OUR SEPARATE & UNEQUAL PUBLIC COLLEGES

How Public Colleges Reinforce White Racial Privilege and Marginalize Black and Latino Students

2018 | Anthony P. Carnevale | Martin Van Der Werf | Michael C. Quinn | Jeff Strohl | Dmitri Repnikov

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INTRODUCTION

Public higher education is increasingly racially and financially stratified.

This should be the golden age of college for Black and Latino students;[1] the share of Blacks and Latinos enrolled in college[2] has finally aligned with their share of the college-age population. Since 1980, the Black college-going rate has nearly doubled, while the Latino college-going rate has more than doubled.[3] As a result, the Black and Latino share of public college enrollment has grown from 15 percent in 1980 to 35 percent in 2015.

However, those impressive college-going gains are not being matched by gains in college completion. Going to college isn't enough. Getting a credential with labor market value is. Today, even with their elevated college-going rates, Black and Latino students are only about half as likely as Whites to attain a bachelor's degree or higher. In fact, over the past 35 years, as Black and Latino college-going rates have climbed, the deficit in bachelor's degree attainment between Whites and Blacks and Latinos has actually *increased* from 15 percentage points to 21 percentage points.[4]

Black and Latino students are only about half as likely as Whites to attain a bachelor's degree or higher.

A reason for the widening deficit: while White students inordinately attend selective four-year public colleges to pursue bachelor's degrees, Black and Latino students in disproportionate numbers go to open-access public colleges, most of them community colleges where the highest possible credential is an associate's degree.

Public colleges and universities in the United States have the mission of serving all the citizens of their states—a mission they are not living up to. Instead, the states have created[5] a tiered system that disproportionately provides Whites with a first-class education in well-funded top-tier selective colleges. Whites have almost two-thirds (64%) of the seats in selective public colleges even though Whites make up little more than half (54%) of the college-age population**.** Meanwhile, Blacks and Latinos are primarily funneled into underfunded and overcrowded bottom-tier, open-access colleges. Blacks and Latinos make up 43 percent of the enrollment at open-access public colleges even though they make up 36 percent of the college-age population.[6]

Whites have almost two-thirds (64%) of the seats in selective public colleges even though Whites make up little more than half (54%) of the college-age population.

1 In this report, we use the term Black to refer to people who identify as Black or African American and the term Latino to refer to people who identify as Hispanic or Latino. We use single terms for different racial/ethnic groups—White, Black, Latino, and Asian—to alleviate ambiguity and enhance clarity. In charts and tables, we use White, Black/African American, and Hispanic/Latino.

2 This includes two-year and four-year colleges.

3 The college-going rate is the share of the college-age population (18-to 24-year-olds) enrolled in a degree-granting institution.

4 In 1980, the bachelor's degree attainment rate for Whites was 25 percent, and for Blacks and Latinos, it was 10 percent. By 2015, the White bachelor's attainment rate increased to 40 percent and the Black and Latino rate increased to 19 percent. Thus, the 1980 gap was 15 percentage points, whereas in 2015 the gap was 21 percentage points.

5 Most states use funding formulas in making appropriations to public colleges. Some 14 states use hybrid formulas that allocate funding for community colleges based on a strict per-student formula and a "base-plus" approach for selective four-year research universities that is based on perceived needs of those universities. The net result in most states is formulas that give more money to selective colleges. For a summary of state approaches to funding public colleges, see SRI International *States' Methods of Funding Higher Education*, 2012.

6 This analysis includes only US residents and excludes foreign nationals.

Where students go to college matters because of the staggering differences in resources and graduation rates. Regardless of test scores, a Black or Latino student has a much greater chance of graduating from a selective college than an open-access one. For example, a Black or Latino student who scores above average on the SAT (1000 or above) and enrolls at a selective college has an 81 percent chance of graduating but would only have about a 46 percent chance of graduating at an open-access college. Only about 33 percent of Latinos and 26 percent of Black students get any postsecondary credential within six years if they start at a two-year college. Within those six years only 11 percent of Latino students and 9 percent of Black students who start at a community college obtain a BA. In contrast, 55 percent and 46 percent of Latino and Black students, respectively, who start at a four-year college complete a degree within six years.[7] With these kinds of disparities in outcomes, no wonder the gap in bachelor's degree attainment between Whites and Black and Latino students is growing.

In an earlier report, *Separate & Unequal: How Higher Education Reinforces the Intergenerational Reproduction of White Racial Privilege,*[8] we tracked how the American postsecondary system, public and private, has systematically reflected and reproduced the racial inequality found in the nation's K–12 schools. In this report, we further develop that analysis by tracking levels of minority enrollment and postsecondary expenditures in public colleges by state.[9] We look exclusively at public colleges for two major reasons: (1) public colleges collectively enroll more than three out of every four college students, and (2) since public colleges are funded significantly by tax dollars, they have missions that include serving all of their states' residents.

When it comes to success in higher education, money matters. Money buys program quality and the student support services that drive student persistence and achievement of a degree or other postsecondary credential.[10] We find that spending is higher—and increasing—at selective colleges that disproportionately enroll White students.

Research shows that there are two primary factors that explain why students take longer to graduate or drop out of college altogether: students' lack of academic preparation and colleges' lack of financial aid and other student services that support degree completion. Of those two, the lack of financial resources and supportive services is the primary factor in non-completion.[11] Selective colleges have more resources, and, partly as a result, higher graduation rates.[12]

These enrollment disparities have happened because of a series of interrelated and self-reinforcing factors:

History. Blacks and Latinos[13] historically have lower college-going rates than Whites. Only in the past decade have the college-going rates of Blacks and Latinos caught up to their proportion of the college-age population. Selective public colleges seem to have been caught flat-footed by this trend. Latino

7 National Student Clearinghouse Research Center, Signature 12 Supplement: *Completing College: A National View of Student Attainment Rates by Race and Ethnicity—Fall 2010 Cohort*, April 26, 2017.
8 Carnevale and Strohl, *Separate & Unequal,* 2013.
9 This report uses data for states with a sizable population of either Blacks or Latinos. For a further explanation, see sidebar on page 20.
10 See Webber and Ehrenberg, "Do Expenditures Other Than Instructional Expenditures Affect Graduation and Persistence Rates in American Higher Education?," 2010, and Deming and Walters, "The Impact of Price Caps and Spending Cuts on US Postsecondary Attainment," 2017.
11 Bound et al., "Why Have College Completion Rates Declined? An Analysis of Changing Student Preparation and Collegiate Resources," 2009.
12 The graduation rates for selective and open-access colleges are 85 percent and 51 percent, respectively. These rates were calculated using the *Education Longitudinal Study of 2002*.
13 Blacks and Latinos are considered together in parts of this report because they make up the two largest minority groups in this nation. Individually, Blacks and Latinos have different college-going and attainment rates, and different workplace outcomes. Those findings are discussed later in this report.

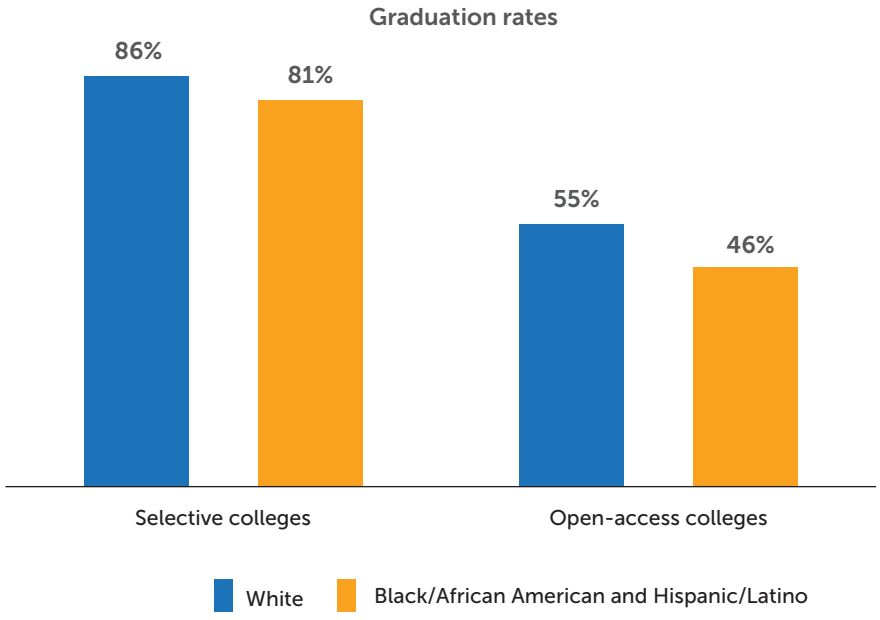
enrollment (12%) at selective public colleges has increased, but it is still barely half of the Latino proportion of the college-age population (21%). Black representation at selective public colleges has actually regressed in the past decade.

There are more than enough Black and Latino students who score above average on standardized tests to fill the seats that would be required to secure equal representation.

Exclusion. Selective public colleges do not overtly discriminate by race, but college admissions officials have created policies that, in effect, favor White applicants by creating standards that are exclusionary. Primarily, admissions standards over-rely on scores on standardized admissions tests. However, the tests by themselves do little to predict merit or college success. What they reflect is the quality of schooling and the level of parental education of the test-taker, factors that overwhelmingly favor Whites.

Narrow thinking. Test scores are used as a rationale for sorting through applicants, but they are actually used more as a barrier to keep some students out. The fact is there are more than enough Black and Latino students who score above average on standardized tests to fill the seats that would be required to secure equal representation by race and ethnicity at selective public colleges and universities. These students would likely succeed: when given a chance to attend, Black and Latino students graduate from selective colleges at almost the same rate (81%) as White students (86%) (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Blacks and Latinos graduate at comparable rates to Whites at selective colleges.



Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the National Center for Education Statistics, *Education Longitudinal Study of 2002*, 2012.

While enrollment disparities continue, the divide between the selective public colleges and open-access public colleges is getting wider. Here's how:

Selective public colleges now spend, on average, almost three times as much per full-time equivalent student on instructional and academic support as open-access public colleges.

- **Spending disparities.** Whites are not only getting more seats in selective public colleges, they are getting a more expensive education at taxpayer-funded institutions. We find that selective public colleges now spend, on average, almost three times as much per full-time equivalent student on instructional and academic support as open-access public colleges. Consequently, selective colleges have more full-time faculty members and better student outcomes.[14]

- **Growing inequality.** The gap in instructional and academic support spending grew by 20 percent between 2005 and 2015,[15] even as states were cutting funding to selective public colleges. Selective colleges have increased their tuitions to make up for the lost state appropriations. Wealthy families, most of them White, pay the higher tuitions so their children can have access to the selective public colleges. These colleges are getting more expensive but are still a bargain compared to private colleges and universities.

We look at each factor in turn, and then at the consequences.

Whites have long gone to selective public colleges in greater numbers than Blacks or Latinos.

Black and Latino college enrollment has soared in recent years: 259,000 more first-time Black and Latino students were enrolled in public colleges in 2015 than in 2005, an increase of 54 percent. However, two-thirds of this enrollment increase for first-time Black and Latino students was at open-access public colleges while only 16 percent of the increase was at selective public colleges.[16] As a result, despite Blacks and Latinos making up 36 percent of the college-age population (18-to-24-year-olds), today they collectively make up only 19 percent[17] of the freshman enrollment at selective public colleges.[18]

Despite Blacks and Latinos making up 36 percent of the college-age population, today they collectively make up only 19 percent of freshman enrollment at selective public colleges.

