listen carefully to what these faculty members have to say. We encourage officials from the campuses, researchers, journalists, and student leaders to investigate this crisis more deeply on individual campuses.

Professors report that their students are severely impacted by these cuts and they do not see much cause for hope. Since both of these studies were conducted long before the new state budget proposal was released, and long before the precise consequences of the \$500 million cut already enacted can be known, one can only assume that those attitudes will intensify.

There is nothing in this research to show that faculty do not believe in the value of teaching CSU students. On the contrary, faculty expressed desire to fulfill their roles in teaching, research and civic engagement. Professors greatly value the academic life and enjoy teaching students, who they often see as appreciative and hard working. When they are asked to do more for less while supports are removed, however, they experience deep frustration at being unable to do any of the parts of their responsibilities the way they wish to. In classes with too many students to teach in-depth, with many students only enrolled because the class they really wanted was cancelled, with no teaching assistant and poor supplies, without time for the research they need to do, and worried about the ability to support their family, faculty become deeply discouraged. The CSU has been trying to sustain itself by charging its students much more, forcing its faculty to do more under worse conditions, simply letting the quality of its operations deteriorate and not replacing faculty as they leave. Without enough income to keep things going well, it is drawing down on its most important capital, its faculty. The faculty like and respect their colleagues, enjoy and want to help their students more, and want to contribute to new research. The faculty are the most important asset for the future of the university. A strong CSU is essential to California's future, which is already threatened by a projected shortage of college graduates unable to meet the demands of the labor market after the recovery takes hold. It is very important for the public to recognize that students and our common future are threatened by the serious problems faculty members are reporting.

Gary Orfield

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The fundamental asset of a university is its faculty. Without faculty working with students, the university is just a set of buildings. The faculty design and teach the courses, keep the educational program updated, and work with students to help them gain the skills and knowledge they need to prepare for their careers or professional education. The quality of faculty is very directly linked to the quality of a student's education and the value of the degree. The research released in these two new studies from the Civil Rights Project shows that the budget cutbacks at the California State University system are already reducing the quality of education faculty can offer students. The CSU now faces large additional cuts.

These reports are part of a series of independent original studies designed to analyze the impact of fiscal cutbacks in the CSU system on higher education opportunities. The Civil Rights Project is particularly interested in these issues because the CSU system is an extremely important pathway for opening opportunity to historically excluded groups of Latino, African American and poor students in California.

The first of these new studies, *Faculty under Siege: Demoralization and Educational Decline in CSU*, shows that faculty in the CSU system are severely impacted by budget cuts as the sizes of their classrooms increase, and resources and support are cut away. What they can offer their students is declining given that teaching loads are too big and support too weak. This study offers new data showing specific shifts in workload and sources of stress before and after the budget cuts. This survey collected data from hundreds of faculty members at multiple CSU campuses, while the second survey provides more in-depth qualitative data on a smaller sample of faculty on one-campus.

The second study, *The Worst of Times: Faculty Productivity and Job Satisfaction During the CSU Budget Crisis*, concludes from in-depth interviews that faculty are experiencing increased workloads, larger class sizes, reductions in salary and resources, and a lack of time for scholarship due to significant budget cuts. These sources of stress, along with declining campus morale, and uncertainty about their futures in the profession, all led to reports of diminished career satisfaction and negative impacts on the personal lives of the faculty participants.

While the second study adds much more depth in terms of qualitative data collected from faculty, this data supports the findings of the faculty survey conducted in the first study. The findings from both studies show that faculty overall have been negatively impacted by the budget cuts, creating more sources of stress due to increased workload and decreased resources. Both studies also point out that the additional budget cuts set for the system have the ability to critically change the mission of the educational system with long-term implications to the system's welfare.

Faculty Under Siege, is based on a survey of more than four hundred faculty across the CSU system and it shows that the main sources of stress that appear to affect job satisfaction and the quality of teaching are increased class sizes and teaching loads,

a lack of personal time, not receiving support and supplies from the system, working with underprepared students, and advising an increasing number of students. This web-based survey collected data on 424 faculty; 76% are full-time employees of their institution, and the majority of respondents teach at only one campus. In addition, 47% had tenure at the time of the survey, with an additional 22% on tenure track.

Key Findings:

- 96% of faculty reported that institutional budget cuts are a major source of stress. Half of the faculty reported a reduction in resources and supplies, with increases in class sizes and teaching loads.
- Greater than a fifth of faculty are teaching more courses and a third are spending more time for classroom preparation. In addition, 43% of faculty reported a decrease in research and scholarly writing due to a lack of time.
- Since the budget cuts, many faculty reported decreased expectations of students due to the increased teaching loads and lack of time. Nearly 35% report a decreased expectation of students revising papers to improve writing. A sixth of faculty say they also see fewer questions answered in class.
- Professional demoralization is severe. 63% of faculty said they have considered leaving their institution. A third of faculty said they have considered early retirement, and 48% have considered leaving the academic profession altogether.
- Over 80% of faculty reported several sources of stress, including personal finances and a lack of personal time. Nearly 85% said working with underprepared students is also a major source of stress.

The Worst of Times: Faculty Productivity and Job Satisfaction, the second new study, examined the impact of budget cuts in the CSU system on the productivity and job satisfaction of tenured/tenure-track faculty at a Northern California campus (called NSCU to preserve anonymity). Faculty reported a profoundly negative impact due to excessive teaching loads, furlough-based salary cuts, larger class sizes, increased student contact, decreased compensation, lack of time for research, and decreases in resources available. They saw the budget cuts harming instruction. The stresses of workload increase, productivity decrease, job dissatisfaction, and the resulting harm to students emerged as the four main themes of this study.

Key Findings:

- The majority of faculty reported feeling overwhelmed by the increased class sizes and decreased support, both of which harmed teaching effectiveness.
- Within a 2-year period, NSCU experienced an 18% decline in the number of instructional faculty. The participants of the study identified this as a major source of stress and job dissatisfaction.

- The majority of faculty reported the lack of time to do research, as well as decreased resources and support for scholarship as a common concern leading to job dissatisfaction.
- Nearly all CSU employees had experienced furloughs, which amounted to approximately a 10% cut in pay. Many were struggling to make ends meet.
- Lowered morale due to salary cuts, increased workload, and lack of support and resources made them think about leaving the University.

The increased class sizes presented many challenges in teaching effectiveness for the faculty, “with 50 students, it’s just really difficult to grade that much, and I grade a lot on both content and grammar. Now I’m finding I’m reducing my assignments and I feel like that sort of [cheats] the students.”

The cuts have created lowered morale and even the need for additional employment for many faculty. One noted, “With the furloughs, I have colleagues who are working second jobs... One junior faculty is a locksmith. I have another faculty friend who is waitressing one night a week.” Another faculty member describes difficulty in supporting her/his family, “Salary is a very important consideration... Well, with two kids it makes it really hard to make ends meet.”

In addition, many faculty have experienced a campus climate where there was much uncertainty of the future due to job cuts, “You know we’re hearing horror stories that literally the [another CSU campus] was asked to come up with a list of tenure-track faculty to cut by Friday. So it’s really deep.” The stress is intensified by uncertainty about the future.

Faculty report that cuts and course reductions hurt their students. One commented, “They [students] are just fighting for units so they can be full-time students and not get kicked out and lose their financial aid.” Faculty members reported a “compromised teaching environment” due to the faculty being overstretched and still trying to teach students. Seeing students facing the disappearance of classes they needed to graduate, faculty often had no solution to offer them.

Despite the findings in the survey and interview data, faculty reported a strong commitment to teaching and their students. The report suggests lack of improvement in faculty support and working conditions as detrimental to the long-term health of the University. From the faculty perspective, the system was stretched very thin long before the cuts which came last summer and fall; students already were at risk before the recent tuition increases and will experience further setbacks as more cuts loom.

FACULTY UNDER SIEGE: DEMORALIZATION AND EDUCATIONAL DECLINE IN THE CSU

Gary Orfield

Several hundred CSU faculty responded to questions in a survey from UCLA Civil Rights Project researchers and the great majority reported that they were working under severe stress. They saw deterioration on all important parts of their job, and said that students were not receiving the kind of attention their professors thought they deserved due to growing teaching loads, sharp cuts in teaching staff and resources, and the impossibility of doing what they previously did when they taught smaller groups of students. They saw the problems as so serious that they thought about rethinking their careers and questioned their desire to continue working at their institutions. Since, more than anything else, faculty define what a university is and what kind of education students actually receive, these are extremely serious issues.

We surveyed a sample of faculty drawn from the membership rolls of the CSU Faculty Association. (The California Faculty Association funded part of this study but had no role in the design or the interpretation of the data, which was wholly in the control of Civil Rights Project researchers and the questionnaire was neither distributed nor analyzed by CFA staff.) We surveyed 2,858 (a sample of 20% drawn from CSUFA members for whom email addresses were available (N= 14,285). They were invited to participate in the web-based survey entitled "CSU Faculty Voice" and we got responses from 424 faculty, a rate of 15%. This sample and the response rate are not sufficient to say with any assurance that the views represent either the entire membership of the association or the overall faculty.

These results should be taken as the views of 424 faculty members who took the time to complete the survey form on the web. It is notoriously difficult to survey university faculty and this is a substantial number of respondents. Since we include a much more in-depth study of a group of faculty on one CSU campus, done independently by other researchers, and have their responses to some of the same issues, these reports can supplement each other and show the views of several hundred professors from across the system.

Tenure Status of Respondent	Percentage
Not on tenure track	31.4
On tenure track but not tenured	21.8
Tenured	46.8

Academic rank	Percentage
Instructor	.8
Lecturer	30.3
Assistant Professor	21.8
Associate Professor	17.4
Professor	29.7

424 faculty participated in the survey. The responding faculty were overwhelmingly (76%) full time workers on a single campus, almost half (47%) had tenure in the system. They were slightly over half female and about two-thirds white. 92 percent taught at only one campus and the great majority (86%) saw teaching as their principal activity. The survey included all faculty ranks with the largest numbers at the top (full professor) or the bottom (lecturer) of the academic hierarchy. The most common teaching load was three courses with an average enrollment of 16-30 students in each. Faculty had taken a substantial pay cut via furloughs, which were ended in mid-2010, but another budget crisis is now approaching fast following the half-billion dollar cut for CSU signed by Governor Brown and the possibilities of still larger cuts.

HOW EXPECTATIONS OF STUDENTS HAVE CHANGED SINCE BUDGET CUTS

The faculty had clear ideas of what students needed for their educational progress but as teaching loads grew they reported that they were less able to provide some of those key skills. A significant fraction of the instructors reported that they were lowering their standards for teaching. With bigger teaching loads, they could give less emphasis on key aspects of instruction. About a sixth said that they could handle fewer questions in class and were less likely to demand that students “seek solutions to problems and explain to others.” The most serious decline in expectations was on the revision of written work, which is crucial to improving writing and the capacity to develop effective papers. Analytic writing is, of course, one of the most important skills to be developed in college and one highly relevant to many kinds of work after college. Many students come to college from the state’s poorly financed public schools sadly lacking in such skills and it takes a great deal of time working with students to develop them. These are, of course, skills of great value on the job and in the community.

DECREASED expectations of students since budget cuts in several areas:	Percentage
Ask questions in class	17.3
Support opinions with logical argument	13.2
Seek solutions to problems and explain to others	15.4
Revise papers to improve writing	34.5

The increased demands of larger teaching loads and the reduction in campus support systems had many impacts on the faculty. Greater than a fifth were teaching more courses, a third were spending more time on preparation. The students, who were being severely stressed by cutbacks in required courses, were asking for more support from faculty. More than a third of faculty reported increased time spent advising and counseling students. One-seventh were doing more work off campus to supplement their income.

CHANGES IN FACULTY ACTIVITIES

Since budget cuts, average hours per week INCREASE in the following activities	Percentage
Scheduled teaching	21.6
Preparing for teaching	35.8
Advising and counseling students	34.5
Other employment outside of academia	14.3

Public universities traditionally evaluate faculty on their research, their teaching and their community service. The faculty report they are now teaching more but able to do less in developing some of their students key skills. Both research and service, however, have taken major hits. 43% say that they are able to do less research and scholarly writing. Although the CSUs are not research universities in the UC sense, research and publication are very important for employment, promotion and tenure in the system. CSUs often have much deeper community connections than major research universities, which often have faculty geared for a national market and less interested or involved in local issues or community activities. About a third (32%) of CSU faculty, however, report that their community and public service is declining. This work is an important asset for many communities.

Since budget cuts, DECREASE in hours per week in the following activities:	Percentage
Research and scholarly writing	43.2
Community or public service	31.5

IMPACT OF BUDGET CUTS

Facing pay cuts, furloughs, growing workloads and an inability to do their research, many faculty feel less connected to their campus and their profession. Almost two-thirds (63%) say they have “considered leaving this institution.” Since many states and universities across the country have been facing cutbacks and hiring freezes dur-

ing the Great Recession, the campuses have been helped by the fact that there are few academic jobs to go around. This may change, as most of the country is coming out of the recession more quickly than California. Only a few states have the kind of massive continuing budget cuts California has faced and is likely to face for the next several years. A third of the faculty say that they have "considered early retirement" because of the deterioration of the job. Almost half (48%) have considered actually bailing out of the academic profession. These are very grim tidings for the campuses since faculty are central to all of the missions of the university.

Considerations/activities in past 2 years due to budget cuts	Percentage
Considered leaving academia for another job	48.2
Considered leaving this institution	63.3
Considered early retirement	34.8
Engaged in public service/professional consulting without pay	47.7

Our previous survey of students on one campus, which was the basis for a report, *Squeezed from All Sides*, showed the many CSU students are living under constant severe stress as costs rise sharply, their families face major economic crises, and they cannot get the courses they need to graduate. This faculty survey shows that faculty are also facing many forms of stress from the cutbacks. A full 96% of respondents say fiscal cuts have caused great stress. 88% are seriously worried about their personal financial situation and 86% cite the shrinkage of personal time. Teaching load increases and the challenges of working with large numbers of unprepared students in larger classes are other major sources of stress.

Sources of stress for faculty over last 2 years (Extensive or Somewhat)	Percentage
Review/promotion process	59.4
Personal finances	87.9
Larger classes	79.7
Students	69.6
Teaching load	77.0
Lack of personal time	85.7
Job security	68.2
Working with underprepared students	84.6
Institutional budget cuts	95.6

As cuts have continued, professors report problems in obtaining key materials and staff support for their work. Half report a reduction of classroom materials and a shrinking of technical materials and support. Clerical support is very important for

managing classes, keeping records, making appointments, preparing manuscripts, etc. and half of the respondents say it has declined. A third see a decline in library materials and a sixth point to less help for student in finding jobs, a massive worry in a bad economy. In general, almost all the relevant aspects of their jobs are receiving less support from their campus, so faculty must do more with less and this means that they are reducing their aspirations and what they can do for their students.

The success of universities depends upon finding and keeping good faculty who can effectively educate students, conduct research and help their communities. The faculty surveyed here are experiencing stress on many dimensions and are frustrated about adequately meeting any of these responsibilities fully in a deteriorating situation where they have to try to do more with less support in helping students who are themselves under great stress and frustrating with diminished offerings. Losing the faith of the faculty in the institutions can have very grave long-term consequences. That is clearly happening.

Have budget cuts reduced resources available to you?	Percentage
Classroom materials	51.4
Technical materials/technical support	49.5
Clerical support	50.2
Research assistance	35.4
Travel to attend important research conferences	58.7
Library materials	32.5
Job placement services for students	15.8

CSU faculty were facing a general deterioration of working conditions before the additional \$500 million cut set for the system in Governor Brown's budget. The earlier cuts had dramatic impacts on the workload and teaching experience of the faculty, and have led many to consider leaving their CSU campus or even the academic profession. This is a direct threat to the future of the universities. The cuts mean that the faculty teach larger classes, even as the students face the elimination of many classes they need to finish their degrees. Not only are the courses offerings reduced but faculty report that they are less able to do things they know are clearly very important, such as working with students on their writing skills and giving them the feedback they need to improve their learning.

Often in budget discussions we see large budget numbers that have no clear meanings. We hear claims that university faculty are spoiled and funding should be cut, and the tacit assumption is that things will continue to work more or less as before for the students. In the short run, many of the changes are not visible from the outside. From the inside, however, it is a different story. University education is centrally about what happens in the classroom and in interactions between faculty and students. These things have changed in critical ways and faculty members feel much less supported

and much less able to do critical parts of their jobs. If these trends continue the long-term consequences will go to the core of CSU education.

THE SURVEY

The survey was designed by the Civil Rights Project and is attached to this report on the following pages. It was implemented through a web-based survey program called Survey Monkey, which allows people to anonymously respond to a survey on their computers. The survey was originally designed with the assistance of Guadalupe Anaya and was field-tested with faculty members. It was sent to a one-fifth sample of the names on the Faculty Association membership rolls. The response rate was insufficient to justify a claim to represent either the total association membership or the CSU faculty as a whole. But the opinion of more than four hundred faculty members who did respond deserves attention. To do a survey that would produce a valid representation of the experience of the total faculty, we would have needed access to lists and contact information from all CSU campuses and a professional firm to conduct a telephone survey with sufficient repeated follow-ups to produce a high response rate. We did not have the access or the funds to carry out the survey in this way. We recommend that each campus or smaller academic unit carry out a survey of its own faculty since the best possible information is needed; we grant permission for the use of our questionnaire. Clearly very large issues are at stake and they deeply affect the future of the universities. We believe the responses of several hundred faculty members raise compelling questions for the system and its students.

*** 5. Type of course you are teaching at another campus:**

	Not applicable	Required for UG Major	Other UG credit	Developmental/remedial (not for credit)	Non-credit (other than previous)	Graduate
Course 1	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Course 2	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Course 3	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Course 4	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 6. Number of students enrolled/expected/cap for each course that you are teaching at another campus:**

	Not applicable	Less than 15	16-30	31-45	46-60	61-75	76-90	91-125	over 126
Course 1	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Course 2	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Course 3	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Course 4	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 7. What is your principal activity in your current position?**

- Teaching
 Research
 Administration
 Service to students/staff
 Other

*** 8. Are you currently serving in an administrative position? Check all that apply.**

- No
- Department Chair
- Dean, Associate Dean, Assistant Dean
- Vice President
- President
- Provost
- Other

*** 9. Are you considered a full-time employee of your institution for at least nine months of the current academic year?**

- No
- Yes

EXPECTATIONS FOR STUDENTS

*** 1. In your interactions with students how often do you encourage them to:**

	Very Often	Often	Occasionally	Not at all
Ask questions in class	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Support their opinions with a logical argument	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Seek solutions to problems and explain them to others	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Revise their papers to improve their writing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 2. Since the budget cuts have you increased/decreased your expectations for undergraduates to:**

	Increased	Decreased	No Change	Not applicable
Ask questions in class	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Support their opinions with a logical argument	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Seek solutions to problems and explain them to others	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Revise their papers to improve their writing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 3. How important is each educational goal for undergraduate students?**

	Not Important	Somewhat Important	Very Important	Essential
Develop ability to think critically	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Prepare for employment after college	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Prepare for graduate or advanced education	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Develop moral character	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Provide for students' emotional development	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Teach the classic works of Western civilization	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Help students develop personal values	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Enhance students' self-understanding	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Instill in students a commitment to community service	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Enhance students' knowledge of and appreciation for other racial/ethnic groups	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Help master knowledge in a discipline	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Develop creative capacities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Instill basic appreciation of the liberal arts	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Promote ability to write effectively	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Help students in civil discourse around controversial issues	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Teach students tolerance and respect for different beliefs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Encourage student so become agents of social change	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 4. Since the budget cuts have the average HOURS PER WEEK that you actually spend on each of the following activities increased/decreased?**

	Not applicable	5-8 hour or less	1-4 hours less	1-4 hours more	5-8 hours more	No change
Scheduled teaching	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Preparing for teaching (including reading student papers and grading)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Advising and counseling students	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Research and scholarly writing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other creative products/performances	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Consultation with clients/patients	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Community or public service	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Outside consulting/freelance work	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other employment outside of academia	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

IMPACT OF BUDGET CUTS

*** 1. During the past two years due to budget cuts have you:**

	Yes	No
Considered early retirement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Considered leaving academe for another job	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Considered leaving this institution	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Changed academic institutions	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Engaged in paid consulting outside of your institution	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Engaged in public service/professional consulting without pay	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Received at least one firm job offer	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Requested/sought an early promotion	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 2. Please indicate the extent to which each of the following has been a source of stress for you during the last two years:**

	Not applicable	Extensive	Somewhat	Not at all
Review/promotion process	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Personal finances	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Committee work	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Faculty meetings	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Larger classes (more students)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Colleagues	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Students	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Subtle discrimination (e.g. prejudice, racism, sexism)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Research or publishing demands	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Teaching load (number of courses)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Lack of personal time	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Keeping up with information technology	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Job Security	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Working with underprepared students	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Change in work responsibilities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Institutional budget cuts	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

3. Have budget cuts reduced resources available to you? Check all that apply:

- Classroom materials
- Technical materials/technical support
- Clerical support
- Research assistance
- Travel to attend important research conferences
- Library materials
- Job placement services for students

DEMOGRAPHICS

*** 1. What is your present academic rank?**

- Instructor Lecturer Assistant Professor Associate Professor Professor

*** 2. What is your tenure status at this institution?**

- Not on tenure track On tenure track but not tenured Tenured

*** 3. Please enter the four digit year that each of the following occurred (e.g. 1947, 2001, etc.).**

Year of birth

Year you earned the highest degree you now hold

Year of appointment at present institution

If tenured, year tenure was awarded

*** 4. Are you currently**

- Single
- Married
- Unmarried,
living with a partner
- Divorced
- Separated
- Widowed

*** 5. How many children do you have that are**

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6 or more
College age	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
School age	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 6. Gender**

- Female
- Male

*** 7. Are you, check all that apply**

- African American
- American Indian/Alaskan Native
- Asian American/Asian
- Mexican American/Chicano-a
- Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander
- Puerto Rican
- White/Caucasian
- Other Latino
- Other

*** 8. Please mark the highest degree that you have earned**

- Bachelor (B.A., B.S., etc.)
- Master (M.A., M.S., M.F.A., M.B.A., etc.)
- Other professional degree beyond the B.A. (e.g. D.D., D.V.M., etc.)
- LL.B, J.D.
- Ed.D.
- Ph.D.
- Other degree
- None

*** 9. From the pull down menu select**

CSU Campus

Your CSU campus	<input style="width: 90%; border: none;" type="text"/>
-----------------	--

*** 10. From the pull down menu select the most appropriate GENERAL AREA for the highest degree that you hold and for your department.**

General Area

Highest Degree	<input style="width: 90%; border: none;" type="text"/>
CSU Department	<input style="width: 90%; border: none;" type="text"/>

11. From the pull down menu select the most appropriate SPECIFIC DISCIPLINE (scroll down to see all options) for the highest degree that you hold and for your department; this item is optional.

	Specific Discipline
Highest Degree	<input type="text"/>
CSU Department	<input type="text"/>

YOUR COMMENTS ON THE IMPACT OF CSU BUDGET CUTS

Is there anything else you want add about the impact of CSU budget cuts? If so, add your comments below.

Thank you for your participation.

Gary Orfield, Co-Director
Patricia Gandara, Co-Director
UCLA Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles

1. You can add comments regarding the impact of the CSU budget cuts.

Thank you.

THE WORST OF TIMES: FACULTY PRODUCTIVITY AND JOB SATISFACTION DURING THE CSU BUDGET CRISIS

Helen H. Hyun, Rafael M. Diaz & Sahar Khoury

"It's like the sky has actually fallen. Why are our leaders not asking for help from the government? This is really a crisis and instead of dealing with it head on they're trying to put it on our backs, and the reality is if we allow that to happen we're looking at completely deconstructing the system. There's not going to be anything left...we're actually at the bone. There's no more cutting happening. There's no place to go."

–CSU Professor, July 2009

INTRODUCTION

This study examined the productivity and job satisfaction of tenured/tenure-track faculty at a California State University (CSU) campus between April 2009 and March 2010 as massive budget cuts—including layoffs, furloughs, capped admissions, and tuition increases—were being implemented in the CSU system. During this period, 23 faculty participants from a Northern California campus (NCSU) were interviewed in-depth and also surveyed about their research productivity and job satisfaction for a study on formal mentoring.⁶

Even prior to the current economic crisis, state funding for public higher education in California has decreased significantly. Since 2007, the CSU has lost over \$625 million in state support resulting in fewer courses, larger class sizes, reduced services, and fewer instructors in the CSU system (Johnson, 2010). The additional cuts to general funding in 2009-10 yielded a CSU budget gap of over \$571 million. Data from the CSU Chancellor's Office indicate 10,420 fewer course sections were offered in the 2009-10 academic year on CSU campuses amounting to an eight percent decrease from the previous year. At NCSU, fewer courses and fewer instructional faculty—particularly the reduction of lecturers—have exacerbated class sizes and teaching loads for tenured/tenure-track faculty. In fall 2009, there were 528 fewer course sections compared to fall 2008 representing a seven percent decrease. Moreover, between 2006 and 2009, the total number of instructional faculty declined by 15% and the number of lecturers was reduced by 33% (CSU PIMS Database).

Findings from our interview and survey data—as corroborated by institutional and CSU system-wide data—indicate the budget crisis has had a profoundly negative ef-

⁶ Due to the focus of this paper on the CSU budget crisis, a discussion of the formal mentoring program is not presented. In brief, the program at NCSU provided participants with individual and group mentoring for research proposal and manuscript development, course release, and a nominal stipend.

fect on NCSU faculty, in particular, and their campus in general. Excessive teaching loads and furlough-based salary cuts were identified as the major corroders of career satisfaction and institutional commitment by participants in our study. A great majority of faculty also reported feeling overwhelmed and demoralized by larger class sizes, increased student contact, decreased compensation, lack of time for research, and diminished resources and support for scholarly activity. Several participants shared their concerns about the long-term impact of the budget cuts on the University's ability to recruit and retain promising faculty. Other participants spoke candidly about their inability to teach and advise students effectively given increased class sizes and teaching loads.

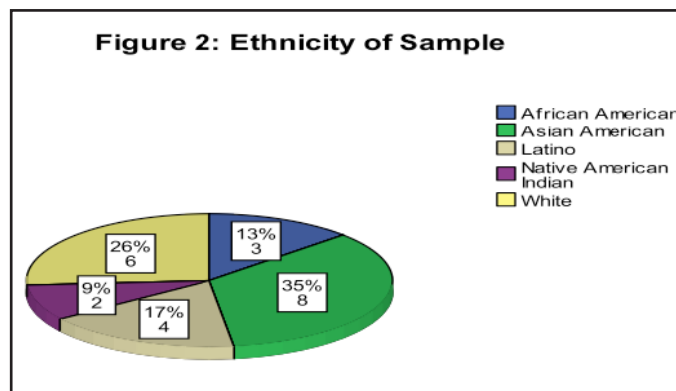
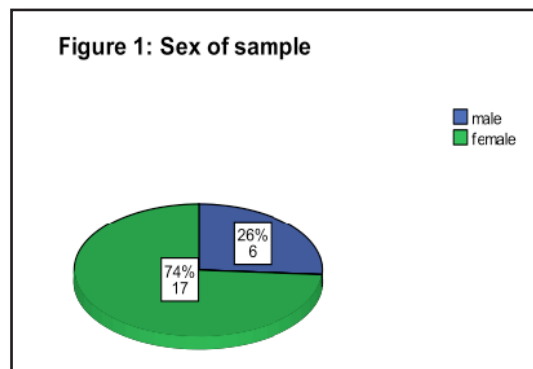
While our study focused on the work lives of faculty, we believe several inferences can also be made about the detrimental impact of the budget cuts on students and student learning. More specifically, faculty of color in our study perceived the negative effects as compromising their ability to support and counsel students many of whom are first generation and underrepresented minorities. Faculty of color at NCSU were more likely, on average, to report advising and mentoring students of color compared to their white peers. Furthermore, female faculty of color in our study appeared to disproportionately shoulder this important work which has been documented in the literature to enhance the persistence of students of color.

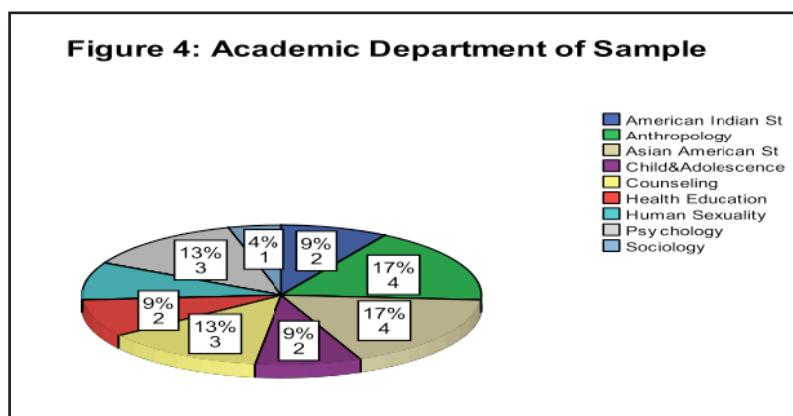
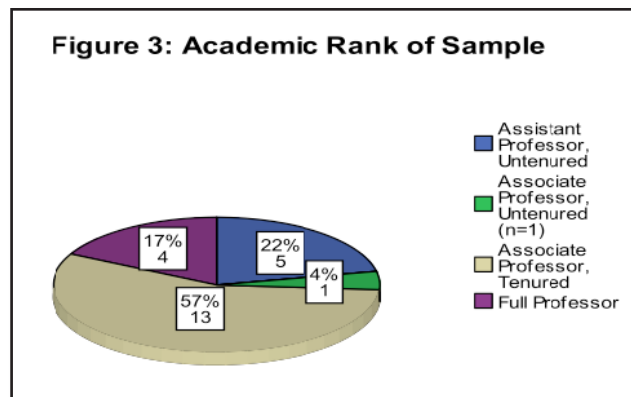
SETTING

The CSU system of public higher education is the largest of its kind in the U.S. with 23 campuses, approximately 433,000 students, and 44,000 faculty and staff. Since its inception in 1961, CSU has conferred almost 2.5 million degrees (CSU web site, July 2010). NCSU is a large, urban public university that currently serves 30,000 students and employs over 1,700 faculty and 2,000 staff. The University offers 115 bachelor degree specializations, 95 master's degree concentrations, and two doctoral degree programs. NCSU usually ranks among the top twenty institutions in the nation for awarding undergraduate degrees to students of color. Almost a quarter of all NCSU students are considered underrepresented minorities by the federal government, and about one-fifth of undergraduate students are the first in their families to attend college. The student population includes approximately 60% women and 60% people of color with the following ethnic breakdown: 7% African American, 34% Asian and Pacific Islander, 20 % Latino, 1% Native American Indian, and 37% White (NCSU web site, September 2010). In fall 2009, women and people of color comprised 48% and 39%, respectively, of the 827 tenured/tenure-track professors at NCSU who reported their ethnic identity as 5% African American, 19% Asian and Pacific Islander, 7% Latino, 1% Native American, and 62% White (CSU PIMS database, July 2010).

FINDINGS

Between April 2009 and March 2010, 23 tenured/tenure-track faculty were interviewed and surveyed extensively about their work lives at NCSU (see Appendices A and B for interview and survey questions). Faculty participants for the study were highly diverse and included 17 women (74%--see Figure 1), 17 people of color (74%--see Figure 2), and five assistant (22%), 14 associate (16%), and four full professors (17%) (see Figure 3). Participants came from a range of social science disciplines including psychology, ethnic studies, anthropology, counseling, health education, child and adolescence studies, and human sexuality (Figure 4). Our sample included 12 randomly selected faculty who had participated in a formal mentoring program and 11 who had not but were chosen to serve as a matched-pair, comparison group. Inclusion criteria for the matched-pair group included discipline (or academic department), year Ph.D. was obtained, sex, minority status, and academic rank.





From our thematic analysis of interview data, four categories emerged related to participants' perceptions of the impact of the budget crisis on their work environment between April 2009 and March 2010: (a) workload increase; (b) productivity decrease; (c) job dissatisfaction; and (d) negative student impact.

Workload Increase

Increased class sizes

The great majority of faculty interviewed for the study felt overwhelmed by the effects of the budget cuts on their workloads due to increased class sizes and diminished support. Faculty stated their increased workload was directly attributable to larger class enrollments particularly in undergraduate courses. Some faculty estimated the increase to be as high as 50-75%. One associate professor, for example, talked about the significant increase in the number of students in her classes due to the cutbacks.

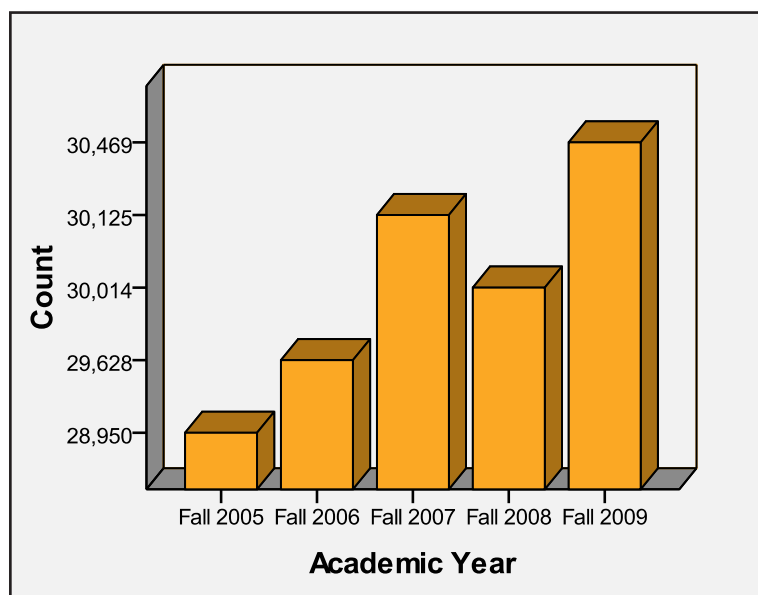
Again, it's just the daunting numbers, especially with the budget cuts. I used to have 40 students max and now I have 60-70, just because there is less offered and students need to get in there.

Feeling overwhelmed by her heavy workload, an associate professor emphasized repeatedly the enormity of her teaching load and lack of support due to the budget cuts.

Students are a lot of work, a lot of work. The work load is immense. I mean, it's immense! Especially since most of us are community activists. We have our research. We have to teach hundreds of students each semester with no TA's, no support. So, the workload is pretty daunting.

As Figure 5 indicates, the total number of students enrolled at NCSU has increased by five percent from 28,950 in fall 2005 to 30,469 in fall 2009 (CSU In Brief Enrollment Report, Fall 2009).

Figure 5: Student Headcount at NCSU, 2005-09



Source Note: CSU In Brief Enrollment Report, Fall 2009

Even at the graduate level, larger class sizes and impacted course sections were cited by faculty as the primary contributors to workload increase and job stress. As a full professor commented,

The teaching load is also one of the things that makes it really difficult. I've had graduate classes with 30 students. We managed to bring down our practicum classes to a very small number of students, but our general classes continue to be outrageous.

Perceived Impact of Increased Class Sizes on Teaching Effectiveness

The great majority of faculty interviewed cited the budget cuts as the direct cause of their excessive teaching loads. Several faculty spoke candidly about the negative impact large class sizes have had on their pedagogy and teaching effectiveness. When

asked to explain why she did not like teaching at NCSU, an associate professor stated larger class sizes were having a deleterious effect on her ability to support and train graduate students effectively due to the sheer number of students in her classroom.

The load! The load! And the one thing I really don't like is to have 30 students in a class. I think up to 20 I can do reasonably well for a graduate level, but when it starts to go beyond 20 I don't have as good a sense of their knowledge base, their understanding of the material... it makes it really difficult to make the professional training personally meaningful to each of the students. They start to become a sea of people rather than an individual I know by name well so that I can understand their strengths and shortcomings, and I can be supportive of them in the process.

Some faculty spoke specifically about the detrimental effects posed by increased class sizes on their classroom pedagogy. An associate professor talked about the major changes to her course delivery and teaching style due to larger class sizes. When asked how having more students in a class affected her teaching, she replied,

It totally changes your syllabus. Before, I used to have a lot more assignments because I think that gives students practice to do, to write, practice, to understand the material. But now, with 50 students, it's just really difficult to grade that much, and I grade a lot on both content and grammar. Now I'm finding I'm reducing my assignments and I feel like that sort of jips the students. It's hard to get to know the students when there are so many of them. It's hard to have good classroom discussions or to do fun little exercises that I used to.

An associate professor talked about feeling overwhelmed by the increased number of students in his classes, and the challenge larger class sizes present to his teaching effectiveness. As he explained,

Even though I really do enjoy teaching... the class sizes have been overwhelming for me, especially this past year. I took a leave last fall and was in [foreign country] and I only taught two classes there. Most division one faculty teach just two classes. Then the day after I came back I started teaching at State, and I had four classes and 220 students. It was just overwhelming! This semester I've been a little bit more overwhelmed by the teaching, more than ever before. I think it was the contrast between the lighter load and the heavier load. And with what I want to do in the classroom, having such a high class size makes it difficult.

Finally, another associate professor, talked about the direct impact of larger class sizes on the quality of her instruction and her ability to teach students effectively.

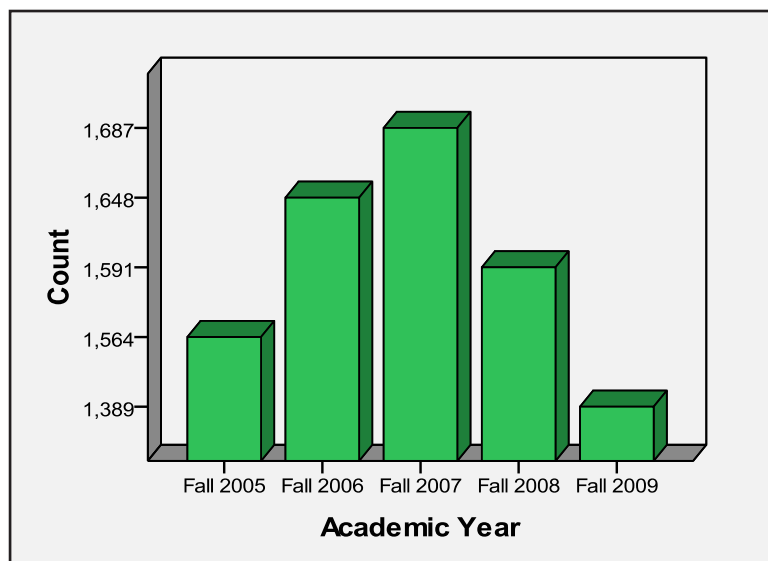
My [name of class] is based on experiential learning so I felt like saying "40 students is really the max," because I know every person's name and I know who they are and I work with them and I have a lot of written assignments

where I provide feedback and I need space in the room, comfort. Moving around to work [with students] as partners to working in groups, and I have not been able to teach 40 for a long time. So, I have been teaching 50. They told me that when I come back in the fall, it's going to be 60. There is a loss in quality because of this budget and priorities...and it's so disrespectful to the students to treat them like that.

Reduction in Instructional Faculty

Not having enough instructors to teach courses was another common theme that affected faculty teaching loads, stress levels, and job dissatisfaction according to the majority of faculty interviewed. As Figure 6 indicates, the drop in instructional faculty at NCSU has been precipitous. Between fall 2007 and fall 2009, the total number of instructors (both tenured/tenure-track and temporary) at NCSU decreased from 1,687 to 1,389 representing an 18% decline notwithstanding the overall increase in student enrollment.