While Blacks and Latinos remain concentrated at open-access public colleges, Whites are fleeing these institutions. Today, Whites make up 48 percent of students at open-access public colleges,[19] compared to 63 percent just a decade ago. This decline in enrollment share (15 percentage points) is more than twice the decline of the White share of the college-age population—a decline from 61 percent to 54 percent (or 7 percentage points). As a result, Whites are now underrepresented at open-access public colleges. Yet, Whites retain a disproportionate share of seats at selective public colleges: 64 percent of seats, compared to just 54 percent of the college-age population.

14 Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System. For further evidence, see Bound and Turner, "Cohort Crowding," 2007.
15 Throughout this report, 2005 refers to the 2004-05 academic year and 2015 refers to the 2014-15 academic year. Also, in order to balance enrollment trends, we pooled enrollment numbers for the 2004-06 academic years and the 2014-16 academic years.
16 The remaining students who attend public colleges enrolled at middle-tier colleges.
17 Latinos make up 12 percent and Blacks 7 percent of enrollment at the nation's selective public colleges.
18 This report focuses on selective colleges and open-access colleges because they are opposite ends of the spectrum of public college education and emphasize the disparities in enrollment and funding seen across higher education. This also echoes the analysis in Carnevale and Strohl (2013). About 24 percent of students attending public colleges attend middle-tier colleges. See more details in the sidebar on page 16.
19 Open-access colleges include community colleges and non-selective four-year colleges and universities. See sidebar on page 16 or Appendix B for a more detailed definition of college selectivity used in this report's analysis.

Access to selective public colleges has stalled for Blacks, and Latinos are far short of proportional representation.

Blacks have become slightly less represented in the past decade in their proportion of enrollment in selective public colleges. Among the states with a sizable[20] Black population, Blacks do not attend selective public colleges in any state in numbers that are proportional to their share of the college-age population. Blacks have the least representation in selective public universities in four states in the South—Alabama, North Carolina, Mississippi, and South Carolina—as well as in Delaware. In Alabama, for example, 32 of every 100 college-age adults are Black, but only seven of every 100 students at selective public colleges are Black. The proportion of Blacks in selective public colleges has increased in only a small number of states, and approaches proportionality with their share of the college-age population in only one state: Kentucky.

Latinos have been making significant enrollment gains in public colleges, but, even so, they are enrolled in selective public colleges at a proportion equal to only about half of their representation in the population. Latinos are 21 percent of the college-age population, but make up only 12 percent of students at selective public colleges and universities. Latinos are represented in proportion to their share of the college-age population in only one state with a sizable Latino population: Florida.

Standardized test scores are wielded unfairly to keep Blacks and Latinos out of selective colleges.

College entrance exams exist to provide a standardized assessment of college readiness. But, in today's higher education landscape, test scores have been stretched and pushed far beyond their intended use. In the pursuit of institutional prestige, colleges have relied on this metric to gauge selectivity in their academic arms race. The overuse of the test as a hurdle for entry into selective colleges has become a dodge: a means of laundering race and class inequality behind a scientific façade of quantitative metrics.

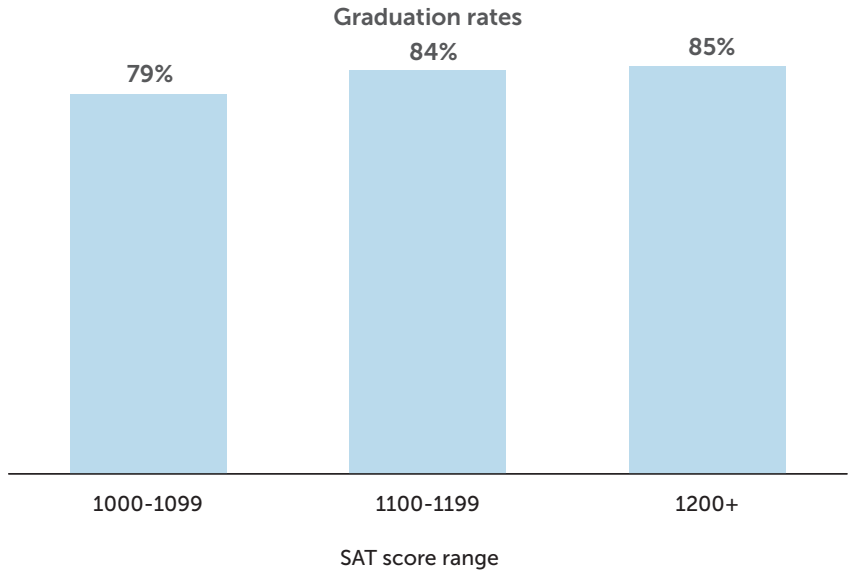
College entrance exams have some predictive validity, but far less than most people think. Standardized test scores alone explain as little as 15 percent of the variation in college graduation rates, and no more than 30 percent.[21] To illustrate, we find very little difference in graduation rates among students with above-average test scores. A student who scores just above average on the SAT (1000-1099) has a 79 percent chance of graduating. A student who scores in the top quartile (1200 and above) has only a slightly higher chance (85%) of graduating (Figure 2).[22]

20 The states included in the state-by-state analysis for this report had at least 10 percent Latinos or Blacks in their college-age population or they made up at least 2 percent of the national college-age population of Latinos or Blacks. For a map of states with sizable Black and Latino populations that were analyzed for this report, see sidebar on page 20.

21 See Burton and Ramist, *Predicting Success in College,* 2001.

22 About 50 percent of those who take the SAT score below 1000, and about 20 percent score above 1200. See College Board, *SAT: Understanding Scores 2017,* 2017.

Figure 2. At selective colleges, students with average SAT scores (1000) or just above graduate at similar rates as those with very high SAT scores.



Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of *Education Longitudinal Study of 2002*, 2012.

Differences in test scores are in many ways determined by race and class inequality.[23] Blacks (mean score on the SAT: 941) and Latinos (mean score: 990)[24] score lower than Whites on average (mean score: 1118), but when differences above 1000 add little weight to predictions of how students will do once admitted, should this still be a main determinant of admission? Significantly, for Black students, including noncognitive measures or soft skills—such as realistic self-appraisal, making long-term goals, leadership, and having a supportive community—reduces the gap in predicted college performance between Blacks and Whites.[25] These variables are important to note because in an educational system in which academic merit is tightly tied to race and class privilege, academic merit if measured solely by the SAT becomes affirmative action for already-privileged Whites.

Interestingly, some of the loudest complaints against the SAT are coming from within higher education. Recognizing that the test favors some test-takers over others, more than 1,000 colleges[26] have made the SAT optional. Even the prestigious University of Chicago became test optional in June 2018, arguing that the test requirement was hindering its ability to find more low-income and first-generation students,[27] many of whom are Black or Latino. Some selective public colleges have made the SAT optional. For example, the University of Delaware did not require incoming students from within the state to submit test scores beginning in 2017. The university said that removing the requirement "could help boost racial and socioeconomic diversity on campus."[28]

23 Rothstein, "College Performance Predictions and the SAT," 2004 shows that the SAT and high school grade point average (GPA) predict just as much of the variation in college performance—about 22 percent of first-year GPA (47 percent correlation)—as do admissions standards based on student's socioeconomic advantages, lack of diversity in their schools, and high school quality.

24 College Board, "Class of 2017 SAT Results," Accessed July 27, 2018. https://reports.collegeboard.org/sat-suite-program-results/class-2017-results.

25 Tracey and Sedlacek, "Prediction of College Graduation Using Noncognitive Variables by Race," 1986. See also Jaschik, "An Admissions Reformer Takes Stock," 2017.

26 National Center for Fair and Open Testing, "More than 1000 Accredited Colleges and Universities That Do Not Use ACT/SAT Scores to Admit Substantial Numbers of Students into Bachelor-Degree Programs," 2018. https://www.fairtest.org/schools-do-not-use-sat-or-act-scores-admitting-substantial-numbers-students-bachelor-degree-programs.

27 Hoover, "An Ultra-Selective University Just Dropped the ACT/SAT," June 15, 2018.

28 UDaily, "Faculty Senate approves pilot program on making test scores optional in admissions." Feb. 8, 2016.

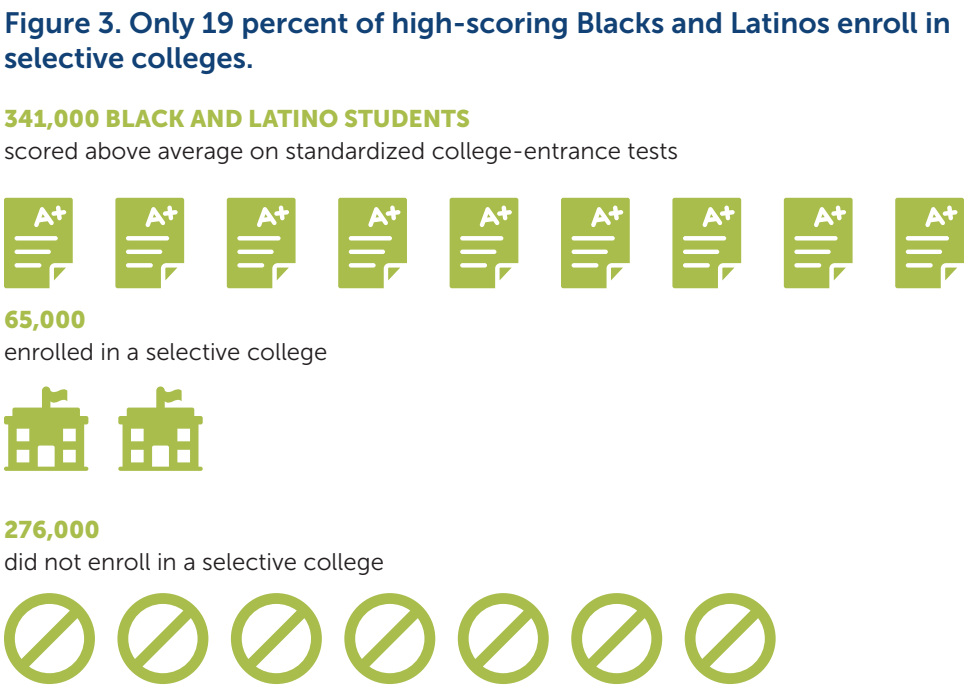
However, most selective public colleges continue, for competitive reasons, to require the scores. Competition in higher education is based on prestige. Prestige is based on selectivity. Selectivity is based on student test scores. Test scores are highly correlated with family income. Family income is highly correlated with race and ethnicity.[29] This competitive dynamic results in systematically excluding minority students.

Many more Blacks and Latinos would succeed at selective colleges than are now getting in.

Standardized tests are a flawed measure of student readiness to succeed in college. But since they are such a widely used metric, it is important to note that even by their standards, the system is failing Black and Latino students. At first glance, the mean SAT scores seem to indicate that White students are much more capable of succeeding in college than either Latinos or Blacks. But, as we state above, students who score just above average have very similar outcomes at selective colleges as students who score in the top quartile. Therefore, based on SAT scores there are many more Black and Latino students who could succeed at a selective college, but are not getting the opportunity to attend one.

In spring 2014, 341,000 Black and Latino high school seniors scored above average on standardized college-entrance examinations.[30] However, among this group, only 65,000 enrolled in a selective college (public or private) by the fall. That left 276,000 Black and Latino students who had a very good chance of succeeding at a selective college but did not enroll in one (Figure 3). Overall, White students who scored above average on a college entrance exam were far more likely to enroll in a selective college (31%) than Black and Latino students (19%).

Figure 3. Only 19 percent of high-scoring Blacks and Latinos enroll in selective colleges.



Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the National Center for Education Statistics, *Education Longitudinal Study of 2002*, 2012.