Figure 6: All Instructional Faculty at NCSU, 2005-09



Source note: CSU PIMS Database, 2009

A department chair talked about the challenges related to course coverage during the budget crisis. She spoke about the direct impact of the budget cuts on her teaching load and her decision to “over-teach” to offer required courses and compensate for the lack of instructional faculty in her department. When asked if she had any recommendations to make NCSU a better or more satisfying place to work, she replied,

We really need to hire faculty like everyone else.... The biggest thing for me has been the problem with coverage of courses. My feeling like I have to over-teach in order to offer these courses. I have been doing the course

scheduling of faculty--who is going to teach what. It has been crisis after crisis that I've had to deal with.

Another department chair talked about the need to make repeated cuts to departmental course offerings due to the budget crisis, and the negative responses that engendered.

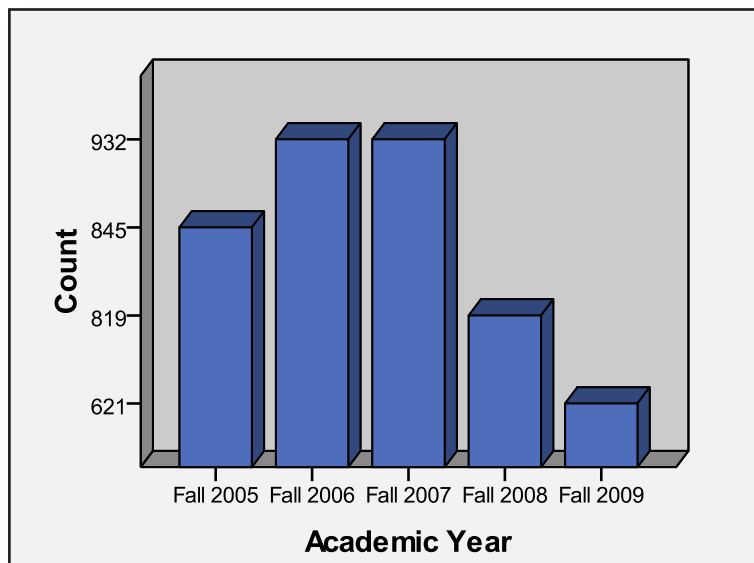
Nobody wants to be chair in my department. It's just a lot of administrative stuff. And now with the budget cuts it's very demoralizing because I am constantly cutting classes and I have to explain it's not because I'm this evil person.

The layoff of lecturers and other teaching staff due to the budget crisis was another major setback reported by a majority of faculty interviewed for the study. Faculty stated the reduction in instructional faculty—including the hiring freeze and the retirement of tenured faculty—has negatively impacted their teaching workload and productivity. A full professor talked about the abrupt disappearance of lecturers and its effect on tenured/tenure-track faculty in his department.

Then all of a sudden, they were all lecturers...this is not a commentary on lecturers, it's just they don't understand our curriculum as well as faculty members who are tenured or tenure-track. As you know, because of the budget crisis, we don't have any lecturers left--everybody is back into the classroom....

Figure 7 shows the total number of temporary faculty at NCSU was cut dramatically from 932 in fall 2007 to 621 in fall 2009 representing a 33% reduction in two years.

Figure 7: Temporary Faculty at NCSU, 2005-09



Source Note: CSU PIMS Database

The increase in faculty workload as described by the great majority of participants interviewed was directly attributable to increased class sizes, decreased support, and fewer instructional faculty due to lecturer layoff, hiring freeze policies and faculty retirement. Most participants reported feeling overwhelmed by their teaching workload and several openly discussed the negative impact of increased class enrollments on their pedagogy and teaching effectiveness during the budget crisis.

Productivity Decrease

Scholarship De-prioritized

Time—or lack of it—was a recurring theme in the interview data. A great majority of faculty cited “excessive teaching load” and increased student contact as primary reasons. Many faculty spoke at length and in frustrated terms about the impact of their increased teaching load on their scholarship and professional growth. A full professor talked about how he has de-prioritized his research agenda due to his increased workload and administrative duties during the budget crisis. When asked about his scholarship, he replied,

If I had the time... I'm back to trying to run a program and to manage under these economic times, and to do what is expected and, on some level, even required of tenured full professors. Because we're losing lecturers and trying to hold on to our assistant professors and tenure-track faculty, and we're taking furlough days. Technically, we can't work... it's just such a façade, if you will. 'Just do more for less, and we're just not going to pay you!' So that's the thing, it's really trying to manage a program and students and trying to minimize the impact that it has. It's just more work. So as I was telling another faculty member, that's the kind of thing--the research end of it, you basically put on the backburner--because you know you have to get all of this stuff done first.

Another full professor spoke about the negative impact of the budget cuts on his ability to find time to submit a proposal to the campus Human Subjects Committee to conduct his research project.

If you're expecting me to carve out this time with all of this, it's not going to happen just like it hasn't happened. The simplest thing I need to do is submit a proposal to the IRB. That was back in August. Have I done it? No! I'm too busy now, especially with furloughs and cuts to salaries, I gotta make it up somehow.

When asked how much time she devoted to research in a year, an overwhelmed assistant professor responded,

Nothing. Literally, no time, during the school year...no time. I'm hoping to finish one of my manuscripts over winter break, so I don't get to have any breaks, right? When I was writing the proposal for that grant I had to spend

all of my furlough days plus weekends and I gave up probably two months of my weekends. It was a hard process, and of course I didn't get any buy-out for that right? So there is no time, no time.

"Lack of time" was also the response from an associate professor who lamented the limited time she had to pursue her scholarship in recent years.

You gotta remember when I go to NCSU with the number of students I have...I can't do any intellectual work. It's more administrative work or teaching or what have you. It's one big diversion from what I would really like to be doing, which is as an intellectual and a researcher.

Another associate professor talked about the numerous challenges and her indefatigable efforts to maintain an active research agenda given her current teaching load.

When I'm teaching full on like I am right now, three huge classes, for four months, I can get very little research and writing done. So, for 8 months out of the year that is pretty tied up. Some semesters, I don't have such a heavy teaching load. I will have one graduate seminar with only 10 students or another class that has a smaller amount. So that's a huge relief that I'm able to do more research and writing. And I'm continuously writing so it's not like I stop. It's just polishing it and getting it to the publisher. I need some real quality time to do that and that's on my winter break and summer and that is four months. So really, 8 out of 12 [months] is pretty much teaching. I mean, I am always trying to apply for grants and fellowships, do some editing, do some brainstorming, writing. But for me, it's just splitting my attention in too many different ways.

Lack of resources and support for scholarship

The budget impact on the availability of resources was another common concern reported by participants. Many faculty spoke at length about the effects of dwindling resources and support on their productivity. An associate professor spoke angrily about the lack of resources in her department and its impact on her scholarly productivity. When asked about barriers to her publishing activity, she responded,

I think the lack of resources for even buying a book. I can't buy a book and get it reimbursed, and I do go to the library. I actually don't like to have very many books... but just to think that you have to buy your own paper and toner is just insane! All those things that the UC people take for granted we don't have, and those things really affect how much you can publish.

An associate professor talked about the lack of release time provided to faculty for administrative roles they must assume to maintain academic programs.

[In the past]...we got release time for being graduate coordinator which is great, because the release time is equivalent to the work I was doing as graduate coordinator. That was helpful, and now, because of the budget

cuts, that has all been taken away. It used to be parsed out unequally--our department got it, others didn't. So we got it, and now that's been taken away so I don't know what's gonna happen in the future.

Job Dissatisfaction

Furlough-based Salary Cuts

As part of the CSU-wide furlough policy, nearly all of CSU's 47,000 employees took furloughs two days a month and, as a result, saw their pay cut by about ten percent. The large majority of faculty interviewed for the study expressed tremendous frustration with the furlough policy and the consequences imposed by the salary reduction both on themselves and their departments. Most faculty felt their workloads had increased during the budget crisis and that the furlough policy amounted to a ten percent pay cut. An associate professor talked about the difficulty of salary cuts on his ability to support a family of four in the Bay Area on his reduced income.

Salary is a very important consideration. I think the issues of furloughs have been a major issue. I have always taught summer to supplement my income. Well, with two kids it makes it really hard to make ends meet. And the prospect of not—even though I've been really successful at getting every single service dollar, you know, four month salary increase, I've been very fortunate to get them all. The prospect of looking at no salary improvement, in fact from the moment I was promoted from assistant to associate, my salary stayed the same for five years. Five years without salary movement meant—considering inflation.... I think salary is an important consideration in terms of what another institution could [offer].

Some NCSU faculty have even had to take on additional employment to make ends meet. An assistant professor revealed that some of her colleagues have been forced to take on random jobs to offset the salary reduction imposed by the furlough policy.

With the furloughs, I have colleagues who are working second jobs... One junior faculty is also a locksmith. I have another faculty friend who is waitressing one night a week.

To be sure, the faculty we interviewed expressed great concern about the personal hardships they endured due to salary cuts, but they also expressed grave concerns about the welfare of the institution. A full professor spoke at length about her preoccupation with the potential impact of the budget cuts on her students and junior colleagues.

Given this current situation, I'm really worried about the department. I'm worried about the fact that we can't support the majors that we have so we're impacted and we're instituting all these criteria to get majors in, so that means a lot of students are going to be out of luck. I'm afraid we're going to lose some of our good faculty members because of the furlough stuff

and the resources--no support for research. All of this stuff that we lured them here with is deceiving.

Budget cuts and faculty recruitment

Several senior faculty spoke about their concern that salary cuts and reduced resources were negatively affecting the University's ability to recruit and retain quality faculty. An associate professor spoke movingly about his concerns related to recruiting and retaining good faculty during the current budget crisis.

I feel for our faculty, I really do. It is really hard to make it here. With the teaching, and we do such a great job of hiring. We've got this great faculty, and then they show up and they get to that first department meeting, those budget talks, and the restraints, this and that, and the extra burden being added on to your work...I have a pretty strong work ethic and it doesn't bother me too much but I can see it crush others. So it's hard and they maybe want to leave, or maybe they do leave quickly. So how we can pay off on our hiring is something I'd really like improved on in the future so we can keep and retain faculty and hold on to them and have them retire here.

An associate professor talked about her concern over faculty attrition due to salary cuts and fewer resources including internal grant awards to support junior faculty.

Really good people, and I would hate to see—and I know that some faculty members are thinking, well, I do I really want to be here? We just lost someone; she left after a year, partly because of family stuff but.... We told the new faculty members that there were these big grants and things and they didn't get them, because it's so much more competitive. I think it's getting a lot harder now, and I think I had a lot of positive things that aren't around anymore.

A full professor also spoke about problems recruiting good faculty given decreased resources and teaching staff.

Because that's another tool we've used to recruit people, and we're losing all of our TAs that helped with our statistics and research methods courses. So the people that have been teaching them are not going to be so willing to teach them if they don't have TAs, because they are 130 students a class.

Lowered Morale

During this period, the campus climate at NCSU was steeped in anxiety and uncertainty as rumors of draconian cuts and restructuring initiatives circulated on campus. As an associate professor remarked,

Just the budget uncertainty has become so extreme... You know we're hearing horror stories that literally the [another CSU campus] was asked to come up with a list of tenure-track faculty to cut by Friday. So it's really deep.

Another associate professor spoke about the loss of morale in her department due to the fiscal crisis and the potential long term impact of the budget cuts on programs.

The budget cuts are really demoralizing... it's been a difficult past couple of months, and I'm hoping things don't change too much. I'm fearful my department won't be the same. There's a lot of things that could affect that. That's a big question mark...

An assistant professor spoke candidly about thoughts of leaving the University because of salary cuts, increased workload, lack of support and resources.

So one day I was driving home, that was a really hard day. I mean you always have ups and downs throughout the semester, but it was a really hard day... And I was driving home, thinking this is just not fair. Why am I doing this? Why am I dealing with this workload? And now with the budget cut and the furlough, is it even fair? Should I look for another job? Seriously! Well, actually on that day I thought about it.... I was thinking that, gosh, let's not worry about doing the best job for the department or the university. Are they really treating me well? And maybe I should just do my minimum job for teaching, just get the minimum average teaching evaluation scores and just focus on my research publications and be ready for another job in 3-4 years. If they don't go for my tenure then I should look for another research 1 university that has more resources. To be honest with you, yes, I was thinking about it.

Career Satisfaction Scale

Faculty were asked to indicate their level of satisfaction as a professor at NCSU on 19 items using a five-point Likert scale in which 5 was labeled "very satisfied" and 1 was labeled "not at all satisfied." In terms of aggregate responses, NCSU faculty reported the lowest mean rating for satisfaction with teaching load (mean=2.39, s.d.=1.20). The second lowest rating was reported for salary (mean=2.48, s.d.=1.12), and the third lowest rating was reported for ability to get external funding (mean=2.77, s.d.=1.19). The three highest rated items in order included interpersonal relationships with other NCSU faculty (mean=3.96, s.d.=1.02), teaching experience (mean=3.96, s.d.=1.22), and overall job satisfaction as a professor at NCSU (mean=3.57, s.d.=1.08). Interestingly, faculty reported relatively high overall satisfaction ratings with their academic jobs and peers at NCSU in quantitative measures. Faculty were clearly dissatisfied with their teaching load and yet rated their teaching experiences at NCSU as a major source of job satisfaction. An analysis of these findings is presented in the following section.

Negative Student Impact

Our analysis of interview data thus far has focused on faculty perceptions of the budget cuts on their productivity and job satisfaction. Implicit in faculty comments about job stressors related to their increased teaching loads and student contact during the budget crisis was the concern that students were not being served well. As we

discussed earlier in the *Workload Increase* section, several faculty participants spoke candidly about the negative impact of larger class sizes on their teaching effectiveness. We posit that the impact of the budget cuts on NCSU students transcends the quantitative measurements of fee increases, capped enrollment, and course reductions. Our qualitative data—as told in the voices of faculty—speak to the real loss suffered by students during the budget cuts, namely, a compromised teaching and learning environment in which overburdened faculty are struggling to reach students. An associate professor commented on the impact of campus-wide course reductions on students' experiences during the budget crisis.

They [students] are just fighting for units so they can be full-time students and not get kicked out and lose their financial aid. So, this semester was the starkest contrast in that regard. And then the numbers, I mean, look at those midterms [pointing to a large stack of papers to be graded].

Another associate professor referred to NCSU as “the Costco of higher education” resulting from the steady decline in state funding in the past two decades, and the toll it has taken on the teaching and learning experience of students.

We do everything in bulk. We have a lot of students who have a lot of demands. There are no resources given to you to meet those demands. You know, advising is just crazy and you get no credit in HRT when we do advising, but students need it and deserve it. With the funding cuts, the first time I came here in '95, was after a round of massive funding cuts, where classes stopped getting offered. So, it was just after the build up to get things right after those cuts. So, they have kind of been on that trajectory but then again at the same time, they keep facing funding cuts. So how that translates is that they don't tell people's parents that there have been funding cuts. They don't tell people, “you're not paying for a place, you are paying for a fishing license.” You know, there are too many students, not enough classes. And those of us who are faculty are trying to maintain and deal with that and maintain a quality education.

In terms of the classroom environment, an assistant professor discussed changes to her pedagogy resulting from larger class sizes and also observed that students appeared less engaged in her classes during the budget crisis.

I can't do so many discussion groups or group activities. I have to do more lecture or overall presentations. Also, the overall composition of the students. There are more students who are just there to get credit and they are not there because they are not genuinely interested in the topic.

The impact of the budget cuts on the support of graduate students was also noted in interviews. A full professor remarked,

With grad students, it's difficult. In fact, I question having all of these graduate students and I am not planning on taking that many. It's difficult with

master's [students] because we just can barely cover our undergrad classes and then there are grad classes, too. And I don't feel like we are offering enough to the graduate students.

Student advising and supervision have also been negatively affected by the cuts according to several participants. An associate professor talked of the steady increase in the number of his advisees. When asked about his experiences with his advisees, he reported,

They have been good. It's just that I can't be a good advisor...to devote the time. I have classes of about 40. I have about 100 students this semester. There are so many students to deal with. That's if you don't have a buy-out. Right now I have 80 students. Otherwise, I have 100-120 students and that's not the biggest load.

When asked about how advising was impacted by cutbacks, an associate professor lamented,

It's that 10 minute advising moment and then you send them on the way. I don't advise to the undergraduate major because I don't know it but I know where to send them. That's the form of advising that breaks your heart because you got people coming in as graduating seniors, you haven't taken a stats class because they haven't been able to get into it. This is their last class... so that advising breaks my heart and that's a product of our inability to serve our students.

Yet despite the workload increase, productivity decrease and job dissatisfaction reported by faculty participants, another theme that emerged from both qualitative and quantitative data was the strong commitment NCSU faculty have to teaching and an even stronger devotion to their students. When asked what she enjoyed most about her job at NCSU, an associate professor spoke about the diverse backgrounds of her students, many of whom are first generation college students, and how that enhances the teaching and learning experience.

I really enjoy the students: they are delightful and they are a special thing... They come from so many different experiences, it makes teaching richer because I can draw on their experiences and they bring their experiences and I am always constantly examining something. If the class was a lot more homogenous, it would be a lot more boring to teach and I think it would be a lot less interesting for the students, too. The other part is that, I think because most of the students are not from backgrounds where going to college is normative that it is hard for them to get there. They don't have a sense of entitlement. In fact, I find myself trying to make them have more of a sense of entitlement, but it is a lot more pleasant trying to encourage someone to have more entitlement than fight someone else's sense of entitlement. There is a kind of appreciation and a lack of sense of entitlement that makes them

really, really fun.... I think I always felt that I could be more useful to students who didn't come from a place with cultural capital, who had the hunger but didn't necessarily have that other stuff. It's lovely working with them.

The great majority of faculty participants reported relatively high job satisfaction due to their teaching experiences related to the students at NCSU. When asked what she liked most about teaching, an associate professor spoke of her students and her relationships and interactions with them:

The students. And I still teach in the graduate program, at least one course a year and that's really good because it's small classes and close relationships and that kind of thing. And I found out, I tried to teach when I was a chair and it didn't work too well because there were so many pressing priorities when you're chair. But in the undergraduate class I really like when I say something to the students and they shake their heads. Particularly human motivation, you're talking about all the things that they should have been experiencing or should be experiencing, so you see something and you see little lights. Or they will ask me something about—and you can tell it's something from their family or their relationship—and you see them trying to apply it so it's good.

When asked to talk about some of the highlights of working at NCSU, an associate professor talked about her teaching experience and her great fondness for her students.

I think there's been a lot of highlights I have to say. For one thing teaching has been a huge surprise for me. I was in my post-doc as research only. I didn't do any teaching for like four years. I just loved that, being able to sit with my data and look at it, and I thought when I come here I'll just work through the teaching. And I love our students, I think they're wonderful, and I came kind of thinking at least I'll have graduate students because we have the elite program. But I think the biggest surprise is really that the undergraduate students are so amazing, wonderful, and really creative. I've taught undergrads in my graduate program and they just were so snooty and entitled, and I just found NCSU undergrads to be totally refreshing and creative and I love teaching them, and I still get emails from them years later saying that the class I taught changed their life, or that they still remember something we discussed in the class and it really means a lot to me.

Students of Color

Another finding from our qualitative data suggests that faculty of color—particularly women—are more likely to advise and mentor students of color at NCSU. Because our sample was comprised largely of female faculty of color, our data also revealed the impact of the budget cuts on their teaching and advising relationships with students of color many of whom are underrepresented minorities. As a Latino professor explained,

I mean I have students who aren't within my area who come to talk to me [because I am Latina]. And who don't necessarily have big issues or anything, but they want that interaction, they want that experience. I've had undergraduate students who've come. I do a presentation in one of our prereq courses, and that prereq includes undergrad students. Several of them from every single presentation that I do, they start coming down to my office, wandering in.... talking about this, talking about that.

Another Latina professor spoke about how she wished she could provide more support to the many graduate students of color that approach her for advising:

I wish I could do more. I have a lot of minority students who come to me to work with them and I understand why, I think it's that I see things the same way they do. Even if we don't talk about it, we see things similar. I think that's hard for them to be in graduate school and think that people aren't seeing things the way they do, so I think it's nice that I can do that.

When asked why he thought Latino students were more likely to seek him out compared to non-Latino instructors, a Latino professor replied,

The students sometimes identify me as the bridge to the power so I have to be very careful to remember in a way, I am the power. I am that. Just as a person of color and with an orientation that is community based, the students perceive me as on their side.

An African American professor corroborated the proposition that faculty of color at NCSU are more likely to advise students of color. She talked about their attraction to her because of her ethnicity.

I have always had a lot of advisees. You know, my ego would say, "Well, it's because I am such a charming, helpful person." But part of the reason is that because I have melanin and a lot of the students see a melanin enhanced person and say, "Ooohh," since we have such a diverse student body.

An American Indian professor spoke of the supportive relationships she has with her students outside the classroom--both academically and emotionally--and their often overwhelming needs.

So, often, you know, a lot of our faculty, myself included, as a teacher, we spend a lot of extra time, not just tutoring on papers and readings and exams but really counseling our students who are having housing issues, who are having health care issues, who are having mental health issues, who are having domestic abuse issues. So we fortunately have this ethnic studies resource center that is supposed to provide more services in that area because the faculty are often very overwhelmed with our students.

Finally, an Asian American professor spoke about the academic and emotional needs of her students, and the excessive advising she maintains in order to support them.

This door, once 10:00am, is revolving with students. And so that 3rd shift that women have, going beyond the classroom and the home becomes this actually 3rd shift which is the meeting the emotional needs of the community. That has been crazy. Both young women and men come through this door... So, I gotta deal with 40 individuals on a daily basis. So there is that. Along with the students that they serve, which is almost 200 students (and that's off campus and in the school). With those people that I have taken on, this door is revolving with all of the other 3,000 Filipinos on campus.

CONCLUSIONS

In the course of collecting our in-depth interview data for a study on mentoring, the impact of the budget cuts was ubiquitous in the minds and voices of faculty. Findings from our interview and survey data suggest the budget cuts have had a profoundly negative impact on the professional and personal lives of NCSU faculty. The great majority of faculty interviewed for the study cited increased workloads, larger class sizes, decreased compensation, diminished resources, and inadequate time and support for scholarship as major outcomes of the budget crisis. The loss of lecturer and other teaching staff was another major setback reported by faculty participants that bore negatively on their workload, productivity and job satisfaction.

Our interview data revealed that a significant number of NCSU faculty are experiencing increased stress and anxiety, lower morale and—in some cases—uncertainty about their future work lives at NCSU. Based on survey data, excessive teaching loads and furlough-based salary cuts appeared to lower career satisfaction ratings and erode institutional commitment for the faculty sampled in our study. Several participants spoke candidly about their inability to teach effectively given increased class sizes and teaching loads, and the negative impact on students. Still, others shared their perceptions of probable long-term impacts related to faculty attrition and recruitment in their departments and at the University.

Interestingly, in quantitative measures NCSU faculty reported relatively high overall satisfaction ratings with their academic jobs and colleagues. Faculty were clearly dissatisfied with their teaching load and salary cuts, yet rated their teaching experience and students as a major source of job satisfaction. Through in-depth narrative analysis of faculty accounts, several inferences can be drawn about the deleterious impact of the budget cuts on students in terms of the teaching and learning environment during the budget crisis. Several participants reported a decline in their teaching effectiveness as a result of increased class sizes, greater reliance on lecturing, student apathy, and faculty burnout. Other faculty spoke movingly about the compromises made in the midst of budget uncertainty and, in particular, the detrimental impact on their teaching and advising relationships with students. Finally, faculty of color in our study were much more likely than White faculty to advise, support and mentor students of color. All 12 female faculty of color in our study spoke of the excessive advising de-

mands they maintain in order to support the overwhelming needs of students of color many of whom are first-generation and from underrepresented minority groups.

IMPLICATIONS

Improving faculty support and working conditions is vital to the University's long term welfare and mission particularly in times of crisis. It is in the interest of the University to increase faculty job satisfaction and productivity especially as it seeks to redirect its faculty towards grant pursuit and research in the context of declining state support. As Houston and Paewai (2006) warned unless support is given, workloads managed, and more time is afforded to faculty, the perceived negatives of high stress and low compensation will outweigh the positives of job autonomy and flexibility that attract highly qualified candidates to academic lifestyles.

In order for faculty to manage increased workloads and the myriad stressors embedded in academic careers especially in times of scarcity, institutions must help support faculty as they strive to balance the rival time pressures of teaching, research, and service. Research confirms that institutional support is paramount for faculty job satisfaction and productivity (Barnes, Agago, & Coombs, 1998; Hendel, & Horn, 2008; Lindholm, & Szelenyi, 2008; Vardi, 2009). While teaching and research should be complementary activities, they can often produce competing tensions if institutional support is not provided to faculty. Perry et al. (1997) studied "perceived control" of higher education faculty and concluded that professors with high control or self-efficacy beliefs were less stressed and more productive especially when they felt supported. Faculty at teaching-intensive universities reported higher levels of job satisfaction and productivity when they were provided intermittent course release to pursue scholarly activities.

Universities vary in their expectations for junior and senior faculty to transmit and produce new knowledge. Lease (1999) found that contrary to prevailing assumptions, gender and tenure status were not related to self-reported levels of occupational stress for university professors. Lease's survey study also confirmed that greater time spent thinking about research is correlated with greater scholarly output, and that supportive mentoring relationships help junior faculty learn to balance their workload.

The research-based evidence supports formal mentoring as an effective investment that optimizes faculty well-being and institutional welfare. In our unpublished study of mentored faculty (Hyun, Diaz, & Khoury, In progress), we found that in the absence of post-doctoral training, faculty need in-service training and mentoring to be productive and to more effectively manage their work lives. This is especially true if the institution seeks to increase grant pursuit and extramural funding among its faculty. Our study findings further suggest that mentored faculty are more likely to exhibit high control beliefs (for example, greater confidence in their ability to get external funding) and to report greater scholarly productivity and job satisfaction, on average, compared to their non-mentored peers. Conversely, unmentored faculty in our study

were more likely to exhibit the characteristics that Doring (2002) discussed in her study of faculty who saw themselves as powerless or “victims” rather than as potential agents of change in times of crisis. Mentored faculty in our study reported being better equipped to balance work demands with their personal lives. When faculty are supported in their scholarship through access to resources including in-service mentoring and course relief from teaching, they report greater productivity, better balance in managing workload demands, and higher self-efficacy and job satisfaction. Finally, the University must also recognize through its tenure and promotion process the important contributions made by female faculty of color, in particular, who continue to provide academic, social and emotional support to students of color despite the budget crisis. If the University seeks to increase student success rates for students of colors, many of whom are first generation and underrepresented minorities, it must recognize formally the opportunity costs of this necessary work as it ultimately furthers the University’s commitment to equity and social justice.

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APPENDIX A:

SEMI-STRUCTURED FACULTY INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

[Introduction: I'm going to ask you questions about your overall satisfaction with faculty life at NCSU and what it is like being a part of NCSU (an assessment of the various facets you deal with professionally). On a personal level, I will ask you about what your future goals might encompass and how your experiences at NCSU play - or do not play - a part in achieving your visions.]

Have your professional expectations and ambitions been met here at NCSU?

How has it been for you at NCSU? What have been some of the highlights, some of the difficulties, things you might have done differently?

How does NCSU compare to other colleges?

Would you recommend NCSU to other colleagues as a place to seek work, why or why not?

In terms of ethnic diversity or LGBT culture, do you feel it is celebrated on campus, supported? How are you received?

What type of package could another university entice you with? What would make you contemplate leaving for another university?

Any recommendations to make NCSU a better, more satisfying place to work?

Scholarship + Fields of Interest

Tell me about your field of interest?

Have you been able to develop your research - why or why not?

How has your research interest changed, so how? What are some of the factors that have affected your research interests?

Have you been able to get your research funded - why or why not?

Has funding - or lack of it - shaped your research questions/projects?

Are there other scholars in your field of interest at NCSU? What is their knowledge base of funding/grant writing?

Would you like to see a bridge between research and faculty life?

Do you see yourself as a productive person in terms of writing and presentations?

What percentage of time would you say you devote to your research? (Academic year v. breaks for winter and summer)

What are some obstacles to your productivity—what are your strategies to overcome these barriers and to get writing done? What else could help you be more productive?

Is NCSU conducive (institutionally, the physical infrastructure) to stimulating intellectual projects and your productivity in your research?

How do you reinvigorate your passions about your research interests?

Have you had or do you currently have a mentor(s)? If yes, who? Describe them.

How do you define a mentor? Are there different types of mentors? Are you currently mentoring someone?

Would you consider serving as a mentor in the future?

Are there obstacles to having strong mentoring relationships with NCSU colleagues? Describe an ideal peer-based mentoring program and what that would look like to you?

Teaching + Advising Experiences

How important is teaching in relation to the other professional tasks expected of you (Professional Development & Campus/Community Service)? How important is teaching to your career?

Do you identify yourself more as a teacher or a scholar? How do you integrate the two?

What is it you like most/least about teaching?

Experiences with advisees - positive and negative?

Is there anything you would like to add about the teaching experience at NCSU? (vs other schools/experiences?)

Interpersonal Relationships of Faculty

Do you feel supported?

What do you need to be supported?

Do you consider NCSU an intellectually stimulating community environment...what makes it so (or not)?

Relationship with administration—could you tell me some stories of conflicts that were resolved and perhaps a story without a happy ending?

Have you been able to establish collaborations?

Can you tell me how you think you compare to your peers in terms of productivity?

Vision of future

How and where do you see yourself in the next five years?

What would an ideal week look like for you?

What would you like to see at the university—what sorts of changes? What would an ideal university infrastructure look like?

Do you see your work as making a difference? How do you see your contribution? How do you see the university helping with that?

The RTP process at NCSU (tenure expectations and access to information)

I know that faculty are required to do service—has it been helpful?

What have you been asked to do? Have you been able to integrate it to your work?

Is the service draining/invigorating?

How do you distinguish between service to the department, to the college, to the

university, in contrast to service to the community, to your discipline...are there overlaps or are they all mutually exclusive?

Does the RTP process provide a clear map of what you need to do to get tenured and promoted? Are you confident that it will remain a clear roadmap for the next 6 years?

Are your department RTP (college RTP, university RTP) expectations appropriate?

What do you think are your chances of being tenured –are you optimistic?

Have you been able to get support from the university to get awards?

Do you know where to look for awards, grants, lectures, general campus activity?

Where or how do you access information about campus activity, etc.?

Tell me about any of the awards you have gotten—how has it been helpful?

Access to information—do you feel like you know where to look to see what the university has to offer you?

Mentoring Program questions for Experimental group

What did you like the most? The least?

Did you write a grant? Elaborate on obstacles or successes

What was the mentor experience like for you?

What was helpful about the PDG meetings? What didn't work?

Have you done any MRISP sponsored workshops-anything stick out? What would like to see more of?

What advice would you give to a new MRISP program director?

Did it meet your expectations?

APPENDIX B:

FACULTY CAREER SATISFACTION QUESTIONNAIRE

As a faculty member at NCSU, please indicate your level of satisfaction with the following using a scale of 1 to 5, with 5 being *very satisfied* and 1 being *not at all satisfied* (circle your response)

Importance of the following to me:	not at all		very satisfied		
a. Satisfying my need for intellectual exchange	1	2	3	4	5
b. Satisfying my need for creativity and curiosity	1	2	3	4	5
c. Satisfying my need to stay current in the field	1	2	3	4	5
d. Having satisfying collaborations with others	1	2	3	4	5
e. Achieving peer recognition	1	2	3	4	5
f. Satisfying my need to be connected to a community	1	2	3	4	5
g. Interpersonal relationships with other NCSU faculty	1	2	3	4	5
h. My teaching experience	1	2	3	4	5
i. My teaching load	1	2	3	4	5
j. Student advising or training	1	2	3	4	5
k. My research or scholarly productivity	1	2	3	4	5
l. My ability to get external funding	1	2	3	4	5
m. My relationship with a mentor(s)	1	2	3	4	5
n. The amount of committee work expected of me	1	2	3	4	5

o. Access to information about campus resources	1	2	3	4	5
p. The RTP Process at NCSU	1	2	3	4	5
q. My ability to balance work with other parts of my life	1	2	3	4	5
r. My salary	1	2	3	4	5
s. My overall job satisfaction as a professor at NCSU	1	2	3	4	5

PART 3

FINANCING COLLEGE IN HARD TIMES: WORK AND STUDENT AID

**Higher Tuition, More Work, and Academic Harm:
An Examination of the Impact of Tuition Hikes on
the Employment Experiences of Under-represented
Minority Students at one CSU Campus**

Amy Leisenring

**The State University Grant Program and its Effects
on Underrepresented Students at the CSU**

Jose Luis Santos

FOREWORD

College is as necessary for a young person today as high school was a half century ago. As we have globalized the economy, and shipped overseas so many of the industrialized jobs that once provided mobility for workers with relatively low educational levels, with many more good jobs like those in construction disappearing in the housing depression, young people face a harsh reality—education or the threat of poverty. Although graduation from high school is absolutely necessary, it is no longer a ticket into the middle class and some post-secondary education has become essential. In previous generations, we expanded free public high schools when it became essential for young people's futures. In the 1960's and 1970's, it appeared that we were also going to continue to greatly expand very low-cost college education. In California, community colleges were still free and the state university system charged an amount for tuition that students could easily earn. Campuses across the state practiced affirmative action and reached out to increase enrollment of students from California's growing nonwhite communities.

Unfortunately, in the late 1970s and early 1980s the situation radically reversed, setting up a trend that is now culminating in a drastic reshaping of college finance. College costs began to go up much faster than family incomes, the state's priorities shifted to prison expansion and tax cuts, and policy makers transferred a larger and larger share of the costs to the students. Unlike high schools, college now became defined increasingly as a private good that students should pay for. All students, of course, cannot pay the same in a state with profound gaps in income and wealth among its various communities. Affirmative action was prohibited by Prop 209 and state policy makers promised to make up for some of the problems with special outreach and support programs, but their funds were also cut. For the many students and families without resources to pay the higher costs, financial aid was the key to their children having a chance for college. If financial aid is inadequate or too complicated to be understood and to work, then the educational tools essential for the present generation of students are going to be rationed on the basis of class and color. This would be a fundamental threat to the California dream.

The studies released today show two very important things. The first is that students react to soaring costs by working more, often by working far too much (their families are often themselves in serious economic trouble in the Great Recession, which is far from over in California). Some employment during college is not harmful and working on campus can often connect a student more deeply with college. But there is a serious tradeoff if students work too much. When that happens, then they cannot study as much or as well as is necessary, so they learn less and their grades and chances of completion are impacted. For years the research has suggested that going *beyond* about fifteen hours per week, about equal to two full days of work, is harmful to academic success. We see, however, that many students are far beyond this point and a significant number are trying to both work full-time and study full-time, something that puts unreasonable pressure on students and seriously cuts deeply into the value of college education and a student's chance of success. We have to commend students for the tremendous effort they are making, but also to recognize that this situation is harmful and involves tre-

mendous stress at a time students have extremely important things to do, namely finding and preparing for a career and their adult lives. Students loaded up with debt and with their families in trouble are making hard choices and sometimes sacrificing their future. Public policy should not be designed to force students to choose between overworking to pay for their education or giving up hope for education and good careers. Working too much clearly harms their education, and a high percentage of students, as one of the studies shows, are giving up on careers that would contribute greatly to their families and our society.

The second finding is that during this time of fiscal uncertainty, students facing big bills for college need more help. What they encounter, instead, is a complex pattern of financial aid programs that aren't doing the job of making college opportunities available to all who are interested and qualified, especially to the most underrepresented students in the state. The financial aid programs include federal (Pell Grant and guaranteed student loans), state (Cal Grant), and campus (SUG grants) sources of aid, which students need to combine with what they and their families can pay and/or borrow. The Pell Grant has grown since 2008 but is likely to be frozen or to shrink after the budget battles currently taking place in Washington. California is in an extremely serious fiscal crisis. The SUG, financed with a portion of student tuition income, is now a critical resource for more than a third of CSU students. Clearly as tuition and other costs of college continue to rise rapidly, it is urgently necessary that this program be maintained, in spite of fierce pressures on campus budgets, and that it be well targeted and coordinated with Pell and Cal Grant to try to keep college available to the many young Californians who simply cannot afford the rising costs. (Future reports will discuss the important roles of outreach and counseling in helping students and families, frightened by soaring costs, try to figure out ways to go to college and stay in college in very difficult times).

The reality of California's society means that the crunch is particularly threatening to Latino and African American students, whose families were struggling before the economic collapse and the parade of tuition increases, and who are now often facing grave economic threats and reversals. Students from these groups represent the majority of potential college students in the state and are central to California's economic and social future. These students face far steeper barriers to college than the baby boomers did thirty to forty years ago. When a student, capable of finishing college and performing well in a needed job, gives up on college because she cannot see any way to pay the bills, the consequences will be played out 40 years into the future, not only for the student but for his family, for the economy and for the community where he lives. On the aggregate, we are thinking of very deep and long-lasting damage to a state of great importance that is failing to educate its new majority. We should not sacrifice the state's basic commitment to offer our youth a real opportunity for higher education in the process of patching up solutions to short term budget issues, yet that is what we are doing. There are enduring consequences that should be central concerns in the decisions we make in Washington, in Sacramento and on our own campuses.

Gary Orfield

HIGHER TUITION, MORE WORK, AND ACADEMIC HARM: AN EXAMINATION OF THE IMPACT OF TUITION HIKES ON THE EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCES OF UNDER-REPRESENTED MINORITY STUDENTS AT ONE CSU CAMPUS

Amy Leisenring

INTRODUCTION

Students facing both economic problems at home and rapid increases in the cost of college confront a variety of challenges. This study explores how students on one CSU campus understand the consequences of the state's budget crisis and their experiences with jobs, as well as the impact that working has on their academic success.

In 1960 the California Master Plan for Education dictated that all students should have access to some form of higher education regardless of their economic status (UC Educational Relations Department, 2007). 50 years later, the state's promise is very much in doubt. During the past four decades the state has decreased its contribution per student. In 1967 the state paid approximately 90% of a student's education while today it pays approximately 64%. Since 1990, once adjusted for inflation, state spending per student has dropped by half and will fall more this year. College costs for students and their families have risen much faster than family incomes or inflation rates. The purpose of this paper is to explore the impact of recent budget cuts on Latino, African American, and American Indian students, and how they see recent tuition and fee increases. In addition, this paper serves to explore URM student experiences with paid employment and how working in school has affected their academic success. As additional cuts are scheduled, college degrees are becoming less accessible and the system appears to be raising increasing barriers to the state's majority of Latino and African American youth.

The California State University system (CSU) has been hit particularly hard by the state's withdrawal of funding for public education. With 23 campuses and approximately 433,000 students, the CSU—the "middle" tier of the CA higher education systems—has become the nation's largest university system. This system has faced severe budget cuts in the last decade, particularly within the last several years: in the 2008-2009 and 2009-2010 academic years, the CSU system experienced \$1.4 billion in cuts (California State University, 2009). These cuts have led to a 1691% total increase in tuition and fees from 1978 to 2010, which far outpaces the national average (California Faculty Association, 2010). In 2010 the CSU imposed a mid-year tuition increase and another 10 percent increase in the fall.

According to a 2008 report by the California Postsecondary Education Commission, rising college costs have particularly impacted lower- and middle-income families. The percent of annual income that a low-income family would need to pay for college nearly doubled between 1975 and 2005. Low-income students and students from underrepresented minority groups in California enter college at lower rates compared to their peers, and graduate at lower rates than other students (Education Trust, 2004). While there are a number of things that impact low-income and minority students' likelihood of attending college and their academic success, once enrolled, financial issues are a central factor (see Swail, Redd, & Perna, 2003). A major issue is that the wages of lower-income and middle-income workers have fallen far behind the rising costs of college tuition. A college degree is simply becoming less accessible to low-income students in California.