29 Dixon-Román et al., "Race, Poverty, and SAT Scores," 2013.

30 This estimated number of high-achieving 12th graders is based on an analysis of Education Longitudinal Study of 2002 (ELS) data examining test-score distributions by race and ethnicity. ELS is representative of 2004 12th graders, so the estimates were adjusted to reflect the 12th grade class of 2014. For more details on the methodology, see Appendix D.

If high-scoring Black and Latino students went to selective colleges at the overall rate of all high-scoring students, 37,500 more Black and Latino students annually would be attending a selective college.[31]

In reality, the least-advantaged students actually do best when they attend the most selective colleges.

Some critics have suggested that minorities and less advantaged students can be harmed because their skills will not stand up to those of other students in selective colleges.[32] In reality, the least-advantaged students actually do best when they attend the most selective colleges. Students from the bottom quartile of socioeconomic status graduate at a 76 percent rate when they go to top-tier colleges, but only a 40 percent rate when they go to open-access colleges.[33] And Black and Latino students graduate at almost the same rate (81%) as White students (86%) at top-tier colleges, and at a much higher rate than if they attend an open-access college (46%).

Selective public colleges offer a Cadillac education compared to open-access public colleges.

In 2015, selective public colleges spent nearly three times as much per student on instructional and academic support as open-access public colleges. This spending gap has widened over time. Between 2005 and 2015, selective public colleges increased instructional and academic support per student by 16 percent, while open-access public colleges increased this spending by just 9 percent.

Surprisingly, this growing gap in resources is occurring at a time when public funding is being cut more at selective public colleges than at open-access public colleges. From 2005 to 2015, state appropriations to selective public colleges declined by 21 percent while appropriations to open-access public colleges barely declined. However, selective public colleges made up for the difference by increasing tuition.

In 2015, selective public colleges spent nearly three times as much per student on instructional and academic support as open-access public colleges.

These differences go a long way in explaining who gets a degree and who drops out. Selective public colleges have 6.8 full-time faculty members for every 100 full-time equivalent (FTE) students, while open-access public colleges have only 2.7 full-time faculty members per 100 FTE students. Selective public colleges also spend much more on student services. Like a Cadillac, the luxury of these wrap-around services and resources smooths the ride to success.

31 Georgetown University Center on Education and Workforce analysis of data from the *Education Longitudinal Study of 2002* and the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System.
32 Sander and Taylor, *Mismatch*, 2012.
33 Carnevale and Strohl, "How Increasing College Access is Increasing Inequality," 2010.

The funding disparities are getting worse, in part because of an elite political bargain.

As state funding for higher education dwindles, the more prestigious colleges have escaped the constraints of public budgeting—they have used their market power to collect higher tuition by drawing students from more affluent families who can afford it and are willing to pay.

Selective public colleges, in other words, benefit from what comes off as an *elite political bargain* among legislators, governors, selective public colleges, and affluent (mostly White) families. Affluent families get access to a quality public education in exchange for assuming a greater share of the cost by paying higher tuition rates.[34]

Affluent families correctly see selective public universities as a good bargain compared with many of the similarly selective private colleges, which are usually more expensive. And these selective public colleges are increasingly catering to these wealthy families. Since at least 2007, colleges have awarded more financial aid for what they call merit than for need.[35] This general shift from need-based aid toward merit aid in selective public colleges reallocates aid from low-income students to middle-income and even high-income applicants. The result is that the students with the greatest financial need are asked to pay steep bills that are almost unaffordable to their families. In the 2013–14 academic year, almost half of public colleges told their students who demonstrated the greatest financial need (those from households with annual incomes of $30,000 or less) that they would have to pay at least $10,000 per year in tuition.[36] In other words, tuition and fees for one child would eat up at least one-third of the family's income.

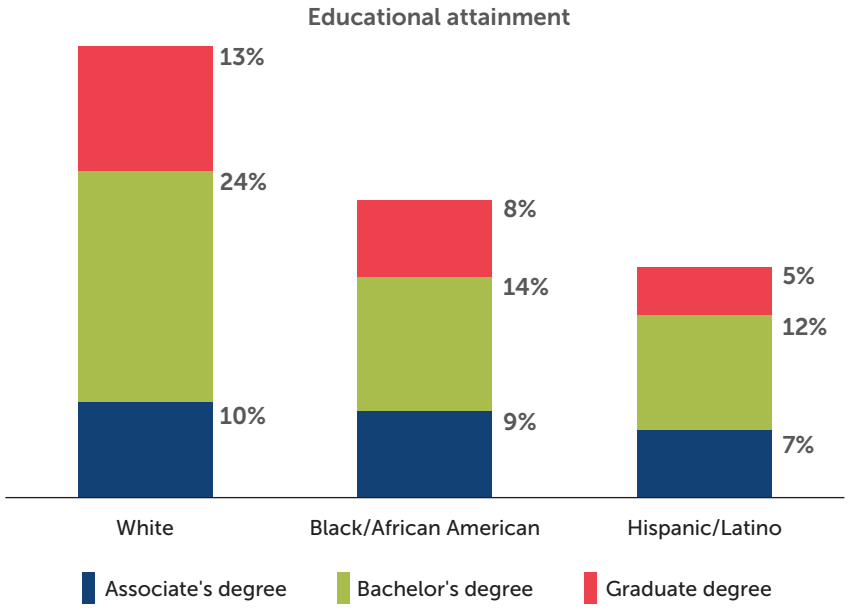
Separate and unequal public college systems increase earnings disparities and hurt the careers of Blacks and Latinos.

In combination, all these fiscal, demographic, and educational forces have resulted in racially separate and financially unequal public colleges.

The fact that we are devoting more public resources to the colleges where Whites are highly concentrated while underfunding the open-access public colleges where minority students are more likely to enroll is of great consequence. Since Whites are disproportionately attending the colleges that produce the highest graduation rates, the result is a continued widening of the already yawning gaps in college degrees among Whites, Blacks, and Latinos. In the United States, 37 percent of Whites have a bachelor's degree or higher, compared to 22 percent of Blacks and 17 percent of Latinos (Figure 4).

34 State legislators are more likely to have attended four-year colleges or sent their children to them, and may be more inclined to support investments in these colleges than in community colleges. See Kahlenberg et al., *Policy Strategies for Pursuing Adequate Funding of Community Colleges*.
35 Burd, *Undermining Pell*, 2013.
36 Burd, *Undermining Pell: Volume III*, 2016.

Figure 4. Whites are much more likely than Blacks or Latinos to have a college degree.



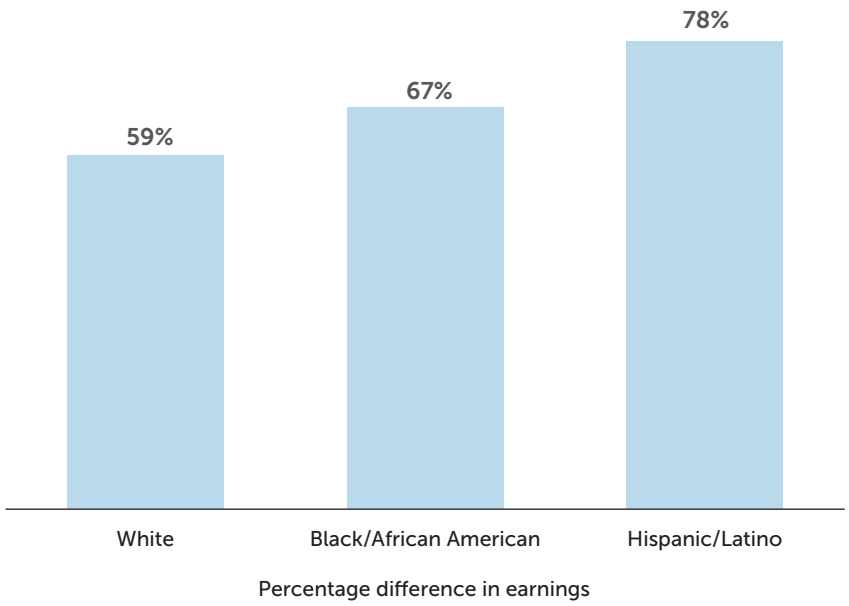
Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the US Census Bureau's *American Community Survey*, 2015.

These disparities in educational credentials carry over into the workforce. On average, Whites earn $50,000 annually while Blacks earn $38,000 and Latinos earn $33,000.[37] In other words, for every dollar a White worker earns, a Black worker earns 76 cents, and a Latino worker earns 66 cents.[38]

All workers, no matter their race or ethnicity, see a huge earnings boost from completing a bachelor's degree compared to those who at most completed a high school education. While Blacks and Latinos with bachelor's degrees still earn less than Whites, their earnings gains are greater, on a percentage basis, after they earn the degrees. In 2015, for Blacks, the median earnings for a prime-age working adult were 67 percent higher for those with a bachelor's degree than for those who had only a high school diploma. The jump in earnings between a high school diploma and a bachelor's degree was even larger for Latinos: 78 percent. For Whites, a bachelor's degree resulted, on average, in a 59 percent boost in earnings (Figure 5).

37 These earnings figures are for prime-age workers (age 25 to 64) working full time for a full year.
38 Even when Blacks, Latinos, and Whites are equally educated, Black workers, on average, earn 81 cents and Latino workers earn 82 cents for every dollar a White worker earns. Carnevale and Fasules, *Latino Education and Economic Progress,* 2017.

Figure 5. The earnings boost for a bachelor's degree over a high school diploma is larger for Blacks and Latinos than it is for Whites.



Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the US Census Bureau's *American Community Survey*, 2015.
Note: Earnings were calculated for prime-age workers (25-to-64-year-olds) who worked full time for the full year.

The racial segregation and state disinvestment in open-access colleges have exacerbated race-based gaps in educational outcomes that prevent Blacks and Latinos from fulfilling their potential, entering the middle class, and living fully in their time—the basic commitments in a democratic capitalist society.[39] This has inhibited America from achieving its quintessential aims of educational equity and equality of economic opportunities for people of all races and ethnicities.

State policymakers and taxpayers should find it disturbing that Blacks and Latinos are severely underrepresented at their selective public colleges since these colleges are charged with serving all of a state's population.[40] Polarization by race and ethnicity in the nation's postsecondary system has become the capstone for inequality in the public K–12 system. The postsecondary system mimics and magnifies the racial and ethnic inequality in educational preparation it inherits from the K–12 system and then projects this inequality into the labor market.[41]

39 Carnevale, "We Need a New Deal between Higher Education and Democratic Capitalism," 2017.
40 Some admissions officials argue that state flagship universities should not be held accountable for reflecting the racial demographics of their states, because "impoverished" students (who are more likely to be Black or Latino) attend high schools that do not prepare them well for college. See, for example, Goldstein, "When Affirmative Action Isn't Enough," 2017.
41 There is a rich literature on the historical association of increasing access with increasing differentiation, racial stratification, and class-based tracking focused on K–12 education. See Oakes, "Commentary: Access and Differentiations," 2009. Also, see related research on the effects of sub-baccalaureate education as a barrier to bachelor's degree attainment, including Clark, "The 'Cooling-Out' Function in Higher Education," 1960; Clark, "The 'Cooling-Out' Function Revisited," 1980; Brint and Karabel, *The Diverted Dream*, 1989; and Bahr, "Cooling Out in the Community College," 2008.

As a result, the United States has one of the lowest levels of intergenerational educational mobility among advanced nations.[42] The United States also has one of the lowest levels of income mobility, a trend that is driven in large part by differences in education.[43] The increasingly unequal earnings of college graduates and high school graduates account for 60 percent to 70 percent of the increase in earnings inequality since the 1980s.[44] The selective public higher education system has become another brick in the wall that holds back Blacks and Latinos.

42 In terms of absolute mobility, the share of 25-to-64-year-olds who exceeded their parents' educational attainment was smaller in only three countries (Austria, Germany, and the Czech Republic) in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). See Chart A4.3 in OECD, *Education at a Glance 2014: OECD Indicators,* 2014.

43 OECD, "A Family Affair," 2010.

44 Goldin and Katz, *Long-Run Changes in the Wage Structure*, 2007.

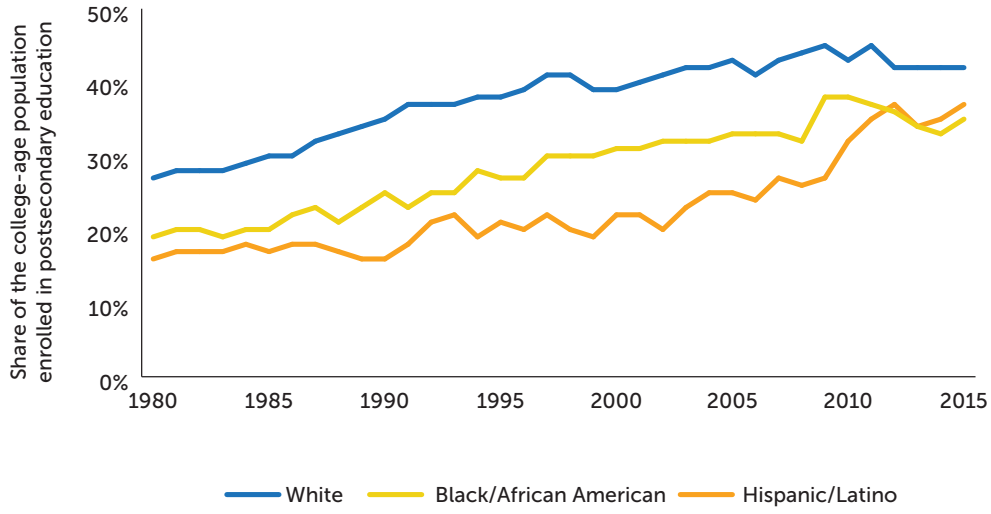
Part I:
PUBLIC COLLEGES ARE RACIALLY SEPARATE AND UNEQUAL

The job market is demanding more credentials and a higher level of skill in prospective workers. Americans of all races and ethnicities are responding by going to college at higher rates than ever.

In 1980, only 26 percent of 18-to-24-year-olds were enrolled in college. By 2015, the share enrolled had grown to 40 percent. The increase in college-going rates was fairly consistent across all racial and ethnic groups.

Between 1980 and 2015, the share of college-age Blacks enrolled in a postsecondary institution grew from 19 percent to 35 percent, or 16 percentage points. Latino college enrollment grew even faster, increasing from 16 percent in 1980 to 37 percent in 2015, or 21 percentage points. Most of that Latino growth has taken place since 2008. The proportion of college-age Whites attending college grew from 27 percent in 1980 to 42 percent in 2015, or 15 percentage points (Figure 6).

Figure 6. The Latino college-going rate has grown since 1980 at a faster pace than the rates for Whites or Blacks.

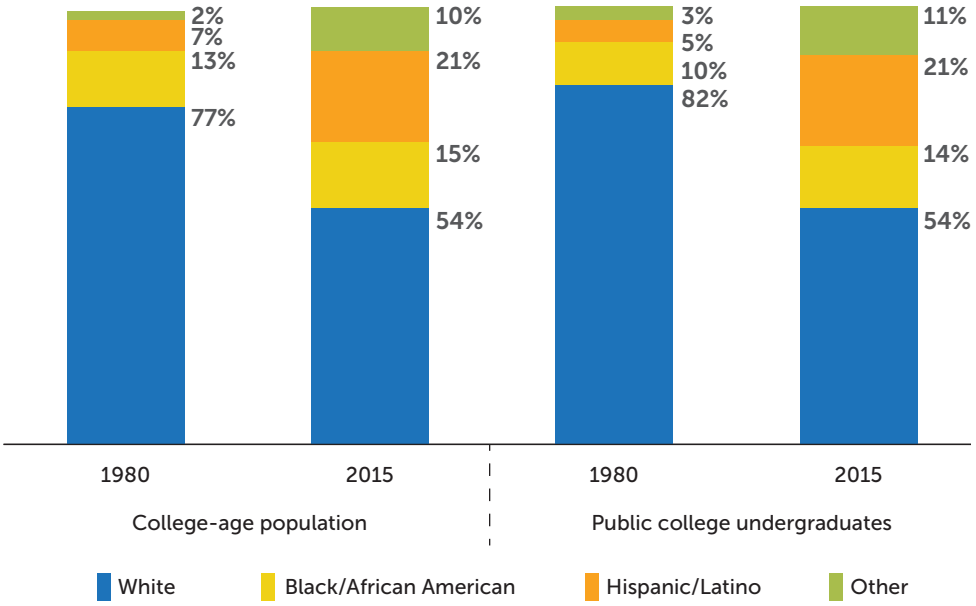


Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the National Center for Education Statistics.
Note: The college-going rate is the share of 18-to-24-year-olds enrolled in a degree-granting institution.

The increases in the college-going rate among all ethnic and racial groups, and the changing demographics of the country, have resulted in a college-age population today that is more diverse than ever. College enrollments have increased rapidly since 1980, when college began its evolution from an experience for a select few to a mass good.

Between 1980 and 2015, the White share of the college-age population decreased from 77 to 54 percent. The Latino share of the college-age population has increased dramatically, from 7 percent to 21 percent. The Black share of the college-age population has edged up from 13 percent to 15 percent (Figure 7).[45] The enrollment increase by Latinos is primarily a byproduct of their burgeoning population growth: Latinos now account for almost a quarter of student enrollment in the K–12 system.[46] The higher Black college enrollment follows increases in Black high school graduation rates.[47]

Figure 7. Since 1980, the share of Black and Latino students in public colleges increased from 15 percent to 35 percent, and the overall non-White share increased from 18 percent to 46 percent.



Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System and the US Census Bureau's *Current Population Survey,* 1980 and 2015.
Note: The college-age population is restricted to those between the ages of 18 and 24.

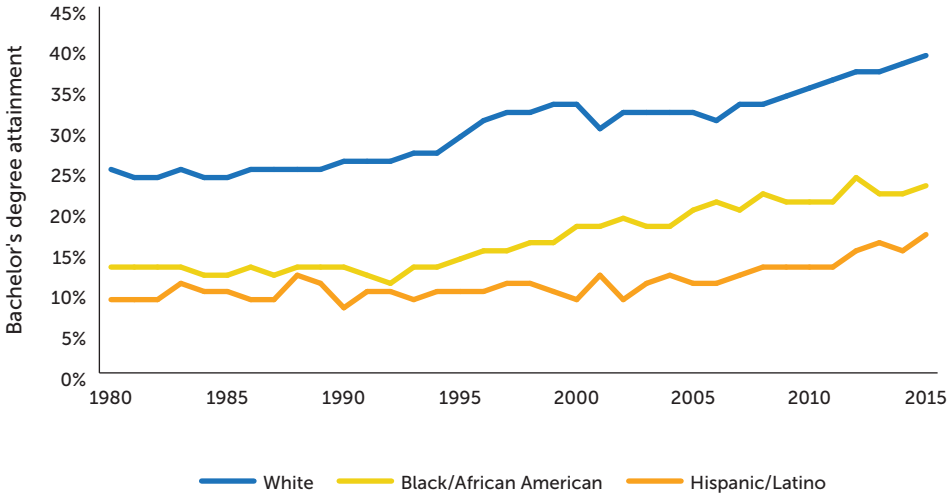
45 The remainder of the college-age population (10%) is divided among Asians, Native Americans, and people of mixed race. For more on Asian college-going rates and percentages in selective vs. open-access colleges, see sidebar on page 28.
46 Santiago et al., *The Condition of Latinos in Education*, 2015.
47 The Black high school graduation rate increased from 75.2 percent in 1975 to 92.2 percent in 2016. See US Department of Education, Digest of Education Statistics, Table 219.65, 2017.

Despite the significant gains in college-going rates, Blacks and Latinos still lag significantly behind Whites in attaining bachelor's degrees. In fact, Blacks and Latinos have yet to achieve the overall bachelor's degree attainment rate Whites reached in 1980. And in spite of Blacks and Latinos increasing their bachelor's degree attainment rates by 83 percent and 96 percent, respectively, the achievement rate gap between them and Whites has actually grown since 1980 (Figure 8).

Blacks and Latinos have yet to achieve the overall bachelor's degree attainment rate Whites reached in 1980.

Notably, the college-going rate and the bachelor's degree attainment rate are close for Whites—in 2015, 42 percent of college-age (18-to-24-year-old) Whites were enrolled in a postsecondary institution, and 38 percent of Whites between the ages of 25 and 30 had earned a bachelor's degree or higher. But the rates are quite different for Blacks and Latinos. For Blacks, the college-going rate was 35 percent, but the bachelor's degree attainment rate was 23 percent. The gap was starkest for Latinos: 37 percent of college-age Latinos were enrolled, but their bachelor's degree attainment among 25-to-30-year-olds was only 17 percent.

Figure 8. Young Blacks and Latinos have slowly increased their bachelor's degree attainment, but neither group has reached the attainment rate (25%) that Whites achieved in 1980.



Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the US Census Bureau's *Current Population Survey,* 1980-2015.
Note: Bachelor's degree attainment is the share of 25-to-30-year-olds who have completed at least four years of college.

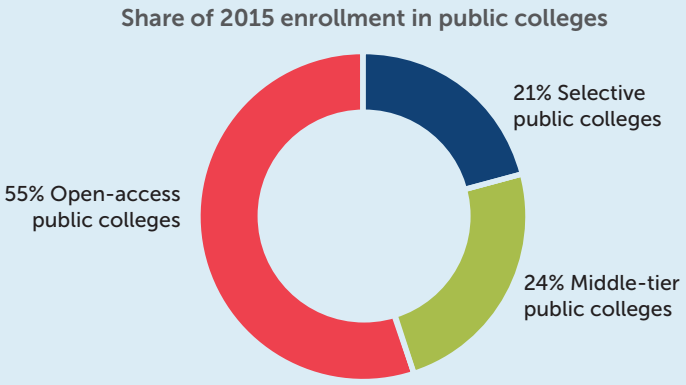
While the diversity of the college-age population has increased, the change in the makeup of student bodies has not been equally distributed between selective and open-access public colleges. Whites disproportionately go to selective colleges, which have the most resources.

What is a selective public college? What is an open-access public college?

- **Selective colleges** comprise the 530 most selective colleges in the United States. The median SAT scores of students admitted to these colleges range between 1150 and 1600. About 170 of these institutions are public, including the University of California, Berkeley; the University of Michigan; and the University of Texas at Austin.[48]

- **Middle-tier colleges** comprise 830 institutions that are less selective than the top tier—but still deny entrance to a sizable number of students. The median SAT scores of students admitted to these colleges range from below 1000 to 1140. About 340 of these institutions are public, including Arizona State University, all the California State University campuses, and Kutztown University of Pennsylvania.

- **Open-access colleges** comprise 3,100 two- and four-year colleges that admit students who demonstrate evidence of high school graduation or its equivalent. About 1,100 of these institutions are public, including the University of Arkansas at Little Rock, the University of Nebraska at Kearny, and Eastern Oregon University, as well as community colleges like Miami-Dade College and Northern Virginia Community College.