As the California Postsecondary Education Commission report (2008) points out, while in the 1960s and 1970s, students were able to cover part or most of their education costs with part-time and/or summer jobs, this is no longer the case. Nationally, the number of students who work for pay while enrolled in college classes has increased in the last several decades (Hughes & Mallette, 2003; Orszag, Orszag, & Whitmore, 2001). Recent studies have found that approximately three-quarters of college students now work while going to school (ACE, 2006; Hughes & Mallette, 2003). Further, the percentage of students who work full-time has also increased. A study by Orszag, Orszag, and Whitmore (2001) found that the number of students working full-time increased from 5.6 percent in 1985 to 10.4 percent in 2000. According to the Student Expenses and Resources Survey conducted by the California Student Aid Commission, during the 2006-2007 academic year, approximately 73% of part-time and full-time students in the CSU system worked for pay for an average of 24 hours a week. Forty percent of these students reported working over 25 hours per week on average.

While research studying the impacts of working while in college on students and their success in school is surprisingly limited, there is some evidence that limited part-time student employment may actually be beneficial to students, particularly if they work on campus. Research shows that for students who work fewer than 10-15 hours a week, employment may facilitate learning (Pascarella, Edison, Nora, Hagedorn, & Terenzini, 1998), provide work experience that helps students secure future employment (Orszag et al., 2001), and lead to slightly higher grade point averages (Orszag et al., 2001). However, the existing research uniformly paints a different picture for students who work more hours. The negative impact of working longer hours (anywhere from 16-20 hours to over 35 hours, depending upon the study) for students include: inhibited cognitive development (Pascarella et al., 1998); lowered grades and GPA's (Kulm & Cramer, 2006; Orszag et al., 2001); limited class schedules and choices (King & Bannon, 2002; Orszag et al., 2001); limited participation in both extra-curricular and social activities (Kulm & Cramer, 2006); limited library access (Orszag et al., 2001); limited study time (Kulm & Cramer, 2006); and an increased likelihood of dropping out of college (American Council on Education, 2006; Orszag et al., 2001). If financial obstacles force students to work too much, their education suffers significantly.

Studies show that minority students work more than other students (American Council on Education, 2006; Longerbeam, Sedlacek, & Alatorre, 2004). More than half of dependent African American, Hispanic, and American Indian students come from families whose income is less than \$30,000 (King 1999). Too much work is an important factor impacting their lowered persistence rates, as the percentage of low-income students who receive a bachelor's degree by the time they are 24 is less than 10 percent (Mortenson, 2001). According to Swail, Redd, and Perna (2003) six-year bachelor's completion rates for African Americans and Hispanics are lower than for whites and Asians at four-year institutions.

Utilizing a multimethod approach, this study explores the effects of recent tuition and fee increases on undergraduate underrepresented minority students (URM) at one of the CSU campuses.

METHODS

This study is based on data collected via both brief surveys and in-depth interviews with undergraduate students at one of the CSU campuses. This campus is one of the largest of the CSU system and is situated in a large metropolitan area. As of fall 2009, approximately 22% of the students at this university were URM (4% African American, .5% American Indian, and 17% Latino). Less than half of all first-time freshmen who entered in 2003 had graduated within 6 years (45.8%) and the persistence rates for underrepresented minority students are lower.

Surveys were disseminated at the end of the spring semester in 2010. Instructors in the university's required written communications course and all instructors teaching in one social sciences department were asked to participate and those agreeing either distributed the survey in class or asked students to respond on-line. A total of 352 students took the survey in class and another 147 took it online. All survey responses were anonymous.

Out of the 499 sampled, 33% were URM. Of those, 59% were Hispanic/Latino, 16% were African American, 2% were American Indian, and 23% were bi-racial/multi-racial with at least one URM background. Over three-quarters (80%) were between 19 and 25 years of age and 70% were women.

The survey explored how students finance their college education and how recent fee increases have impacted them. Students reported their work experiences during the semester and how they believed working impacted them (see Appendix A for survey instrument).

The data is supplemented by in-depth individual and focus group interviews conducted with sixteen URM students between June of 2009 and April of 2010. Students were recruited via flyers posted around campus and class announcements and received a \$10 gift card. Five of the students were African American, six were Hispanic/Latino, one was American Indian, and four were bi-racial/multi-racial.

RESULTS

Both the survey and interview data for this project reveal that the impact of the budget crisis for students at this campus and their families has been severe. A large majority of students are working well beyond 15 hours a week. Many report having to work additional hours due to recent fee increases. As a result of the increase in hours spent at work, students report a number of negative consequences, such as taking longer to graduate, lacking time for school work, lowered grades, an inability to access resources on campus, experiencing stress and exhaustion, and even considering dropping out of school altogether.

Survey Data

Students were asked about the means by which they pay for college. 57% of students reported that they worked for pay. Additionally, half of students reported receiving some type of financial aid, 40% of students reported receiving financial assistance from one or more family members, just over a third of students reporting taking out loans (36%), and 12% reported receiving some type of scholarship. Over half of the students (57%) reported paying for college by more than one of these means.

TABLE 1: Demographics and Background Information for Survey Sample (N = 163)

		Percentage
SEX		
	Female	70
	Male	30
RACE		
	African-American	59
	Hispanic/Latino	16
	American Indian	2
	Bi-racial/Multi-racial	23
AGE		
	19-25	80
	26-30	11
	31 and older	9
MEANS OF FINANCING COLLEGE		
	Worked for pay	57
	Received financial aid	50
	Received financial assistance from family	40
	Took out student loans	36
	Received a scholarship	12

More than nine-tenths of the students reported being negatively impacted by recent fee increases (Table 2). Nearly half (47%) reported that recent fee increases have “very negatively” impacted them and 44% more said they had been “somewhat” negatively impacted. Students who reported harm were asked about the ways in which they were negatively impacted (see Table 2). The most common response reported by these students is that their family has been financially burdened (49%). Additionally, 44% of the students reported having trouble paying their tuition, 44% reported having to work more, and 30% reported having thought about dropping out of school. “Other” responses given by students as to how fee increases have negatively impacted included: having trouble paying cost of living expenses, having to take out additional loans, being unable to buy books for school, and being unable to save for graduate school. Very similar findings were reported in another large survey in the recent Civil Rights Project report *Squeezed from All Sides*.

TABLE 2: Impact of Recent Fee Increases Percentage

How have recent fee increases impacted you? (N=163)	
Very negatively	47
Somewhat negatively	44
No impact	8
Somewhat positively	0
Very positively	1
In what ways have recent fee increases negatively impacted you? (N=148)	
I have had trouble paying tuition	44
My family has been financially burdened	49
I have had to work more hours	44
I have thought about dropping out of school	30
Other	7

Eighty-six percent of students reported working for pay at some point during the semester (see Table 3). These students were asked about the number of jobs they held at the time of taking the survey. The majority of students (76%) reported having one job, while 19% held two jobs, 2% held three jobs, and 2% of students reported having lost their job at some point during the semester. As Table 3 indicates, students reported working anywhere from one hour per week to 56 hours per week. The average number of hours worked by students was 27 hours per week, far above the threshold at which academic damage was likely to occur. The vast majority of students who reported working for pay worked over 15 hours a week (83%) and over a quarter of the students (36%) who reported working for pay worked over 35 hours week.

TABLE 3: Work Experiences

Percentage

Have you worked for pay at any time during the current semester? (N =163)	
Yes	86
No	14
Average hours worked per week (N=140)	
1-10	6
11-15	10
16-25	34
26-35	23
36 or more	26
Have you had to increase the number of hours worked at any point in the past two years due to increases to student fees? (N=140)	
Yes	59
No	41
Average hours increased work per week due to fee increases? (N=82)	
2-5	17
6-10	33
11-15	16
16-25	15
26-35	6
36 or more	9

The students who reported working for pay were also asked if they have had to increase the number of hours they have worked at any point in the past two years due to tuition and fee increases at the university. Over half of these students (59%) reported having to increase the number of hours that they worked (see Table 3). Students were asked how many more hours they had to work per week, on average, due to tuition and fee increases. Students reported having to increase their work hours. The average number of increased work hours of students per week was 15. As Table 3 shows, over one-quarter of the students (30%) reported having to increase their work hours over 15 hours per week due to tuition and fee increases. These students were faced with the hard choice between working too much and not being able to continue their schooling. They chose to work more.

Finally, students who worked for pay at any time during the current semester were asked if working while going to school has negatively impacted them in any way. 89% believe that working while going to school has negatively impacted them (see Table 4). Over half of these students believe that because of their work it will take them longer to graduate (62%). Nearly nine-tenths (86%) say they haven't had enough time for

school work and 70% think their grades have been hurt. Three out of five students report that they haven't been able to take classes they need due to their work schedules (60%), and they haven't been able to access needed resources on campus (65%).

TABLE 4: Negative Impacts of Working While In College Percentage

Do you believe that working while going to school has negatively impacted you? (N=140)	
Yes	89
No	11
In what ways do you believe working while going to school has negatively impacted you? (N=125)	
It will likely take me longer to graduate	62
I don't have enough time to devote to my school work	86
My grades have not been as good as they could be	70
I have been unable to take classes that I need because they don't fit into my work schedule	60
I don't have time/availability to access resources on campus that I would like to access (library, instructors' office hours, advising, support services on campus, etc.)	65
Other	10

Interview Data

The in-depth interviews help to provide additional insight into some of the common themes that emerged from the survey data. The two central findings that emerged from the in-depth interviews are: (1) tuition increases have been detrimental for both students and their families; and, (2) students have found it very difficult to balance work and school, particularly given rising tuition costs.

Many students spoke about the challenges of being told right before the semester started that they had to pay higher fees or face being dropped from all of their classes. Even students whose tuition was mostly or fully covered by financial aid were impacted by this as the university expected the students to come up with the funds for the fee increase before many students' financial aid was processed. One 21-year-old African American student discussed how hard it was for her to come up with approximately \$400 out of pocket: "I ended up paying my [tuition] increase [with] my rent money....I had to talk to my roommate. It was this whole complication of my rent or my education.....it was very stressful because it was like, 'do I have somewhere to live or do I pay tuition?' Because if my classes get dropped, the likelihood of me getting into those classes [again] is slim to none."

Similarly, a 19 year-old Latina student explained her reaction when she learned of the tuition increase: "...I thought I was going to drop out this semester because when that additional \$300 and something that every student had to pay showed on my account, I flipped out. I was like, 'This is it. I can't go [to school] no more. I don't have that with me. I have a deadline. I can't pay that right now.'" Yet another student—a 22 year-old African American woman—said that for the past two semesters due to budget cuts she has not been able to buy her books on time and it "sets her back" because she cannot do the reading. She stated: "I'm always behind. [The professors are] lecturing on that first chapter and they're on the second chapter by the time I get the book so I'm trying to play catch up."

More than a few of the 16 students discussed the ways in which rising tuition costs and increased fees have impacted their families, many of whom were struggling themselves due to the recession. One 21 year-old American Indian student stated that her father has been struggling to pay for her tuition:

"My dad pays for my school but because it's been so expensive lately and the economy has been so bad, he's been charging my tuition on his credit card. [Before] the fee increase if I needed anything, I could go and ask him for a little bit of extra like \$50 or \$100. And now because it's so tight the \$400 is just more than my family can already afford. He used to help me out at the beginning of the semester with books and stuff and now he doesn't any more."

Several other students spoke of the guilt they felt in having to ask their families for even more money each semester as fees and tuition costs continued to increase.

The families of several students were having such a hard time that the students were helping their parents out financially. For example, a 21 year-old Latina spoke about having to work between 25 and 40 hours each week to help support her family after her father lost his job and she, her parents, and her four brothers and sisters all moved into her grandparents' house. She stated, "My parents have always been bad in debt with money so they can't take care of me. They don't pay for my school and they don't pay for my books...Tuition and books are not cheap so I have to find a way to pay for it on top of helping my parents out."

The vast majority of the 16 students reported having a hard time balancing going to school full-time and working 25 or more hours a week. While some of them stated that they liked their jobs and enjoyed working, they reported wishing that they could reduce the number of hours they worked each week so that they could have more time for school and for finding more balance in their lives. A 22 year-old African American student who worked 40 hours a week at an overnight shift in a group home for troubled girls said that she loved her job but balancing it with a full course load took too much out of her and left her exhausted. She said that because she lives paycheck to paycheck, she's forced to focus more on money and work, which results in her "losing sight" of the fact that school should be more important than work.

A big issue for students was feeling as if they either didn't have enough time to study or that they were too tired after going to school and work all day to be able to concentrate. This was the issue faced by one 21 year-old African American student who worked two jobs for a total of about 35 hours a week. On Tuesdays and Thursdays she took classes all day. On Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, she usually worked at her two jobs from 10:30 in the morning until 9:30 at night. She stated, "...on the days I don't have class I'm getting home at 9:30 and by then I've had a whole day of work, I'm exhausted. My eyes can't even look at a computer screen or a book. So it's hard to study, especially getting [an assignment] on Tuesday that [the instructor] wants due on Thursday." Because this student also worked at one of her jobs on Sunday afternoons, Saturdays and Sunday nights were her only real study time. She said, "And it's kind of like I wish I could have more time to actually study because I'm cramming in a whole bunch of reading for the week in a couple of hours at a time." This student, who had a 2.9 GPA at the time of our interview, said that she felt like her grades would be better if she didn't have to work so much.

Another student, a 22 year-old biracial (African American and Latino) male, also spoke of the ways in which work had negatively impacted his GPA: "My GPA was a 4.0 that first year and then I started working and then it slowly started going down, down, down, all the way down to where I'm at like 2.5, 2.3, something around there. So, I mean, I've seen the difference because of all the responsibilities I had to pick up as I was going to school." This student said that while he values school, he has to work because his mom is a single parent who takes care of his teenaged sister and is unable to help him much financially. He spoke of struggling to balance his course load, his 25 hour-a-week job, and the 16 hour-a-week internship he was required to partake in for his major. He said he felt he could "do a whole lot better" in school if he didn't have to work.

Students also spoke about the difficulty they had in obtaining assistance from on-campus resources and/or attending their professors' office hours due to their work hours. Many students said that they schedule back-to-back classes on the days when they are on campus to accommodate their work schedules, making it difficult--if not impossible--to receive help with their school work if they need it. A 24 year-old African American student explained,

"A lot of the professors assume that the students have time to go to office hours or the writing center or whatever.....in my case my classes are back-to-back-to-back. Sometimes the office hours are during a class or I can't go because I have to work or do some intern hours. So although I want to go to my professors and say, 'I'm struggling with this concept, can you help me?' I can't. The only other way I can possibly do it is through email but then they say, 'Go to [my] office hours.' But I can't go to office hours. It's a struggle."

While almost all of them believed it was important to prioritize school over work, many of them found it was difficult to do so. While some students had jobs in which their bosses/managers understood the demands of being in college, other students struggled with the fact that their bosses/managers expected work to come first. One

19-year old Latina student stated: “[My job] wrote on the application: ‘Make sure that you schedule your school, social life, everything around work because work is a priority.’ And school is telling me, ‘Make sure that you manage everything else, your work, your social life, everything else around school because school is a priority.’” Students who receive contradictory message like this have a hard time deciding what to prioritize. They know school is important to their future, yet they have to work to pay for school and for their living expenses.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Latino, African American, and Indian students at this CSU campus believe that recent fee and tuition increases have negatively impacted them in multiple ways. These students and their families clearly feel the burden of the rising costs of a CSU degree. Particularly disturbing is that fully 18% of the 163 students surveyed reported considering dropping out of college as a result of rising tuition costs. As previously discussed, the persistence rates of URM students at this campus have historically been lower than those of other students. It is disheartening to think that rising costs will only increase this gap.

This study also shows that a high percentage of URM students at this CSU campus work while going to college. Eighty-nine percent of students who were surveyed reported working for pay while attending college. This percentage is higher than rates reported in prior studies, such as the 2006 American Council of Education report (based on data from the 2003–04 National Postsecondary Student Aid Study) which found that 78% of African American and Latino students and 75% of American Indian students work while going to school.

Also of concern is the number of hours the students surveyed for this study reported working. Over half of the students reported having to increase the number of hours they work per week due to rising college costs. As previously discussed, research demonstrates that working less than 15 hours per week may be beneficial for students but working over 15 hours a week is often detrimental for students. Eighty-three percent of students surveyed for this study reported working more than 15 hours per week and 69% reported working more than 25 hours per week. Given prior findings about the effects of working more hours per week, it is not surprising that the majority of the students surveyed reported believing that their academic progress and success have been negatively impacted by their paid employment.

Interviews showed that many of these students face extreme financial pressures. Their families are often not in a position to support them and they find it necessary to work a lot of hours to supplement the assistance they do receive from family members, financial aid, scholarships, and/or loans. The students often find it very difficult to balance their demanding work and school schedules and believe that their grades suffer as a consequence. For these students, who often report living paycheck to paycheck, coming up with an extra few hundred dollars each semester can be a formidable task.

They are forced to make difficult choices about what to prioritize and often must take care of financial concerns at the expense of academic success. The choice to work more, which many see as their only way to stay in college, has clear academic costs.

In sum, the door appears to be closing on California's Master Plan for Education, as a college degree is clearly becoming less and less accessible to many of the state's working class and under-represented minority residents. The sacrifices that are now required of many of these residents that would enable them to finance and attend college may be too great. This is particularly ironic at a time when there have been increased national efforts to address both the under-representation of URM students in postsecondary education and the lower persistence and graduation rates of URM students who do enroll in college. In the end, the rising costs of college in California will likely end up serving to re-segregate public higher education in California.

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APPENDIX:
SURVEY INSTRUMENT

TITLE: Research Project Examining Experiences of Working Students at San Jose State University

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:

Dr. Amy Leisenring
Department of Sociology
San Jose State University

You are being asked to participate in a short research project. The purpose of this study is to understand some of the experiences of working students at SJSU and the ways in which recent fee increases have financially impacted students. By completing the following questionnaire you will be providing valuable information for this important topic.

If you are not at least 18 years of age, please do not complete the questionnaire—just return in blank.

To participate in this project you will need to fill out the attached questionnaire. This questionnaire will take you approximately 5-10 minutes to complete. It is completely anonymous—you are not asked to provide your name or any other identifying personal information. No one will know what your answers to the questions are. The results of this study may be published but no information that could identify you will be included.

Your consent is being given voluntarily. You may refuse to participate in the entire study or in any part of the study. No service of any kind, to which you are otherwise entitled, will be lost or jeopardized if you choose not to participate in the study. You do not have to answer any questions that you do not wish to answer and you can withdraw from the study at any time. Your willingness to participate in this research and your questionnaire responses will have no impact on your grade in this course. There is no compensation provided for participation in this project.

Questions about this research may be addressed to the researcher conducting this study, Dr. Amy Leisenring, at (408) 924-5756, or at amy.leisenring@sjsu.edu. Complaints about the research may be presented to Dr. Yoko Baba, Chair of the Sociology Department at San Jose State University, at (408) 924-5334. Questions about a research subjects' rights, or research-related injury may be presented to Pamela Stacks, Ph.D., Associate Vice President, Graduate Studies and Research, at (408) 924-2427.

Please remove this cover sheet and keep it for your own records. By agreeing to participate in this study, it is implied that you have read and understood the above information. Please do not write any identifying information on the questionnaire.

Please put a mark next to the choice that best represents your answer to the following questions:

1. What is your sex?

- Female
- Male

2. What is your current age? _____

3. What do you consider to be your race/ethnic background?

- White
- Hispanic/Latino
- Black/African-American
- Asian
- American Indian
- Biracial/Multiracial (please specify): _____
- Other (please specify): _____

4. Did you transfer to San Jose State University from another college or university?

- Yes, from a community college
- Yes, from another 4-year university
- No

5. What semester/year did you first begin taking classes at San Jose State University?
(For example, "Fall of 2008"): _____

6. What semester/year do you anticipate graduating? (If unsure, please make best guess): _____

7. How do you pay for college? (Please check all that apply to you):

- I receive financial aid.
- I take out student loans.
- I have a scholarship.
- I receive financial assistance from family member(s).
- I work for pay.
- Other: _____

8. How have recent fee increases at San Jose State University impacted you?

- Very negatively (Please go to question 9)
- Somewhat negatively (Please go to question 9)
- No impact (Please skip question 9 and go to question 10)
- Somewhat positively (Please skip question 9 and go to question 10)
- Very positively (Please skip question 9 and go to question 10)

9. In what ways have the recent fee increases at San Jose State University negatively impacted you?

- I have had trouble paying my tuition.
- My family has been financially burdened.
- I have had to work more hours.
- I have thought about dropping out of school.
- Other impact(s): _____

10. Have you worked for pay at any time during the current semester?

- Yes (Please go to question 11)
- No (You do not need to answer any other questions. Thank you.)

11. How many jobs do you currently have? _____

12. How many hours a week, on average, did you work this semester? _____

13. Have you had to increase the number of hours you have worked at any point in the past two years due to increases to student fees at San Jose State University?

- Yes (Please go to question 14)
- No (Please skip question 14 and go directly to question 15)

14. How many more hours are you working a week, on average, due to increases to student fees at San Jose State University? _____

15. Do you believe that working while going to school has negatively impacted you in any way?

- Yes (Please go to question 16)
- No (You do not need to answer any other questions. Thank you.)

16. In what ways do you believe working while going to school has negatively impacted you? (Please check all that apply to you):

- It will likely take me longer to graduate.
- I don't have enough time to devote to my school work.
- My grades have not been as good as they could be.
- I have been unable to take classes that I need because they don't fit into my work schedule.
- I don't have time/availability to access resources on campus that I would like to access (library, instructors' office hours, advising, support services on campus, etc.)
- Other(s): _____

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR COMPLETING THE QUESTIONNAIRE AND PARTICIPATING IN THIS IMPORTANT RESEARCH PROJECT.

THE STATE UNIVERSITY GRANT PROGRAM AND ITS EFFECTS ON UNDERREPRESENTED STUDENTS AT THE CSU

José L. Santos

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Although the Master Plan for Higher Education calls for tuition free affordable college education to all qualified California students, the fiscal reality of the State has made this compact extremely difficult to fulfill. Over the last decade, the California State University (CSU) system has sustained a substantial decrease in state general funds and, as a result, has sought to offset these decreases by increasing tuition and fees by over 166 percent. In addition to tuition fee increases, other costs associated with college-going, such as housing and books have been outpacing inflation and the median household income. This means that college affordability is at risk, and nationally, financial aid awards are not keeping up with the rise in costs of college attendance.

College affordability and access to student aid programs are often critical elements in the college decision-making process for students from traditionally underrepresented communities. CSU's State University Grant (SUG) is a major institutionally supported, \$320 million student aid program, serving one-third of its student body. The SUG is designed to provide additional financial aid options for low-income underrepresented students. It consists of setting aside some tuition revenue generated from increases and redistributing them as subsidies to a large group of students.

This study explores how the SUG program helps to maintain affordability for higher education and helps us understand who benefits from this program. This study reviews the National Postsecondary Student Aid Study: 2008, as well as other publicly available data from the CSU system and California Postsecondary Education Commission. The data reveals that in the last twenty years there has been a proportional increase of students from underrepresented minorities benefitting from SUG awards, particularly Mexican Americans and Other Latinos. Students from middle-income families have a growing share of SUG awards, while the lowest income groups have seen a proportional decrease. Most importantly, the data shows that students who do not receive state or federal financial aid have benefited the most from SUG in 2008—a key finding in this analysis. This exploratory study finds that the CSU's SUG program is doing a "good job in holding students receiving it relatively harmless to fee increases: it only acts as a fee increase "offsetter" and not as a need-based "targetter." Although it covers fee increases for these students it does not cover other expenses that make up the total cost of attendance.

As the fiscal crisis in California deepens and CSU responds by increasing tuition and

fees, policy-makers should tighten the linkage between the SUG program and state and federal need-based aid programs, as well as much better inform nontraditional college applicants so that they are not kept from enrolling by the increased “sticker shock” of rising tuition now and for years to come. Moreover, policy makers should consider increasing state funding for this program so that it can prominently help those students with the greatest financial need. In a state with extreme income inequality and flat or declining wages and wealth for many families, but where middle class status is increasingly limited to college graduates, this is an urgent priority.

POLICY OUTLINE

This policy paper explores the State University Grant (SUG) program at the California State University System and its effects on underrepresented students. In the last ten years, fees at the California State University (CSU) system have more than doubled from an average of \$1,839 to \$5,198. The SUG program has helped to mitigate the effects of increased fees over the years for all race/ethnic groups as it has been used as a band-aid to limit such fee increases for recipients. It turns out that the SUG may act as a *de facto* fee discounting mechanism that generally applies equally to various race/ethnic groups. In short, the SUG acts as a non-targeted aid program given that the average award amount does not vary widely by race/ethnicity, income, and among institutions. As fees continue to rise, this policy paper makes the case for the importance of redesigning the SUG into a targeted aid program that awards need-based aid to the neediest students.

The SUG program was originally created by the California Legislature in the Budget Act of 1982, and then adapted by the CSU Trustees' State University Fee Policy of 1993. Under the Trustees' policy, one-third of fee revenues are dedicated to this SUG program; thus, it acts as the *de-facto* instrument of fee discounting in the CSU system for eligible students. For fiscal year 2009/10, the CSU system budgeted \$320,461,000 for the SUG. Of that, \$286,676,000 (89%) originates from fee revenues.⁷ This means that the CSU receives only two-thirds of tuition increases with the rest going to subsidize students getting the SUG. The current program is administered as a need-based financial aid award for eligible undergraduate and graduate students throughout the CSU campuses to cover a portion of the State University Fee, which is the equivalent of the system-wide mandatory fee.⁸ Under the current guideline, students who applied before March 2nd of the calendar year, with an Expected Family Contribution (EFC) of \$800 or less and not receiving a Cal Grant, or any other tuition grants are eligible to receive SUG awards.⁹ That is, it does not aim to provide additional aid to the needy students receiving the other grants, even if they have additional need, and provides aid to students in a wide variety of circumstances whose parents have limited resources. Each campus, however, has some discretion about how the funds are used

7 <http://www.calstate.edu/budget/fybudget/2009-2010/supportbook2/uses-financial-aid.shtml>

8 http://www.calstate.edu/SAS/fa_programs.shtml

9 http://www.calstate.edu/SAS/fa_programs.shtml

and the CSU publishes very little specific data about the beneficiaries. Individual campuses are allowed to make individual decisions on how to award the monies based on their internal award policies and priorities.¹⁰

There is no systemwide data on SUG awards but they range extensively. For example, the awards range from \$900 to \$4,200 depending on enrollment and classification. In order to find out the exact range one would have to check each individual campus for a consistent time period and a consistent unit of analysis to come up with either the average award amount or nominal award amount. At CSU Bakersfield the SUG represents 14.7 percent of total aid administered in 2009/10, with an average award amount of \$3,932 per recipient. I have received different years based on different reports at different campuses and the data is not consistent at all. The typical full-time annual SUG award for 2010/2011 at Chico State is \$4,230. Unlike the figure for CSU Bakersfield, this figure for Chico State is not an average. Research on this is ongoing, and I can report on the average SUG award by campus on a later date as the data becomes available.

CSU STATE UNIVERSITY GRANT POLICY CONTEXT AND INTRODUCTION

When a state government is forced to balance its budget in fiscally challenging times – as California recently has due to its multi-billion dollar structural deficit, higher education is a perennial loser as it is one of the core state-funded businesses that can raise much of its own revenue through tuition and fees, grants and contracts, and private donations to offset temporary and permanent budget shortfalls. However, there is an inevitable trickledown effect that budget shortfalls have on students at public colleges and universities that should be considered.

There has been a large long-existing gap between what public colleges receive as income from the state and what they must spend to cover costs. Nationally, one can predict with almost absolute certainty that as state governments cut funding for higher education, state colleges and universities must raise tuition and fees, and ratchet up other revenue-raising activities to offset such decreases and increased costs. This is also true for California. When state governments decide not to tax the public to support higher education they implicitly decide to tax the students.

This growing gap between state colleges' income and their expenditures can be attributed to two concurrent realities: 1) public colleges have seen a steady decline in the percent of total income they receive from the state; and 2) College expenditures (costs) are outpacing overall state government funding. Nationally, there have been dramatic changes over a 20-year period in state funding for public institutions of higher learning. Government investment in public universities as a proportion of current-fund revenues has declined and has resulted in institutions' search for new revenue streams led by tuition and fees, grants and contracts, and private gifts (Santos, 2007).

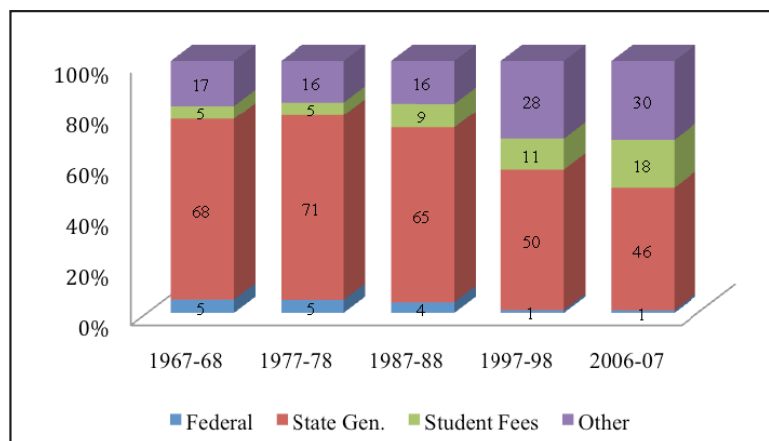
¹⁰ http://www.calstate.edu/SAS/fa_programs.shtml

Revenue streams for public institutions of higher education nationwide from 1986 to 2006 have seen an 18 percentage point decline in the proportion of current-fund revenue provided by the state. During the same 20 year period, tuition and fees rose sharply by 3 percentage points, endowment income rose by 3 percentage points, while income provided by private gifts, grants and contracts remained steady. During the same period, from 1986 to 2006, nationwide public college expenditures increased by 66 percent, while government funding grew by only 43 percent—these percent increases reflect 2006 constant dollar increases. This gap has widened over the last two decades (Santos, 2007).

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY (CSU) SYSTEM

In the last twenty years, proportional shares of state general fund in the CSU's operational expenditures declined by 43.6 percent—these percent increases reflect 2006 constant dollar increases, while in a ten year period income from grants and contracts and others increased by 96 percent, and student fees jumped 103 percent. This trend illustrates a remarkable shift from state support that is in decline, versus extramural funding and student fees that exhibit a large increase. This has serious implications within this system. As CSU continues to increase revenue-generating activities, it begins to redefine itself as a system dependent on the research revenue-generation game, whereby faculty who have an increased capacity to raise revenue through their research activities are hired, then they in turn recruit students who can assist the hired faculty in their research. These are students with ever-increasing higher standardized test scores, GPAs and the like— they are not necessarily large numbers of underrepresented minorities, low-income students, and academically marginal students (see figure 1).

Figure 1: Percentage Distribution of California State University Current Operation Expenditures, by Fund Source, Fiscal Years 1967-68 to 2006-07



Source: California Postsecondary Education Commission, Fiscal Profiles 2006, Display 24; Author's Calculations

Affordability in California

In the past decade, the cost of attendance at a California State University campus has increased at a much faster pace than inflation and median household income. Tuition and fees at the CSU system rose by 166 percent between 2000 and 2009, while inflation rose by 25 percent and median household income rose by only 16 percent (California Postsecondary Education Commission [CPEC], 2011). In the same time period, low-income families at about \$31,000 in annual income saw a decline in their earnings by 6.5 percent after adjusting for inflation, while families who made about \$230,000 a year still saw a miniscule increase of 1.5 percent after adjusting for inflation (CPEC, 2011). Clearly low-income families are disproportionately disadvantaged in terms of college affordability. The confluence of increased higher education costs exceeding leading economic indicators such as inflation and median household income, and the loss of real wages, creates a sad reality of less purchasing power for families in low-income brackets—thus, college is disproportionately less affordable for them. Their children need more and more aid if college is to be a real possibility.

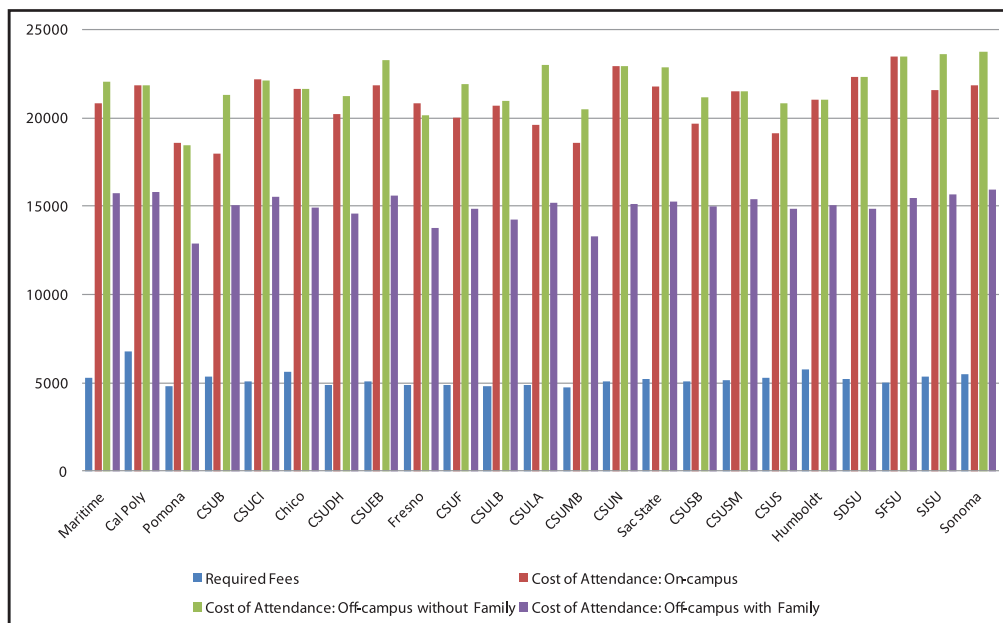
Recent fee increases and the \$500 million budget cut in early 2011, as well as anticipation of further cuts to the CSU budget for 2011-2012 fiscal year, are expected for the first time in the history of CSU, to put student fee revenues as the major source for per FTES funding at the CSU system. As college affordability faces a great challenge, government sponsored financial aid programs also face a grim future. The Cal Grant program faces difficult pressure to tighten its eligibility criteria. In the federal arena the Republican controlled House of Representatives insist on reducing the maximum federal Pell Grant awards amount, as well as opportunities for second Pell Grant awards. The initial 2011 bipartisan budget bargain will prevent raises in the Pell Grant for years to come. Although, these policy debates still have some ways to go, it is clear that the role of institutional aid, such as the State University Grant is increasingly becoming more important and a reliable source for college affordability.

Overview of the Costs of Attending College –for CSU students

In the last ten years, fees at the California State University (CSU) system have more than doubled from an average of \$1,839 to \$5,198, generating public outcry and questioning CSUs and the State's long-standing level of commitment in providing accessible and affordable higher education. In response to public discontent, the state has charted a policy direction that aligns its Cal Grant program with fee increases at the CSU system in order to help offset such fee increases. Cost of attendance for CSU varies among those that live with their parents, on-campus, or off-campus. It also varies by institution to institution. According to the most recent 2010-2011 costs of attendance figures before financial aid, it costs between \$12,861 (Pomona) and \$15,948 (Sonoma) to attend a CSU while living with parents, \$17,983 (Bakersfield) and \$23,476 (San Francisco) for on-campus, and \$18,465 (Pomona) and \$23,712 (Sonoma) while living on campus (California State University Student Academic Support, 2010). Fees that make up one part of the cost of attendance vary as well. For example, Monterey Bay charges the least in fees (\$4,721) while San Luis Obispo charges the most (\$6,780).

Family income of students attending private institutions has always been relatively high; the family income of students attending public institutions has risen at a slightly faster rate in recent years (Pryor, Hurtado, Saénz, Santos, & Korn, 2007). California has very large numbers of poor families as well as many who are more affluent. The ability of low- and middle-income families to absorb college prices fell during the past 25 years and income gaps grew rapidly between lower- and middle-income families than for upper-income families (Perna & Li, 2006). Nationally between 1978 and 2008, average family income declined by three percent (\$528 in constant 2008 dollars) for the poorest 20 percent of families, yet rose 15 percent (\$8,067) for the middle 20 percent and 78 percent (\$143,587) for the wealthiest five percent of families (College Board, 2009).

Figure 2: Required Fees and Cost of Attendance for In-State Undergraduate Students at CSU Campuses FY 2010/2011 (US\$)



Source: California State University Student Academic Support Office (2010)

Student aid has not kept pace with rising college prices, students who are more “price sensitive” are opting out of the four-year institutions, and more families are making decisions based on the best available aid package a college may offer. A link between student financial aid, as well as type of aid, and college choice and persistence, is well established by many previous studies (Hossler, Braxton, & Coopersmith, 1989; St. John & Noell, 1989; St. John, Paulsen, & Starkey, 1996). Hence, more than ever, availability of financial aid programs to a broader range of students is needed to maintain CSU’s and the state’s long-standing commitment to college affordability.

The college choice process is characterized as a multifaceted sequence that involves development and predispositions to attend college, the search for potential colleges and universities, and the choice among competing institutions (Hossler, Braxton, & Coopersmith, 1989). Financial aid is important to the college choice process (Hossler,

2000; Hossler, Braxton, & Coopersmith, 1989; Hossler, Schmidt, & Vesper, 1999; McDonough, 1997) and has been shown as particularly relevant to student preference when choosing between first and second choice institutions (Chapman & Jackson, 1987). This decision-making process is further marked by differences among racial and ethnic groups (Kim, 2004; St. John & Noell, 1989) and by income level (Avery & Hoxby, 2003), and is influenced by loan aversion behavior by minority students and families (St. John & Noell). Grants and work-study are the most desirable form of financial aid for students of all backgrounds (St. John, 1990). In the 1980s, as federal policy shifted to loans from grants, African American students were more negatively affected by this shift than Whites (Kaltenbaugh, St. John & Starkey, 1999). Black families typically have much more negative experience with lenders and black graduates typically receive lower wages, making it harder to repay loans.

Presently, in addition to government sponsored financial aid programs, such as the Cal Grant and federal Pell grant programs, the CSU offers an institutional aid program known as the State University Grant (SUG). Under the state administered Cal Grant program, 20,405 CSU¹¹ students received Cal Grant A or the tuition grant in fiscal year 2007/2008, while approximately 115,438 students¹² were projected to receive the SUG during the same fiscal year. Based on the enrollment projection of that year,¹³ fewer than 40 percent of full-time equivalent students are covered by either Cal Grant A or the SUG. The Civil Rights Project's 2011 survey report, *Squeezed from All Sides*, shows that most students on one major CSU campus were experiencing severe financial stress even before the two 2011 tuition increases.

Since SUG alone serves nearly one-third of full-time equivalent students at the CSU system, it is important to understand its various award policies established at the campus-level and how the program is mitigating the financial needs of students. It is imperative to examine how various student populations benefit from this institutional aid program with close attention to underrepresented minorities. As state appropriations to CSU continue to decline as a percent of CSUs overall expenditures, commitment to access and affordability shifts more and more to the institutions themselves. As a result, it is equally important to explore what student populations are served by the SUG program, particularly how this program ensures affordability and access for traditionally underrepresented minorities in this era of fiscal distress.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

The underlying research questions of this paper are guided by the literature on tuition discounting practices mostly found in private universities but now found more and more in public colleges and universities across the country (Baum & Lapovsky, 2006); and the effects of such practices on overall student diversity on college campuses (Redd, 2000). Tuition discounting refers to the practice of offering some students a subsidy to lower their net tuition payments. For this paper, the following questions were posed:

11 http://www.csac.ca.gov/pubs/forms/grnt_frm/07-08PreliminaryGrantStatistics.pdf

12 http://www.calstate.edu/budget/fybudget/2007-2008/supportbook1/support_budget1.pdf

13 http://www.calstate.edu/budget/fybudget/2007-2008/supportbook1/support_budget1.pdf

1. How has the need-based institutional student aid program (SUG) maintained higher education affordability?
2. Who benefits from the SUG?
3. In the last 20 years, have there been any changes with respect to who benefits from the SUG?

Specifically, the paper examines how the SUG program serves students from different socioeconomic and racial/ethnic groups, as well as how that student population has changed over time is examined. Also, how the SUG has changed over time and how such changes differ among various student groups is explored.

METHODS AND DATA

In addressing the research questions, the study consists of descriptive and trend analysis using the publicly available data generated from the Financial Aid Database, CSU's in-house student-level financial aid database and other sources and data produced from CSU's Division of Analytic Studies *Statistical Abstracts* reports. The data that was examined dates back to 1989, as the Trustees' policy to set aside one-third of the State University Fee revenues for the State University Grant program was adopted in 1993 so this study examines its impact.

In order to understand how SUG may impact affordability for students, descriptive data from the Statistical Abstracts 1997/1998 and 2007/2008 was examined. The Statistical Abstract is an annual report that is compiled by the Division of Analytic Studies at the California State University Chancellor's Office that contains a series of cross-sectional tables of campus enrollment, student profiles and other institutional data of the California State University system. Each Statistical Abstract has historical data for selected variables. For this paper, historical data from academic years 1988/1989 to 2007/2008 was gathered based on information in the Statistical Abstracts 1997/1998 and 2007/2008. In addition to the data from Statistical Abstracts, descriptive data from the California Postsecondary Education Commission was included. Additionally, data from the National Center for Educational Statistics' National Postsecondary Student Aid Study 2008 (NPSAS: 2008) was examined to estimate the profile of students who received the SUG. NPSAS: 2008 is the national-level representative sample of college students and it also contains a representative sample of California students and institutional segments. Data on total aid packages of CSU students by background characteristics was not available.

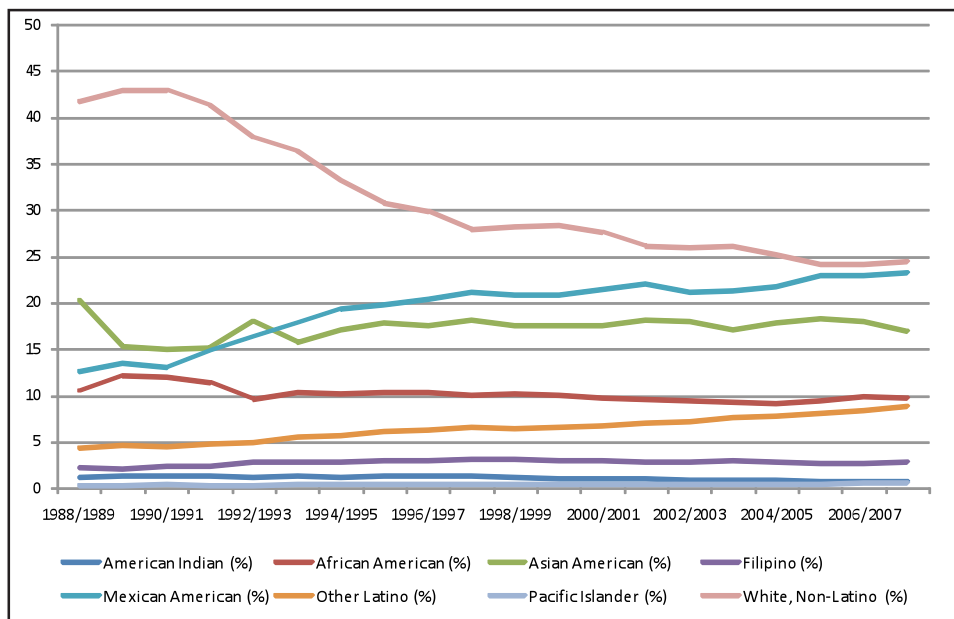
Since SUG is only awarded to undergraduate students who are either U.S. citizens or permanent residents, this paper only focuses on demographic data of those students that are available in the Statistical Abstracts. All percentages reported in the analysis were computed based on raw numbers found in the Statistical Abstracts and calculated based on the appropriate total number of undergraduate students, excluding nonresident aliens.

NCES's Power Stat Version 1.0 was used to compute National Postsecondary Aid Study, 2008 (NPSAS: 2008) data. For this paper, the analysis selected those respondents who were enrolled in the California State University system and Colleges, which is a response code within the California Institutional Segments variable.

FINDINGS

Over a twenty-year period, the proportional share of Asian American and White, non-Latino decreased approximately by 3.3 percentage points and 17.2 percentage points, respectively. While the proportional share of Mexican Americans and other Latinos increased by 10.7 percentage points and 4.5 percentage points, respectively. (See Figure 3) For African Americans, the proportional share decreased by almost one percentage point. To put this in context it is important to compare this moving share during this time period with the shifts occurring in the racial/ethnic undergraduate student composition.

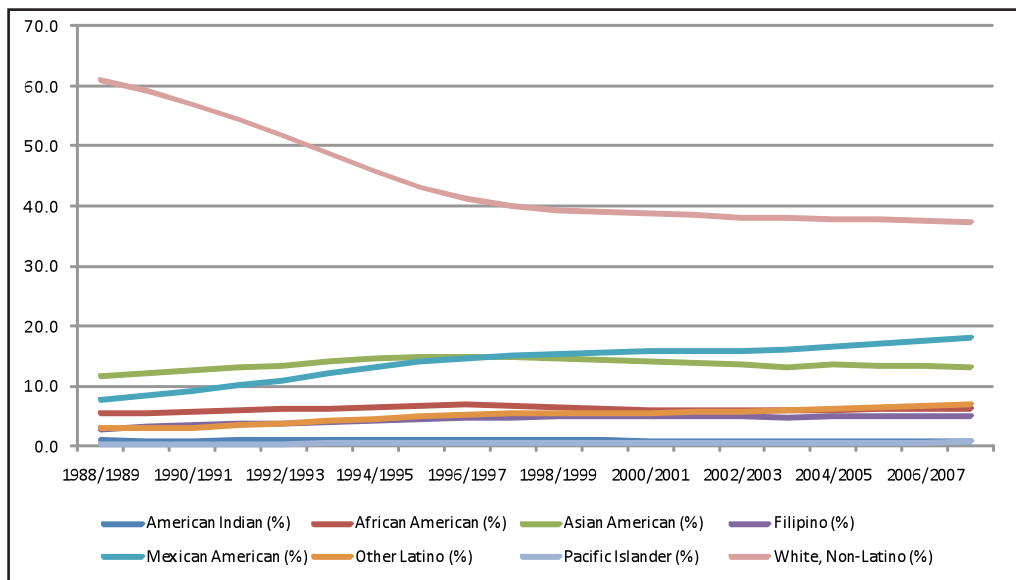
Figure 3: Demographic of State University Grant Recipients, by Race, 1988/89 - 2007/08



Source: CSU Statistical Abstracts 1997/1998 and 2007/2008

The underlying reality is that the composition of California's population of young people and undergraduate students in the CSU system changed dramatically during those two decades. The proportional share of Mexican Americans and other Latino students increased by 10.3 and 3.9 percentage points, respectively, while the proportional share for White, non-Latino students declined by 23.8 percentage points. (See Figure 4) Thus the SUG program kept pace with the undergraduate growth for Mexican American and other Latino students. In addition, this analysis shows students from racial/ethnic minority backgrounds are proportionally overrepresented in receipt of the SUG award across all groups.

Figure 4: Demographic of Undergraduate U.S. Citizens or Permanent Residents, by Race, 1988/89 - 2007/08

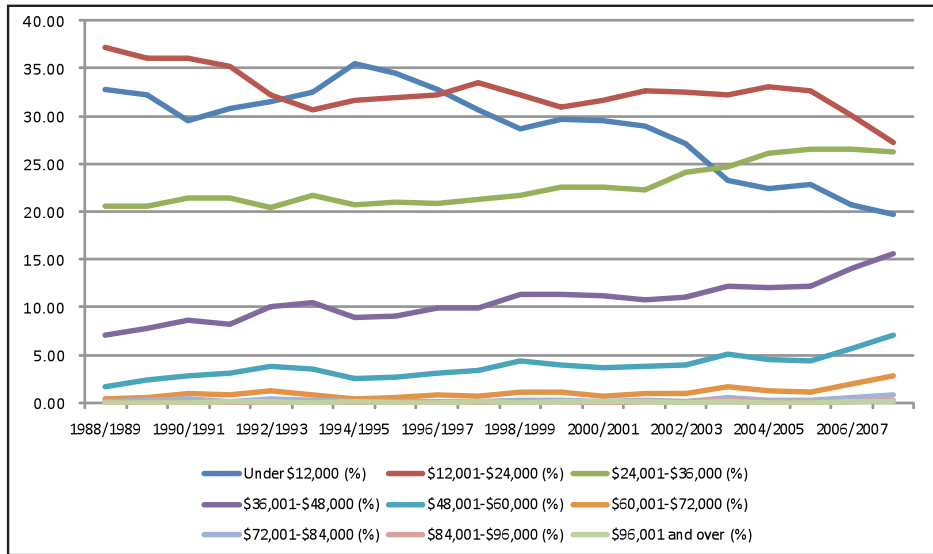


Source: CSU Statistical Abstracts 1997/1998 and 2007/2008

Proportionally more students from low-income backgrounds were awarded the SUG than those from higher income backgrounds, students from middle income (\$36K-48K & \$48K-\$60K) are barely making their proportional shares (or even underrepresented). This pattern holds for both dependent and independent students. Tables 5, 6, 7 and 8 show SUG recipients and overall demographics for dependent and independent students. That is, in 1988-1989, 32.8 percent of dependent students (income group under \$12,000) received the SUG compared to 31.9 percent, representing a less than one percentage point overrepresentation. However, when academic year 2007-2008 is examined, 19.7 percent of dependents students (income group under \$12,000) received the SUG compared to 11.4 percent, representing an 8.3 percent overrepresentation of this low income group. In short, this suggests that proportionally more students in the lowest income brackets are served by the SUG program than twenty years ago. The same pattern holds for independent students in Figures

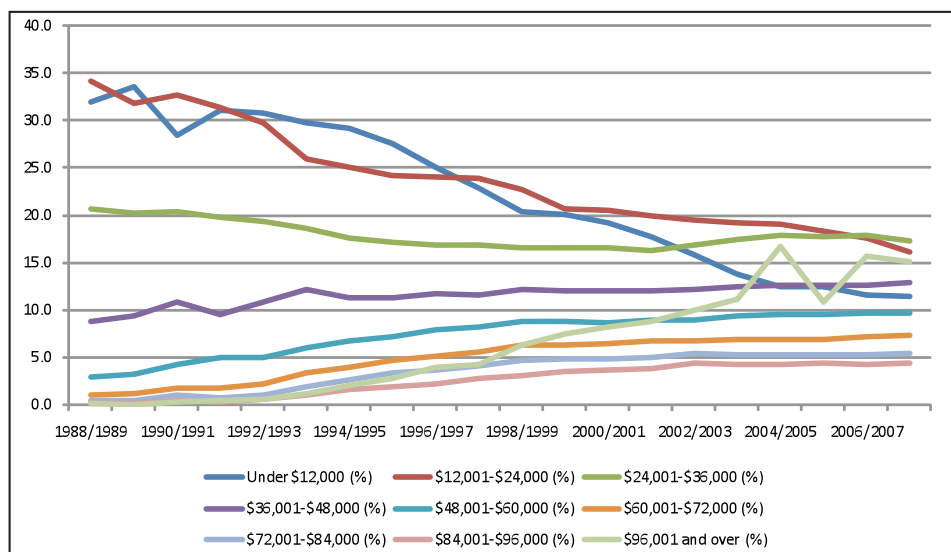
7 and 8. Because the data from CSUs Statistical Abstracts only breaks down the student population by income groups adjusted for inflation, the highest concentration of SUG recipients appears to have shifted over to the next income groups (i.e., \$12,001 - \$24,000 and \$24,001 - \$36,000) over the twenty-year period.

Figure 5: Demographic of Dependent Students, who Received State University Grants, by Family Income, 1988/89-2007/08



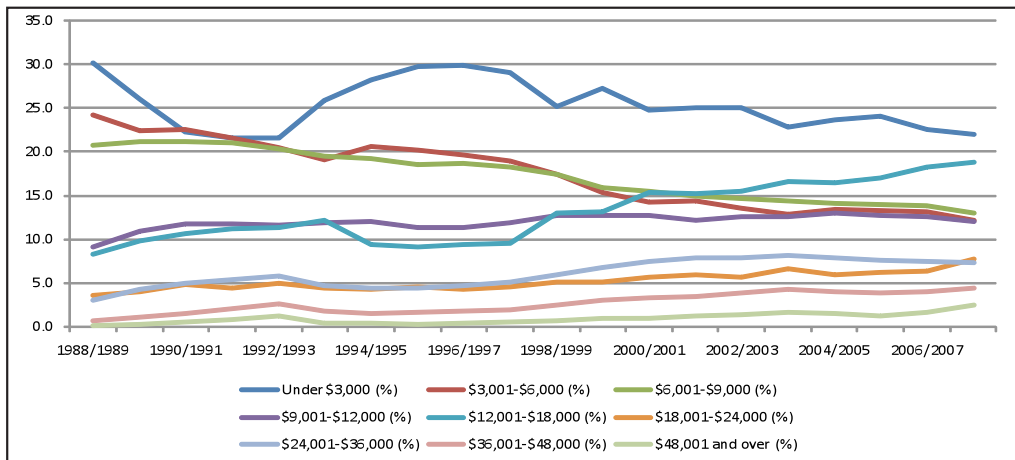
Source: CSU Statistical Abstracts 1997/1998 and 2007/2008

Figure 6: Demographic of Dependent Students, by Family Income, 1988/89-2007/08



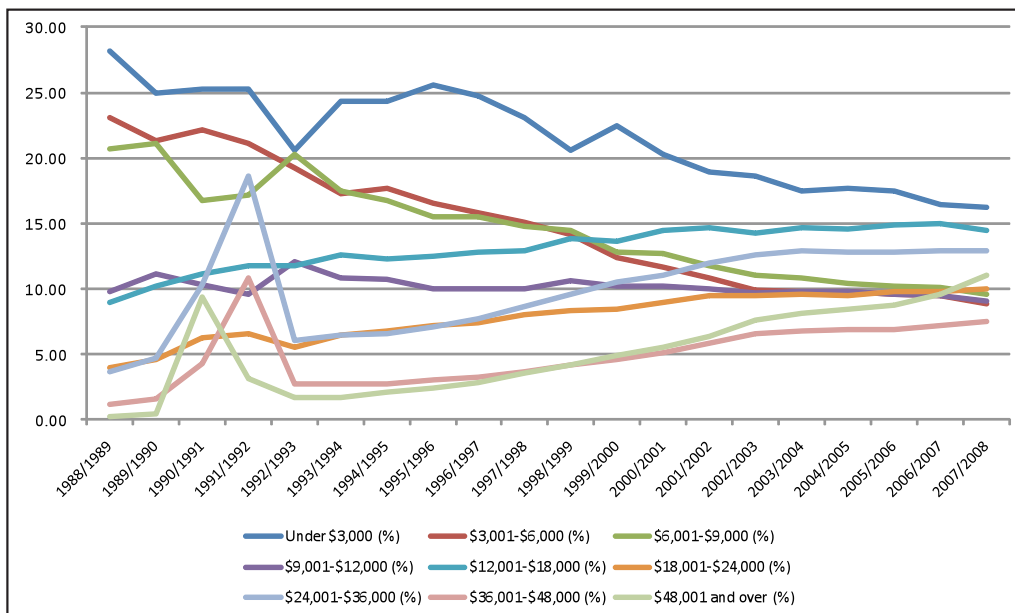
Source: CSU Statistical Abstracts 1997/1998 and 2007/2008

Figure 7: Demographic of Independent Students, who Received State University Grants, by Income, 1988/89-2007/08



Source: CSU Statistical Abstracts 1997/1998 and 2007/2008

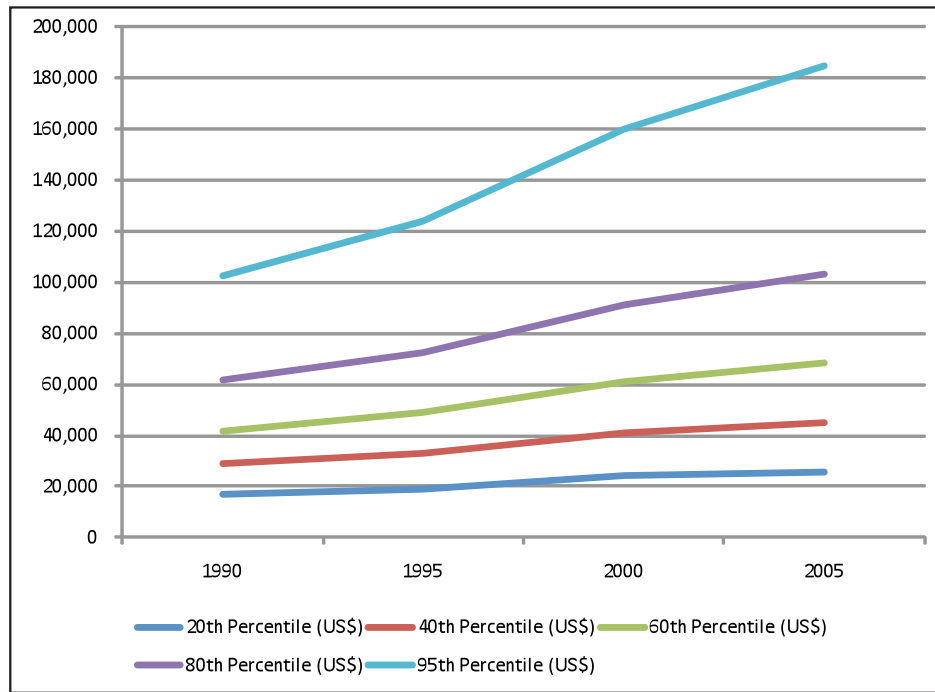
Figure 8: Demographic of Independent Students, by Income, 1988/89-2007/08



Source: CSU Statistical Abstracts 1997/1998 and 2007/2008

Household income has increased over the twenty-year period; thus, proportionally fewer students make up the lowest income groups. See Figure 9 However, it is clear that the SUG awards are concentrated on the lowest end of the income scale.

Figure 9: Household Income, by Percentiles



Source: California Postsecondary Education Commission, Report 08-10

In order to examine how race/ethnicity of students is related to income, the National Postsecondary Aid Study (NPSAS: 08) was examined. Table 1 shows that ethnic minority students are overrepresented in lower income quartiles.

Table 1: Student Demographic, by Income Percentile Groups, by Race/Ethnicity at California State Universities and Colleges

	White (%)	Black or African American (%)	Hispanic or Latino (%)	Asian (%)	Others (%)
Total	43.80	5.40	26.80	17.60	6.40
By Income Percentile					
Up to 25th Percentile	33.90	8.70	28.30	23.10	6.00
25th to 50th Percentile	39.00	4.80	33.40	16.80	5.90
51st to 75th Percentile	48.60	3.20	27.00	15.00	6.20
76th to 100th Percentile	58.20	3.40	17.50	13.30	7.60
Source: NPSAS 2008					
Computation by NCES PowerStats Version 1.0 on 7/14/2010					

The percentage of SUG recipients among all undergraduate students who are U.S. citizens or permanent residents has been consistent for the sixteen-year period since the last time the CSU Trustees adopted the new SUG policy in 1993 (Table 2). Given the state of California's economy and the CSU system budget in the last couple of years, it is truly remarkable that the CSU system maintained a level of commitment to mitigating affordability for underrepresented and low-income students through the disbursement of the SUG awards rather than spending an increasing share of tuition income on other university expenses. Interestingly, the size of the SUG award as it relates to the overall cost of attendance at the CSU system has been strengthening over the years. Table 3 shows that in 2005, the average SUG award was 15 percent of the overall cost of attendance, which is three percentage points higher than the share in 1995 and eight percentage points higher than the share in 1990. This means, of course, that those students receiving the SUG as their only aid must cover, on average, 85% percent of their rising costs in other ways. Since to be eligible, their families must have very limited resources, that money must be largely found elsewhere or borrowed. A \$2,000 dollar award is a significant help but there was still \$12,000 of costs to be covered by 2005.

SUG plays a greater role in providing financial aid to students who did not receive state financial aid in 2008 (See Tables 4 and 5). Students who did not receive state financial aid received, on average, a larger amount of SUG than their counterparts with state financial aid. Compared to students who did not receive federal Pell grants, proportionally more students who did not receive state financial aid were awarded SUG in 2008 and the differences are even greater for underrepresented students, as well as students from lower income quartiles. This finding is consistent with the CSU system policy that the SUG awards are awarded to those students without state fee grants. That is, the SUG awards extend need-based financial aid beyond the state financial aid program.

Table 2: Total Number of State University Grants Awarded, 1988/89-2007/08

	Number of State University Grants Awarded	Number of Undergrad uate U.S. Citizens or Permanent Residents Enrolled	Percentage of State University Grant Recipients (%)
1988/1989	41,972	277,107	15.15
1989/1990	32,977	280,933	11.74
1990/1991	42,083	285,660	14.73
1991/1992	52,551	279,488	18.80
1992/1993	85,641	269,138	31.82
1993/1994	75,343	254,963	29.55
1994/1995	82,521	250,987	32.88
1995/1996	81,839	256,956	31.85
1996/1997	85,248	264,784	32.20
1997/1998	86,145	267,874	32.16
1998/1999	96,309	270,250	35.64
1999/2000	101,305	275,553	36.76
2000/2001	97,685	281,619	34.69
2001/2002	90,985	296,292	30.71
2002/2003	92,627	307,291	30.14
2003/2004	105,381	308,497	34.16
2004/2005	107,341	309,402	34.69
2005/2006	107,445	319,919	33.59
2006/2007	111,026	332,258	33.42
2007/2008	115,107	345,737	33.29

Source: CSU Statistical Abstracts 1997/1998 and 2007/2008

Table 3: Percentage of Average State University Grants in Cost of Attendance

	Cost of Attendance (US\$)	Average State University Grant Awarded (US\$)	Percentage of Average State University Grant against Cost of Attendance (%)
1990	7,286	499	6.84
1995	9,665	1,165	12.06
2000	10,849	1,231	11.35
2005	14,218	2,122	14.92

Source: California Postsecondary Education Commission, Report 08-10, CSU Statistical Abstracts 1997/98 and 2007/08

Table 4: Percentage of Students received Institutional Need Based Grants at California State Universities and Colleges

	All Students (%)	Students who did not receive Federal Pell Grant (%)	Students who did not receive State Need Based Grant (%)	Students who did not receive both Federal Pell Grant and State Need Based Grants (%)
Total	22.30	3.50	18.40	3.10
By Race				
White	13.70	2.80	11.50	2.50
Black or African American	36.90	6.80	34.50	6.90
Hispanic or Latino	31.90	3.70	25.90	3.50
Asian	25.90	3.60	22.80	3.70
Others	18.90	5.30	14.80	3.50
By Income Percentile				
Up to 25th Percentile	45.50	3.60	41.50	3.80
25th to 50th Percentile	26.20	9.40	24.80	8.90
51st to 75th Percentile	6.90	1.90	6.20	1.60
76th to 100th Percentile	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50
By Parent's Highest Education Level				
Do not know	39.30	**	36.90	**
GED and/or Vocational/Technical Education	32.80	6.00	27.90	6.00
Associate Degrees and/or Some College Education	21.30	2.80	17.20	3.00
College Degrees	15.90	3.70	12.90	2.30
First Professional Degrees	14.60	2.90	13.10	2.90
Master's/Doctoral Degrees	10.30	1.10	9.00	1.20
** Reporting standard not met				
Source: NPSAS 2008				
Computation by NCES PowerStats Version 1.0 on 7/14/2010				

Table 5: Average Institutional Need Based Grants Awarded at California State Universities and Colleges

	All Students (US\$)*	Students who did not receive Federal Pell Grant (US\$)*	Students who did not receive State Need Based Grant (US\$)*	Students who did not receive both Federal Pell Grant and State Need Based Grants (US\$)*
Total	2,369.10	2285.00	2586.50	2449.90
By Race				
White	2,177.20	**	2398.80	**
Black or African American	2,371.00	**	2436.30	**
Hispanic or Latino	2,419.60	**	2646.00	**
Asian	2,512.30	**	2769.70	**
Others	2,422.60	**	**	**
By Income Percentile				
Up to 25th Percentile	2,384.80	**	2638.20	**
25th to 50th Percentile	2,344.40	2212.70	2524.20	2446.40
51st to 75th Percentile	2,366.40	**	2513.70	**
76th to 100th Percentile	**	**	**	**
By Parent's Highest Education Level				
Do not know	2,496.90	**	**	**
GED and/or Vocational/Technical Education	2,386.20	**	2555.30	**
Associate Degrees and/or Some College Education	2,489.00	**	2771.30	**
College Degrees	2,127.00	**	2458.10	**
First Professional Degrees	**	**	**	**
Master's/Doctoral Degrees	2,265.10	**	2411.10	**
* Not including zero				
** Reporting standard not met				
Source: NPSAS 2008				
Computation by NCES PowerStats Version 1.0 on 7/14/2010				

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

What all this means for current and future students of the CSU system is that they will have to pay more. That will have the unintended consequence of pricing out both enrolled and prospective students who are at the margins economically – that is, those traditionally underserved, such as Mexican Americans, Other Latinos, and African Americans who are generally lower-income and will be most adversely affected by fee increases. Because of the recent budget agreement in Washington, the Pell Grant, the largest federal need-based financial aid program, will not increase in the next several years as costs soar. The state's fiscal crisis may also impact Cal Grants. The SUG is important in mitigating affordability for underrepresented and lower-income students. As postsecondary leadership attempts to shore up students at the margins, middle-income students and their families may be the other unintended casualties of such fee increases.

In addition, underserved students are most likely to be affected by CSU as they continue to provide access for the same number of students. This is now being played out by the most recent signal at CSU. The CSU turned away approximately 10,000 students in academic year 2009-10 citing its inability to continue to fund enrollments beyond what the state is providing based on the enrollment formula.

Fee increases don't just price out those looking to enroll; they saddle enrolled students with increased debt. In this volatile and tight lending environment, students are faced with ever-more difficult decisions about taking on additional debt. Moreover, additional debt limits students' ability to reap the benefits of a baccalaureate degree such as buying a home, starting a family, and in many cases opting for state desired public sector professions. All of these resulting outcomes have social and economic implications for California. The federal government stepped up its efforts to mitigate the tight consumer credit crunch as the sole and direct lender by passing the Student Aid and Fiscal Responsibility Act (SAFRA, 2010).

California mirrors the national trends in various ways but has managed to maintain its commitment to low-income students by enrolling a large percentage of such students as measured by Pell Grant eligibility—a remarkable feat that should be commended. In addition, based on the findings, the SUG has done a remarkable job in offsetting some of the fee increases. This commitment has remained steady irrespective of a national trend showing more and more states favoring financial aid policies that reward merit versus need, channeling much of state funding to more affluent families. For the most part, California has resisted this, but it is unlikely that it can continue much longer, given the trends in reduced state funding and increased costs that students will be expected to bear.

Continuing severe state shortfalls in college funding could lead to the full adoption of market-based practices with campuses fighting to generate revenue and wean themselves from dependency on a state unwilling to provide funds. This market driven

approach consists of changing the student mix (admitting more out of state, graduate, and international students and students not needing aid while admitting less in-state, undergraduate, and domestic students), further implementing differential pricing strategies (charging different fees for different schools—a practice that is currently employed), employing retrenchment strategies (realignment of schools, programs, and the like with the new financial landscape), to name a few of the strategies.

CSU is in a unique position in that the budget cuts of late have added fiscal anxiety throughout the system; however, it has remained committed to low-income students and underrepresented students through its SUG program. This was a welcomed finding of this paper and, as a result, the policy implication is that this is an institutional aid policy that appears to be helpful, and one that should continue and adapt to the changing financial aid need conditions. The current fiscal climate, however, can have the effect of eroding such a program if CSU has to make deeper cuts, charge higher fees, and use its net revenue increases for other purposes other than institutional aid. It is necessary and helpful to students to have an increased pool of available resources such as the SUG, particularly those at the margins exhibiting the greatest financial need and help defray the costs of attending college; however, students making decisions about going to college respond more to the sticker-shock price hikes of fees than they do to increases in aid. While maintaining and increasing (when possible) aid is a good start, the lack of available information, wide variation in academic preparation, and limited opportunities for access will still prevent ever-increasing numbers of students from enrolling in college.

The SUG is generally doing a good job in holding students harmless to fee increases as it acts as a fee increase “offsetter” and not as a need-based “targeter.” It needs to be effectively combined with other federal and state aid for truly needy students. As fees continue to rise, the rate and magnitude of future increases are likely to price out students at the margins—the most financially needy and racially diverse among us. In anticipation of this undesirable outcome the SUG may need to play a larger role as a targeted institutional aid program. In order to make a better assessment of the role SUG plays in mitigating fees combined with other financial aid sources, CSU should consider reporting the SUG awards along with other sources of financial aid by race/ethnicity, income levels, and campus. This would be a useful way to easily determine who benefits and where the financial aid gaps lie. That is, this reporting format will be a useful policy tool to tightly couple tuition and fee increases with financial aid and target those students with the greatest financial need.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

- Strengthen and expand linkages of tuition setting policies with aid at both state and institutional levels. Currently the California Student Aid Commission (CSAC) awards financial aid (Cal Grants) to financially needy students at public and independent 2- and 4-year colleges and universities. The state can act directly in helping to expand CSU institutional aid programs such as the SUG program for low-income students as a targeted aid program.
- Purposeful information campaign to mitigate “sticker shock” reactions along with viable evaluation of the effects of such campaign. One way that states try to mitigate recent increases in tuition and fees is to ratchet up their public information campaigns regarding scholarships and aid packages. However, we don’t know how effective such campaigns are in curbing students’ substitution behavior, such as opting to not go to a CSU because of costs and choosing instead to attend a local community college or an out-of-state school. Making students aware of targeted grant aid programs should go a long way in mitigating increased costs of attendance.
- Plan for future fee increases as far in advance as possible and inform students and their families so that they may anticipate such increases. Californians must be prepared for the inevitability of future fee increases; consider fee increases as “maintenance” or “cost of living” adjustments – as expenditures rise, students and their families will be left to make up the difference if the State does not sustain its level of support. The SUG appears to help mitigate affordability for low-income and underrepresented students but for how long? Clearly, institutions matter and the CSUs SUG program matters now and will matter more in a future consisting of greater fee increases.

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PART 4:

DISMANTLING COLLEGE OPPORTUNITY IN CALIFORNIA

Remediation as a Civil Rights Issue in the California State University System

Kimberly R. King, Suzanne McEvoy, and Steve Teixeira

Economic Crisis and the California State Public University: The Institutional, Professional, and Personal Effects on Faculty and Students

David Boyns, Amy Denissen, Alexandra Gerbasi

“You Will Have to Work Ten Times as Hard at the CSU”: Reducing Outreach and Recruitment in Times of Economic Crisis

Rebecca Joseph with the assistance of Mario Castaneda

FOREWORD

As we face the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression, college opportunity has been negatively impacted by drastic cuts and the rising cost of education. In California specifically, higher education opportunity seems to be nearly out of reach for low-income students, academically underprepared students, and students of color. Historically, higher education has been considered a mechanism of upward mobility. Considered part of the "American Dream," parents encourage their children to strive for this goal, even if the parents themselves never attended college.

Academically underprepared students, or those lacking the basic skills of math and/or English to be at college-level, represent over half of entering freshman at the CSU. What these startling numbers really represent is a growing number of underprepared students graduating California high schools, often with excellent grades, yet being denied admission to the state's public institutions. Despite California's commitment to universal access to all who can benefit and tuition-free education, what we are seeing is an inability to uphold this social contract at the cost of students' futures.

The negative impact of budget cuts has been felt beyond the students and their families. Recent pay cuts, furloughs, and other declines in financial support have also impacted faculty and staff at the CSU campuses. Increasingly, faculty and staff have feelings of unfairness, as they struggle to provide services and quality education to students, yet experience enormous cut after cut. Morale continues to plummet as faculty and staff are expected to perform the duties of educating the state's youth, yet the value of education seems practically non-existent within the state's budget priorities.

These studies released today call attention to the fact that the cuts to higher education impact students, their families, CSU faculty, and staff well beyond the classroom. Reductions in access, retention, and increases in cost are disproportionately impacting traditionally underrepresented students, and are being deeply felt within their personal lives. Students are attempting to find additional means of income to cover tuition and fees, as well as contribute to their households. CSU faculty and staff strive to do their jobs with less, while attempting to find employment outside of academia. All the while, students, faculty, and staff feel a lack of knowledge and awareness regarding budget cuts, and report that these cuts indicate changes in society's values of higher education- and most importantly, who should attend. Additionally, students with remedial academic needs feel overwhelmed with an increased time to degree due to courses that often have an attached stigma; yet constrained by policies which appear to support educational outcomes but limit these students' abilities to outside obligations such as family and work.

The barriers to college continue to increase at a time when resources and support for the neediest college students diminish. As a graduate of the CSU, and a student who entered college with remedial math needs, I fully understand that my success today is all an issue of timing. If I was an entering freshman today, the fact is that I may not

be entering a system at all- but rather hopelessly searching for low-paying employment opportunities that are practically non-existent. Closing the doors to college for those who seek it the most is beyond limiting college opportunity-- it is limiting life opportunity.

Avery Olson

“REMEDICATION” AS A CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUE IN THE CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY SYSTEM

Kimberly R. King, Suzanne McEvoy, and Steve Teixeira

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INTRODUCTION

Background

For many years, California State University faculty, staff, and administrators have dedicated themselves to helping “remedial” and/or developmental first-year entrants improve their English composition and math skills, so they may develop as students and graduate. Remedial students are defined as students who do not have college-level math and English skills, as determined by scores on the English Placement Test (EPT) and the Entry Level Mathematics exam (ELM; Carter 1989, 1992). They have comprised the majority of CSU’s entering freshmen for many years.

Since 1997, CSU leaders have issued two Executive Orders regarding remediation. E.O. 665 Munitz (1997) mandates that first-year students who do not remediate successfully within their first year at the CSU can be “disenrolled” until they complete remedial work at a community college; E.O. 1048 Reed (2010) will require all remedial students to attend remedial instruction during the summer prior to their first fall enrollment, starting in 2012. Currently, the great majority of “remedial” first-time freshmen (approximately 80%) successfully remediate within their first year at the CSU and continue their academic progress at the university. However, about 3,000 CSU-eligible students who experience problems with remedial courses are forced to leave the University every year (Proficiency Reports of Students Entering the CSU System 2009).

Recently, faculty and staff representatives have publicly expressed concern over the inequitable impact of these policies on low-income and ethnic minority remedial students. In addition, the rate at which under-represented minority students are disenrolled for failing to remediate on time is much higher than the rate for others who do not remediate timely. Such disparities in remediation are also associated with different patterns of selection of CSU campuses by students of various skill levels. Unless these patterns are directly addressed by CSU, a pernicious de facto academic segregation may become intractable.

Remedial Students in the California State University System

California’s Master Plan for Higher Education gave eligibility for the California State University system to California students who graduated from high school with grades

in the top third of their class and had satisfied various subject requirements (California State Department of Education 1960). However, well over 20,000 high school graduates entering the California State University each year—more than half of all first-year entrants—are assessed as requiring academic assistance to achieve university-level proficiency in English, math, or both (CSU Freshman Proficiency and Remediation at Entry and One Year Later 2009).

These academically high-needs students include students of all colors and ethnicities, although they are overrepresented among low-income, first-generation students, and are concentrated among the ranks of students of color from segregated high schools in the poorest communities. In fall 2009, 68% of African American first-time freshmen tested remedial in math, and 71% in English. For Mexican American freshmen, the rate was 52% in math, and 65% in English. Asian American students had slightly higher skills, but 26.1% needed remediation in math and 57% in English. Of whites, 25% were remedial in math and 29% in English (Proficiency Reports of Students Entering the CSU System 2009).

At CSU campuses serving a high proportion of low-income high schools with high minority populations, such as CSU Los Angeles and CSU Dominguez Hills, remediation rates are above 88% of all first-year entrants. However, because white student enrollment in the CSU is so high, the actual number of remedial whites is greater than that of African Americans, and close to that of Mexican Americans.

The average high school GPA for “remedial” students is above a 3.0, and the great majority of remedial first-time freshmen successfully remediate within their first year at the CSU and continue their academic progress at the University. For example, in 2006, 83% of CSU students who entered the CSU needing remediation were proficient at the end of their freshman year (CSU Freshman Proficiency and Remediation at Entry and One Year Later 2007). Of remedial first-year students who entered CSU in 2001 and became proficient, 68% had earned a baccalaureate degree or were still persisting in 2006, virtually the same as the graduation rate of 69% for nonremedial 2001 entrants (English, math proficiency 2007, ¶ 10).

CSU Remediation Policies—E.O. 665 and E.O. 1048

From 1998 to 2010, the California State University system’s basic policy for remedial first-year entrants was Executive Order 665 (E.O. 665; Munitz 1997), which mandated that they complete all math or composition remediation during their first academic year, or risk being “disenrolled” until they completed it at the community college level.

The eruption of the Great Recession in 2008 exacerbated California’s existing budget deficit, and led CSU to announce “a goal to reduce our total enrollment by 40,000 over the next two years” (Zamarripa and Turnage 2009, 1). In addition, Chancellor Charles Reed issued an Executive Order (E.O. 1048; Reed 2010), requiring all remedial entrants to attend a mandatory Early Start Program (ESP) in the summer prior to their fall classes. Students failing to enroll and participate in the program would lose their admission to the University.

Fees for these classes may be higher than fees charged for regular courses. The ESP will begin in some form at all campuses by summer 2012, with full implementation set for summer 2014 (Reed 2010).

The higher fees and loss of employment time associated with mandatory summer ESP threaten to deter a large number of students from entering the University. To allay that fear, Assistant Vice Chancellor Alison Jones assured Trustees that a process will be created by which students who qualify for state financial aid from fall to spring would become eligible for supplementary assistance for the summer ESP. However, he failed to report that this would only apply to federal financial aid, since state Cal Grants cannot be used to pay for Extended Education courses. Currently, to qualify for summer Pell Grants, students must have completed twenty-four credit hours in the previous academic year, which incoming freshmen will not have. In the 2011 federal budget, summer Pell grants may be eliminated. A team of faculty and staff experts warned that such a new, earlier deadline will worsen the problem whereby proportionally more students from low-income and minority communities are already failing to complete all the steps in the existing application process, and cannot be admitted (see Figure 7).

The requirement of summer study will disparately affect low-income students who must rely on summer employment to be able to meet their living costs while in college. The systemwide faculty English Council wrote to the Board of Trustees that instead of merely proposing a summer program which remedial students could choose to utilize, this required program actually undermined California's Master Plan (1960) by imposing financial burdens and "forcing an identified group of students to participate in summer as a pre-condition of enrollment to the university, even though this same population of students is not only fully qualified for admission, but arrives at the CSU having earned high school GPAs of B or better" (CSU English Council 2010, ¶ 2).

Barely two months after ESP was adopted, reports from two campuses seemed to validate suspicions that new remediation practices are as much about lowering enrollment as about enhancing remedial students' skills. On July 1, 2010 an administrator at CSU Dominguez Hills wrote that "as a result of the decreasing state budget necessitating a system-wide decrease in enrollment, the CSUs are experiencing numerous student requests that cannot be accommodated. As you know we at CSUDH exceeded our targets last year and need to manage our new student enrollment very closely." She then reported that 785 students had failed to remediate, facing potential disenrollment by the end of the 2009-2010 academic year, an unprecedented increase compared to the 141 reported for 2007-2008, the last year which CSU made publicly available (K. Bragg, personal communication, July 1, 2010).