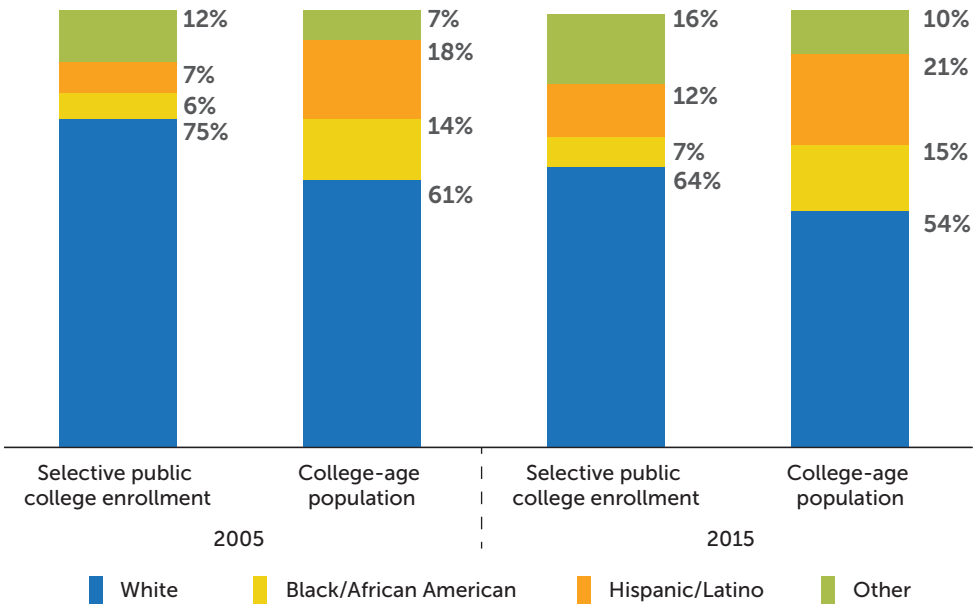
Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, academic year 2014-15.
Note: 2015 enrollment is pooled fall enrollment numbers from academic years 2013-14 to 2015-16. See Appendix B for more information on selectivity.

Blacks and Latinos are severely underrepresented at selective public colleges.

As the White proportion of the overall population declines, we are seeing a significant shift in the enrollment patterns of White students at public colleges and universities. In 2005, White students made up about three-quarters of the enrollment at selective public colleges and 61 percent of the college-age population. A decade later, the White share of the college-age population had declined by 7 percentage points and the proportion of White students at selective public colleges had declined by 11 percentage points. Despite the proportion of White students declining faster than the decline in the White share of the college-age population, White students still make up nearly two-thirds of the student body at selective public colleges (Figure 9).

48 A complete list of selective public universities and colleges can be found in Appendix B.

Figure 9. The Black and Latino shares of the college-age population have grown, but Black and Latino students are still severely underrepresented at selective public colleges.



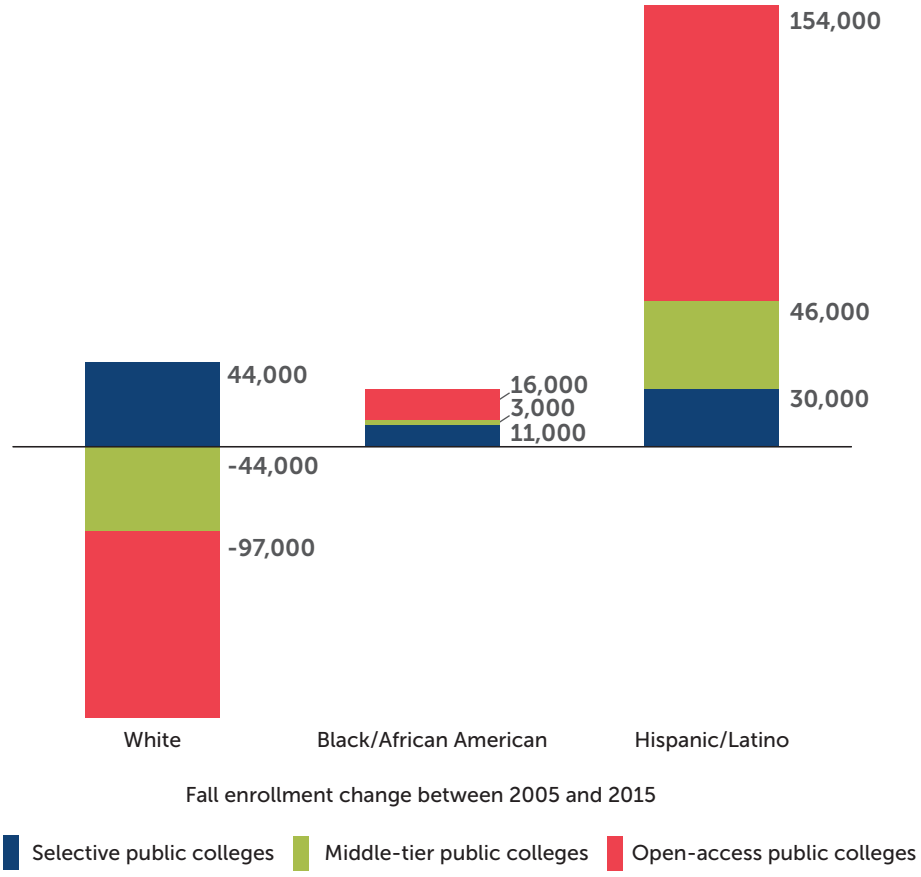
Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System and the US Census Bureau's *American Community Survey*, 2005 and 2015.
Note: Percentages may not add up to 100 due to rounding. 2005 enrollment is pooled fall enrollment numbers from academic years 2003-04 to 2005-06, and 2015 enrollment is pooled fall enrollment numbers from academic years 2013-14 to 2015-16.

Between 2005 and 2015, White enrollment[49] at public colleges decreased by 97,000—about 8 percent. However, White freshman enrollment at selective public colleges *increased* by 44,000—a 19 percent increase. This gain was more than offset by the declining White enrollment at open-access public colleges (97,000 fewer enrollments) and middle-tier public colleges (down 44,000). In short, because White enrollment at selective public colleges increased while White freshman enrollment overall declined, Whites became more concentrated in selective public colleges.

By contrast, from 2005 to 2015, the total number of Black and Latino freshmen enrolled at public colleges and universities increased by 259,000—a 54 percent increase. Yet, 170,000 (or 66%) of these new enrollments were at open-access public colleges, and only 41,000 (or 16%) were at selective public colleges. Thus, the share of Black and Latino students is increasing at open-access public colleges as White students are exiting these institutions (Figure 10).

49 Totals refer to total freshman (first-time) full- and part-time fall enrollment.

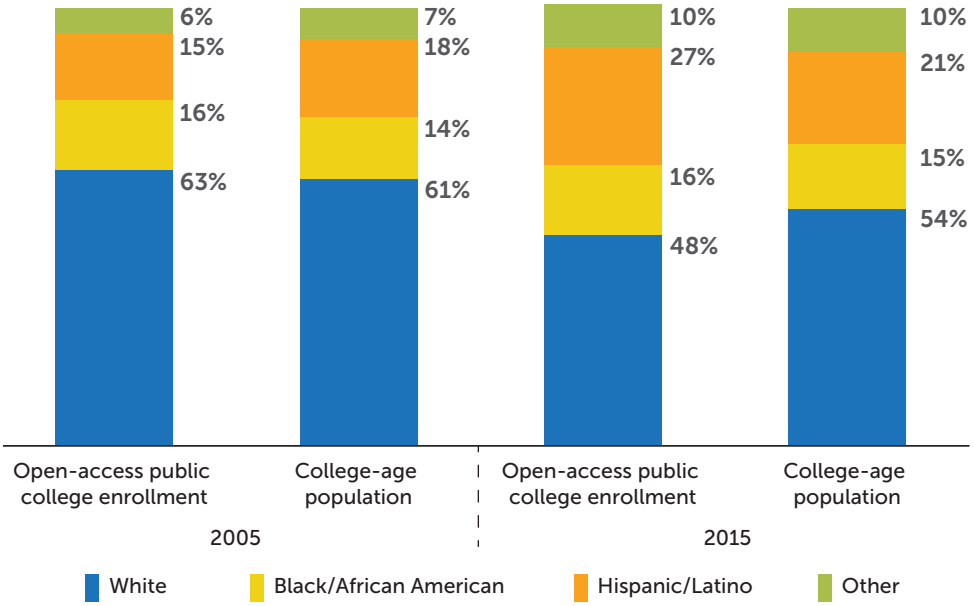
Figure 10. White enrollment at public colleges declined overall from 2005 to 2015, but White students gained 44,000 additional seats at selective public colleges, more than the seats at those colleges gained by Blacks and Latinos combined.



Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System.
Note: 2005 enrollment is pooled fall enrollment numbers from academic years 2003-04 to 2005-06, and 2015 enrollment is pooled fall enrollment numbers from academic years 2013-14 to 2015-16.

In fact, White flight to selective public colleges has resulted in Whites becoming underrepresented at open-access public colleges. In 2005, the White proportion of seats at open-access public colleges was roughly aligned with their share of the college-age population. However, as of 2015, White students constituted only 48 percent of new enrollments at open-access colleges while their share of the college-age population was 54 percent. Latino students filled most of these vacated spots and became more represented at open-access colleges; the share of Black enrollment did not see much change at open-access colleges between 2005 and 2015 (Figure 11).

Figure 11. The share of Whites enrolled in open-access public colleges has declined faster than the White share of the college-age population.



Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System and the US Census Bureau's *American Community Survey*, 2005 and 2015.
Note: Percentages may not add up to 100 due to rounding. 2005 enrollment is pooled fall enrollment numbers from academic years 2004 to 2006, and 2015 enrollment is pooled fall enrollment numbers from academic years 2013-14 to 2015-2016.

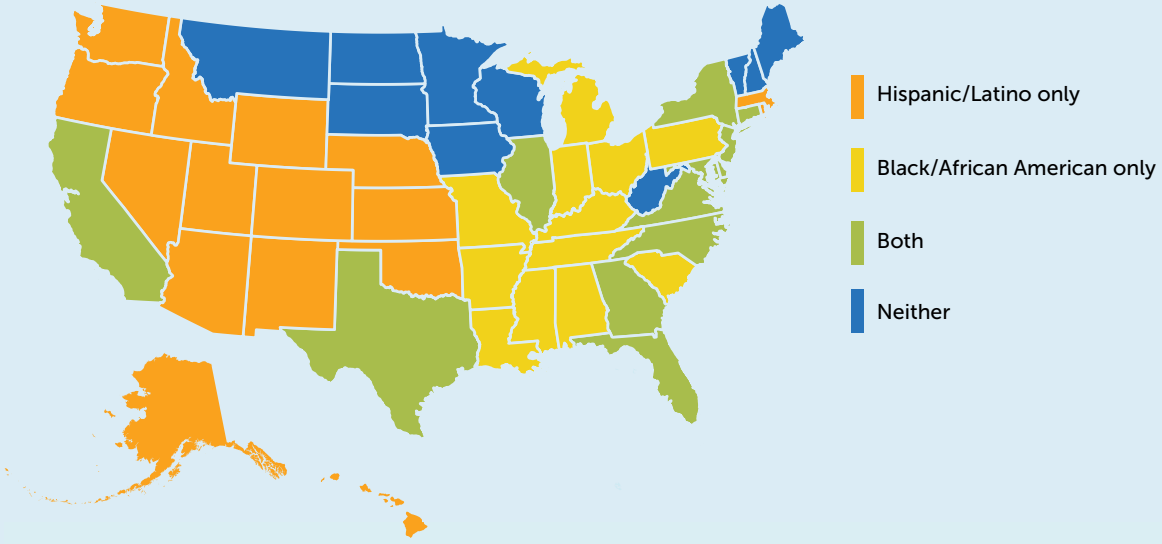
Racially polarized enrollment trends have resulted in the severe underrepresentation of Blacks and Latinos at the most selective colleges and their corresponding overrepresentation at open-access colleges:

- **Latinos make up 21 percent of the college-age population, but only 12 percent of selective public college students**; they make up 27 percent of students at open-access public colleges.