Less than three weeks later, The Bakersfield Californian reported that at California State University, Bakersfield "to cut costs, the university had eliminated four of nine math instructors, opting to move the remedial math program to a mostly online format. . . . More than half of the 1,600-plus students who took the new-style courses...

failed the math classes, department figures show. In the year before, about 60 percent of the 1,100 students in an instructor-based, classroom setting passed... The disparity in outcomes of the two instruction models was especially stark when comparing fall of 2008, when about 75 percent of students passed, and fall of 2009, when about 40 percent of students were successful" (Barrientos 2010, ¶ 5).

BRIEF LITERATURE REVIEW: DOES HIGHER EDUCATION REMEDIATION HELP STUDENTS GRADUATE?

Eleven years ago, Alexander Astin, founding director of UCLA's prestigious Higher Education Research Institute, gave a prescient warning about the debate over remediation at the California State University. "The remedial issue is particularly interesting because the Cal State people don't seem to understand that that's their most important work. They want to dump it on the secondary schools or the community colleges or whatever. ...For us to stand back and disavow any responsibility for the fact that these people need remediation is not only self-serving but it's just inaccurate...The poor folks in K-12 [kindergarten through high school] are taking the beating for problems that are very often out of their control—either issues of funding or class size or poor neighborhoods (Mills 1999, ¶ 7)...Just kicking these students out of the CSU is crazy. It's shortsighted in terms of the state interest. Why do we want a bunch of people with marginal literacy flooding into cities and towns of our state? We have a self-interest in educating these people well and valuing that part of our work" (Mills 1999, ¶ 8).

By 2004, 76% of all American higher education institutions provided remedial courses (Kreysa 2006) and it is easy to see the civil rights implications of remedial education. Parker and Richardson (2005) and others argue that the endemic and enduring issue of social inequities in the K-16 pipeline suggests a continuing, persistent need for remediation. Bahr (2008) states that "remediation is, by definition, a remedy intended to restore opportunity to those who otherwise may be relegated to meager wages, poor working conditions, and other consequences of socioeconomic marginalization" (422).

Gandara and Contreras (2009) state that "class privilege is tied to social and cultural capital—access to power and authority, to networks of influential and informed friends and colleagues, to the understanding of the workings of 'the system' that allow those with privilege in society to maintain it" (51). These researchers point to the literature that has consistently found social class to be connected to how well students perform in school, with students from higher social class backgrounds typically performing better than their lower class peers. Thus, Knapp and Wollverton argue that "social class is fundamental to understanding the workings and consequences of educational institutions" (2004, 657). Furthermore, social class is a driving force in determining academic preparation and opportunities, as well as success (Balfanz and Legters 2004; Orfield 2004; Gandara and Contreras 2009). The current U.S. K-12 public school system translates social class into structurally unequal access to knowledge

and resources for low-income students and students of color, resulting in unequal and diminished educational opportunities (Kozol 1991; Orfield 1992, 2004; Persell 1993; Sedlacek 1998; Knapp and Woolverton, 2004; Balfanz and Legters, 2004; Darling-Hammond 2004; Garcia 2004; Yun and Moreno, 2006; Gandara and Contreras, 2009). African American and Latino students constitute both a large portion of low-income students, as well as of students of color.

Recently, the Education Commission of the States' 2010 publication, *Getting Past Go: Rebuilding the Remedial Education Bridge to College Success*, cited U.S. Department of Education reports showing that around 34% of all new freshmen needed a minimum of one remedial course (Vandal 2010). However, pressing federal and state financial issues have caused many states to begin to reexamine the issue of higher education remediation.

There are currently no standardized criteria for defining courses or students as "remedial, and/or developmental," causing confusion in effectively identifying and analyzing such programs (Attewell, Lavin, Domina, and Levey 2006). Merisotis and Phipps (2000) argue, "Research about the effectiveness of remedial education programs has typically been sporadic, underfunded, and inconclusive" (75).

Using National Center for Educational Statistics data from the National Educational Longitudinal Study of all U.S. students who entered ninth grade in 1988, updated in 2000, Attewell et al. (2006) found remedial students to be more academically diverse than is often believed, with 52% of low-income students represented in remedial classes, along with 24% of students from the highest income quartile. These researchers also found that 10% of high school students who scored in the highest skills test quartile, and 25% of those in the second highest, took courses labeled remedial. Furthermore, 14% of students participating in the most advanced high school curriculum took higher education remedial courses, as did 32% of students coming out of "fairly demanding courses in high school." On the other hand, of those twelfth-grade students who scored in the skills test lowest quartile, 32% did not enroll in any remediation, nor did 42% of those designated from the high schools in the lowest quartile of "curricular intensity" (899).

Overall, 61% of African American students and 35% of whites were in remedial courses. Still, when controlling for SES, high school performance, etc., African American students have a 16% greater probability of participating in remediation. Finally, when these two ethnicities are equally matched in terms of high school preparation, SES, family background, etc., African American students are 11% more likely to have taken remedial courses.

The Attewell et al. study (2006) reported that 52% of remedial students and 78% of nonremedial students earned a bachelor's degree in 8.5 years. In addition, 50% of African American and 34% of Latino remedial students graduated. The graduation rates for students enrolled in three or more remedial courses were found to be 12% to 15% lower than for similarly matched students who took no such courses. However, one

in three of these “multiple-course” remedial students were able to earn a bachelor’s degree in eight years.

The researchers observed pointedly that “if those students were deemed unsuitable for college and denied entry to four-year institutions, a large proportion of the minority graduates in the high school class of 1992 would never have received degrees” (Attewell et al. 2006, 915).

Bahr (2008) concluded that “postsecondary remediation is a hotly contested topic. Yet, remarkably few large-scale, comprehensive, multi-institutional evaluations of remediation have been put forward, leading to an astonishing lack of empirical evidence to inform this debate” (446). However, Bahr also found that students can and do successfully gain college-level skills by taking remedial courses in college, even when they start out with deep and multiple deficits (2010). The CSU statistics on completion are very positive.

THE CURRENT STUDY

The current research examines whether recent policy changes to remedial education at the California State University constitute a civil rights issue, by unfairly reducing educational access and retention for CSU-eligible students from communities of color and low-income communities. We analyzed remediation and disenrollment rates in the CSU, with a focus on the five CSU campuses whose students have the highest need for remediation: Dominguez Hills, Los Angeles, San Bernardino, Bakersfield, and East Bay. We also compared these high-remediation campuses with two types of campuses. The first campuses include five of the CSUs with the lowest remedial need: San Luis Obispo, San Diego, Humboldt, Sonoma, and Long Beach. The second campuses are three low-remediation CSUs adjacent to high-remediation campuses and which attract higher-skilled high school graduates from their feeder schools. These three low-remediation adjacent CSU campuses include Long Beach (also one of the lowest remediation), Pomona, and Northridge. For this study, we examined the following ethnic groups: African American, Mexican American, Asian American, and European American (i.e., white). To examine the effects of the recent budget crisis on remedial education and students’ civil rights, we focused on the time period from 2004 to 2009, during which the CSU budget faced deficits each year.

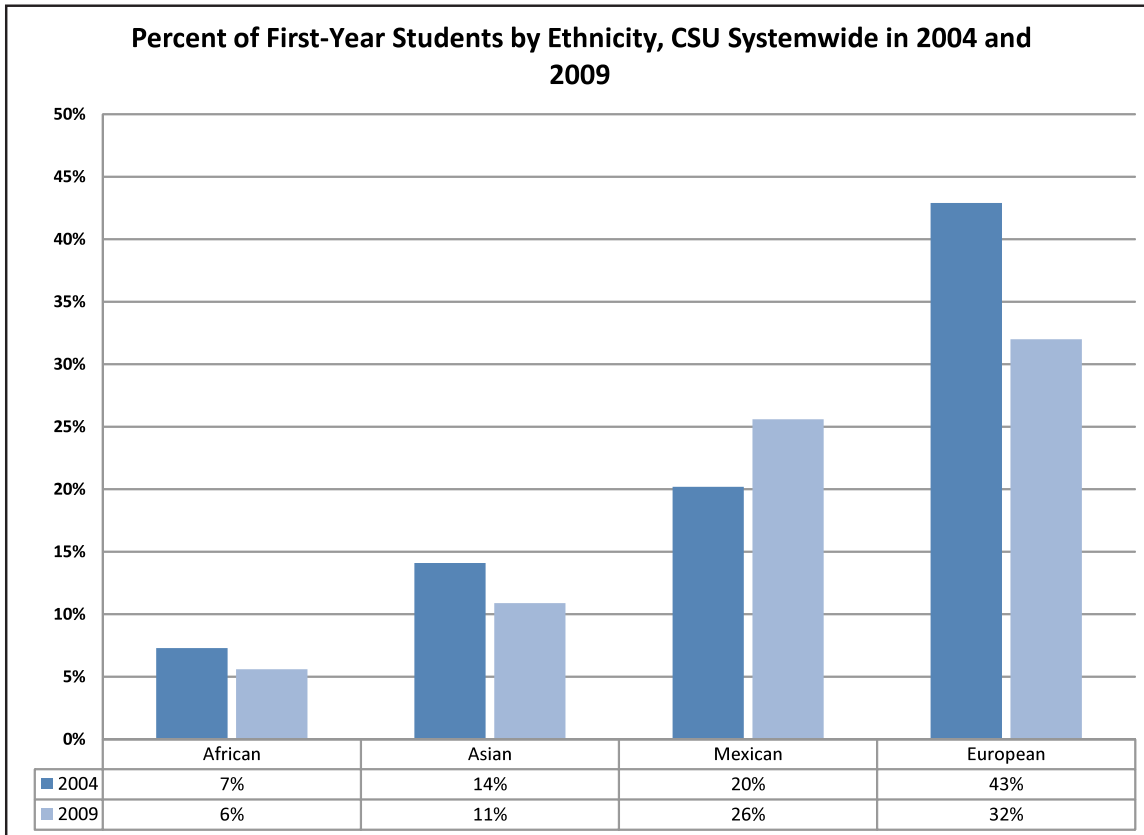
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

First-Year Student Enrollment

We examined the number and percent of first-time freshmen attending the CSU system-wide in the fall quarter by ethnicity for the years 2004 to 2009. Figure 1 presents the ethnic diversity of the CSU systemwide in 2004 compared to 2009. The largest ethnic group was whites (the CSU’s term for European Americans), making up almost 37% of the freshman class (n = 17,482.8). The next largest group was Mexican

Americans at 21% (n = 9,837.8), followed by Asian Americans at 12% (n = 5,883.2) and African Americans at 7% (n = 3,375.7). Over the years from 2004 to 2009, the percentages of African American, Asian American, and white freshmen decreased significantly. The percentage of Mexican American students increased. The number of African American freshmen went down significantly in fall 2009, the year that serious enrollment control was initiated by the CSU. For the years from 2004 to 2008, the mean percentage of black freshmen was 7% and the mean number was 3,464. However, in 2009, there were only 5.6% black students (n = 2,934).

Figure 1. Percent of First-Year Students by Ethnicity, CSU Systemwide in 2004 and 2009.



Source: *First-Time Freshmen Enrollment by Campus and Ethnicity, Table 3. (CSU Analytic Studies).*

Remediation and Under-represented Students

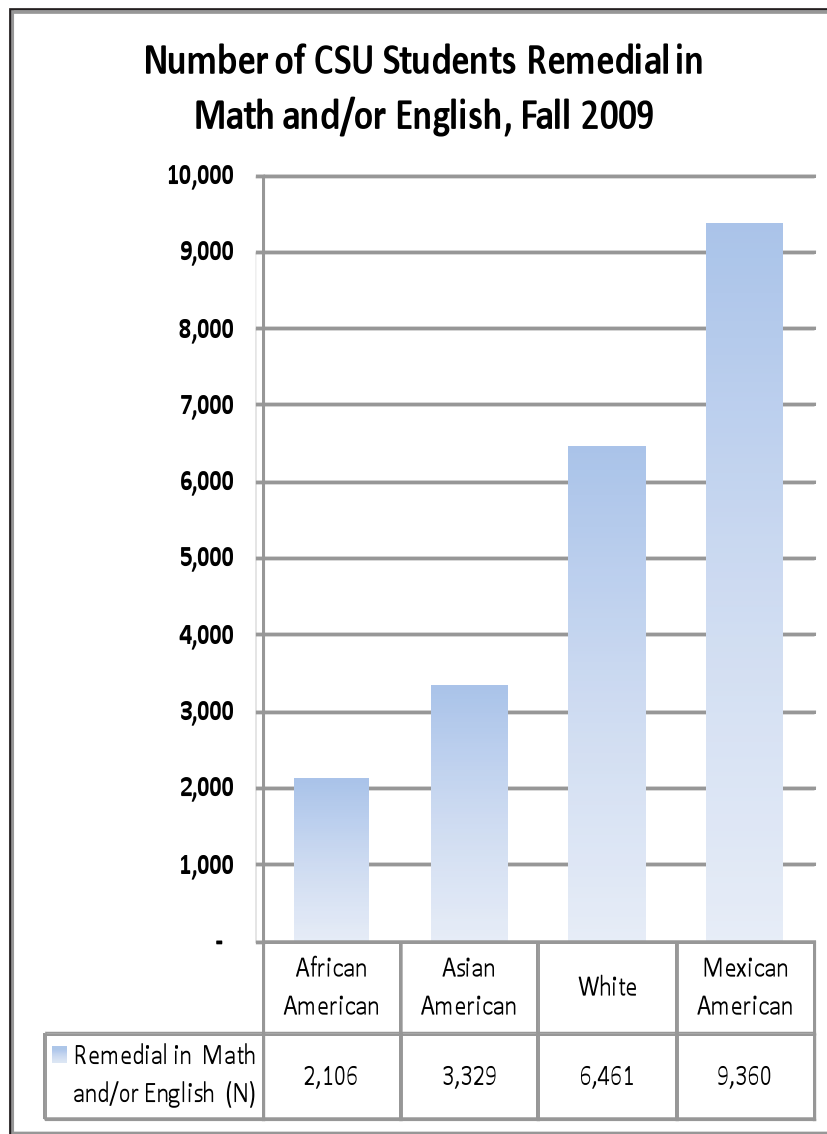
The need for remediation is higher among under-represented low-income and minority groups. For example, in fall 2008, 64.1% of African American first-time freshmen tested remedial in math and 65.9% in English. For Mexican American freshmen, the rate was 51.2% in math, and 63.9% in English. Asian American students had 26.1% needing remediation in math and 54.3% in English, and white students demonstrated the lowest need for remediation, with 25.1% remedial in math and 28.2% in English. Although the percentage of white students who are remedial is the smallest, the number of white students needing remediation is large—second only in size to Mexican American remedial students. (Table A2 in the Appendix presents the need for remediation by ethnicity systemwide and at the twelve target campuses over time in 2009.)

Table 1. Remedial Students by Ethnicity, Systemwide Fall 2009 – Regularly Admitted First-Time Freshmen Needing Remediation in math and/or English

	Remedial in math and/or English (N)	%	% Remedial
African American	2,106	83%	7%
Asian American	3,329	60%	11%
White	6,461	39%	22%
Mexican American	9,360	74%	32%
All First-Time Freshman	29,230	58%	100%

Source: Proficiency Reports of Students Entering the CSU 2009 (CSU Analytic Studies).

Figure 2. Number of First-Year Students Remedial by Ethnicity, CSU Systemwide in Fall 2009.



Source: Proficiency Reports of Students Entering the CSU System 2009 (CSU Analytic Studies).

We can approximate the percentage of low-income students by examining the percentage of Pell Grant recipients, but this is an underestimate because noncitizens and some others are not eligible or did not apply. The Federal Pell Grant Program provides need-based grants to low-income undergraduate students to promote access to postsecondary education. Eligibility is determined by family or personal income and the cost of attending the college. In the 2008-2009 academic year, there were 129,746 Pell Grant recipients at the CSU systemwide (U.S. Department of Education, 2004-08; Headcount Enrollment by Student Level, 2004-08, Table 6), or 34% of all CSU undergraduates. Since the cost of attending the CSU has increased from 2004 to

2008 (the last year for which Pell data is available), we might expect the percentage of Pell Grant recipients to increase at CSU campuses. This was true at Bakersfield and Los Angeles (see Table 2), where the percentages of Pell Grant recipients increased from 52% to 56% and 45% to 51%, respectively. However, at several of the schools we examined—Dominguez Hills, Humboldt, Pomona, San Luis Obispo, and Sonoma—the percentages of these students have decreased over time ($p = .05$), suggesting that a smaller percentage of low-income students have been attending these schools over time. At Dominguez Hills, the percentage decreased from 51% in 2004-2005 to 42% in 2008-2009. The decrease in Pell students over time was smaller at Northridge, and San Diego. Pell student percentages did not change over time at East Bay, Long Beach, or San Bernardino. Looking at the low-remediation schools as a group, the average percent of Pell Grant recipients at these campuses has decreased over time, suggesting that fewer low-income students are attending these CSUs.

Table 2. *Pell Grant Recipients, Target Campuses 2004/05-2008/09*
(Listed from Highest to Lowest Total Remediation)

	2004/05	2005/06	2006/07	2007/08	2008/09
Dominguez Hills	51%	46%	47%	46%	42%
Los Angeles	45	46	46	48	51
San Bernardino	56	49	45	47	48
Bakersfield	52	51	51	55	56
East Bay	32	32	33	31	34
Northridge	55	40	38	36	38
Long Beach	31	30	28	29	31
Pomona	37	33	32	32	32
Sonoma	25	24	23	22	22
Humboldt	48	45	42	42	43
San Diego	28	27	27	27	27
San Luis Obispo	19	17	17	15	16

Source: U.S. Department of Education, *Distribution of Federal Pell Grant Program Funds by Institution; Headcount Enrollment by Student Level*, Table 6.

In general, the greater the percentage of students who have Pell Grants at a campus, the higher the remediation rate of the campus ($r = .75$, $p = .00$). For example, at the three highest-remediation campuses in 2008, Dominguez Hills, Los Angeles, and San Bernardino, the average percentage of Pell recipients was 47%. In contrast, at the three lowest-remediation campuses, San Luis Obispo, San Diego, and Humboldt, the average percentage of Pell recipients was 29%. The data show more poverty and a higher percentage of African American and Mexican American students at the CSU campuses with higher remediation. We compared the five CSU campuses with the

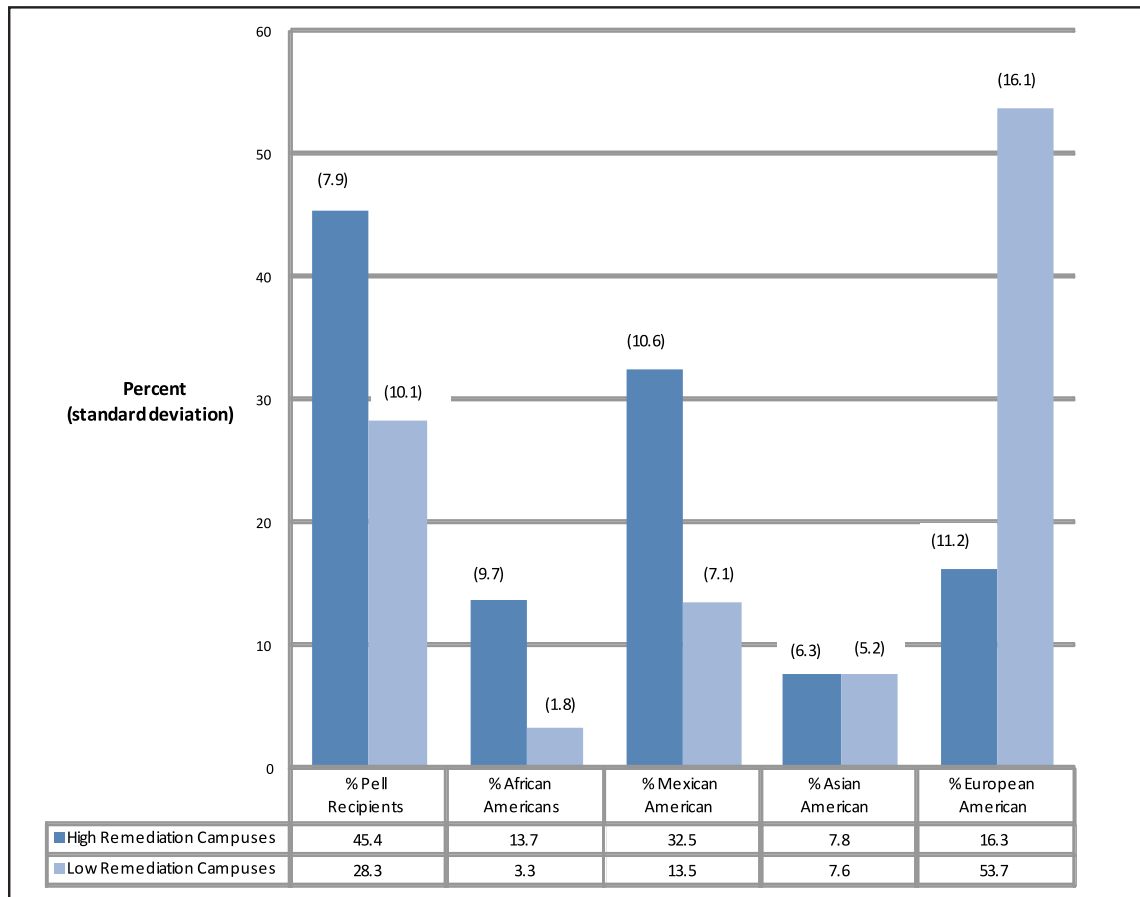
highest need for remediation to the CSUs with the lowest remediation need by ethnicity. The highest-remediation schools had significantly higher percentages of low-income students and higher percentages of African American + Mexican American students, African American students, and Mexican American students. The lowest-remediation campuses had significantly higher percentages of white students but there was no significant difference in the percentage of Asian American students.

Table 3. *CSU Campuses listed by Remediation Need and Pell Grant Recipients*

	Mean Reg. Admit Frosh	Needing Any Remediation Mean Pell Recipients
	Fall 2004-Fall 2009	2004-2008
Dominguez Hills	91%	46%
Los Angeles	87%	47%
San Bernardino	75%	49%
Bakersfield	74%	53%
East Bay	74%	32%
Northridge	73%	41%
Long Beach	55%	30%
Pomona	54%	33%
Sonoma	50%	23%
Humboldt	45%	44%
San Diego	41%	27%
San Luis Obispo	13%	17%

Figure 3. Remediation Need by Pell Status and Ethnicity, 2004-2007

Note: Mean percentages of Pell Recipients and ethnic groups at five high- vs. five low-remediation campuses.



Source: U.S. Department of Education, 2004/05-2008/09. Distribution of Federal Pell Grant Program Funds by Institution; Headcount Enrollment by Student Level, Table 6.

As the proportion of white students increases, the poverty rate goes down. The percentage of Asian American students at a campus is not related to the percentage of Pell recipients, suggesting that there is not a connection between poverty and Asian American ethnicity in the CSU.

It is important to note that white students attending high-remediation CSU campuses have remediation rates much higher than other whites at low-remediation CSU campuses—and sometimes even higher remedial rates than those for African Americans or Mexican Americans at low-remediation campuses! For example, 57% of white freshmen at Dominguez Hills and 54% at Los Angeles needed remediation in math in 2009 compared to 15% at Long Beach and 14% at San Diego. Meanwhile, the African American and Mexican American remediation rates at Pomona and San Luis Obispo were lower than the rates for whites at Dominguez Hills and Los Angeles. The campuses with the highest levels of poverty tend to serve disadvantaged students of all ethnicities.

Trends in Remediation Rates

Systemwide, the number of students needing remediation in math and the number needing remediation in English both increased over time, but their percentage among first-year students did not significantly change. The average percentage of students needing remediation from 2004 to 2009 in English was about 47%, and in math was about 37%. Many of these students were remedial in both English and math. On average, 56.5% of freshmen systemwide needed remediation in math, English, or both from 2004 to 2009.

Over the years studied, the number of Mexican American freshmen needing remediation in math and English increased, as did the number of European American students needing English remediation, while the numbers of Asian Americans and African Americans needing remediation did not show a linear change. The percentage of Asian American students in the CSU that needed remediation in math and in English decreased over time. The percentage of regularly admitted African American, Mexican American, or European American freshmen needing remediation did not change at the CSU as a whole during these years.

In addition to systemwide data, we also examined the percentage of students needing remediation at twelve campuses: the five with the highest overall remediation rate (Dominguez Hills [DH], Los Angeles [LA], San Bernardino [SB], East Bay [EB], and Bakersfield [BA]), five campuses with low remediation rates (San Luis Obispo [SLO], San Diego [SD], Humboldt [HU], Sonoma [SON], and Long Beach [LB]) and three “alternate campuses” that attracted large numbers of students from high schools that were geographically closer to high-remediation CSU campuses (one of which, Long Beach, is also one of the low-remediation campuses). The remedial student percentage increased in both math and English at East Bay, increased in English at Sonoma, and increased in math and English at San Diego. The percentage of remedial freshmen decreased at Pomona (POM) in both math and English and at LB in math.

Disenrollment of Remedial Students

CSU's remediation policies have a disparate impact upon campuses based on the makeup of their student body. Taking the average across our target campuses (BA, DH, EB, LA, SB, LB, NO, POM, SD, HU, SLO, SON) from 2004 to 2007 (the most recent years for which disenrollment data is available from the CSU), the higher the percentage of African American freshmen on a campus, the higher the percentage of remedial freshmen who were disenrolled ($r = .78, p = .00$). As the percentage of African Americans on a campus increases, so does the percentage of remedial students disenrolled within their first year of college (see Table 4). In contrast, the larger the percentage of white students on a campus, the lower the disenrollment rate ($r = -.61, p = .03$). For example, the two campuses in the CSU with the highest African American student population, Dominguez Hills and Northridge, also have the highest disenrollment rates.

Table 4. CSU Disenrollment of Students by Ethnic Makeup of Campus

Campus	% Disenrolled*	% Af Am	% Mex Am	% Af Am + Mex Am**	% Euro Am**
Dominguez Hills	24.8	30.7	32.4	63.2	5.1
Northridge	18.3	11.6	21.9	33.1	24.5
Los Angeles	15.8	7.6	42.0	47.6	4.7
Cal Poly Pomona	13.5	3.7	24.6	27.5	25.5
Long Beach	12.8	5.8	22.7	27.0	29.6
San Diego	12.5	4.0	19.5	20.8	48.1
San Bernardino	11.3	10.7	37.0	45.1	24.2
Sonoma	11.3	2.1	8.6	10.2	69.8
East Bay	8.3	11.8	14.5	23.9	17.8
Humboldt	6.3	3.5	9.7	12.0	54.8
Bakersfield	4.5	7.7	36.4	44.1	29.6
Cal Poly San Luis Obispo	2.8	1.0	6.8	7.5	66.6
*Average percent of remedial freshman who were disenrolled, 2004-2007					
**Average percent of freshman who were African American, Mexican American, European American 2004-2007					

Source: CSU Freshman Proficiency and Remediation at Entry and One Year Later 2009.

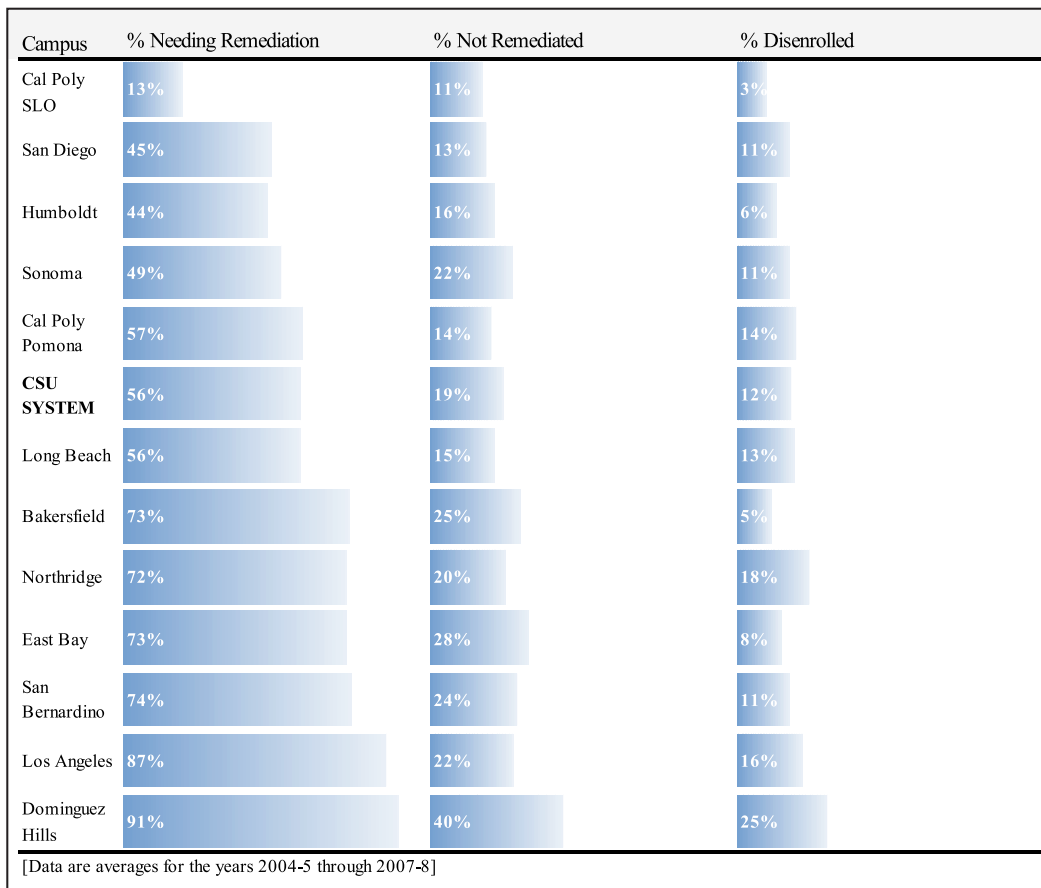
In addition, the higher the remediation rate on a campus, the higher the disenrollment rate. There is a significant correlation between campus remediation rate and disenrollment rate each year from 2004 to 2007, as can be seen in Table A3 in the Appendix. For example, the average percentage of CSU-eligible remedial freshmen not allowed to return to Dominguez Hills between 2004 and 2007 was 25%, while the average rate at San Diego was 3.9%. At the five campuses with the highest remediation need, an average of 13% of remedial freshmen were disenrolled. At the five campuses with the lowest remediation, an average of only 9% remedial freshmen were disenrolled. If we focus only on the top three most remedial campuses, 17% of all remedial freshmen were disenrolled compared to 7% of all remedial freshmen for the three lowest remediation campuses. This, of course, is related to the differing backgrounds of students enrolling.

The rate at which students are being disenrolled is increasing during the current period of CSU budget crisis. At our study's target campuses, the rate of disenrollment of remedial students went up between 2004 and 2007 at San Bernardino and San Luis Obispo. It went down at Humboldt. The percent of all regular-admit freshmen who entered college needing remediation and were disenrolled the next year went up at Bakersfield, Northridge, San Bernardino, and San Diego. As noted above, CSU Dominguez Hills has announced an enormous increase in the number failing to remediate in 2009-10, which should significantly increase disenrollment there.

Given that the CSU's remedial population contains a higher proportion of low-income, minority, and women students than the systemwide population does, it is reasonable to infer that a more punitive application of remediation policy has resulted in proportionally greater disenrollment of low-income, minority, and female first-year students. We cannot definitively state this because the CSU has refused requests by employees, and journalists, and the Civil Rights Project's freedom of information request to provide disenrollment data for ethnic and gender groups (Silverstein 2003).

Executive Order 665 Munitz (1997) was supposed to establish one statewide policy governing remediation at all twenty-three CSU campuses, and the fact of a persistent ethnic disparity in the rates of disenrollment inherently raises a civil rights issue. Moreover, the announcement of an unprecedented increase in the number of first-year students at CSU Dominguez Hills who failed to remediate and were disenrolled in 2010 raises the question of whether the current budget crisis is unduly influencing the application of remediation policy.

Figure 4: Percentage of First-Time Freshmen by Campus



Special Admit Students

Special admits (also identified by the term “exceptionally admitted”) are students who were initially denied admission by the institution because of one or more of the following: low high school GPA (below 2.0); low SAT or ACT scores; and/or failure to complete the appropriate high school college preparatory course taking pattern (A-G course completion required for CSU eligibility; Yun and Moreno 2006; Haras and McEvoy 2007). However, the University admits a small percentage of such students, deemed to have the potential for success in university studies, as “exception” or “special” admits, a common practice in admissions at many universities because of the limits of tests to fully evaluate students’ potential. From 2004 to 2009, an average of 6% of first-year students were “exceptionally admitted” each year (Exception Admit CSU Systemwide 2004-2009). The percent of African American freshmen who were exceptionally admitted during this time period was higher than other ethnic groups, almost 19% of all first-year African Americans in the CSU. Of Mexican American freshmen from California high schools, 9% were exceptional admits. The proportion of Asian Americans was 5% and of whites almost 3%. As the numbers in Table 5 demonstrate, the percentage of special admits steadily increased from 2004 to 2007, and then dropped significantly in 2008, and again in 2009.

Table 5. CSU Special Admit Freshmen from California High Schools,

Systemwide from 2004 to 2009					
2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
2,122 (5.3)	2,685 (6.1)	3,757 (7.8)	4,169 (8.1)	3,513 (6.8)	2,070 (4.1)

Source: Exception Admit CSU Systemwide 2004-2009.
 Note: Number (and percentage) of students exceptionally admitted.

The need for remediation is higher at campuses serving more special admits (see Table 6). Although it is not published on their Analytic Studies website, the CSU reported the remediation need of exceptional admits from fall 2009 to the California Legislature as required under AB 1182. Freshmen who were exceptionally admitted in fall 2009 totaled 2,286, of which 74.6 % were remedial in math and 80% in English (Quillian 2010). This rate is much higher than the rate of 37.6% in math and 49.1% in English reported for regular admit students in fall 2009.

Table 6. *Fall 2009 Exceptional Admit Rates at High-Remediation, Low-Remediation, and "Alternate Campuses," Fall 2009*

Study Campuses from High- to Low-Remediation	% of Exceptional Admits from CA High Schools
Domiguez Hills	14.6%
Los Angeles	9.5%
San Bernardino	4.7%
Bakersfield	12.9%
East Bay	28.2%
Northridge	3%
Long Beach	0.4%
Pomona	0.4%
Sonoma	3.2%
Humboldt	6%
San Diego	0.3%
San Luis Obispo	0.1%
CSU System Average	4.1%

Source: Exception Admit CSU Systemwide 2004-2009.

Disparity in High School "Feeders" to CSU Campuses

Students at high-remediation CSU campuses are likely to have attended "high needs" lower-performing high schools. The top two feeder high schools to the twelve CSUs studied were examined to determine their rankings for academic quality, low-income student population, second language student population, and African American-plus-Latino population. These data provide a rough socioeconomic profile of the students at these schools, for comparison with data the CSU uses to identify low-income students on its campuses (i.e., Pell Grant population, African American plus Mexican American population).

Ironically, a distinction in names accurately symbolizes that the five low-remediation campuses serve a very different student population than do the five high-remediation CSUs. California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo; Humboldt State University; Long Beach State University; San Diego State University; and Sonoma State University do not use the more common designation for CSU campuses, in which "CSU" precedes the campus location name (e.g., CSU Los Angeles), a designation used by all five high-remediation campuses. As Table 7 shows, the top two feeder high schools to these five have much higher API scores and much lower rates of poverty, English Learners, and African American + Latino students than do the feeder schools to the five highest-remediation CSU campuses. This reflects a developing de facto academic

segregation of many low-income and minority students into high-remediation CSU campuses where they have a greater likelihood of disenrollment. See Table A5 in the Appendix for data on the top two feeder high schools for each of the five highest-remediation, the five lowest-remediation, and the two alternate campuses.

First, of the twenty-four feeder high schools to the twelve CSUs which were studied, four of the feeders to the high-remediation campuses were among the five feeder schools with the lowest scores in campus academic quality (i.e., API). Nine of the top ten feeders to the high-remediation CSUs had among the ten lowest API scores for feeders to the any of the twelve CSUs studied. In addition, four of the feeders to the high-remediation CSUs were among the five feeder schools with the highest rates of poverty (i.e., percent of students eligible for free or reduced-price meals), and eight were among the ten with the highest rates of poverty. Furthermore, four of the ten feeders to the high-remediation CSUs were among the five highest in English learners, and seven were among the ten highest in English learners. Finally, of the top ten feeders to the high-remediation campuses, five were the highest in African American + Latino student population (CPEC n.d.; this data from California Postsecondary Education Commission doesn't show data for "Mexican American" as CSU does, but uses the grouping, "Latino"), and eight were among the top ten in African American + Latino students. Feeder high schools with low API "academic quality" scores were associated with large populations of African Americans + Latinos, higher poverty, more English learners, and with being a top-two feeder to a high-remediation CSU campus.

Table 7: Characteristics of Top Two Feeder High Schools for High- and Low-Remediation Campuses, 2007-2008

	Feeder HS for High- Remediation Campuses (Average)	Feeder HS for "Alternate Campuses" (Average)	Feeder HS for Low- Remediation Campuses (Average)
Statewide API Rank	3.3	7.3	8.3
% Eligible for Free or Reduced Price Meals	58%	36%	19%
% English Learners	21%	14%	7%
% African American + Latino	74%	45%	28%

Figure 5. Academic Performance Index Rank of Feeder High Schools to High- vs. Low-Remediation Campuses

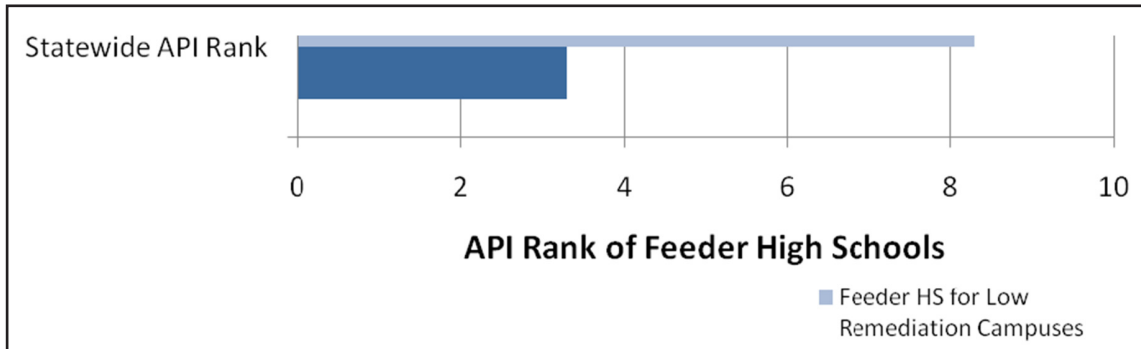
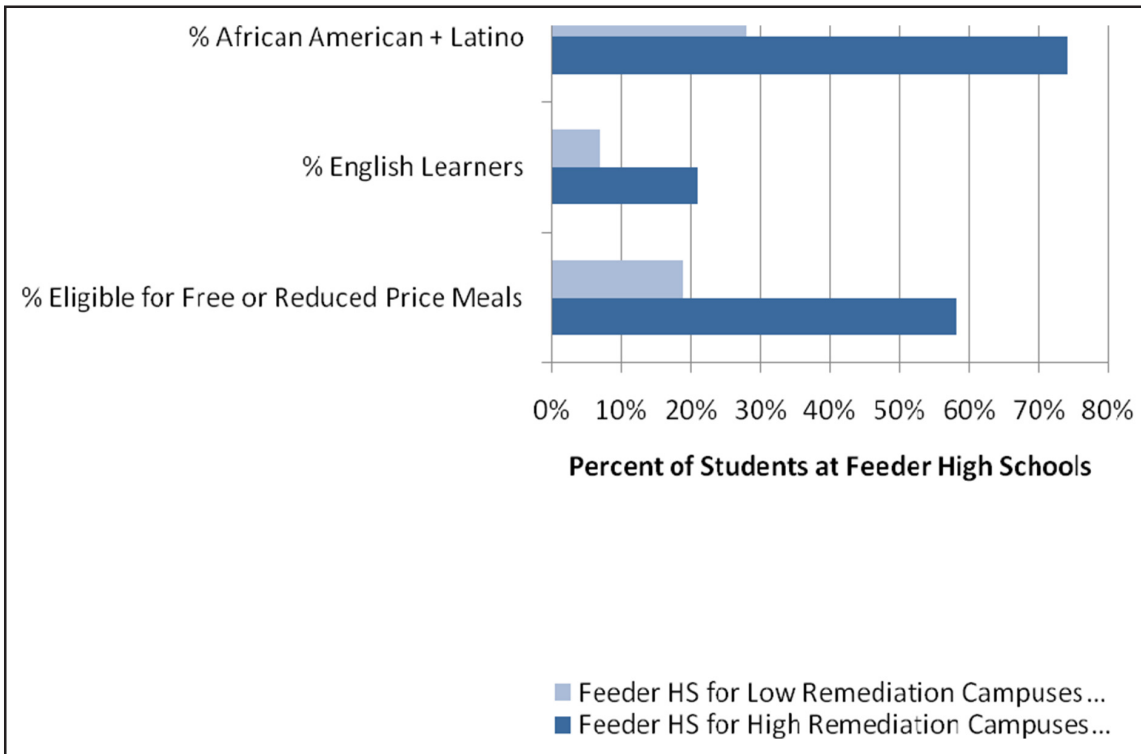


Figure 6. Demographic Characteristics of Feeder High Schools to High- v. Low-Remediation Campuses



There are disturbing indications that graduates from the same high schools, but with differing levels of remedial need, attend different CSU campuses. Though CSU's data does not reveal how many entrants from a particular high school were remedial, data on Special Admits is available by high school; as shown above, a high proportion of Special Admits can be expected to also need remediation. Some top feeder schools to high-remediation CSUs actually sent more of their graduates to "alternate CSUs" than to their closer but high-remediation CSU. For example, Dominguez Hills' top feeder (Gardena High) sent it twenty-four graduates, of whom fourteen (58%) were Specials;

Gardena also sent a total of thirty-nine graduates to Long Beach and Northridge, none of whom were Specials. The second top feeder to Dominguez Hills in 2008 (Fremont) sent twenty-two graduates to Dominguez Hills, of whom twelve (55%) were Specials, and fifty-two to Long Beach and Northridge, of whom only two were Specials (4%).

CSU Los Angeles's top feeder (Roosevelt, 87% math remedial) sent it sixty-eight students, of whom fourteen (21%) were Specials, and also sent a total of thirty-eight to CSLB (none Specials) and CSUN (of whom one, or 4%, was Special). CSU Los Angeles's second top feeder (Wilson, 78% math remedial) sent it fifty-four graduates (28% of whom were Specials) and a total of twenty-four to Long Beach (0 Specials) and Northridge (15% Specials—3 of 20). One final fact hints at the nature of the disparity between CSU campuses, and how it impacts student choices. Two high schools are the namesake of the city in which the high-remediation CSU campuses are located in Southern California: Los Angeles High (ten miles from CSU Los Angeles) and Carson High (four miles from CSU Dominguez Hills, which is in Carson). Yet both sent a far bigger number of students to "alternate" CSUs, which are twice as far away. Significantly, of graduates from these two feeders that did enter CSU Los Angeles and CSU Dominguez Hills, a much greater proportion were Special Admits.

Table 8. *Number of Regular and Special Admit Students from High School Feeder Schools*

	Feeder High School	CSUDH	CSULA	CSULB	CSUN
CSU Dominguez Hills Top Two	1.Gardena				
	# Regulars	10	0	23	16
	# Specials	14	0	0	0
	2.Fremont				
	# Regulars	10	22	20	32
	# Specials	14	4	0	2
CSU Los Angeles Top Two	1.Roosevelt				
	# Regulars	0	54	11	26
	# Specials	0	14	0	1
	2.Wilson				
	# Regulars	0	39	4	17
	# Specials	0	15	0	3

Table 8. Continued

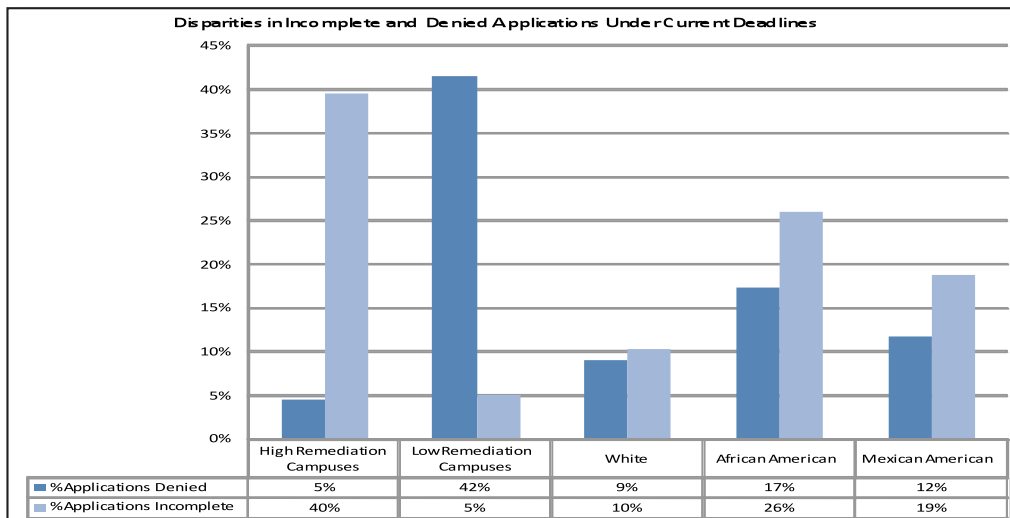
CSU Northridge Top Two	1.Granada				
	# Regulars	0	0	0	115
	# Specials	0	1	0	2
	2.Los Angeles (20 miles to CSU Northridge, 10 to CSULA)				
	# Regulars	0	18	0	90
	# Specials	0	5	0	17
CSU Long Beach Top Two	1.Wilson				
	# Regulars	3	0	121	0
	# Specials	3	0	1	0
	2.Polytechnic				
	# Regulars	3	0	110	0
	# Specials	4	0	0	0

Disparity in Incomplete Applications, and Impact of “Early Start” Remediation

Examination of data documenting the processing of applications to the California State University reveals that while the rate of applications denied is not higher for high-remediation campuses, there was a de facto “denial” in the form of applications that were rejected for being incomplete prior to their acceptance/denial. The number of applications rejected for being incomplete was far higher among the five high-remediation campuses than in the CSU systemwide, and was also higher for applicants of color than for white applicants (CSU New Students [Duplicated] Applications and Admissions By Campus and Student Level 2009).

Under Executive Order 1048 Reed (2010) all remedial students will have to meet new earlier deadlines to apply for summer Early Start remediation or risk losing their admission to CSU. Those needing financial aid will have to meet new, earlier deadlines to qualify for aid in the summer before their first fall classes. This can be expected to worsen the existing disparity in incomplete applications, raising civil rights issues that CSU has failed to note, or to address. The cutback in counseling resources in both high schools and CSUs is likely to make this problem worse.

Figure 7. Disparity in Incomplete Applications Under Current Deadlines



Source: CSU New Students (Duplicated) Applications and Admissions by Campus and Student Level 2009.

Problems With CSU Remediation Data

The university system's data undercounts remediation in two ways. First, it does not include the remediation rate of Special Admit students in the data it reports, though they make up about 8% of the student body. Second, during students' freshman year, CSU only releases data on remediation rates for math or English, by gender and ethnicity, but does not provide the overall remediation rate, which is always higher than either. One year later, CSU does report the overall remediation rate for that year and the number of students disenrolled, but that report excludes any information about ethnicity. No report connects the data for ethnicity to the overall remediation rate, nor to the disenrollment rate.

Faculty and professional staff working for the CSU have repeatedly asked that the administration release crucial information about equal access and retention, such as the rates of disenrollment of unremediated students by ethnicity, gender, income, and special admission status. In 2003, the Los Angeles Times reported that "Cal State officials said they did not yet have a breakdown by ethnic and racial groups for freshmen who were ousted from the system's campuses last year" (Silverstein 2003). Such data never did get published, and seven years later, in April, 2010, the CSU reported that staff layoffs and furloughs implemented in the wake of 2008's fiscal crisis had prevented its timely compliance with remediation reporting responsibilities to the Legislature under AB 1182 (Quillian 2010).

CONCLUSIONS

CSU data show that high-remediation campuses serve proportionally more low-income students and students of color than do the campuses with the lowest remediation rates. It is also clear that these students tend to come from segregated feeder high schools of relatively poor academic performance and high poverty. Students at high-remediation CSU campuses are less likely to complete their remediation courses successfully in their first year and are more frequently disenrolled than those who attend low-remediation campuses serving more affluent and white students. There is a reproduction of economic and racial inequality occurring in the CSU. Low-income CSU-eligible students are being unfairly punished by recent CSU remediation policies for being born into their economic backgrounds and attending schools in their communities. Our results on increased disenrollment of remedial CSU students are particularly perilous for the educational opportunities of African American students, who tend to test highest in remediation and attend high schools and CSU campuses with high poverty rates. The decrease in black enrollment in 2009 is cause for concern. These civil rights implications of the application of remedial policy have hardly ever been publicly examined by the University.

RECOMMENDED ACTIONS

- CSU should convene an academic conference to address the reasons for ethnic and class disparities in remediation, proficiency, and disenrollment rates in the CSU system, and to report the best practices for minimizing punitive impacts on high-remediation campuses serving large ratios of low-income and minority students. This must include analysis of variations in proficiency levels of students from various feeder high schools, and measures to ensure that no CSU campuses become, de facto, the designated campuses for remedial first-year students.
- The CSU system should financially support those remediation costs representing that share of a campus's remediation rate which is greater than the previous year's CSU systemwide average. At the very least, such financial assistance should be provided to campuses whose remediation rate is at or above 66% of all first-year students, campuses which all disproportionately serve low-income and minority students. New changes eliminating summer Pell Grants make this more urgent.
- The new Early Start summer remediation requirement should be amended to allow students to be exempted if their financial circumstances require it. Those students would begin remedial courses in the fall of their first year.
- Online technology should be adopted as a supplement to the necessary amount of service provided by faculty and academic support professionals, rather than merely to provide the cheapest possible means of instruction, which has proven to be far less effective at remediating students successfully.
- Campuses should not impose the penalty of "disenrolling" students unless the quality of remediation courses and services can be guaranteed by the campus faculty and academic support staff experts, and especially not where cost-cutting methodologies have resulted in increased student failure rates.
- CSU must publish data as to the proficiency and remediation rates and disenrollment, as well as the first-year performance, of students by ethnicity, gender, income, and special admission status.
- CSU must determine the source of the disparity in the rate of incomplete applications by ethnicity, and take steps to redress it.
- CSU campuses must not be relieved of their responsibility to provide admission priority to those applicants whose residence is most proximate to each campus.

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APPENDIX

Table A1. First-Time Freshmen at the CSU by Ethnicity Percentages, Fall 2004-Fall 2009
(Systemwide and Target Campuses)

Campus	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Bakersfield						
Af Am	9.7	12.4	10.1	10.2	.5	6.2
Mex Am	37.7	41.5	35.5	40.2	39.8	33.7
Asian Am	4.2	3.0	2.7	2.3	1.9	2.5
Euro Am	37.8	30.7	25.3	24.4	15.7	14.7
Dominguez Hills						
Af Am	37.7	41.7	36.6	37.2	35.3	24.8
Mex Am	34.8	31.1	33.3	31.7	33.3	43.1
Asian Am	3.2	2.4	3.0	2.0	1.9	1.0
Euro Am	6.1	5.3	4.2	4.0	3.9	3.3
East Bay						
Af Am	15.7	18.9	18.0	15.3	18.4	14.5
Mex Am	12.5	14.3	11.3	13.9	12.0	21.7
Asian Am	23.3	20.5	18.9	13.1	17.9	13.5
Euro Am	22.6	22.8	14.5	12.0	14.0	13.1
Los Angeles						
Af Am	10.6	10.2	8.8	9.0	7.4	7.0
Mex Am	41.9	41.3	39.6	40.9	44.5	49.3
Asian Am	17.6	17.8	13.3	13.1	10.7	11.2
Euro Am	6.4	5.2	4.9	3.7	3.7	4.1
San Bernardino						
Af Am	14.7	14.2	14.1	13.6	12.9	9.2
Mex Am	39.6	39.0	31.7	34.7	3.8	48.1
Asian Am	5.0	6.0	4.1	5.1	39.4	3.4
Euro Am	24.8	27.3	22.9	20.0	20.4	15.4
Northridge						
Af Am	13.0	15.5	12.6	15.0	13.5	10.3
Mex Am	24.3	24.4	21.4	20.5	23.9	28.8
Asian Am	11.1	10.4	8.2	7.4	7.7	7.2
Euro Am	28.4	27.7	23.4	23.9	20.8	20.2

Table A1. Continued

Pomona	4.8	4.1	4.2	3.5	3.8	3.2
<i>Af Am</i>	22.3	25.3	23.7	25.4	19.2	29.4
<i>Mex Am</i>	27.1	25.8	22.1	21.5	24.6	16.7
<i>Asian Am</i>	30.7	27.4	24.2	22.1	26.4	25.5
<i>Euro Am</i>						
Long Beach	7.6	7.1	5.7	6.9	5.3	4.4
<i>Af Am</i>	23.2	21.3	39.6	22.1	15.4	28.7
<i>Mex Am</i>	15.7	15.9	15.7	16.5	24.7	15.8
<i>Asian Am</i>	33.5	34.7	29.8	27.3	29.1	22.2
<i>Euro Am</i>						
Sonoma	2.6	3.2	2.9	2.7	2.2	1.6
<i>Af Am</i>	8.3	10.4	10.0	8.0	2.4	11.7
<i>Mex Am</i>	3.3	3.5	4.4	3.2	9.2	2.5
<i>Asian Am</i>	78.1	75.5	65.0	68.8	69.4	62.2
<i>Euro Am</i>						
Humboldt	7.8	7.5	6.9	5.3	4.4	3.4
<i>Af Am</i>	8.5	13.7	8.2	9.1	2.4	16.9
<i>Mex Am</i>	5.6	3.1	2.4	3.0	9.3	2.7
<i>Asian Am</i>	70.4	65.2	50.1	45.5	47.6	55.4
<i>Euro Am</i>						
San Diego	3.8	4.1	4.5	4.7	4.3	4.3
<i>Af Am</i>	16.5	17.5	16.2	18.1	7.5	27.2
<i>Mex Am</i>	8.0	8.0	7.2	7.9	21.8	6.4
<i>Asian Am</i>	56.3	53.2	46.9	45.7	40.6	36.4
<i>Euro Am</i>						
San Luis Obispo	1.2	0.9	1.3	1.0	1.2	0.6
<i>Af Am</i>	7.0	6.0	6.4	7.6	8.4	7.9
<i>Mex Am</i>	10.2	9.6	9.1	9.8	7.2	9.4
<i>Asian Am</i>	74.3	75.8	66.0	65.1	67.3	64.1
<i>Euro Am</i>						

Source: CSU Analytic Studies Table 3. First-Time Freshmen Enrollment by Campus and Ethnicity.

Table A2. Percentages of Regularly Admitted First-Time Freshmen Needing Remediation in Mathematics and/or English, 2004-2009 by Ethnicity (Systemwide and Target Campuses)

	2004/05		2005/06		2006/07		2007/08		2008/09		2009/10		
	Math	English	Math	English	Math	English	Math	English	Math	English	Math	English	
Students needing any remediation	57%												
	Af Am	64.9	67.4	62.7	64.2	65.3	63.2	63.9	65.4	64.1	65.9	67.9	71.2
	Mex Am	53.2	65.1	52.0	62.3	52.6	62.0	51.8	62.9	51.2	63.9	51.8	64.5
	Asian Am	30.2	61.5	29.6	58.9	29.1	58.2	26.7	56.1	26.1	54.3	26.2	56.9
	Euro Am	25.4	28.0	24.9	26.0	26.0	26.0	25.4	26.7	25.1	28.2	24.6	28.7
All Freshmen	36.8	46.6	36.2	45.2	37.5	45.3	37.2	46.2	37.2	47.0	37.6	49.1	
Students needing any remediation	73%												
	Af Am	74.0	78.0	72.5	70.6	80.4	85.7	67.7	79.0	100.0	100.0	75.9	81.0
	Mex Am	68.1	80.9	52.3	74.4	65.2	70.1	64.0	72.3	56.3	75.9	52.6	72.3
	Asian Am	46.4	67.9	42.9	81.0	43.5	69.6	63.2	78.9	37.5	68.8	50.0	73.1
	Euro Am	39.7	39.7	36.3	37.7	43.1	42.6	42.4	45.5	40.3	41.0	33.8	38.4
All Freshmen	54.6	61.8	47.8	61.2	57.3	62.0	55.7	65.1	52.3	67.0	52.3	66.2	
Students needing any remediation	91%												
	Af Am	81.9	85.2	82.7	83.3	87.7	84.4	80.6	87.8	84.4	77.2	89.1	85.1
	Mex Am	77.5	86.0	74.7	81.5	86.1	86.5	80.5	88.5	81.3	85.4	79.9	89.0
	Asian Am	57.9	84.2	30.0	70.0	45.0	80.0	70.0	80.0	60.0	80.0	60.0	90.0
	Euro Am	40.5	54.1	44.4	29.6	75.0	59.4	55.6	51.9	58.6	44.8	57.1	54.3
All Freshmen	74.6	83.5	74.2	78.8	83.1	84.5	78.3	83.8	80.1	78.8	79.9	86.2	
Students needing any remediation	74%												
	Af Am	76.4	68.5	74.2	63.6	73.7	67.1	72.5	73.9	76.0	76.0	77.4	74.8
	Mex Am	72.6	74.0	54.4	61.8	68.8	54.7	65.3	69.5	63.8	75.8	55.7	76.3
	Asian Am	49.3	75.4	37.8	71.4	40.2	55.4	47.0	72.3	46.6	67.0	45.1	67.6
	Euro Am	30.4	40.5	38.5	32.0	33.0	30.9	39.8	31.3	39.1	34.4	44.1	46.0
All Freshmen	50.8	63.2	49.0	57.3	51.5	59.3	55.4	64.5	53.6	66.4	54.9	69.4	
Students needing any remediation	86%												
	Af Am	78.2	77.3	74.3	70.3	80.2	78.4	84.3	80.9	76.0	73.0	81.8	82.7
	Mex Am	76.9	85.1	73.8	81.3	73.5	78.0	78.9	83.7	78.8	83.4	76.6	82.4
	Asian Am	49.7	78.8	44.7	81.4	38.5	83.3	48.7	80.4	40.8	76.3	32.9	78.3
	Euro Am	41.8	34.3	37.7	29.5	50.0	40.6	35.2	50.0	42.9	46.4	53.6	52.2
All Freshmen	70.1	77.8	64.9	76.4	67.3	75.7	71.6	80.2	71.9	79.2	68.5	80.1	

Table A2. Continued

	74%		73%		75%		75%		77%		76%	
	Math	English	Math	English	Math	English	Math	English	Math	English	Math	English
Students needing any remediation												
Af Am	67.5	74.7	72.4	71.0	77.5	69.8	70.8	78.5	75.6	74.4	70.8	70.8
Mex Am	57.6	74.8	62.3	74.7	62.7	73.1	60.5	74.2	67.1	76.6	57.3	72.2
Asian Am	58.6	84.5	49.3	70.1	56.1	75.4	50.8	66.7	42.9	63.5	47.0	74.2
Euro Am	37.8	41.6	41.1	42.7	42.7	41.5	41.9	41.9	44.8	43.1	43.0	49.8
All Freshmen	51.6	64.8	53.0	63.6	57.8	63.4	57.4	67.4	57.7	65.4	53.7	66.7
Students needing any remediation												
Af Am												
Mex Am												
Asian Am												
Euro Am												
All Freshmen												
Students needing any remediation												
Af Am												
Mex Am												
Asian Am												
Euro Am												
All Freshmen												
Students needing any remediation												
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All Freshmen												
Students needing any remediation												
Af Am												
Mex Am												
Asian Am												
Euro Am												
All Freshmen												
Students needing any remediation												
Af Am												
Mex Am												
Asian Am												
Euro Am												
All Freshmen												

Table A2. Continued

	45%		45%		43%		44%		44%		47%		
	Math	English	Math	English	Math	English	Math	English	Math	English	Math	English	
Humboldt	Students needing any remediation												
		68.0	72.0	46.7	43.3	52.4	66.7	64.0	80.0	66.7	63.6	68.6	60.0
	Af Am												
	Mex Am	35.7	40.5	45.0	51.3	45.7	50.0	48.4	58.1	53.1	43.2	56.4	56.4
	Asian Am	34.5	55.2	16.7	27.8	18.8	37.5	5.3	10.5	39.1	30.4	50.0	43.3
	Euro Am	27.1	27.4	31.6	23.5	24.0	20.7	26.4	21.4	29.6	20.4	27.0	20.9
All Freshmen	30.7	30.9	34.7	29.8	27.6	28.6	31.1	30.2	34.6	26.0	35.8	30.5	
San Diego	Students needing any remediation												
		35%		37%		41%		42%		44%		46%	
		Math	English	Math	English	Math	English	Math	English	Math	English	Math	English
	Af Am		35.0	32.6	50.0	48.9	47.5	50.0	50.8	45.4	55.1	55.7	59.7
	Mex Am	31.9	42.7	30.4	45.6	38.5	54.3	41.0	53.9	36.9	57.1	39.6	56.5
	Asian Am	18.9	39.9	17.4	41.8	21.0	39.9	19.4	40.8	24.8	45.4	21.5	53.3
Euro Am	13.7	16.7	14.1	17.1	17.0	17.1	16.2	17.3	14.7	19.9	14.2	19.0	
All Freshmen	19.6	26.5	19.8	28.7	24.8	31.3	25.2	32.3	24.9	36.8	26.4	38.4	
San Luis Obispo	Students needing any remediation												
		13%		12%		14%		14%		12%		13%	
		Math	English	Math	English	Math	English	Math	English	Math	English	Math	English
	Af Am	21.9	31.3	3.7	14.8	21.3	27.7	20.0	24.7	7.5	30.0	20.8	37.5
	Mex Am	5.9	23.2	11.5	16.9	7.8	23.4	8.2	29.2	8.5	28.2	5.3	19.1
	Asian Am	2.2	12.8	2.7	13.1	2.4	21.0	1.9	19.4	2.4	14.2	0.3	17.2
Euro Am	4.1	8.8	4.7	7.1	5.7	7.8	4.4	8.0	3.4	6.6	3.9	8.4	
All Freshmen	4.4	10.8	5.0	9.0	5.7	11.3	4.5	11.9	4.1	10.0	3.8	10.7	

Table A3. Disenrollment Rate at High-Remediation, Low-Remediation, and 'Alternate Campuses,' 2004-2008

Campus	Freshman Needing Remediation				Freshman Needing Remediation Who Did Not Remediate in First Year				Freshman
	2004-5	2005-6	2006-7	2007-8	2004-5	2005-6	2006-7	2007-8	
Cal Poly SLO	13%	12%	14%	14%	0%	3%	5%	3%	0%
San Diego	35%	37%	55%	54%	8%	11%	11%	15%	9%
Humboldt	45%	45%	43%	44%	7%	6%	4%	8%	7%
Sonoma	46%	48%	49%	53%	8%	11%	17%	9%	8%
Cal Poly Pomona	56%	56%	58%	56%	12%	14%	14%	14%	12%
CSU SYSTEM	57%	55%	56%	56%	10%	11%	13%	13%	10%
Long Beach	59%	55%	55%	54%	15%	12%	12%	12%	15%
Bakersfield	73%	70%	75%	75%	3%	4%	5%	6%	3%
Northridge	73%	71%	72%	73%	14%	19%	19%	21%	14%
East Bay	74%	69%	72%	75%	10%	12%	3%	8%	10%
San Bernardino	74%	73%	75%	75%	10%	10%	12%	13%	10%
Los Angeles	86%	85%	86%	89%	17%	16%	14%	16%	17%
Dominguez Hills	91%	89%	92%	91%	18%	24%	31%	26%	18%

Source: CSU Analytic Studies, CSU Freshman Proficiency and Remediation at Entry and One Year Later, 2009.

Table A4. Feeder High School Demographics for Top Two Feeder High Schools for High- and Low-Remediation CSUs, and "Alternate Campuses," 2007-08

Campus & Top Two Feeder High Schools, 2007-2008	Statewide API Rank	% Eligible for Free or Reduced Price Meals	% English Learners	% African American & Latino
Five High-Remedial Campus Averages	3.3	58%	21%	74%
Arvin (Bakersfield)	2	87%	34%	95%
Ridgeview (Bakersfield)	3	40%	7%	63%
Gardena (Dominguez Hills)	1	65%	17%	92%
Fremont (Dominguez Hills)	1	80%	42%	99%
Logan (East Bay)	7	26%	14%	39%
San Leandro (East Bay)	5	43%	14%	54%
Roosevelt (Los Angeles)	1	84%	40%	99%
Wilson (Los Angeles)	1	80%	28%	94%
Cajon (San Bernardino)	4	49%	9%	65%
Redlands East Valley (San Bernardino)	8	24%	5%	43%
Five Low-Remedial Campus Averages	8.3	19%	7%	28%
San Luis Obispo (San Luis Obispo ¹)	9	18%	5%	18%
Campolindo (San Luis Obispo ²)	10	0%	1%	2%
College Park (San Luis Obispo)	7	9%	4%	16%
Eureka (Humboldt)	7	44%	8%	12%
Arcata (Humboldt)	9	10%	0%	11%
Wilson LB (Long Beach)	7	46%	11%	52%
Polytechnic (Long Beach)	7	59%	12%	54%
Otay Ranch (San Diego)	7	14%	15%	64%
Eastlake (San Diego)	8	8%	10%	59%

¹ San Luis Obispo had two high schools that tied for 2nd top feeder high school: Campolindo & College Park

² San Luis Obispo had two high schools that tied for 2nd top feeder high school: Campolindo & College Park

Table A4. Continued

Amador Valley (Sonoma)	10	3%	3%	10%
California (Sonoma)	10	2%	2%	10%
Two "Alternate Campuses" Averages	7.3	36%	14%	45%
Wilson LB (Long Beach)	7	46%	11%	52%
Polytechnic (Long Beach)	7	59%	12%	54%
Granada (Northridge)	9	30%	7%	33%
Los Angeles (Northridge)	1	68%	44%	87%

Table A5. Demographic and Academic Performance Profiles of Top Five Feeder High Schools for Five CSUs with Highest Remedial and Five CSUs with Lowest Remedial

Feeder High School Profiles for Campuses with Highest Remediation Needs (2008)						Feeder High School Profiles for Campuses with Lowest Remediation Needs (2008)							
Campus	Top 5 Feeder High Schools	Statewide API Rank	% Eligible for Free or Reduced Price Meals	% English Language Learners	% Teachers with Emergency Credentials	Average SAT Total	Campus	Top 5 Feeder High Schools	Statewide API Rank	% Eligible for Free or Reduced Price Meals	% English Language Learners	% Teachers with Emergency Credentials	Average SAT Total
Bakersfield	Arvin	2	87%	34%	3%	1228	San Luis Obispo	San Luis Obispo	9	18%	5%	3%	1684
	Ridgeview	3	40%	7%	5%	1344		College Park	7	9%	4%	25%	1626
	Stockdale	8	14%	3%	1%	1601		Los Gatos	10	1%	6%	0%	1766
	Libert	6	10%	1%	1%	1519		Poway	10	9%	4%	2%	1681
Dominguez Hills	Delano	4	77%	41%	1%	1315	San Diego	Paso Robles	7	25%	13%	15%	1534
	Gardena	1	65%	17%	32%	1189		Otay Ranch	7	14%	15%	0%	1442
	Fremont	1	80%	42%	23%	1095		Eastlake	8	8%	10%	0%	1480
	Junipero	1	37%	28%	9%	n/a		Mira Mesa	8	27%	9%	10%	1488
East Bay	Dominguez	1	99%	47%	14%	1153	Humboldt	University City	7	29%	9%	14%	1595
	Inglewood	1	60%	12%	13%	1130		Steele Canyon	7	16%	6%	4%	1524
	Logan	7	26%	14%	13%	1481		Eureka	7	44%	8%	0%	1561
	San Leandro	5	44%	14%	13%	1379		Arcata	9	10%	0%	8%	1593
Los Angeles	Mt. Eden	3	47%	23%	8%	1349	Sonoma	McKinleyville	7	13%	2%	0%	1607
	Arroyo	6	21%	8%	0%	1411		Fortuna Union	3	30%	5%	2%	1467
	Oakland	2	76%	21%	5%	1263		Berkeley	n/a	29%	7%	4%	1621
	Roosevelt	1	84%	40%	19%	1180		Amador Valley	10	3%	3%	1%	1693
San Bernardino	Wilson	1	80%	28%	33%	1225	Long Beach	California	10	2%	2%	3%	1650
	Garfield	1	90%	37%	17%	1218		Roseland Charter	5	50%	50%	5%	1193
	Schurr	5	54%	17%	7%	1421		Castro Valley	9	4%	4%	2%	1580
	Eagle Rock	6	61%	15%	14%	1394		Rancho Cotate	4	12%	12%	1%	1555
Redlands E Valley	Cajon	4	49%	9%	2%	1412	Los Alamitos	Wilson	7	46%	11%	2%	1511
	Valley	8	24%	5%	3%	1519		Polytechnic	7	59%	12%	1%	1514
	Rialto	2	63%	28%	7%	1289		Los Alamitos	10	4%	1%	0%	1639
	Arroyo Valley Fontana AB Miller	2	84%	39%	5%	1195		Lakewood	6	44%	6%	0%	1438
HIGH REMEDIATION CAMPUSES	AVERAGE		3.36	53.4%	21.0%	9.8%	AVERAGE		7.4	21.9%	8.7%	4.0%	1554
	LOW REMEDIATION CAMPUSES		AVERAGE		7.4	21.9%	AVERAGE		7.4	21.9%	8.7%	4.0%	1554

ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE CALIFORNIA STATE PUBLIC UNIVERSITY: THE INSTITUTIONAL, PROFESSIONAL, AND PERSONAL EFFECTS ON FACULTY AND STUDENTS

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study focuses upon the ways that faculty and students have been differentially affected by the economic crisis at the CSU, and how the budget cuts have changed the ways that members of the CSU community perceive the California public university and its future. The study examines faculty and student respondents on the campus of California State University, Northridge (CSUN) during the spring 2010 academic semester.

Methods

This investigation documents how CSUN faculty and students have experienced drastic cuts to public higher education in California. Qualitative and quantitative methods are employed. The qualitative component of the study examines focus group data from sixteen CSUN faculty and seventeen students. Quantitative methods utilize online questionnaires of 128 faculty and 1,120 students. Overall, the study explores issues related to the budget cuts including: framing of the crisis; institutional confidence and engagement in the context of the crisis; resistance strategies in response to the crisis; perceived procedural justice in making decisions about the budget cuts, and the professional and personal impact of the budget cuts.

Results

The results show that the budget crisis has had a profound impact on the members of the CSUN community. Data analysis reveals five primary themes that are discussed below.

The question of procedural justice.

Many faculty and students felt that the budget cuts made to CSUN were poorly planned with information inadequately disseminated. Many faculty and students arrived on

campus for the fall 2009 semester with little knowledge of the budget cuts and the policies that had been implemented during the summer months (in particular the two “F-words”: student “fee-hikes” and “faculty furloughs”). For many faculty and students, this ambiguity regarding decision-making about the budget cuts raised issues of procedural justice about how the budget cuts were planned and implemented. For example, only 6.3% of faculty and 11.2% of students agreed that the CSU Chancellor’s Office had treated them with respect, and only 17.5% of faculty and 16.3% of students felt these officials had been truthful. The majority of faculty agreed that the CSUN campus administration had treated them respectfully (56.5%), honestly (60.8%), sensibly (55.2%), and with concern for individual rights (62.7%). Students, on the other hand, were less optimistic regarding the CSUN campus administration, with a smaller set of students believing that they had been treated with respect (23.8%), sensitivity (15.7%), honesty (25.8%), sensibility (22.8%), and concern for their individual rights (24.0%). In the interviews, most faculty and students expressed considerable ambiguity regarding knowledge of the specific details of the cuts and how they would be implemented. Like Gregory,¹⁴ a fulltime lecturer, many faculty remembered “a lot of confusion” and “feeling a lot of disappointment.”

The neglect of education.

Many faculty and students perceived the cuts to be a product of a general disregard for education. In the interviews one tenured faculty member, Karl, expressed his surprise at how neglected education is in the United States and his “*shock ... to see that the state [of California] spends more on prisons than education.*” Seventy-seven percent of both faculty and students reported that the CSUN budget crisis “*deserved more media attention.*” Additionally, 51% of faculty and 58% of students believed that the budget cuts had significantly affected “*CSUN’s reputation,*” and 73% of faculty and 76% of students agreed that it had “*reduced the quality of education at CSUN.*”

The institutional impact—apostrophe’d degrees, settling for Cs. The CSUN budget cuts also had significant professional and personal impacts on faculty and students. Both faculty and students agreed that the cuts had a negative impact on the institution, and on the quality of education it provided. In the questionnaire data, 97% of faculty and 89% of students agreed that the budget cuts had a negative impact on CSUN, and 90% of faculty and 80% of students perceived a decrease in the quality of education at CSUN. In addition, 88% of faculty and 76% of students agreed that they had been personally and adversely affected by the budget cuts. The impact was made directly apparent in the interviews with faculty. Krista, a tenured faculty member, described the budget cuts and how they had resulted in a paradoxical situation where “*we are asked to do and have the same results but with less [money].*” Victoria, a tenured faculty member, was troubled by the fact that she felt she needed to “*put an apostrophe on my students’ diploma ... saying, ‘Oh, sorry, you [only] had 90% of this work.’*” The “apostrophe’d” diploma was not lost on students, like George, a junior in Sociology, who stated that “*you pay more for less.*” Keisha, a CSUN senior, also expressed

14 The names of all participants in this study are replaced with pseudonyms.

the downside of reduced class time matched with the difficulty of getting classes: *"We're fighting like pigs! ... You got a tuition raise and you're fighting like a pig to get into classes!"*

The professional and personal impact.

The cuts affected faculty workload, with 48% reporting they had spent more time than expected engaging in class preparation. Among students, 65% expressed a larger time investment in securing financial aid, and 81% spent more time trying to enroll in classes. Strikingly, 28% of faculty and 37% of students reported that they spent more time pursuing non-academic interests, and almost one-half of faculty and nearly three-fourths of students found themselves searching for additional sources of income. In the interviews, faculty and students described the personal toll that the budget cuts had on their lives. Despite this, faculty members like Denise agreed that *"the biggest tragedy about the furlough [and other education cuts] is cheating the students out of an education, because I know I'm not giving them the same."*

Affordability, accessibility, and underrepresented students.

There was a common perception that traditionally underrepresented students might disproportionately suffer the most negative effects. In the questionnaire data, 41% of faculty and 53% of students "strongly agreed" that the CSU budget cuts had *"caused more students to be excluded from CSUN."* The student data offers a more nuanced perspective and suggests that the disproportionate burden seems to have fallen on the shoulders of students of color and first-generation college students. The qualitative data reflects similar concerns related to underrepresented students. Many students predict that the university will become more privileged, white, and upper or middle class, as a result of increasing educational costs. Faculty members also raised concerns about the student fee increases, criticizing the size of the increase as well as its implementation. Students seemed to be genuinely disheartened and overwhelmed, and felt that the changes brought about by the budget crisis would make the university less accessible and affordable for lower-income students and students of color.

Conclusions

In the context of recent changes, faculty and students perceive a larger institutional shift in the CSU system. Faculty and particularly students feel they have relatively little agency in institutional decision-making and university administration. In addition, they perceive waning public awareness and support of the university that coincides with the decline in financial support. The impact on the quality of education and professional and personal lives of the faculty and students is abundantly clear. Larger class sizes, fewer course offerings, reduced class meetings, fewer faculty, and fewer students make for a somber campus environment. The impact on vulnerable groups, such as first-generation students, lower-income students, and students of color, is expected to be pronounced. In general, students and faculty fear that the public university in California has become less accessible, less affordable, and less public.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to investigate the impact of the twenty-first-century economic crisis at the California State University (CSU) system, and the specific effect of fee increases, furloughs, and budget reductions on faculty and students. The general approach of this investigation is to examine the budget cuts much in the same way that social scientists study natural disasters—how they disrupt everyday activity; distort and invigorate local communities; create strategies for resistance; destroy infrastructure and superstructure; effect commitment to institutions, identities, and communities; and produce hope and vision for rebuilding and renewal.

The study focuses upon the following research questions: How are discrete stakeholder groups differentially affected by the economic crisis at the CSU? How have the budget cuts changed the ways that members of the CSU community perceive the California public university and its future? Which groups are perceived to be most vulnerable as a result of the economic crisis and why?

This investigation documents how both CSUN faculty and students have interpreted and experienced the budget cuts; how they have perceived fairness and justice in making decisions about the cuts; and how they have been affected by the cuts on institutional, professional, and personal levels. Overall, the results of the investigation suggest that the effects of the budget crisis at CSUN have had a profound impact on the campus community, which has not only been financially affected, but which also has experienced a crisis of confidence in the California public university, which is seen as becoming less accessible, less affordable, and of lower quality.

THE RESEARCH SITE: CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, NORTHRIDGE

The institutional context for this study is the campus of California State University, Northridge (CSUN). Established in 1958, CSUN is the third largest of the CSU campuses, is the fourth-largest university in California, and is located in Southern California in the San Fernando Valley, a large suburban area that is geographically located directly adjacent to but north of the Los Angeles Basin. CSUN employs approximately 1,600 faculty, maintains an enrollment of approximately 36,000 students, and each year awards more California teaching credentials than all of the other CSU campuses combined. CSUN is noted for being second in the United States in awarding bachelor's degrees to Hispanic students, a large and often underrepresented population in the southwestern United States.

California, in an effort to reduce the state deficit, reduced the overall operating budget of the CSU by \$1 billion over the 2008-2010 fiscal years. CSU officials responded by putting the following ameliorative mechanisms in place:

1. Reduced the overall state allocation to the general funds of the CSU campuses

2. Increased student fees (which, for California residents, increased by over 30% during 2008-2010, and by 210% since 2002)
3. Instituted two-day per month, mandatory employee furloughs for campus faculty and staff, the equivalent of a 10% reduction in income
4. Limited CSU enrollment for incoming freshman students, channeling many of them into the California Community College (CCC) general education pipeline
5. Increased the time-to-graduation for students and forcibly graduated long-time "super seniors"
6. Reduced access to financial aid
7. Reduced the number of faculty (mostly part-time lecturers)
8. Increased class sizes and overall faculty-student ratios

At CSUN, the campus budget reduction was equivalent to 24% of the CSUN base operating budget.

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

For decades, policymakers and academics have engaged in debates about the declining state of public education in the United States, and what some have perceived as the growing crisis in the American university. Some have contested the growing privatization (Calhoun 2009; Huff 2006; Washburn 2005) of the public university, while others have questioned declining standards (Readings 1996), the attacks on the tenure system (Wood 1998), and the emergence of the "online university" (Farber 1998). At its broadest level, the overall mission of the public university has been questioned, and many have seen the failure to adequately fund public higher education in the United States as an indication that a paradigm shift in American education is underway (Cole 2010; Readings 1996). Some investigations into the political economy of education have argued that a change in financial support for higher education underlies many of these changes (Sommer 1995) and has served to bring this paradigm shift in higher education into a sharper focus, and even to foment a "new normal" for the university (Jones and Wellman 2010). Prior research in the organizational literature has suggested that these kinds of changes can be profound, impacting the degree of an individual's institutional identification (Fuller, et al 2006), satisfaction (van Dick 2007), and commitment (Meyer et al. 1991; Meyer et al. 1993).