- **Blacks make up 15 percent of the college-age population, but only 7 percent of selective public college students**; by comparison, the Black share of seats at open-access public colleges is proportional to their share of the college-age population.

Which states have sizable populations of Blacks and/or Latinos?

Our state-based analysis of Black and Latino representation in public colleges is restricted to states with sizable Black or Latino college-age populations. In an attempt to include as many states as possible in this analysis and still make meaningful comparisons, we define a sizable Black or Latino population as being either at least 10 percent of the state's college-age population or at least 2 percent of the national Black or Latino college-age population. Collectively, these states make up 91 percent of both the Black and Latino college-age populations. (For more details, see Appendix G.)



Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the US Census Bureau's *American Community Survey*, 2014 to 2016 pooled years.
Note: The District of Columbia is not included because it does not have an open-access or a selective public college.

Does the campus look like Main Street?

We created a representation index to measure alignment between the racial breakdown of a state's college-age population and the races or ethnicities of students in both the selective and open-access public colleges in that state. This index is calculated by dividing a demographic group's share of first-time fall enrollments at institutions of a shared selectivity tier (selective, middle tier, or open access) by that demographic group's share of the college-age population (18-to-24-year-olds), and multiplying by 100.

For example, consider the Black representation index value for selective public colleges in Maryland. In 2015, 23 percent of first-time fall enrollments at selective public colleges in Maryland were Black, and 32 percent of the Maryland college-age population was Black. Thus, the Black selective representation index value would be 72.

As a way of understanding the values, keep the following benchmarks in mind.

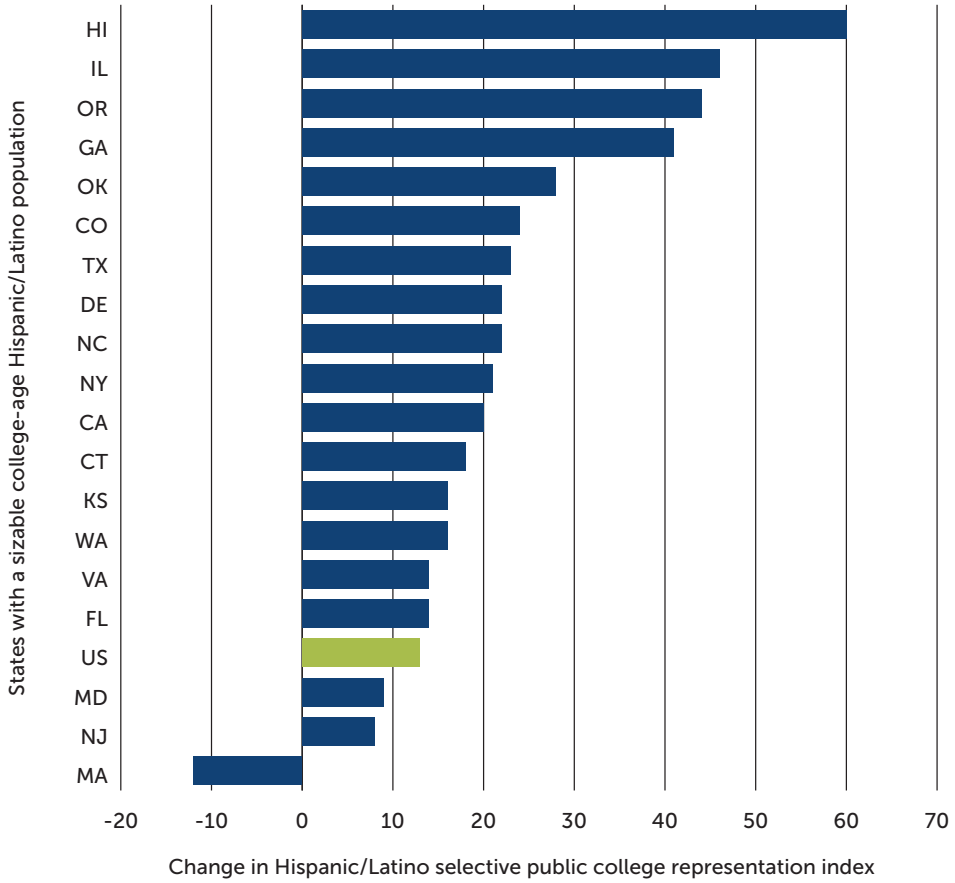
- **100**—This value would mean a racial group's enrollment share in a selectivity tier (selective, middle tier, or open access) is the same as its share of the state's college-age population.
- **50**—This value would mean that for every 100 college-age members of a particular racial group, there are 50 enrolled in the public colleges that make up the selectivity tier being measured.

Latinos are making gains but are still far short of proportional representation in selective public colleges.

Latinos gradually have been gaining access to selective public colleges. But there is good news and bad news.

First, the good news: in almost every state with a sizable Latino population and at least one selective public college in both 2015 and 2005, Latinos increased their representation in selective public colleges[50] in 2015 compared to 2005 (the one exception was Massachusetts).[51] Latinos in Hawaii, Illinois, and Oregon, in particular, made significant progress between 2005 and 2015 (Figure 12).

Figure 12. Among states with sizable Latino populations, Massachusetts was the only state in which Latino representation declined at selective public colleges in 2015 compared to 2005.

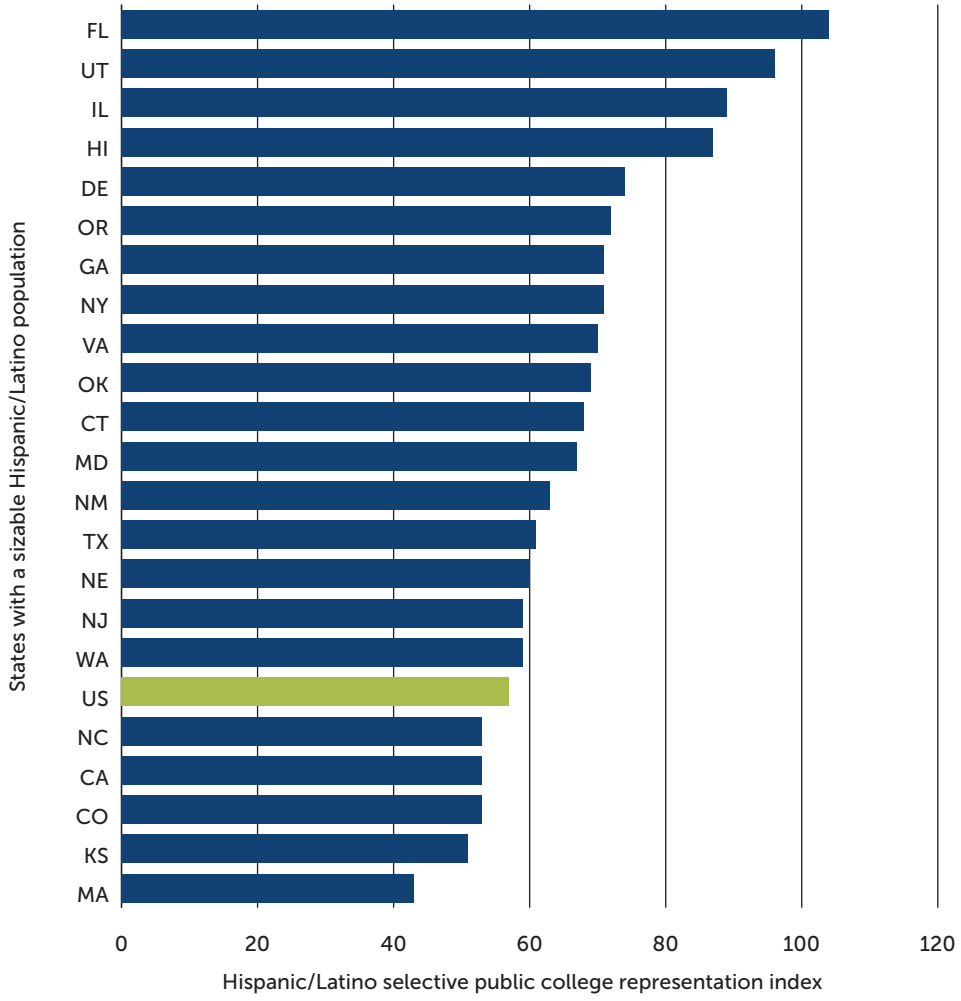


Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System and the US Census Bureau's *American Community Survey*, three-year pooled data centered on 2005 (2003-2006) and 2015 (2013-2016).
Note: The representation index is the first-time fall enrollment to college-age population ratio. 2005 enrollment is pooled fall enrollment numbers from academic years 2003-04 to 2005-06, and 2015 enrollment is pooled fall enrollment numbers from academic years 2013-14 to 2015-16. Only states with both a sizable Hispanic/Latino college-age population and at least one selective public college in both 2005 and 2015 were included.

50 This test cannot be applied to all states with sizable Latino populations because not all of those states have a selective public college. States without selective public colleges include Arizona, Nevada, Idaho, and Wyoming.
51 See sidebar on page 20 for how a state with a sizable Latino population is defined in this report.

The increased representation of Latinos is most notable in Florida. Thanks in large part to Florida International University—where more than two-thirds of the student body is Latino—Florida is the only state to boast a surplus of Latino students in its selective public universities[52] relative to the state's Latino college-age population (Figure 13). Latinos also are roughly proportionately represented in Utah and Hawaii, but both of those states have only one selective university (the University of Utah and the University of Hawaii at Manoa, respectively).

Figure 13. Latinos are proportionately represented at selective public colleges only in Florida.



Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System and the US Census Bureau's *American Community Survey,* three-year pooled data centered on 2015 (2014-2016).
Note: The representation index is the first-time fall enrollment to college-age population ratio. 2015 enrollment is pooled fall enrollment numbers from academic years 2013-14 to 2015-16. Only states with both a sizable Hispanic/Latino college-age population and at least one selective public college in 2015 were included.

52 Florida has seven selective public colleges and universities: Florida International University, Florida State University, New College of Florida, the University of Central Florida, the University of Florida, the University of North Florida, and the University of South Florida-St. Petersburg.

Now, the bad news: after all this progress, only about 12 percent of students at selective public colleges are Latino, which is barely half of the Latino proportion (21%) of the nation's college-age population. Latinos still have the lowest share of students at selective public colleges relative to their population share. Latinos, in other words, are making progress but still have a long way to go.

Many states have not been increasing Latino access to selective public colleges at the rate that might be expected. California is an important example, since it has more college-age Latinos than any other state. The state has been making notable strides in diversifying its nine selective public universities (seven of which are part of the University of California system) by economic class. The University of California campuses in Los Angeles and Berkeley have the highest percentage of Pell Grant recipients of any selective universities in the nation.[53] But that diversity is not reflected in the ethnic makeup of the state's selective public universities. Only 25 percent of students at those colleges are Latino in a state where 48 percent of the college-age population is Latino.

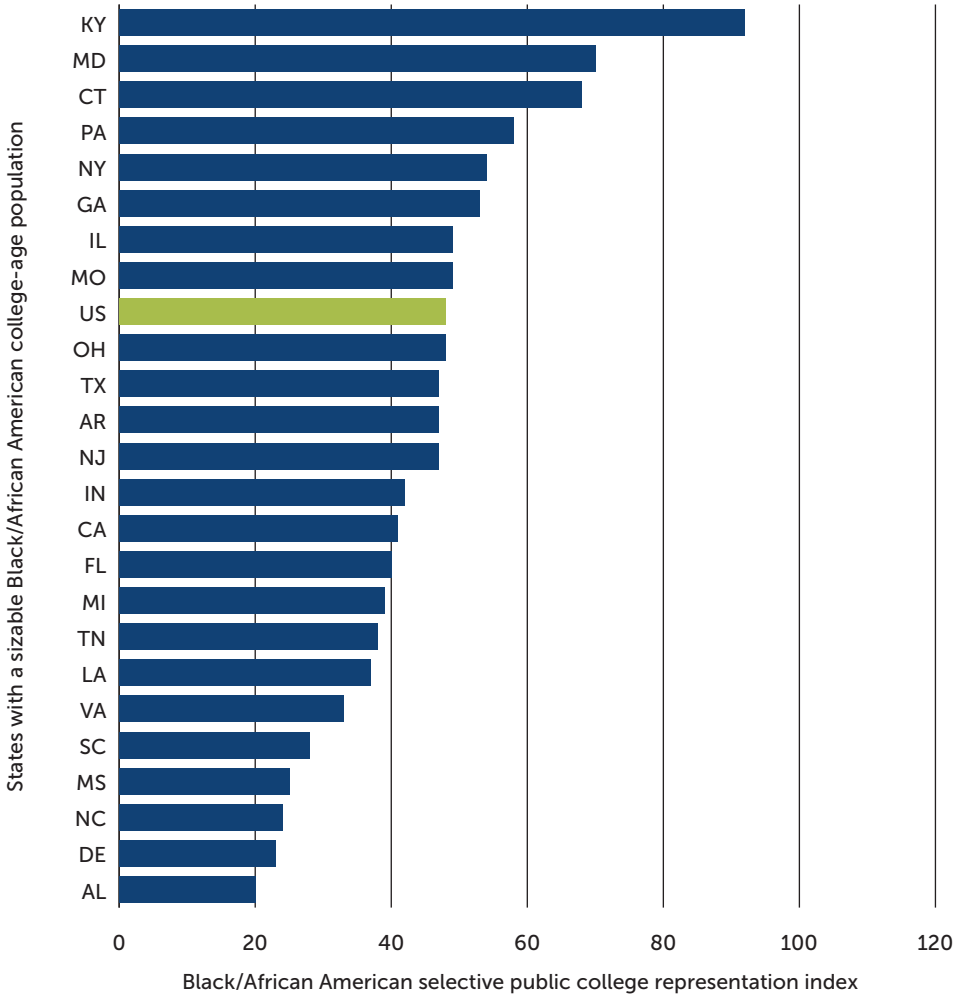
Blacks have a less representative enrollment at selective public colleges than they did a decade ago.

In the past decade, Black representation at selective public colleges has lost ground. For every 100 college-age Blacks, four fewer are now enrolled in selective public colleges than a decade ago. Only eight of the 24 states with a significant Black college-age population have made noticeable progress over the past decade.

Blacks are underrepresented at selective public colleges in every state with a sizable Black college-age population, a particularly acute issue in the South (Figure 14).[54] In Alabama, 32 of every 100 college-age young adults are Black, but only seven of every 100 students at selective public universities in the state are Black.[55] In Delaware, 26 of every 100 college-age young adults are Black, but only six of every 100 students at the state's selective public university are Black.[56] In Mississippi, 44 of every 100 college-age young adults are Black, but only 11 of every 100 students at the selective public university are Black.[57]

53 Carnevale and Van Der Werf, *The 20% Solution,* 2017.
54 Even though segregated schools were outlawed in 1954 following the US Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, some universities in the South were slow to integrate. Most notably, the University of Alabama did not enroll its first Black undergraduate students until 1963, and only after a ruling by a federal judge and an executive order from President Kennedy. The University of Mississippi did not enroll its first Black student until 1962, also after intervention by the Kennedy administration. For further analysis of desegregation of colleges, and the slower pace of desegregation of colleges in the South, see Hinrichs, "An Empirical Analysis of Racial Segregation in Higher Education," 2014.
55 The selective public universities in Alabama are Auburn University and the University of Alabama in Huntsville.
56 The selective public university in Delaware is the University of Delaware.
57 The selective public university in Mississippi is the University of Mississippi.

Figure 14. Blacks are underrepresented at selective public colleges in every state with a sizable population of Blacks.



Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System and the US Census Bureau's *American Community Survey,* three-year pooled data centered on 2015 (2014-2016).
Note: The representation index is the first-time fall enrollment to college-age population ratio. 2015 enrollment is pooled fall enrollment numbers from academic years 2013-14 to 2015-16. Only states with both a sizable Black/African college-age population and at least one selective public college in 2015 were included.

Kentucky is the only state where Blacks are close to proportional representation. Blacks comprise 9 percent of students at the University of Louisville, Kentucky's sole selective public college, relative to 10 percent of the college-age population in that state.

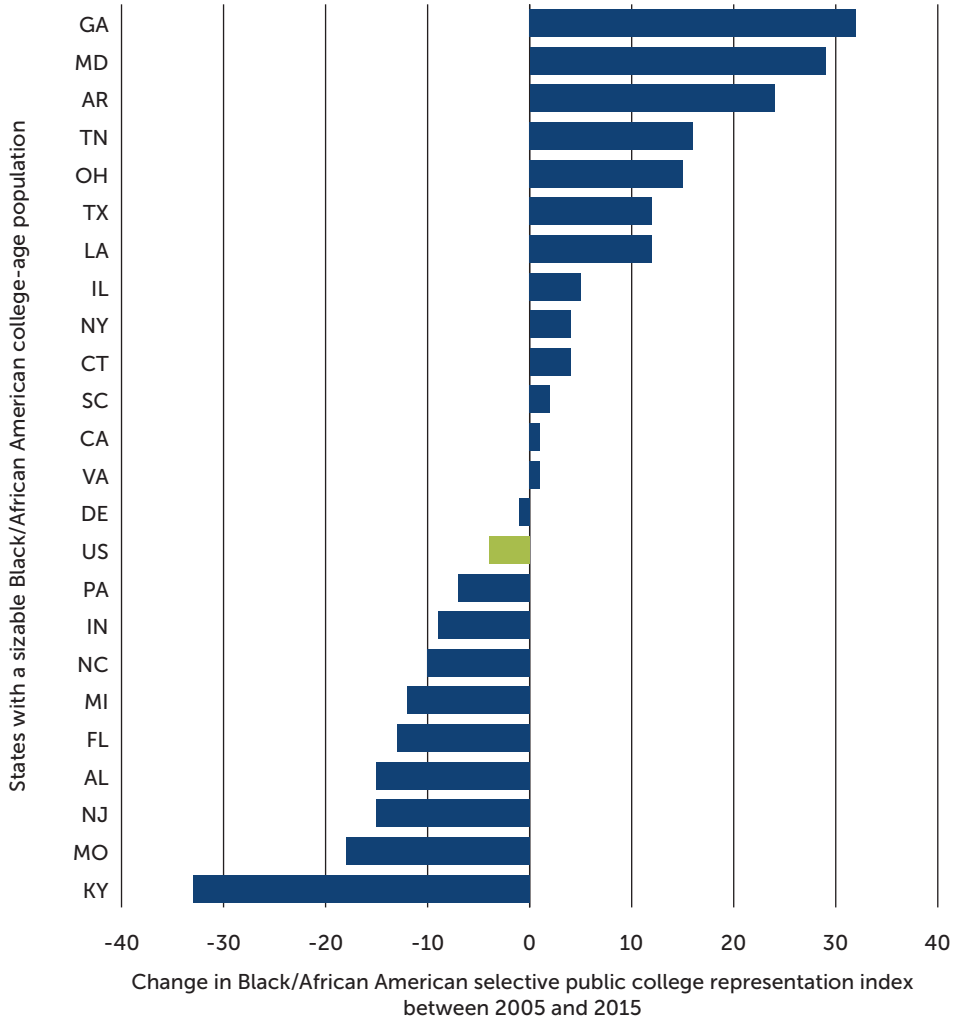
But amidst the bad news for Blacks, several states made significant progress in increasing Black representation at selective public colleges (Figure 15) from 2005 to 2015. Among them were Georgia and Maryland. In Georgia, in 2005, 33 percent of the college-age population was Black, while only 7 percent of selective public college students were Black. By 2015, the Black share of the college-aged population had increased slightly to 35 percent, but the Black share of selective public college students had increased to 19 percent. Maryland gained ground, at least in part because two of the three public Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) that are considered selective are located in the state (Coppin State University and Morgan State University).[58] In Maryland,

58 The other selective public HBCU is Fort Valley State University in Georgia.

in 2005, 31 percent of the college-age population was Black, when only 13 percent of students at selective public colleges were Black. By 2015, the Black share of the college-age population in Maryland increased slightly to 32 percent, while the Black share of selective public college students increased at a much faster rate—to 23 percent.

In more than half of the states with significant Black populations, Black enrollment at the selective public colleges either stagnated or lost ground. Even though it still has the highest proportion of Blacks in its selective public college, Kentucky lost significant ground.[59] This stagnation among Blacks at selective public colleges is particularly concerning since Blacks have increased college-going rates at about the same pace as Whites and Latinos. Blacks had a much more difficult time over the past decade gaining entry to selective public colleges.

Figure 15. Black representation in selective public colleges either declined or stagnated in more than half of states between 2005 and 2015.



Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System and the US Census Bureau's *American Community Survey* three-year pooled data centered on 2015 (2014-2016).
Note: The representation index is the first-time fall enrollment to college-age population ratio. 2015 enrollment is pooled fall enrollment numbers from academic years 2013-14 to 2015-16. Only states with both a sizable Black/African-American college-age population and at least one selective public college in both 2004-05 and 2014-15 were included.

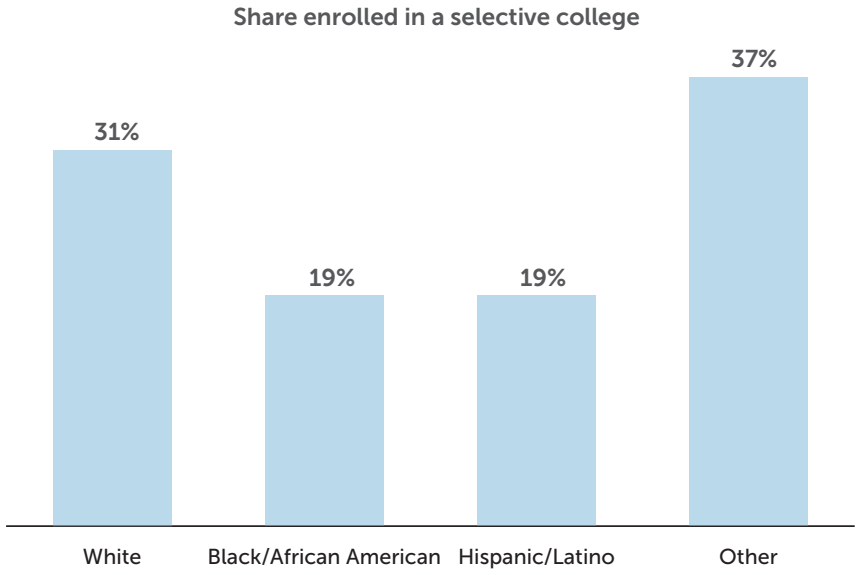
59 In Kentucky, Murray State University, which was considered selective in 2005, was no longer considered selective in 2015, but the state's decline was primarily due to a drop in the Black share of enrollment at the University of Louisville.