Moreover, as the impact of the financial crisis and economic recession on colleges and universities becomes evident, concerns about the specific effect of recent cuts on underrepresented students are emerging. Of particular concern are budget cuts at minority-serving institutions, which have resulted in declining enrollments, faculty layoffs, and program eliminations (Galuszka 2008; Hernandez 2010). Combined with declining access to financial credit and financial aid support as well as fewer jobs to

fill the financial aid gap (Galuszka 2008), minority students are expected to bear a disproportionate share of the pain. Further, new plans for increasing revenue, such as Berkeley's plan to increase the number of out-of-state and international students who pay nonresident tuition, are projected to impact minority and low-income students who tend to be concentrated near the cut-off point for admission (Keller 2009).

There is a long history of studying variation in educational achievement (see Kao and Thompson 2003 for an excellent review), and one of the key areas of concern for social scientists has been the disparity in educational attainment between ethnic groups. Work by Karen (2002) indicates that minorities are more likely to attend two-year colleges than whites. Students who attend community colleges (but do not continue on to a bachelor's degree) tend to have poorer outcomes than students at other post-secondary schools (Brint and Karabel 1989; Dougherty 1994). Minorities are also somewhat more likely to attend school part time (Rumberger 1982), which places further stress on the student and reduces the likelihood of graduation.

Two of the best predictors of educational achievement are parental education and family income (Kao and Thompson 2003). Parental SES helps explain a substantial portion of variation in the educational outcome of youth. High-SES students are more likely to finish high school (Rumberger 1995) and college (Camburn 1990). Those students whose parents had higher educational levels are more likely to attend and graduate from college. This suggests that first-generation college attendees have a more difficult time completing their degree.

The current crisis follows a decades-long increase in educational inequalities. In a review of research on college access and persistence from the 1960s through the 1990s, Baker and Vélez (1996) show how the college participation rate for whites and non-whites briefly narrowed in the 1970s only to return to 1960s-level disparities by the 1980s and 90s. Starting in the 1980s, college access for the non-affluent was increasingly restricted due to a combination of increasing tuition and fees, decreases in needs-based financial aid, and growing inequality in family incomes (Haveman and Smeeding 2006). Hauser (1992) argued that the strongest determinant in the decline in the college entrance of African Americans was a relative decrease in financial aid. Latinos faced similar problems, however; since they were more likely to enroll in two-year colleges, they also confronted difficulties in transferring to four-year colleges (Baker and Vélez 1996). In addition, the passage of Proposition 209 in 1998 and the subsequent elimination of affirmative action in college admissions in California resulted in a 30-50% decline in black and Hispanic students at the elite public universities, although the effects of affirmative action may have been largely confined to the most selective 20% of universities (Card and Krueger 2005; Kane 1998).

In addition to race-ethnicity and SES or income, research has also found that first-generation students are at increased risk of leaving college. Using a national dataset, Lohfink and Paulsen (2005) found first generation students among Hispanics, lower-income students, and women and were less likely to persist than their continuing-

generation student counterparts. Similar to previous research, they also found that higher income and financial aid support, among other factors, were positively correlated with persistence for first-generation students.

METHODOLOGY

Both qualitative and quantitative methods were employed in this study to examine the CSUN campus community. All of the data for this study was collected during the spring 2010 academic semester.

Qualitative Methods

The qualitative component of the study sought to inductively explore a series of issues related to the budget cuts including framing and sense-making of the crisis; institutional confidence, commitment, and engagement in the context of the crisis; and coping and resistance strategies in response to the crisis. Focus group interviews were conducted with CSUN faculty and students. The interviews included questions about where participants received information about the budget cuts and what they learned, what they saw as the causes of the budget cuts, how the budget cuts affected their work or studies, how the budget cuts affected the university, what their reactions and responses to the budget cuts were, and what they saw as potential solutions to the budget cuts. Sixteen CSUN faculty members and seventeen CSUN students participated in the focus groups. The students were diverse in terms of gender and race-ethnicity but were skewed toward upper-class standing. Among the students, ten were women, seven were men, seven were black, four were Asian, three were Hispanic, and three were white. Most students were of upper-class standing, and included nine seniors, four juniors, two sophomores, one freshman, and one graduate student. The faculty were diverse in terms of gender and rank but were primarily white, which reflects the composition of the faculty more broadly. Among the faculty, eight were men, eight were women, eleven were white, two were Hispanic, two were black, and one was American Indian. In terms of faculty rank, there are seven full professors, three associate professors, three assistant professors, and three lecturers. The focus group interviews were composed of five to eight respondents, lasted one and one half hours, and were audio-recorded, transcribed, and analyzed for common thematic elements.

Quantitative Methods

Quantitative methods utilized online questionnaires of the campus populations and explored the interrelationships of a number of conceptual factors. These factors included perceived institutional support from the university, commitment to the university, identification with the university, perceived procedural justice in making decisions about the budget cuts, the prestige of the university, and satisfaction with the university. In addition, respondents also were asked to describe some of the specific

ways that they were affected by the budget cuts, both professionally and personally. Statistical imputation was used in order to replace missing values for items used to create composite measures.

In total, 128 members of the CSUN faculty and 1,120 CSUN students completed the online questionnaire. The sample includes a broad and generally representative sample of the CSUN community. Because the questionnaire was completed online through the CSUN Office of Institutional Research, it is difficult to get a clear estimation of response rates. Although the response rates received for the administration of the questionnaires are consistent with those typically received by the institution in the administration of online questionnaires, it is likely that some sampling bias exists, particularly that related to the lack of online accessibility of some members of the CSUN community. The overall demographic breakdown of the online questionnaire sample is presented in the Table 1.

Table 1: *Demographics of Online Questionnaire Sample*

Study Demographics	Faculty		Student	
	CSUN Data	Study Data	CSUN Data	Study Data
	Fall 2009	Spring 2010	Fall 2009	Spring 2010
Tenured and Tenure Track	40.7	71.6		
Adjunct Faculty	59.3	28.4		
Freshman			18.3	5.1
Sophomore			9.7	9.7
Junior			25.2	24.6
Senior			29.9	32.8
Graduate			16.8	23.7
All Minorities	24.2	26.1	48.8	56.5
<i>African American</i>	5.6	5.0	7.4	15.6
<i>Asian</i>	8.1	4.0	11.6	11.8
<i>Latino/a</i>	9.9	17.1	29.5	29.1
<i>Native American</i>	0.6	0.0	0.3	0.0
White	73.8	72.3	31.0	36.4
Unknown/Other	1.9	1.6	20.2	7.1
Female	42.7	48.8	57.8	62.0
Male	57.3	51.2	42.2	38.0

The demographics of the study sample differ in several ways from those reported for fall of 2009 by the University's Office of Institutional Research. First, CSUN tenure-track faculty members are comparatively over-sampled. Second, among students, freshman are comparatively undersampled and graduate students oversampled. Finally, among students, African Americans are oversampled, though this is probably explained by the fact that many students identify as "other" (which is a much larger category in the CSUN data) in the more inflexible CSUN demographic system.

RESULTS

The results from both the qualitative and quantitative data are organized below around five themes that emerged during the data analysis. In the first section, faculty and students describe their experiences with the implementation of the budget cuts and their perceptions of fairness and procedural justice in their execution. The second section examines the growing perception among faculty and students that education is becoming systematically neglected as a central concern in California. The third and fourth sections describe the respective professional and personal impacts of the budget crisis at CSUN on both faculty and students. The final section highlights the effects of the budget cuts on what faculty and students both identify as one of the more vulnerable populations—the traditionally under-represented student. Here we also attempt to provide a broad overview of the study and some of the key findings from both the qualitative and quantitative data.

The Question of Procedural Justice

Many faculty and students felt that the budget cuts made to CSUN were very poorly planned, with information inadequately disseminated in an untimely fashion. It was not until the summer months just before the start of the academic term that some clarity was brought to the specific cuts to the CSU. Campus administrators, faculty, staff, and students were all left in an institutional limbo as the final statement on the budget cuts could not be delivered until the State of California had ratified a fiscal budget for 2009-2010, and the final ratification of this budget was nine months late. Important decisions were made during these summer months, in the weeks right before the start of the academic year: student fees were increased an additional 10%, and the CSU faculty union held a statewide vote to determine whether or not a 10% faculty furlough would be supported. Students were sent new notices for additional fees to cover the tuition increases, and the CSU faculty agreed by a narrow margin to authorize their faculty union to accept the 10% furlough. Both faculty and students had little time to prepare themselves for the fee increases and the furloughs, and for the financial, organizational, and psychological consequences of the cuts. Almost two-thirds of both faculty (61.1%) and students (63.6%) felt that they were “*just a tiny cog in the machinery of this university.*”

As shown in Table 2, only 6.3% of faculty and 11.2% of students agreed that the CSU Chancellor's Office had “*treated them with kindness and respect,*” and only 17.5% of faculty and 16.3% of students felt these officials had “*dealt with them truthfully.*” Very few faculty (2.9%) and students (5.6%) believed that the CSU Chancellor's Office was “*sensitive to their personal needs,*” and a similarly low number of faculty (4.8%) and students (7.4%) reported that California State University officials allowed them to “*challenge or appeal decisions.*” A parallel disaffection is found in the reports of both faculty and students regarding the degree to which the officials of the CSU Chancellor's Office “*offered explanation that made sense*” (faculty, 14.1%; students, 14.5%),

"clarified decisions" (faculty, 10.5%; students, 11.1%), and "showed concern for individual rights" (faculty, 13.0%; students, 12.8%).

Table 2: Faculty and Student Perceptions of Procedural Justice

(Scale: 1 = "Strongly Disagree," 5 = "Strongly Agree")

Procedural Justice	Faculty		Student	
	CSU Chancellor's Office	CSUN Campus Administration	CSU Chancellor's Office	CSUN Campus Administration
When decisions were made about the CSUN budget cuts ...	% Agree	% Agree	% Agree	% Agree
<i>treated me with kindness and respect.</i>	6.3	56.5	11.2	23.8
<i>offered explanations that made sense to me.</i>	14.1	55.2	14.5	22.8
<i>was sensitive to my personal needs.</i>	2.9	37.4	5.6	15.7
<i>dealt with me in a truthful manner.</i>	17.5	60.8	16.3	25.8
<i>clarified decisions and provided additional information when</i>	10.5	61.3	11.1	19.7
<i>showed concern for my rights.</i>	13.0	62.7	12.8	24.0
<i>allowed employees to challenge or appeal decisions.</i>	4.8	41.2	7.4	14.0

More sanguine results can be found in faculty and student reports regarding their perceptions of how the CSUN campus administration dealt with the budget cuts. On most items, the majority of faculty agreed that the CSUN campus administration had treated them respectfully (56.5%), honestly (60.8%), sensibly (55.2%), and with concern for individual rights (62.7%). Students, on the other hand, were much less likely than faculty to report a fair sense of procedural justice regarding the CSUN campus administration. In every category, only one in four students reported that the CSUN officials had exercised adequate procedural justice in managing the budget cuts, with only a relatively small subset of students believing that they had been treated with respect (23.8%), sensitivity (15.7%), honesty (25.8%), sensibility (22.8%), and in a manner that showed concern for their individual rights (24.0%).

Many of the faculty interviewed for this study reported that the prospect that there would be cuts came as no real surprise, as they had followed the budget discussions for months or even years, and were well aware that CSUN was going to take a significant budget reduction beginning fall 2009. Gregory, a fulltime lecturer, summarizes this point of view:

I remember a lot of confusion, hearing mixed messages either from the union, or from various department faculty members, and I tried to gather as much information as I could, as time allowed. I would go to various meetings... and there was just a lot of confusion and a lot of different points of view. As a new faculty member, it was a little overwhelming ... I'm sure feeling a lot of disappointment, hearing how all these solutions were enacted and how fast they were enacted and how poorly planned they were.

Some faculty members took this perspective one step further, suggesting that the ambiguity surrounding the cuts, coupled with last-minute policy decisions, may have been intentional. For example, Yesenia, a tenured faculty member, remarked that "it was in the middle of the summer that we got cuts... I feel like it was done on purpose. It was very

suspicious that we had to decide on this [during the academic recess] while everybody was spread out throughout the world. It was so very hard to get information."

Most students expressed a different perspective than the faculty on the CSUN budget cuts. Few students had significant knowledge of or involvement in the debates regarding potential student fee increases or in the possibility that university faculty and staff could be on two-day-per-month furloughs, thus reducing their time in class, the quality of their education, and the availability of campus services. This lack of awareness of the budget cuts is not altogether surprising given parallel faculty reports that express a strong sense of confusion and uncertainty regarding CSUN's economic situation. For many CSUN students, their lack of knowledge regarding the budget cuts was revealed to them only when, after they had already paid their fees, they received a notice of an additional tuition increase just before the beginning of the academic semester. Samantha, a sophomore at CSUN, sums up the students' general sense of confusing mystification about the budget cuts, and specifically regarding the fee increase:

"I didn't know anything about the budget cuts until I paid my tuition. I went and looked at the portal [the CSUN online computer system for student registration] and it said I owe an extra \$300. I paid everything, why would I owe \$300? So I called the school and they said there had been a tuition increase ... It would have been nice to have some warning!"

Michael, a junior at CSUN, echoes Samantha's sentiments and expresses the financial burden this put on himself and his family:

I learned about the fee increase the day before the last day when the money was due. I almost didn't have enough money to do it. I mean I barely even have enough money to pay for school ... It made me mad just coming to school and I didn't want to be here. I was ready to quit and not come back. It was difficult for my family especially because they were paying for school ... They didn't send us mail or anything. And then they put a message on [the] portal that they have the right to do this, so "too bad." I even called them that day and they were giving me attitude like, "Oh you should have known," but they sent no mail, no nothing. It was like, "Oh well, too bad, if you want to go to school, you've got to pay". I was like, this is shady!

Unlike faculty, students seemed more likely to localize their suspicions of the institution at the campus level, attributing their distrust to actions of CSUN officials. For example, Emma discusses the CSUN campus administration:

I feel like ... they're afraid to talk to us, just to let us know what is going on because that means that we'll expect to actually hear things, and they don't want to tell us things. When I first came here, the communication was fine and I was notified on anything. But now ... they'll rarely send emails notifying us about things going on.

Students' increased suspicion of the CSUN campus administrators indicates that not only did students, more so than faculty, tend to feel alienated from the decision-making process regarding the budget cuts, but also students were much more likely to localize the problem. Students, when compared to faculty, were much more willing to attribute blame for the budget cuts and their policy implications to local campus officials and to believe the CSUN administration had intentionally deceived them. However, while faculty and students differed in the degree to which they made localized attributions regarding the causes and consequences of budget cuts, they did agree that the budget cuts surely indicated a general decrease in the value of public higher education in the State of California.

The Neglect of Education

Karl, a tenure-track faculty member, offered what seemed to be a widely shared perspective on the CSUN budget crisis. For him, the uncertainty surrounding the decision-making process was not simply a function of an intentional ambiguity of CSU administrators. Instead, the cuts were more centrally a product of a general disregard for education within the broader context of the United States. Karl expressed his surprise at how neglected education is in the United States and, as he put it, his "*shock ... to see that the state [of California] spends more on prisons than education,*" and the implications that this has had for CSUN. He describes his viewpoint in this way:

I followed the California budget discussion ... [I] didn't anticipate such an amount of negligence on the issue of education in America. I just did not imagine the depth to which the public would go along with cuts and would basically say they don't really care for education, despite it being, in my opinion, being one of the most discussed subjects in American society. But I did not expect that the ordinary folks would not really care. That was disconcerting to me because I strongly believe in public education and I see CSUN as a very good example of how to blend the kind of private/public educational system... I was very surprised that the union, or the faculty in general, would not be able to count on the support of the general population.

Karl's surprise at the neglect of education in the United States, as exemplified by the budget crisis in public education within California and at CSUN specifically, also resonated with many students. For example, Wilson, a student in the teaching credential program, described how myopic the budget cuts were and what they revealed about the declining value of education in the United States:

When I heard about [the budget cuts] I just thought about how short-sighted it was for the people in power, whoever they are, to cut from education ... I recognize the importance of education and having an educated work force. If Americans are going to have any kind of future, they need to have an educated population in order to compete in the global economy ... It's really sad.

These attitudes about the neglect of education also reverberated within the questionnaire data. For example, 77% of both the faculty and students responding to the questionnaire reported that the CSUN budget crisis *“deserved more media attention,”* and 57% of faculty and 78% of students indicated that they thought it *“deserved more attention on campus.”* Among these same respondents, 51% of faculty and 58% of students believed that the budget cuts had significantly affected *“CSUN’s reputation,”* and 73% of faculty and 76% of students agreed that it had *“reduced the quality of education at CSUN.”*

Many faculty revealed that the lack of attention given to the significant budget reductions at CSUN were an indication not only of a neglect of education, but also of a *“change in the way that our society thinks about education”* (Katie) and a redefinition of *“who should have access to education”* (Yesenia). In addition, many of these CSUN faculty members believed that the budget cuts to the CSU system compromised teaching and learning environments. The effects of these changes had an important institutional impact on the pedagogic practice of faculty, as well as the confidence of both faculty and students in the educational process at the CSU.

The Institutional Impact – Apostrophe’d Degrees, Settling for Cs

The combined influence of the uncertainty regarding the CSU budget cuts and the perceived overall neglect of education in California were not without significant professional and personal impacts on CSUN faculty and students. Specifically, these impacts reflected two general categories of experience: the first, outlining the ways in which the budget crisis had affected participation in the professional and institutional culture of the university; the second, describing the more personal impact of these changes.

In describing the CSUN budget cuts, both faculty and students resoundingly agreed that the cuts had a negative impact on CSUN as an institution; on the quality of education it provided; and on the students, faculty, and administrators on the campus. In responding to the questionnaire items that asked about the perception of the budget situation at CSUN (see Table 3), 97% of faculty and 89% of students agreed that the budget cuts had a negative impact on CSUN overall, and 90% of faculty and 80% of students perceived a decrease in the quality of education at CSUN. In reflecting upon the specific impact of the budget cuts on faculty and students, 98% of faculty contended that students had been adversely affected; likewise, 89% of students saw their fellow students as unfavorably impacted. Similarly, 97% of faculty and 89% of students agreed that faculty had been negatively affected by the budget cuts. Finally, both faculty (63%) and students (80%) also saw CSUN campus administrators as hurt by the budget cuts. Overall, and with only one exception (i.e. the faculty perception of the campus administration), over three-fourths of both faculty and students agreed that the cuts had a broad and comprehensive negative effect on CSUN on each of the questionnaire items listed in Table 3.

Table 3: Faculty and Student Perceptions of Budget Cut Impact*

(Scale: 1 = "Very Negative," 5 = "Very Positive")

Budget Cut Impact	Faculty	Student
How would you characterize the effects of the budget situation on ...	% Negative	% Negative
<i>CSUN itself</i>	96.8 (47.9)	89.3 (49.9)
<i>you personally</i>	88.0 (41.3)	75.5 (35.2)
<i>students</i>	97.9 (61.7)	88.9 (46.5)
<i>campus administration</i>	63.3 (18.9)	79.3 (40.7)
<i>campus faculty</i>	96.7 (42.4)	88.9 (54.0)
<i>the quality of education at CSUN</i>	89.1 (37.0)	79.0 (40.1)

*Numbers in "()" indicate the percentage response of "Very Negative."

The impact of the budget cuts on the institutional and professional culture of the institution was more directly apparent in the interviews with faculty and students. For example, Krista, a tenured faculty member, described the budget cuts and how they had affected the faculty and students in her department:

In my college we had to cut a number of our classes in order to meet enrollment reductions in order to pay for everything ... I did watch a number of colleagues all of sudden get their summer classes cut and other sections did get cut. It was difficult for me because I taught five days a week, and these furloughs all of a sudden, I had no choice but to cancel classes. So on top of less money, and on top of student classes being cut, on top of student fees being raised, now I'm being asked to do the same thing with less time and less resources. And it was very frustrating. You know, from an educational standpoint, in order to pull all that together, to cover sort of the same material, advice I got from other colleagues was just, "Don't cover that material or just give more tests or more assignments"—it's not really a great answer. It's just not! ... I had a lot of anger over how it was all administered and how we were being asked to do and have the same results but with less. And what would that say to future legislature and future administration, that we can still do this with less money? [If that is the case] why give them more resources?

Krista's comments highlight an important concern that was echoed by many faculty members— "we are asked to do and have the same results but with less [money]"; they worried about what kind of message their ability to manage successfully with fewer resources would send to legislators and administrators about the amount of funding the university needs to effectively operate.

Many of the faculty interviewed for this study believed that the economic crisis at the CSU, though not sustainable, would become a new "standard" for the public university in California. Both administrators and faculty would be asked to provide the same services and the same quality of education, but with fewer resources. Inevitably, however, faculty perceived that the quality of education would suffer as each round of cuts further reduced resources and reshaped the learning environment for students and faculty.

Other faculty members argued that the 10% workload reduction due to the faculty and staff furloughs would have additional consequences.

[The furloughs came and] people stopped working ... If you asked them to do anything that had been their regular job, staff and faculty, the response was, "Oh, I'm having a furlough" ... That seemed to be the response to anything. Anybody that didn't want to do anything, it appeared, would use that as their rationale.

Luke, a tenured faculty member, more dramatically echoed this same sentiment:

If you look at the workload ... there was no cut-back in workload! Even though there was a 10% work reduction, which is what a furlough is, there is no reduction of work! The theory was we'll take it out of preparation, take it out of research, take it out of these other things. Then I think the morale issue was tremendous. It was just demoralizing ... everything you heard from everybody was "blah blah blah blah furlough!" It became the universal reason. Like traffic on the freeway. "I couldn't get here because there is traffic on the freeway." "Well, I couldn't get it done because there was furlough." When you look at it, the fact is that it's not just your time being cut back. This is a social institution and people need to work with other people. So if you start looking at they're not here Thursday and they're not here Wednesday, and whatever, it's a square function and maybe even more than that. So the impact is way more than just 10%. I would estimate the amount of effective work that got done, other than teaching, probably was reduced by like a third, maybe even more.

In addition to discussions about "doing the same for less," both faculty and students collectively agreed that the 10% furloughs had had a significant impact on students and had compromised the quality of education they received. As Victoria, a tenured faculty member, described it,

I'm troubled by the fact that I feel like I need to put an apostrophe on my student's diploma ... saying, "Oh, sorry, you had 90% of this work." What chapter in physics do you leave out for the next semester? So I'm troubled by that emotionally, that and other people just say, "Oh well, we have to do it so I'll just cut something."

The existence of this "apostrophe'd" diploma was not lost on students. George, a junior in Sociology, bemoaned this situation, stating that *"the amount of furloughs they take is ridiculous ... So if you finally do get into the classes, then the class is empty. You miss out on most of the material. You get hit from both ends ... You pay more for less. And it's hard to get into that less, you know."*

The difficulty of getting classes, of getting "into that less" was one of the biggest complaints of the students interviewed for this study. Anna, a senior in History, expresses this dilemma of "paying more for less" in some detail:

It's just not about getting classes. It's that they're not offering classes, you know. A year ago I had four classes left to take and I would graduate in the fall. Well, they went from offering a larger number of anywhere from up to seven or nine of these classes a semester ... to two to three classes. You have a lot of graduating seniors in the history department ... like "Hello!?" And when I went in to find out [about registration] ... before registration opened for the next semester, it was already full. The waiting list was full; it was closed. They weren't even taking anyone from the waiting list from fall and this was in spring. So summer was full; fall was full; so what was I going to do? Because you're not going to pay for one class! With furloughing the teachers, with laying some of the teachers off rotations, and cutting down the classes, and on top of that making the remainder so crowded that you can't get them, I mean it's a wonder that there are students that are still here.

The faculty interviews confirmed the dire institutional situation described by many students. As Monique, a tenure-track faculty member, explained:

As a result, fewer classes, and fewer classes in terms of the sections that I teach. For instance, I had the challenge of where I couldn't add any students above the required enrollment. I had students standing at my door crying, completely distraught. It's a GE [General Education] class, and they need the class to graduate. They need the class to move forward. They could have been a senior. It really pulled at my heart strings, because they really literally begged. They begged at the door to let them in. And if I did that, then I would have been penalized ... I was conflicted because I thought about my students and I kept struggling with how I am going to disseminate the knowledge I want within that period of time. It was a real challenge to adjust the classes so the students felt that they were getting what they should as a result of having spent sixteen weeks with me.

Keisha, a CSUN senior, also very poignantly summarized her similar experience:

I'm trying to get into a class that I need for my graduation and... there is only one class, one time, one day. One class for over 80 students! And we're fighting like pigs! It's like, "I'll pay you for your spot, for real!" I have to pay for my spot now? That's ridiculous! That's what pisses me off, not having to pay extra money. Cause I feel like a lot of students will feel okay if they just [even though their] tuition was raised can get into classes. You got a tuition raise and you're fighting like a pig to get into classes! That probably affects a lot of people!

Keisha's account expresses the struggles that many students encountered as a result of the budget cuts at CSUN – increased tuition, awkward class schedules, “fighting like a pig to get into classes,” and even being desperate enough to pay another student for a spot in the class.

The Professional and Personal Impact

While the perception of the decline in effective and engaging institutional participation was a dominant theme among both faculty and students, they also reported an impact on their professional and personal lives. In looking at the responses of faculty regarding how they used their time differently during the year of the budget cuts (Table 4), some important patterns emerged.

Table 4: Faculty and Student Perceptions of Professional and Personal Impact

(Scale: 1 = "Strongly Disagree," 5 = "Strongly Agree")

Professional and Personal Impact	Faculty	Student
During the past academic year, I have spent more time than expected ...	% Agree	% Agree
<i>following campus politics.</i>	48.4	46.1
<i>following news about the US economy.</i>	62.0	76.0
<i>pursuing non-academic interests.</i>	28.1	37.4
<i>finding additional sources of income.</i>	48.4	71.9
<i>doing class preparation.</i>	47.6	
<i>working from home.</i>	52.8	
<i>trying to secure financial aid.</i>		64.5
<i>trying to enroll in my classes.</i>		81.2

Both faculty and students reported that during the academic year they spent more time than usual following campus politics (faculty, 48.4%; students, 46.1%). In addition, 48% of faculty reported that they had spent more time than expected engaging in class preparation and 53% worked from home more frequently than they anticipated. Among students, 65% expressed a larger time investment in securing financial aid, and 81% spent more time than expected trying to enroll in classes.

It is striking that 28% of faculty and 37% of students reported that they spent more time than expected pursuing non-academic interests, and that almost one-half of faculty and nearly three-fourths of students found themselves searching for alternative sources of income. The budget cuts appear to have drawn faculty and students toward pursuits outside of the academy, mostly for economic reasons.

In the interviews, faculty reported distress in various aspects of their everyday lives, including not having enough time for family and friends, fears of not being able to make payments for homes and cars, fears of losing retirement investments, and feeling detached from loved ones, many of whom were also feeling the pinch of the economic recession. Yesenia described the personal toll that this had taken on her family:

I have also been financially deeply affected and I think it's different for everybody depending on what kind of situation they're in, double-income household or not. Whether or not you have children. We have a daughter who is 23, who lost her employment too so everything is on me, so, and with our salaries it's been tough.

Denise echoed the difficulties of family separation, describing the emotional consequences of the budget cuts on her personal life:

Sometimes I feel downright resentful. I haven't seen much of my husband, because he is trying to make up for my lack of paycheck. If they do a furlough another year, the piece of land that we were going to retire on, we may end up losing it ... And I'm not seeing my husband now and it's putting strain on our relationship. He's really cranky, and I would imagine that he'd say that I'm cranky as well.

Despite maligning their own situation, faculty seemed to be in general agreement that the most significant impact of the budget cuts was on the CSUN students. Monique sensed that the budget cuts were having a disorienting effect on many students. As she described it,

The students are feeling discombobulated with having the days off. I wondered if some students rather enjoy having those furlough days so that they can sleep in, and maybe do some fun stuff. I asked two of my classes the other day, "You guys enjoy your day off?" And they said, "You know, not really. We actually like coming to class. I was off for your class, but I still had to go to my other classes. Then another day I go to your class and one of my other classes are cancelled." One of the students said that she had so much time in between [classes] that she'll go home, and then she'll get tired and she won't come back for the next class. So you know, it is having a spiraling effect, from one class to the next, with the students trying to juggle and what-have-you.

Denise summed up this sentiment, saying that, "*the biggest tragedy about the furlough [and other higher education budget cuts] is cheating the students out of an education, because I know I'm not giving them the same.*"

Affordability, Accessibility, and Underrepresented Students

There was a common perception that some students had been, or would be, hurt more than others by the budget cuts. In particular, traditionally underrepresented students—low-income students, first-generation students, and students of color—were identified as those who might disproportionately suffer the most significantly negative effects. Ironically, it is through including and serving those same student populations that the CSU system has long celebrated its ability to provide a quality, affordable, and accessible education to all of the residents of California.

Both faculty and students agreed that the budget cuts had caused more students to be excluded from the CSU system. Among the faculty respondents, 41% of faculty and 53% of students "strongly agreed" that the CSU budget cuts had "*caused more students to be excluded from CSUN.*" Students of color—and in particular Latino (54.8%) and African American (56.5%) students—were more likely than their white (48.2%) and Asian American (48.8%) counterparts to "strongly agree" that the exclusion of students had increased. In addition, first-generation college students (57.1%) were more likely than their continuing-generation complements (47.6%) to perceive a very salient increase in student exclusion.

Table 5 helps to provide an understanding of the unique experiences of traditionally underrepresented students in negotiating the budget cuts. In examining this questionnaire data, it is clear that with respect to ethnicity or generational status, all racial, ethnic, and generational groups reported a marked increase in their search for funding and classes, but the disproportionate burden seems to have fallen on the shoulders of students of color and first-generation college students. For example, about one-third of white students indicated that they “strongly agree” that they found themselves searching for additional sources of income (32%) and for financial aid (33%), and just over one-half (54.8%) described a significantly increased effort involved in enrolling in their classes. By comparison, students of color reported a much more difficult time securing funding with over one-half of both Latinos (52.8%) and African Americans (52.5%) describing significant efforts securing additional income, and almost two-thirds of Latinos (62.8%) and one-half of African Americans (54.5%) stretching to secure financial aid. While for many students of color the struggle to find classes was roughly equivalent to that of their white counterparts, the difficulties for Latinos was much more pronounced, with 70% of Latinos indicating significant problems in their course enrollments.

Table 5: Student Perceptions of Personal Impact by Ethnicity and Generation Status

(Scale: 1 = “Strongly Disagree,” 5 = “Strongly Agree”)

Personal Impact by Ethnicity and Generation Status	White	Latino	African-American	Asian-American	Non-First-Generation	First-Generation
During the past academic year, I have spent more time than expected ...	% Strongly Agree	% Strongly Agree	% Strongly Agree	% Strongly Agree	% Strongly Agree	% Strongly Agree
following campus politics.	10.2	14.5	13.0	14.0	12.2	13.6
following news about the US economy.	23.6	32.5	30.4	30.2	26.6	29.9
finding additional sources of income.	32.0	52.8	52.5	42.9	36.1	45.0
trying to secure financial aid.	33.0	62.8	54.5	46.3	33.4	50.4
trying to enroll in my classes.	54.8	69.8	52.5	59.5	55.9	64.6
studying.	12.8	20.6	30.4	20.9	13.6	17.9

Student reports of generational status parallel that of racial and ethnic difference. Like many students of color, first-generation students reveal a greater degree of dissonance as a consequence of the CSU budget cuts when compared to continuing-generation students. For example, 45% of first-generation students, compared to 36% of continuing-generation students, reported that they “strongly agreed” that the budget cuts led to an unexpected search for additional sources of income. Similarly, about one-half of first-generation students (50.4 %) also described more effort in securing financial aid, compared with one-third (33.4%) of continuing-generation students. While all students indicated a high degree of difficulty enrolling in their courses, nearly two-thirds of first-generation students (64.6%) reported such difficulties compared with 56% of the continuing-generation students. Interestingly, despite their reports of increased and unexpected difficulty in the face of the CSU budget cuts, underrepresented students—including both first-generation students and students of color—reported a greater and unanticipated degree of time spent studying during the academic year, when compared with their white and continuing-generation complements.¹⁵

15 It is important to note that when it comes to funding and course enrollment, as discussed in the sections above, all students indicated that they felt the negative effects of the budget cuts; however, students of color and first-generation students reported a disproportionately greater impact of the CSU budget woes.

In their focus group discussions, many faculty and students commended the CSU system for its history of increasing access to students traditionally excluded from higher education. For example, in the student focus group interviews, the point was clearly made that students of color notice and feel more comfortable within a diverse learning environment like that represented by the CSU system. They see diversity as a strength of the Northridge campus, yet they also believe that the budget cuts will have a negative impact on campus diversity. Students predict that the university will become more privileged, white, and upper or middle class, as a result of increasing educational costs that make it harder for students from underrepresented communities to attend college. The following excerpt is a conversation during the focus groups that exemplifies student opinions about campus diversity.

Interviewer: *What [do you think] about serving a diverse population?*

Daniel (black): *Just having different races on campus?*

Sara (Asian): *I think that's one of CSUN's strongest things.*

Daniel (black): *It's the first time I've been at a school that wasn't all white.*

[group laughter]

Sara (Asian): *Yeah, me too.*

Daniel (black): *I'm still...seeing the same faces for 12 years. Oh, you look like me! That's weird.*

Mike (black): *CSUN's got that but they're about to lose that, too. We're still cutting all these freshmen out of here. I mean, especially with groups who can't afford. Like my cousin, he can't afford school so he has to go to community college. It might be in 20 years... it's like a bunch of white kids in here because that's all that can afford.*

Juan (Hispanic, first-generation): *I think it's going to be harder for minority students to get in here. We have a history of low-income people. I guess with the budget cuts it's going to get more expensive for them and it's going to cut down the diversity on the campus.*

These students draw a stark contrast between the university they entered, which was affordable and diverse (“low-income people” and people that “look like me”), and the direction they see the university headed (unaffordable and privileged). For them, the causes of declining diversity are firmly situated at the intersection of race-ethnicity and social class. As the cost of attending CSUN goes up, low-income people can no longer afford it, and the number of minority students will decline.

The relationship between social class and educational affordability was a topic of conversation among students across the focus groups. In the following statements, Henry describes a growing class divide while Daniel bemoans the failure of the CSU system to provide a “haven” for lower-income students:

Henry (white): *I think what's frustrating for a lot of people from lower income is that if kids have money where they don't have to worry about work,*

or their parents pay, then they can just focus on their studies. Even if they have to take classes at odd hours it doesn't matter because they could just focus on going to school and not have to worry about making money for rent or will I have to get another job because the fees are going up. The divide is getting bigger between people in the private schools or the UC schools ... and for the people that go to Cal State schools ... Now it's less affordable.

The faculty also noted the confluence of social class and race-ethnicity in discussing the effects of the budget cuts on the student body. Javier, a tenure-track faculty member, described his experiences with students who are traditionally under-represented:

I asked this student, "What's your biggest concern?" She's at a community college and she said, "I'm not sure I can afford to continue my education." These students are on the margin economically [and] I'm beginning to think that race and class are convoluted. It's very complex. I don't think it's one or the other, there's an intersection between these two. We have to come back to the class-racial dynamic that's taking place in this society and I think it's tied to the economic situation. You're dealing with a form of capitalism that if unabated becomes brutal.

Many of the students and faculty at CSUN were keenly aware of the disproportionate impact of rising costs on underrepresented and underserved students.

According to the focus group participants, it isn't simply the fee increases that are changing the demographics of the student body. Students also feel that the university's priorities and commitments have changed. The new policies that have emerged after the budget crisis are perceived by focus group participants as designed to make students leave school, particularly those students who are defined as costly or undesirable by the university. Many students commented specially on this topic:

Daniel (black): *It's almost like they're trying to get us to leave. During the summer I was reading the updates on the CSUN website on the budget crisis. One of their goals was to cut the student population in half by this year. So you're openly telling us that you want half of us to leave, you know. They're just trying to make life terrible for us right now.*

Sara (Asian): *Yeah, it makes more sense for CSUN to want students that can pay than to have students that take money...like financial aid and stuff. They'd rather have people that can actually pay for it.*

Mike (black): *Now they're not letting people with academic delinquency, like if you get subpar grades below 2.0 and you don't pay your money on time, stuff like that.*

After the budget cuts, the CSU system and the CSUN campus instituted a wide range of new policies. Some of these included cutting enrollment by 10,000 students system-wide while increasing the admissions of out-of-state students, who pay higher non-resident tuition. The university further restricted enrollment policies and academic

disqualifications for students with failing grades or low GPAs. Students seem to interpret these policies as sending messages about who the university sees as a desirable student (those with money and good grades) and who is not a sought-after student (those who cannot pay for their education on their own and who struggle academically). Thus, according to the focus group participants, these policies send a discouraging message to low-income students, including students of color, that they are no longer desirable students within the CSU system.

In order to pay for fee increases, students sought outside employment, and some who already worked increased their hours or took on additional jobs. Henry describes the impact of taking a second job:

Henry (white): *One of the reasons why I would choose this school is because it was affordable when I started here and now it's less affordable. I had to increase my work hours. I work one job and I do tutoring on the side. [I] started that [tutoring] this year because I didn't have enough money. That takes time away from my studies, which hurts my grades. Those thirty hours a week working, if I could spend fifteen of those hours studying I would be doing a lot better. I also get a scholarship, which is a godsend, otherwise I would be working more.*

From the start, Henry's college experience was influenced by social class. Both the university he can afford to attend and the hours he can dedicate to studying are limited by financial obligations. Henry worries that the time he spends at work detracts from the quality of his education and his ability to earn good grades. As the costs of education increase, lower- and moderate-income students like Henry must dedicate more of their time and energy to paying for school. This limits their ability to learn, earn good grades, graduate on time, and make the most of their college experience.

In addition to fee increases, the university simultaneously decreased course offerings as a cost-saving measure. These changes compound work-education conflicts for students; at the same time that students need to increase their work hours, they face an inflexible class schedule that offers fewer sections of each class. In the following, students discuss the problems they encounter:

Keisha (black, first-generation): *If you have a six- or a four-hour class in the middle of Wednesday from 1:00 to 5:30, how are you going to tell your employer, "Well, I gotta bounce every Wednesday and Thursday and I gotta commute two hours to get here"?*

Susan (white): *That's exactly what I'm saying, you either work or go to school. It's one or the other.*

Mayra (Hispanic): *No, we do all three [including internship].*

Susan (white): *But you can't hold a job and tell them you gotta be out every Wednesday afternoon and Friday morning; they're not going to employ you. So that's what I mean by not being able to go to school and hold a job.*

Keisha (black, first-generation): *Or you're taking jobs at...waitressing.*

Mayra (Hispanic): *Exactly.*

Susan (white): *And you're not making enough money on that.*

The effects of the economic recession on families outside the university further compound the effects of the budget cuts within; students are confronted with increasing education costs at the same time that many families are under financial duress. In the following account, Simon, a faculty member, describes the "heartbreaking" situation of these students.

Some of the interactions I've had with students are heartbreaking. A couple days ago a student came to my office...and she'd been absent a few times and wasn't doing very well in the course. She explained that her father lost his job and she had to take three jobs at the same time as going to school. She never worked before and didn't know what to do so she asked if she could have an incomplete. She was failing the course so I wasn't allowed to give her an incomplete under those circumstances but I suggested [she] declare a hardship and withdraw in that way. I get a lot of students in approximately that same situation.

In this excerpt, the job loss and potential downward mobility of a parent has tremendous implications for the social mobility of the children. Students like the ones Simon describes are doubly penalized by increasing education costs and declining family incomes. Withdrawing or dropping out of college to secure employment may be important for family survival, but it also potentially limits the family's long-term prospects and the next generation's social mobility.

In addition to fears about the effects of the declining economy, faculty members also raised concerns about the student fee increases, criticizing the size of the increase as well as their implementation. For example, Benjamin, a faculty member who has been a part of the CSUN community for over fifty years, describes how he believes the fee increases will affect the CSU students:

This population tends to be people who have the least capability of paying for their tuition. So as the tuition goes up, and it goes up precipitously [at] an incredibly skyrocketing rate, the students have less and less opportunities to come here.... This institution is very rapidly moving towards those who could afford to go to this university.

Here, Benjamin describes fee increases as a threat to accessibility and the retention of lower-income students. Similar to some of the students' comments, the university is increasingly seen as a public institution that no longer serves diverse communities, but rather, becomes accessible only to the financially privileged. As Carla, a tenured faculty member, states:

I think that very little has changed except that we are short-changing our students even more ... I'm here because I believe that by educating people

we can subvert the class system and we can help students really achieve something. I'm totally committed to that. I think that these budget cuts and the consequent actions make it much harder for students to succeed ... If class sizes are getting bigger and it's getting harder for students to actually come to class because they have to take on two and three jobs just to help their families make ends meet and we can't bend the rules to let them pass a class because that's not right either, that means that they're not learning. We can't work with them one-to-one anymore ... so we're now herding them into giant classes ... Hello? You know this is really impacting on the quality of education and it's going to make it even harder for these young people to succeed. It's disgusting.

In sum, students appreciate and benefit from a diverse student body that is accessible to lower-income students and racial-ethnic minorities. However, both students and faculty agree that recent fee increases threaten the diversity of the campus. Further, the fee increases and related policy changes are seen as reflecting broader changes to the university's priorities and commitments. These changes are interpreted as reflecting a growing interest in serving financially privileged students who can afford to pay for their education on their own. In contrast, lower-income students who require financial aid or academic help are perceived to be the target of the university's enrollment cuts. These new policies, as well as the difficulty of paying for school while managing work and class schedules, have impacted student engagement and motivation. Students seem to be genuinely disheartened and overwhelmed by the new campus climate in which they find themselves. Not surprisingly, they feel that the changes brought about by the budget crisis, if preserved for the long term, will make the university less accessible and affordable for lower-income students and students of color.

CONCLUSION

As the 2011-2012 academic year approaches, the administrators, faculty, and students of CSU Northridge, and throughout the entire state of California, are facing yet another round of drastic budget cuts. The state has approved \$500 million in new cuts to the CSU system. If Governor Brown's proposed tax extension is not approved, an additional \$500 million in cuts (\$1 billion in total) is anticipated. Student fees are set to increase another 10% in the fall, but this could more than triple to 32%, causing the cost of a CSU education to double (from \$4,880 to \$7,400) in just three years (Asimov 2011). CSU Chancellor Charles Reed has warned of "extreme choices," including closing enrollment for spring and turning away 20,000 transfer students (San Francisco Chronicle, May 11, 2011). At CSUN, departments have again reduced their course offerings and have doubled the sizes of many of their classes. Almost all of the part-time lecturers are gone. While another round of significant budget cuts is assured for the 2011-2012 academic year, no one knows with certainty what the cuts will look like, and what their consequences will be for California's public universities in the twenty-first century. What is certain, however, is that the members of the CSUN community will assuredly quake as these shockwaves once again resonate through the campus.

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“YOU WILL HAVE TO WORK TEN TIMES AS HARD AT CSU”: REDUCING OUTREACH AND RECRUITMENT IN TIMES OF ECONOMIC CRISIS

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with the assistance of Mario Castaneda

ABSTRACT

California's economic problems have had a major impact on the state's public high school and university students, especially those choosing to apply to and matriculate in the California State University (CSU) system. Using mixed methods including interviews of program leaders, recruiters, and student workers, this study investigates the effects of the budget cuts on the ability of five CSU campuses to provide outreach and recruitment to low-income high school and transfer students. The findings show that cuts to these programs are not proportionate, because these students are most likely to be “left in the dark” with limited access to college readiness services. This paper highlights the ways in which the CSU campuses are trying to continue their work using creative, collaborative, and resilient methods with declining resources.

INTRODUCTION¹⁶

“Triumph...is my message. Will it be easy? No! I remind them that you may have nights you don't sleep, but you have to get it done. You have to work three times as hard with little parental support. Now with the budget situation, you will have to work ten times as hard. But you can and will triumph.”

Every time the young man¹⁷ quoted above visits his low-income neighborhood, he sees the differences between himself—a college senior and the first in his family to go to college—and the peers he left behind living in poverty and despair. “I do whatever I can to try to motivate other students to find their way to college where they can enhance themselves through education, power, and possibility,” he said. “But it is harder and harder to do.” A student ambassador who has worked for his student outreach office for three years, he visits high schools to help students through the college readiness and application process. “I come from a lower SES (socioeconomic status) background,” he says, “I can tell them that despite the obstacles, if I can do it, you can do it. If it's money, you can do it. You don't have to sell drugs or strip. You can apply to

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17 To protect the anonymity of everyone we interviewed for this paper, we refer to students who work in the outreach and recruitment offices as student ambassadors or student workers. We refer to directors, assistant directors, and recruiters as specialists, recruiters, or professionals.

FAFSA (Free Application for Federal Financial Aid). They get it. The way I approach them, I share the details. I don't scare."

During the past year, he has watched dramatic changes occur in the world of college recruitment and outreach. Colleges have new deadlines and reduced enrollments, high schools have cut back on counseling, and outreach offices have cut back on programming, which may include downsizing the number of student ambassadors who share their powerful stories with other young people.

Research shows that outreach and college readiness programs are vital for attracting Latino and other under-represented students to four-year colleges. First-generation and other historically under-represented students lag behind their higher-income peers academically and attend college at significantly lower rates (Ikenberry and Hartle 1998; Miller 1997). About 33 percent of whites in their twenties hold college degrees, compared to 18 percent of blacks and 10 percent of Latinos (Gándara and Contreras 2009). These students face some of the most difficult challenges in education: they are more likely to attend ill-equipped schools (Kozol 1991; Oakes et al. 2006); to receive limited access to rigorous college preparatory courses, especially in math and language (Perna and Swail 2002; Tierney and Hagedorn 2002); to receive poor college counseling (McDonough 2005); and to have less prepared and less qualified teachers than their privileged counterparts (Darling-Hammond, Berry, Haselkorn, and Fideler 1999). Moreover, they are less likely to live in a home with college-educated parents, a relationship that directly correlates to college matriculation (Perez and McDonough 2008).

Once admitted, these students are much less likely to matriculate and/or persist through college because they are less likely to accept loans, more likely to require remediation, and more likely to struggle academically, socially, and financially (Hafner, Joseph, and McCormick 2010; U.S. Department of Education 2009; Perez and McDonough 2008).

In Los Angeles County, the lack of college attendance is acute. More than half of all students in the Los Angeles Unified School District, but only 24 percent of low-income students, graduate from high school having completed the courses required for entry into California's public university system. More than 70 percent of low-income students require remediation upon matriculation at those campuses serving the most at-risk students (Silver, Saunders, and Zarate 2008). The lack of college education leads to higher costs for our society, including loss of revenue because of a lack of a highly educated workforce; higher crime rates; higher rates of no life, health, and automobile insurance; and continued lack of economic advancement (Center for Labor Market Studies 2009).

THE PROBLEM

The young ambassador described earlier is one of hundreds of students and staff members who are devoted to motivating, recruiting, and assisting low-income, first-

generation, and under-represented students in the California State University (CSU) system. The largest public four-year-college system in the country, the CSU has twenty-three campuses, which serve more than 450,000 students and employ more than 48,000 faculty and staff members. Despite major tuition and fee increases, the CSU system was the second most affordable system in the country and continued to serve the most diverse student population in the country in 2010 (ICF 2010). Moreover, in the 2009 and 2010 academic years, the CSU system's campuses have received the highest number of applications in its history, 609,000 and 611,000, respectively. The CSUs play a central and crucial role in contributing to the diversity of the nation's college graduates and strengthening the state's economy (ICF 2010).

This CSU role in California's economy is stronger than ever, as recent economic reports show that those most hurt in this economic downturn are minorities and the non-college educated. While the overall U.S. unemployment rate hovered at 10 percent in 2010, the unemployment rate for the college educated is 4.5 percent (Lumina Foundation 2010). By providing "an affordable, accessible education to hundreds of thousands of Californians who would not otherwise attend a university," the CSU system is the greatest mechanism for economic and social mobility within the state of California (ICF 2010, 10). Conferring nearly half of all undergraduate and one-third of all master's degrees in the state, the CSU system educates the largest number of low-income minority students in the country. This education leads to higher incomes for its graduates and has a tremendous impact on the economy through the infusion of highly trained workers to California social services and industries, including hospitality, criminal justice, education, and business.

The CSU has a long-standing commitment to educating first-generation, low-income Latino and African American students, and has one of the most substantial outreach budgets in the country. Committed to helping students succeed and persist to a degree once they reach the university, the CSU recently initiated a Graduation Initiative aimed at increasing the graduation rate and reducing the achievement gap of under-represented students. As of 2006-2007, the CSU awarded 56 percent of all California bachelor's degrees granted to Latinos (ICF 2010).

Unfortunately, as the economy has soured in the country and particularly in the state of California, the CSU system has taken three successive annual cuts, totaling more than \$546 million from 2006 to 2010. The largest in the system's history, these cuts represent more than 20 percent of its operating budget. For the 2011-2012 school year, the CSU will face a budget cut of at least \$500 million (18 percent), and in a worst-case scenario, \$1 billion (36 percent). At the same time, more students than ever are attending four-year colleges as first-time freshmen or transfer students, and the system's major recruitment and outreach have brought in the largest number of first-generation, low-income students in its history.

Table 1 shows CSU system-wide outreach budgets broken down by major funding sources for academic years 2005-2006 through 2009-2010 (California State Universi-

ty 2006, 2007, 2008b, 2009, 2010). During this period, the system's outreach budget suffered a 50.1 percent cut in state general funds, with a 20.7 percent overall drop in funds. Federal and state lottery funds have helped make up some of the loss in state general funds. However, two of the campuses we studied have lost access to their lottery money for outreach as campus leaders determine usage of the money, making their budget cuts deeper than those in other parts of their campuses.

Table 1: CSU Systemwide Outreach Budgets

Type of Funds	2005-2006	2006-2007	2007-2008	2008-2009	2009-2010
State General funds	\$32,682,000	\$22,538,368	\$18,691,022	\$17,759,164	\$16,307,197
Lottery funds	\$ 1,671,000	\$ 1,315,953	\$ 1,540,702	\$ 2,996,164	\$1,613,775
Federal funds	\$36,168,000	\$29,050,871	\$24,092,038	\$27,407,094	\$26,788,418
Other ¹⁸	Not available	\$11,729,176	\$10,423,810	\$10,926,854	\$11,292,876
Total	\$70,621,000	\$64,634,368	\$54,747,572	\$59,089,276	\$56,002,266

Table 2: Percentage Three-Year and One-year CSU Systemwide Outreach Budget Changes

Change 2005-2006 to 2009-2010	
State General funds	-50.1%
Lottery funds	-3.4%
Federal funds	-25.8%
Other*	Not available
Total	-16.3%

The CSU has long had a major commitment to outreach and diversity. Yet this series of severe budget cuts has led the CSU's Chancellor to cut the operating budgets of outreach and recruitment offices. In this paper, we discuss the specific impact of these budget cuts (prior to the massive 2011 cuts) on the outreach and support programs provided by the five CSU campuses serving Los Angeles County, the area of the state that serves the largest Latino, first-generation, and low-income population of college students. We seek to answer the following research questions:

1. How have the recent budget cuts impacted CSU outreach and recruitment offices?
2. How are the five CSU campuses in this study changing practices as a result of the cuts?

¹⁸ Funds received from private corporations, non-profits, and community-based organizations.

3. How do CSU campus outreach and recruitment professionals and students respond to budget shifts?

STUDY DESIGN

In this study, we focused on five diverse CSU campuses in Southern California. Campus 1 is located in a low-income area and serves large numbers of first-generation students. Campus 2 is a magnet campus that draws from the entire state yet also has a local service area. Campus 3 is located in a more affluent area of the region yet also serves many low-income areas. Campus 4 is the largest of the five campuses and received the most applications of all CSU campuses in the past year, while Campus 5 is the smallest and is the only non-impacted campus of the five in this study (impacted campuses are at capacity and cannot admit all qualified students). All five offices receive state lottery monies in addition to state general fund, federal, and grant monies, and all five run campus tours.

Table 3: 2009 Campus Application and Acceptance Information

	Campus 1	Campus 2	Campus 3	Campus 4	Campus 5
Freshmen applied	21,394	20,759	23,298	45,771	9,729
Freshmen admitted	14,382	12,731	17,411	14,543	5,737
% Freshmen accepted	67.2%	61.3%	74.7%	31.8%	59%
Freshmen enrolled	2,019	2,913	4,625	3,551	1,135
% Freshmen matriculated	14.0%	22.9%	26.6%	24.4%	19.9%
Transfers applied	9,728	5,289	10,831	14,691	6,578
Transfers admitted	7,357	3,832	6,353	3,651	5,055
% Transfers accepted	75.6%	72.5%	58.7%	24.8%	76.8%
Transfer enrolled	1,826	1,567	3,652	2,077	2,494
% Transfers matriculated	24.8%	40.9%	57.5%	56.9%	49.3%

Table 4: 2010 Campus Application and Acceptance Information

	Campus 1	Campus 2	Campus 3	Campus 4	Campus 5
Freshmen applied	22,731	23,395	23,024	47,709	12, 083
Freshmen admitted	12,996	10,447	16,926	16,428	6,999
% Freshmen accepted	57.2%	44.7%	73.5%	34.3%	58.0%
Freshmen enrolled	2,061	2,019	5,195	3,988	1,037
% Freshmen matriculated	15.6%	19.3%	30.7%	24.3%	14.9%
Transfers applied	13,000	10,469	14,569	21,737	8,157
Transfers admitted	9,506	3,478	7,546	4,204	5,194
% Transfers accepted	73.1%	33.2%	51.8%	19.3%	63.7%
Transfer enrolled	2,561	1,506	4,472	2,275	2,141
% Transfers matriculated	26.9%	43.0%	59.3%	54.1%	41.2%

Table 5: 2010 Ethnic Diversity of Freshmen Enrollment

	Campus 1	Campus 2	Campus 3	Campus 4	Campus 5
Asian Pacific Islander	12.9%	20.29%	8.5%	17.7%	6.4%
Black	5.3%	2.80%	10.8%	4.9%	18.1%
Filipino	2.14%	2.94%	2.54%	5.1%	1.1%
Latino	66.74%	38.5%	45.4%	38.9%	54.4%
Native American	.1%	.1%	.2%	.4%	.4%
White	3.64%	22.4%	19.3%	19.4%	6.5%

EFFECTS AT FIVE CAMPUSES

To learn about the effects of budget cuts on outreach and recruitment, we visited the campuses. Each campus organizes its outreach and recruitment differently.

Campus 1 has an outreach and recruitment office that also leads student orientation. It employs nine full-time recruiters who serve 104 high schools and eighteen community colleges. Twenty-three paid student ambassadors serve sixty high schools and two community colleges. It also has several full-time staff members who run its self-supported orientation, and four student workers who serve as campus tour guides. Campus 1 has several grants that fund specialized college readiness programs. The

outreach and recruitment office director was recently named Director of Admissions and will continue to run both offices.

Campus 2 has a combined outreach and admissions office. Its six recruiters also serve as admission officers. With its current focus on statewide admissions, Campus 2 reaches 200 high schools and twenty community colleges. Four recruiters work with fifty schools and four to five community colleges. One of these four is funded by a grant to focus on STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math) recruitment and admissions along with outreach to high schools and community colleges. Another recruiter works with community and religious organizations, twenty-eight schools, and two community colleges; and two others work with teacher education and veteran recruitment and admissions. The office also runs campus tours, with two directors and twenty-five student workers. Campus 2 has only a few student ambassadors and primarily relies on student organizations to send members to events with recruiters. The program runs a couple of other smaller recruitment and outreach programs.

Campus 3 has a large outreach and recruitment office that is separate from the Admissions Office. The office incorporates recruitment, marketing and communications, partnerships, guest relations, campus tours, and all campus-wide testing including placement tests. It also oversees programs such as three federal college access programs: Gear Up Grants, Education Talent Search, and Upward Bound.¹⁹ Campus 3 has six full-time recruiters, one of whom focuses on international recruitment, which has doubled to 5.5 percent of overall admissions in the past year as international students pay more than out-of-state fees. It also has ten paid student workers and seventy volunteer student workers. It receives more than \$1 million in federal and state grant funding each year.

Campus 4 has a separate recruitment office that sends four recruiters out to its service areas, down from seven the previous year. It uses volunteers as tour guides and has student ambassadors work in its office. The campus works with several grants and has unique admissions compact with its local high school and community college districts that guarantees admissions to students in local area schools who meet some key criteria.

The smallest campus, Campus 5 runs a small outreach office. It recently announced a new in-house Transfer Center.

Our research methods included accessing state data sources to analyze demographic, application, and enrollment data, and conducting multi-day site visits to the five campuses to conduct interviews. Overall, we spoke with five program directors, three assistant directors, twenty-three recruiters/outreach and admissions specialists, three student ambassadors, two campus tour directors, and three high school teachers active in college access. We used semi-structured interview protocols, and we followed up with phone calls and emails for additional information.

¹⁹ These three federally funded programs provide money for colleges and community organizations to partner with local school districts to provide significant college access and readiness programs.

FINDINGS

Systemwide Cuts Affect Outreach, Recruitment, and Admissions

The CSUs have long recognized the need to provide a wide variety of outreach and pre-college support programs to reach those students who need the most ongoing support preparing for, applying to, and transitioning to college (Oliva 2008). The system dedicated funds to provide a wide variety of outreach services, yet for two years in a row, the state dramatically cut the CSU budget. For the 2011-2012 school year, the state has already announced a \$500 million cut, which may become as high as \$1 billion should expiring taxes not be renewed. Last year, the CSU closed winter and spring admissions at campuses, did not allow campuses to accept late applications, and pushed out students who did not meet remediation requirements after their first year, or who took more than six years to graduate. In response to the already announced \$500 million cut, the CSU will enroll 10,000 fewer students, raise tuition for the third year in a row, reduce the number of class sections, increase class sizes, and cut all program budgets. Should the additional \$500 million budget cut go into effect, the CSU will institute wait-lists, raise tuition by up to another 32 percent, and continue not admitting any winter or spring applicants, potentially cutting another 20,000 students

This is occurring at the same time that the system received record freshmen and transfer applications, K-16 schools experienced unprecedented budget cuts, and budget cuts are affecting all layers of the CSU system. The rationalization for scaling back in these programs is the assumption that given the 10 percent reduction in admissions, there will be less need for services such as early outreach, recruitment, Summer Bridge, and orientation programs.²⁰

Inability to Serve the Same Number of Students

To limit student enrollment at a time of increased applications, the Chancellor instituted the following four mandates during the 2009-2010 school year:

1. Declaring campus impaction
2. Admitting only fully eligible students
3. Adhering to deadlines
4. Not allowing super seniors (seniors who already qualify to graduate) in college to continue taking classes

The first three mandates affected the front end of the admissions process and the efforts of outreach and recruitment offices.

²⁰ Critical to remember is that the 10 percent reduction cuts Full Time Equivalent Student (FTES), not bodies. Full Time Equivalents are course units. At a school like Campus 1 where students take only about two-thirds of a load (three Campus 1 students = two FTES), a 10 percent cut affects far more students than it does at an affluent school where students carry a full load. So campuses that serve more low-income students, like one campus in our study, will incur deeper cuts affecting those students who need the services and programs the most.

In addition to keeping the 2009-2010 cuts in place, the following additional limits will go into effect for the 2011-2012 school year:

1. Waitlists
2. Limited or eliminated winter and spring admissions
3. 10,000 to 20,000 fewer students

Declaring Campus and Program Impaction

Until recently, the majority of CSU campuses and programs were open. Open, non-impacted campuses must admit all students who meet basic eligibility requirements²¹ and can use special admits to admit students who don't meet these criteria.

Impaction at either the major or campus level changes that open dynamic. In the past year, all but three out of the twenty-three CSU campuses have impacted their entire campuses and/or very popular majors—up from ten campuses a year earlier (California State University, 2008a; California State University, 2011). An impacted campus must prioritize enrollment to students in its service area and then, if room is available, open to other students from across the state. Impacted majors can require students to have higher eligibility indexes and/or to submit supplementary materials.

In metropolitan Los Angeles, four of the five campuses are now impacted for freshmen, while three are impacted for transfers. For the past two years, each campus has had a significant increase in the number of applications at both the freshmen and transfer levels. There has been at least a 12 percent increase in freshmen applications and a much more significant increase in transfer applications.

Admitting Only Fully Eligible Students

Before this year, most CSU campuses could admit students provisionally, and they allowed first-time freshmen and transfers to make up one or two missing required high school or community college classes during the summer before matriculation. They also allowed community college students to enter with one or two missing classes, especially one of the Golden Four transfer courses—College English, Critical Thinking, College Math, and Speech. Now for the first time, all high school and transfer students must meet eligibility requirements by the end of their traditional academic year spring semester or quarter. Fulfillment of eligibility requirements is more challenging than ever for first-generation community college students, who often wait until the end of their final year to take the final core classes. “Now we meet with students who worry they will have to wait an additional year because they can't get access to classes

21 The CSUs use an eligibility index to admit students. For freshmen, an eligibility score multiplies by 800 a student's GPA in specific college readiness (A-G) classes in tenth and eleventh grade along with the number of AP or honors classes taken and then adds in the student's Critical Reading and Math SAT scores. For transfers, the index uses GPA in GE and major courses, the minimal completion of sixty units with grades of C or higher, and the completion of the four required classes.

they need," said one official. Community colleges have also been hit by budget cuts and are offering fewer classes even as their enrollment is skyrocketing. High school students often lose eligibility because they have to take summer classes, which the CSUs no longer allow. "They shouldn't have waited, but they do, and now most districts have either cancelled or severely limited summer school for students to clear deficiencies the summer before they apply," said another official.

Adhering to Deadlines

Until last year, transfer students could apply for fall and spring at semester-system schools and for fall, winter, spring, and summer at quarter-system schools. Beginning with the 2008-2009 school year, all campuses could accept only fall applications. That continued this year with some late summer provisional abilities to accept transfer students in some programs for spring. So the 2010-2011 school year had three groups of transfer students applying: spring 2009, fall 2010, and spring 2010. In addition, many campuses used to allow freshmen to apply beyond the November 30 final application date on CSU Mentor, the online application system. Starting this past November, all but one campus was forced to use November 30 as the final date and to hold students to other deadlines for placement tests, intent to register, and final transcript submission. Several campuses also implemented registration deposits last or this year. Recruiters said they heard that several teachers paid these student deposits. We spoke to one teacher who said, "I paid deposits for three students," adding, "Students did not have the cash, their families do not work, and I knew they are good kids and really deserved to go to college." All of these deadlines have dramatically changed the climate for campuses like CSU Los Angeles, which used to allow students to apply as late as June and submit all final paperwork late into the summer.

"Worst I've Seen in Twenty Years"

All of the changes described above had a dramatic impact on the ability of many students who traditionally would have matriculated to a CSU to do so. As one official said, "This is the worst I have seen in twenty years. We have never been impacted in twenty years. We have never not admitted students each term. We have never required a \$100 registration deposit. We have never closed admissions." All officials said they recognized the necessity of reducing admissions, but each and every one to whom we spoke worried that mandated changes would affect the most fragile students, especially those with little guidance from their families and schools. "These students tend to be our first-generation students attending schools which often do not mandate A-G classes for all students, place students in lower-track classes, and offer limited college counseling," said one professional. "Students and schools always thought we would always be there," commented one official, adding, "We have no more last-minute accepts." "We cannot make exceptions for incomplete transcripts or late intents to register," said another specialist. At least one official from each college said he or she relied on late admits or exceptions in his or her own admissions process. "I don't know if I would have attended a CSU if what is happening now had been going on," said one specialist. "It's a huge culture shock, a paradigm shift."

Getting the Word Out

The officials have been getting the word out about the shifts. The websites for each campus mention the effects of the budget cuts on services and programs, and list new mandates and requirements. "We are working to change the messages students and families receive," said a specialist. The professionals worry, however, that the new reality has led to "a culture of fear and worry among students." "If they don't know the system or know someone who knows it, they will get lost," explained one specialist.

EFFECTS OF BUDGET CUTS AT THE CAMPUS LEVEL

Budget cuts at the university level have impacted each office's ability to do outreach and recruitment. "We have had to look at our core goals, our significantly reduced budgets, and make difficult decisions," said one leader. "We can't visit as often as we once did," said another. Because of budget cuts, each campus has been unable to replace all outreach and admissions professionals who leave, increasing the case load of those remaining. One campus is down three recruiters, while two others are down four. "They don't realize we're building bridges. Every staff person lost contacts with hundreds and hundreds of students and families," said one director.

Reduced Travel Budgets and Travel Schedules

Budget cuts have reduced travel budgets. One campus used to have four state cars; now it has only one. One campus used to send recruiters to schools three to four times a year, at critical junctures, to provide guidance to students. Last year, it stopped allowing recruiters to go to schools after December, except for college fairs. The three other campuses reduced outreach visits to high schools to once a month, down from once a week or twice a month. All campuses reduced the majority of their community college outreach from once or twice a week to once or at most twice a month. Three of the CSUs mandated that recruiters service only schools in its Tier 1 (local) service area. One campus shifted its recruiters away from middle schools to high schools only.

Personal contact is very important in informing students and keeping them on track. The reduced visit schedules worry everyone we interviewed. "These students and schools rely on us," said one official. Another said, "They need us because we look like them, and we share stories of how we made it and show them how they can, too." Another added, "The students need personal relationships. Students, primarily Hispanic students, who are seventeen years old are afraid to call. They blend in and hear things but don't call us. We say just call or email us. But they don't call. They don't email. They don't take advantage. And if they continue this, they will lose out in these competitive times."

Shifts to Group Presentations and College Fairs

Because of the reduced number of campus visits, all campuses asked recruiters to shift their focus to more classroom, schoolwide, and college fair presentations. One campus requires recruiters to visit a classroom during each visit. "These larger group

visits are very effective, because we reach so many more students, and the teachers and counselors take what we provide and share it with other groups.”

Others require two to three school visits per day. “I schedule several school sites per day, and it’s ideal to conduct presentations in big groups, but sometimes because of the size of the group, I lose out on the middle kid, the borderline kids who are not sure of their plans, and who need one-on-one guidance,” one specialist said. “I’m making presentations this summer because I know how important it is to get to students and establish a personal connection. I stay afterwards, on my own time, and speak with students. They are the ones who follow through with me,” said another.

Fewer Campus Tours

Campus tours make a huge difference in students’ and families’ interest in colleges (Nora 2004). Campus tours impact a student’s choice of college. By physically engaging in the school’s environment, students form psychological and social reactions that help them decide which college to attend. Factors such as friendliness, enthusiasm, and personal attention from admissions officers play a huge role in the college decision-making process (Nora 2004, 2). Year-end surveys of counselors at the CSU campuses indicate that a campus tour is “extremely positive” and influences a student’s decision to matriculate. Because of budget cuts, three campuses reduced the number of campus tours during the school year and cancelled summer tours. One campus may not offer any tours next year, while three will have to cut back their tours significantly. Typically, campus guides are current students; three campuses use student workers to give tours, while two others use volunteer tour guides. “Campus tours make campuses friendly or unfriendly; we become the campus to them.” said one director. Because of cuts in student workers at one campus, it cancelled summer tours and may not run any tours next year.

In addition, all of the campuses used to offer bus transportation to schools in their service area for group tours. “We used to use fourteen busses,” said one professional at a school that now uses only one or two for special programs. Campus officials said they no longer have sufficient funds to resume providing non-grant-funded busses. A student ambassador said, “I used to get a bus tour for each school I visited. This is awesome, because during our school visits we paint a picture of college, and then, when they would follow up with a tour, they would see how they belong here.” The ambassador worried about students’ ability to see college as a reality, because the campus tours were often their first visit to a college.

Rather than serving 300 school requests, one campus can now provide tours to only ninety schools. One specialist worries that “the parents of under-represented students do not have the option to take time off, as generally they participate in the Saturday tours, which have been reduced to one per month during the academic year and none during the summer. We used to provide tours every Saturday.” One recruiter watched a group from a school community five minutes away come for a visit. “When they left, they were glowing and taking pictures. Parents were ‘wow.’ None of them knew about

the campus, and they live in the same area," said this recruiter, adding, "What will happen if they can't come to campus?"

Reduced Access to Handouts

In addition, each of the five campuses had to reduce the production quality and number of handouts it produces. Two campuses now produce only one handout. One directs students to its website.

Use of Student Workers and Ambassadors

All of the campuses rely on student workers for much of their outreach. These students are highly effective because "they went to the same schools our students attend and are great role models," said one director. "They bring life and light to our work," said one specialist. Four of the campuses use work-study to fund some student workers, but next year they may only be able to hire work-study students (as federal work-study pays half of student's wages), or cut the number of student workers. One campus may not have any funds to hire student workers. Another is cutting its student staff in half. Fortunately, three campuses have found other ways to integrate students into their offices, using volunteer campus tour providers, and inviting student organizations to send members to events in return for small payments to their organizations' coffers.

CUTS AT K-12 SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY COLLEGES

Each and every cut affects the scope of firsthand school outreach. Often each campus is the only CSU campus present to provide college outreach services to schools in its service area, whereas in the past years "we would have three to four schools per site." In addition, cuts at the K-12 and community college levels are leading to unprecedented numbers of K-12 school site counselors being laid off or reassigned. "There are fewer counselors, and the counselors who are still there are wearing multiple hats, rather than one or two hats. They are already spread too thin. We are setting them up to fail. How can they do all of it?" said one official. All of the officials said they rely on school counselors for appointments, collaboration, and access to students.

Community colleges are cutting classes and services just as their enrollment is skyrocketing. "Community college students seek me out as they know I am a source. The counselors sometimes tell them different things. They are falling in between the cracks, now that I'm not there as much," said one worried specialist. "We are entering schools where we have to start from scratch as our counselor contacts are no longer there, and often those who are have dramatically increased work responsibilities," said one official. "Counselors would call us and advocate for students. Now who will?" wondered one officer.

MULTIPLE RESPONSES TO THE CUTS

“My workload has increased; along with everyone else I suffered a pay cut from the furloughs, the schools I service are impacted, and yet my will to work is stronger than ever. The students need us more than ever, and that alone keeps me focused and committed to our work,” said one professional. Throughout our visits, we learned of the multiple approaches outreach workers are finding to continue their critically important work using resilience, creativity, and new partnerships. “Students will call me day after day, and I take each and every call. They can never ask a question that is too simple or silly. They just don’t know,” offered another. “We are partnering with other groups and organizations and finding ways to reach those who most need us,” said another.

To Whom Can Students Turn?

“In our communities, in our cities, and in our streets, we are critical components of equity. It is a huge detriment to society when we will find that we have left these people behind.”

Admissions officers, like the one quoted above, worried about the short- and long-term consequences of the cuts. “Just when schools need us the most, we have less to offer them,” said one specialist, adding, “The students need us more than ever, just when they are being left most alone.” Another notes, “There is so much uncertainty in community colleges and K-12 career centers that they need us to see more students.” One student ambassador worried that “students will have no one to turn to next year.”

Need for Individual Guidance

Student workers emphasized the need for individual guidance: “If it wasn’t for the Cal State recruiter, Karen, who came to us and provided flyers, I would have gone to a community college. I saw her twice a week after that. That’s how I got to apply,” explained one student, adding, “I go to schools to make sure other kids get the help I received from a recruiter.” A specialist said, “If we tell them how much they should go to college, and then during senior year, close doors and do not disseminate info that is so helpful, the pipeline of future lawyers, teachers, nurses, engineers will close for those most at-risk, yet talented, students.”

Resilience, Persistence, and Optimism

Even though the effects of this confluence of cuts at the CSU, community college, and K-12 school levels are affecting students’ ability to apply, accept, and matriculate, the five campuses we visited are still places of hope and potential. The situation is requiring students to become more resilient, persistent, and responsible, said all the officials. One added, “We are having to do the same and retain our optimism, which is

challenging and necessary to do our work." That is clearly evident from the way each office is approaching this crisis.

Integration of Technology

Each campus is relying more on technology. Three are offering virtual campus tours, several offer self-guided tours, and one purchased new computers and cameras to enable professionals to use Skype to communicate with students farther away in its service area. All are putting core recruitment documents online. All are looking at social networking and other ways to reach students, including flash emails and virtual college fairs. The CSU Mentor site offers an educational planner into which students can enter their grades and classes, which are then exported into the application whenever students are ready to complete their application. Many students, however, do not have access to a networked computer.

Increased In-House Availability

Because of the reduction in site visits, each recruiter is spending more time in the office answering phones, sending out mass emails, running counselor training sessions, and scheduling classroom, college fair, and on-campus sessions with groups of counselors. "When a student and family come in, they actually get to meet with us," said a specialist. Another commented, "I help reduce their fears and show them step by step what they need to do. Once I talk to someone, he will keep in touch." One campus just created a transfer center to offer services directly to transfer students on its own campus.

New View of Partnerships

All of the campuses have other sources of funds, from federal to state to private grants. "We rely on those grants to pick up the slack from where we're leaving off, and they're helping us," said one official. Three of the campuses fund some of their recruiters through grants. All fund student workers through lottery money, which for two campuses has been drastically cut at the campus level. "I see the need for us to apply for much more federal and private monies," said one official. "Gear Up and AVID (Advancement Via Individual Determination) can pay for busses. They can provide for additional counselors. They do the work we used to and need to still do." One specialist just trained several Gear Up staff to give campus tours to groups from the schools it services. "Giving a tour requires real training, so I'm glad they asked us to train their students. They need to not only learn about our campus but also how to send positive messages about attending college to parents, teachers, and students."

Other campuses are developing partnerships with local community colleges and high schools. One campus, for example, announced a partnership to provide local community college students with access to campus resources. Another has a compact with a local, diverse high school district and local community colleges to guarantee admissions to students meeting core criteria.

Increased Collaboration with Counselors

Each campus is increasing its on-campus outreach to counselors and school site leaders. One campus brought in more than 100 counselors for a counselor update conference, a 20.2 percent increase from the previous year; and drew more than 150 counselors to an appreciation lunch, up 16 percent from the previous year. Two campuses are working with church and other non-profit groups. "These groups are embedded in the neighborhoods and can do so much to help promote college," said one specialist. "Now it's time to develop partnerships with them."

Increased On-Campus Resources

With the reduced travel time, outreach specialists are on their campuses more and available to meet with more students and families who visit campus. One campus announced a new transfer center to provide transfer students with on-campus admissions counseling all year round. "If we can't go to them, we certainly can maximize our assistance to them when they come to our campuses," said one specialist.

DISCUSSION

At a time when CSU campuses have more applicants and students than they can handle, one director said, "People may wonder why we need recruitment and outreach." If they understand the CSU's goal to offer high-quality education to all students, "then they would not question our existence but insist on giving us more." "Lots of students who would have been perfectly eligible 1.5 years ago are not eligible," explained one specialist. "We went from 2.5-3.0 GPA for transfer students to higher than a 3.0. We are leaving many students out in the cold." Currently, enrollment numbers are up and the system has more students than available spaces, so the effects of reduced recruitment efforts and more stringent eligibility standards may not be observable immediately.

The campuses know they will continue to get the top-ranking, most motivated students. Yet diversity comes from the middle students, those students whose families and schools do not push them toward four-year universities. "If we don't get to them, we lose them. We play a really crucial role. We don't want to leave them in the dark," said a recruiter. Two recruiters talked about how they had to use their own cultural capital to help their relatives with college access. "They need our personal stories, our passion, our connections," said one specialist, adding, "I'm a first-generation graduate; my parents didn't go to school. I had to find resources on my own. I share my story, and I see the lights go on in their eyes."

If students do not get the information they need, then how will they pursue their education at a CSU when the slots can be filled with those from more affluent and better supported communities? "CSU is about building relationships. If we cut off outreach and recruitment, you cut off the public investment in our future," said one professional. Another added, "It depends on your vision of higher education. If you be-

lieve higher education is there to serve the future, we can't afford to leave those most vulnerable students behind."

The budget cuts affecting campus outreach programs are much more profound than simple dollar cuts, because every service affects low-income Latino and African American students disproportionately; they are more likely to attend schools where counselors have been eliminated or reassigned, less likely to have parents who attended college, and more likely to need personal attention. All of the programs provide significant outreach to high schools and community colleges through recruiter and student presentations, as well as meetings with individual students and families, campus tours, training counselors, and running a myriad of college readiness programs. These services are paramount for under-represented students. Recruiters, most all of whom are first-generation college students or graduates, help provide a more informal means of receiving information about higher education. Speaking with a younger, culturally familiar representative of the university can be more personal and more engaging than a visit to a high school counselor or a call to an admissions officer. Multiple visits to a school can make the college application process go from a possibility to a reality. Paid busses and tours are critical ways to expose students to campus life and to help Latino students, especially, about the advantages of four-year colleges and campus life. Campus tours help students and their families see college attendance as a real possibility, especially for those families in which no one has attended college.

Recruiters and student workers are facing the obstacles presented by funding cuts. They are volunteering their time to continue visiting schools, and using all means possible to stay connected with students. During these difficult times, those who seek to help students apply, accept, matriculate, and thrive must also help themselves. "It is unsettling. We often wonder, 'what is the need for my job when you cut recruitment?'" said one professional, adding, "Yet our university holds true to our goals for outreach and diversity. We are just having to do our work with less." Another said, "My morale is low, but I am very fond of these students, and that keeps me going because I see lack of access as leading to increased crime and fewer options for students."

"We all cry the same voice," concludes one specialist. "My greatest worry is access," shared another specialist, "There are so many first-generation, low-income, historically under-represented families for whom education is a way up and out. Those who are in the know will be able to navigate more and more efficiently and those who don't will be left out. It is an issue of civil rights."

SCHOLARLY SIGNIFICANCE

Campus leaders worry that cutting programs could result in a gradual reconfiguration of the state's social hierarchy, disenfranchising segments of California's population that consist largely of ethnic minority groups. The reduction of early outreach services will be felt most acutely by the state's Latino and African American communities—communities that have struggled with challenges and failures at all levels of the

educational system. Because these students' social networks lack mentors and close associates who encourage students to raise their socioeconomic standing through socially appropriate means, Latinos and other marginalized populations often do not respond to traditional institutional admission and enrollment services. The cutbacks will drastically impede their educational progress.

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Steve Teixeira was one of thousands of former CSU students involved in a statewide movement during the 1960's that fought for greater access and equity in higher education. Concerned about the growing numbers of low-income students who scored at "remedial" skill levels despite having earned good grades in high school, Steve founded the Learning Skills Center in 1971 to address the particular needs of those students at Cal State LA. After developing legal education for farm and cannery workers through the 1980's, he returned to Cal State LA as a staff member, designing a highly successful Summer Bridge program, an intensive six-week program to help over 200 remedial incoming freshman adapt to university-level academic work. Since the late 1990's, he has been Director of the Student Support Program, which provides supplemental instruction groups and courses for students in remedial and General Education courses. He currently serves as an officer of Academic Professionals of California, the union representing CSU's academic support professionals.

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