More Black and Latino students could succeed at selective public colleges if given the chance.

These enrollment inequities at selective public colleges can be resolved: plenty of qualified Black and Latino students could attend a selective public college and succeed. Among Blacks and Latinos who score above average on the SAT (a score of 1000 or higher), only 19 percent attend a selective college. Meanwhile, 31 percent of White students who score above average on the SAT attend a selective college (Figure 16).

If high-scoring Black and Latino students went to selective colleges at the overall rate of all high-scoring students (30 percent), 37,500 more Black and Latino students annually would be attending a selective college.[60]

Figure 16. Black and Latino students who score above average on the SAT or ACT attend selective colleges at a far lower rate than White students with the same qualifications.



Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the National Center for Education Statistics' *Education Longitudinal Study of 2002*, 2012.

60 Georgetown University Center on Education and Workforce analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System and the *Education Longitudinal Study of 2002*, 2012.

In 2015, 84,000 of the 435,000 freshman seats (19%) at selective public colleges were held by Black and Latino students. For this class to reflect the national college-age population, Black and Latino students would need to hold 36 percent, or 156,000, of the seats. That is about 72,000 more seats than are now being taken by Blacks and Latinos. All of those seats could go to highly qualified Blacks and Latinos. We calculate that 276,000 Black and Latino high school seniors in 2014 scored above average on the SAT but did not attend a selective college.[61]

Blacks and Latinos score above average in great numbers, and they could graduate at similar rates to other students if they went to selective colleges. But they often do not get in because of stringent admissions criteria. Test scores have gained preeminence in selective college admissions because ACT and SAT scores are at the core of college rankings. This has encouraged selective colleges to try to raise their average test scores in the interest of gaining competitive advantage. A small decrease in average test scores will have a lot more impact on college rankings than on graduation rates, which are likely to remain level.[62]

Some critics argue that affirmative action hurts minority students because it creates a mismatch between their test scores and the standards of the selective colleges that affirmative action has helped them attend.[63] This idea was further perpetuated by the late Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia, who memorably argued in 2015 in *Fisher v. The University of Texas at Austin* that prospective Black students would not benefit from attending the University of Texas and would do better at a "slower-track school."[64]

However, regardless of race and ethnicity, or test scores, students who attend selective colleges are far more likely to graduate. It's a matter of resources. The worst colleges drag down even their best students, while the best colleges pull up even their worst students. Not only does the disparity in access to selective colleges need to be addressed, but the disparity in resources between selective and open-access colleges needs redress as well.

61 This estimated number of high-achieving 12th graders is based on an analysis of *Education Longitudinal Study of 2002* (ELS) data examining test-score distributions by race or ethnicity. ELS is representative of 2004 12th graders, so the estimates were adjusted to reflect the 12th grade class of 2014. For more details on the methodology, see Appendix D.

62 For example, if a college increased its average SAT test score for admitted students by 100 points, it could break out of the "very competitive" category of the Barron's ratings of college selectivity, a group that includes about 320 colleges, and move into the "highly competitive" category, joining the 200 most selective colleges in the country. In Gnolek et al., "Modeling Change and Variation in the *U.S. News & World Report College Rankings,*" 2014, the authors developed a ranking model that simulates the outcomes of the *U.S. News & World Report* ranking process. In one simulation, the authors estimated that for a college ranked in the mid-30s, a 100-point increase in its average SAT score would be required for the college to move up a single rank.

63 Sander and Taylor, *Mismatch,* 2012.

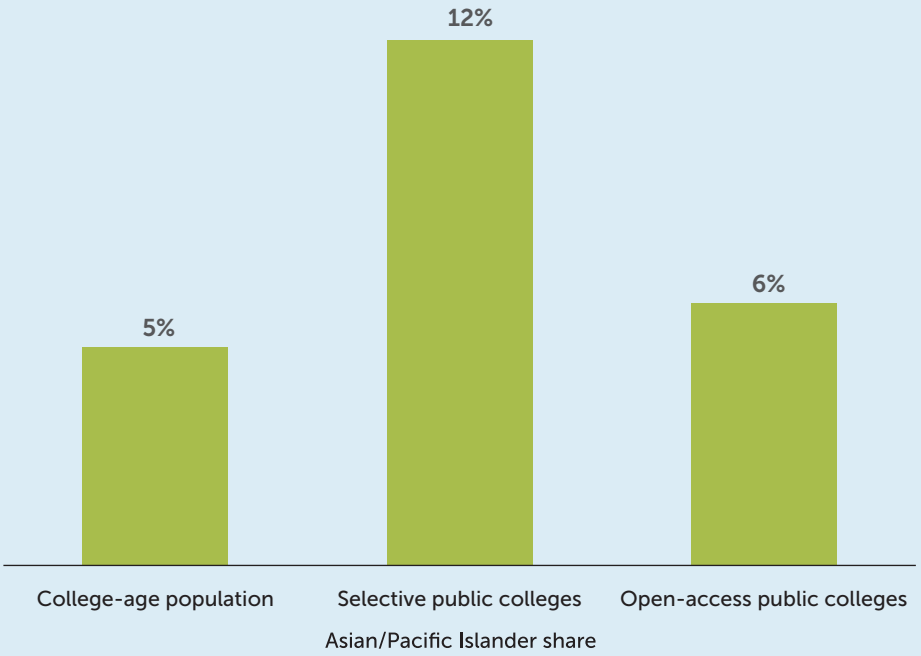
64 *Fisher v. Texas*, 579 US No. 14-981, available at https://www.supremecourt.gov/oral_arguments/argument_transcripts/2015/14-981_onjq.pdf; Sander and Taylor, *Mismatch*, 2012; and Carnevale et al., *The Concept of "Mismatch,"* 2016.

Do Asians get an overabundance of seats at selective public colleges?

Asians[65] remain a small portion of the American populace (6%),[66] but they have an outsized influence on postsecondary education. They have long outstripped any other racial or ethnic group in their college-going rate. In 2015, 63 percent of college-age Asians enrolled in college, compared to 40 percent enrollment among all college-age Americans. This large gap has been relatively consistent over time: in 1990, 57 percent of college-age Asians were enrolled in a college, while the enrollment rate was just 32 percent for all college-age Americans.

Much like White enrollment, Asian enrollment is disproportionately concentrated at selective public colleges. In 2015, despite being just 5 percent of the college-age population, Asians constituted 12 percent of all first-time fall enrollments at selective public colleges. At open-access and middle-tier colleges, the Asian share of enrollments reflects their share of the college-age population. However, one should not assume that Asian students only attend elite colleges. In fact, 45 percent of Asian students at public colleges are attending open-access colleges.

Despite Asians being only 5 percent of the college-age population, they constitute 12 percent of first-time fall enrollment at selective public colleges.



Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System and the US Census Bureau's *American Community Survey,* three-year pooled data centered on 2015 (2014-2016).
Note: The representation index is the first-time fall enrollment to college-age population ratio. 2015 enrollment is pooled fall enrollment numbers from academic years 2013-14 to 2015-16.

Asians used to be overrepresented at open-access and middle-tier colleges, as well as selective colleges. However, over time, the Asian share of enrollment at open-access and middle-tier colleges has become more aligned with their share of the college-age population. And while Asians are still disproportionately represented at selective public colleges, the extent to which they are overrepresented has fallen. In 2005, the Asian share of selective public college enrollments was 2.6 times their share of the college-age population, but by 2015, their share at selective public colleges had fallen to 2.1 times their share of the college-age population.

65 In this report, Asians includes Asians, Native Hawaiians, and Pacific Islanders.
66 US Census Bureau, 2016 estimate, https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/US/PST045217.

Part II:

EDUCATIONAL SPENDING AT SELECTIVE AND OPEN-ACCESS PUBLIC COLLEGES IS VASTLY UNEQUAL

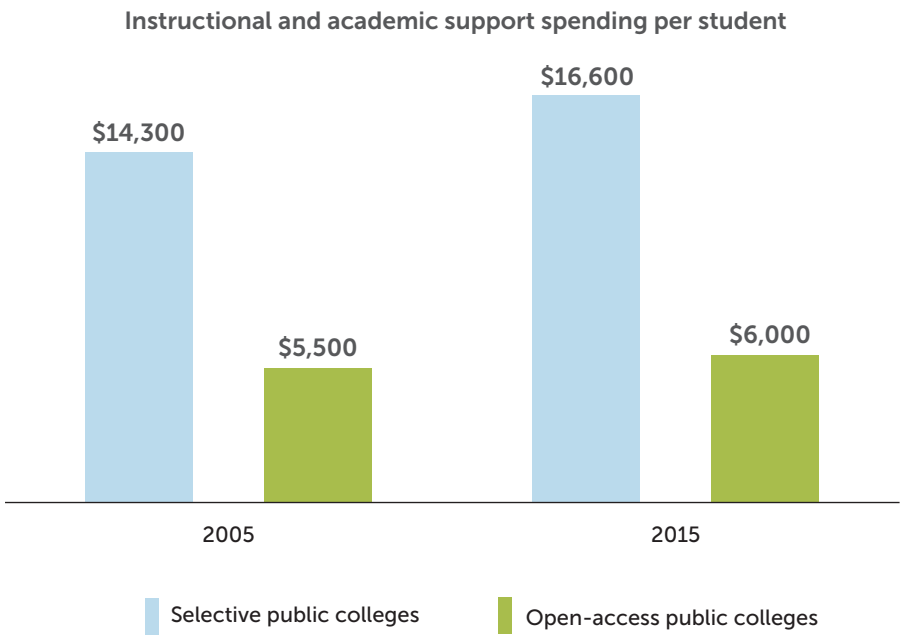
Selective public colleges have much better educational outcomes, such as higher graduation rates, than open-access public colleges. In large part, it is a function of money: the selective colleges have more money to invest in instruction and academic support, the key spending areas affecting the academic progress of their students.

In 2015, selective public colleges spent nearly three times as much per student as open-access public colleges on instructional and academic support.

In 2015, selective public colleges spent nearly three times as much per student as open-access public colleges on instructional and academic support. And this spending gap has been widening over time. Between 2005 and 2015, selective public colleges increased this type of spending by 16 percent, while open-access colleges only increased it by 9 percent.[67] As a result, the instructional and academic support spending gap grew from about $8,800 per FTE student to $10,600 per student—a 20 percent increase (Figure 17).

67 All dollar figures in this report have been adjusted for inflation to 2015 dollar values.

Figure 17. The gap in instructional and academic support spending per student between open-access and selective public colleges has widened from $8,800 in 2005 to $10,600 in 2015.



Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, academic years 2004-05 and 2014-15.
Note: Students are measured in full-time equivalents to account for full-time and part-time students. See Appendix C for more information on finance methodology. Adjusted for inflation to 2015 dollars.

This widening gap in resources has important repercussions for the students who go to public colleges. Students in the disproportionately White student bodies at selective public colleges are much more likely to graduate and get the degree or credential that will launch their careers. Students at open-access public colleges, who are disproportionately Black or Latino, are likely to struggle much more to get the resources they need to succeed. Less than half of them, on average, will ever graduate. Many of those who do not graduate will not only lack a degree or credential essential to getting a well-paying job, they will also have taken on student loan debt, further diminishing their prospects of entering the middle class.[68]

Ten states spend at least three times more per student on instructional and academic support at selective public colleges than they do at open-access public colleges.

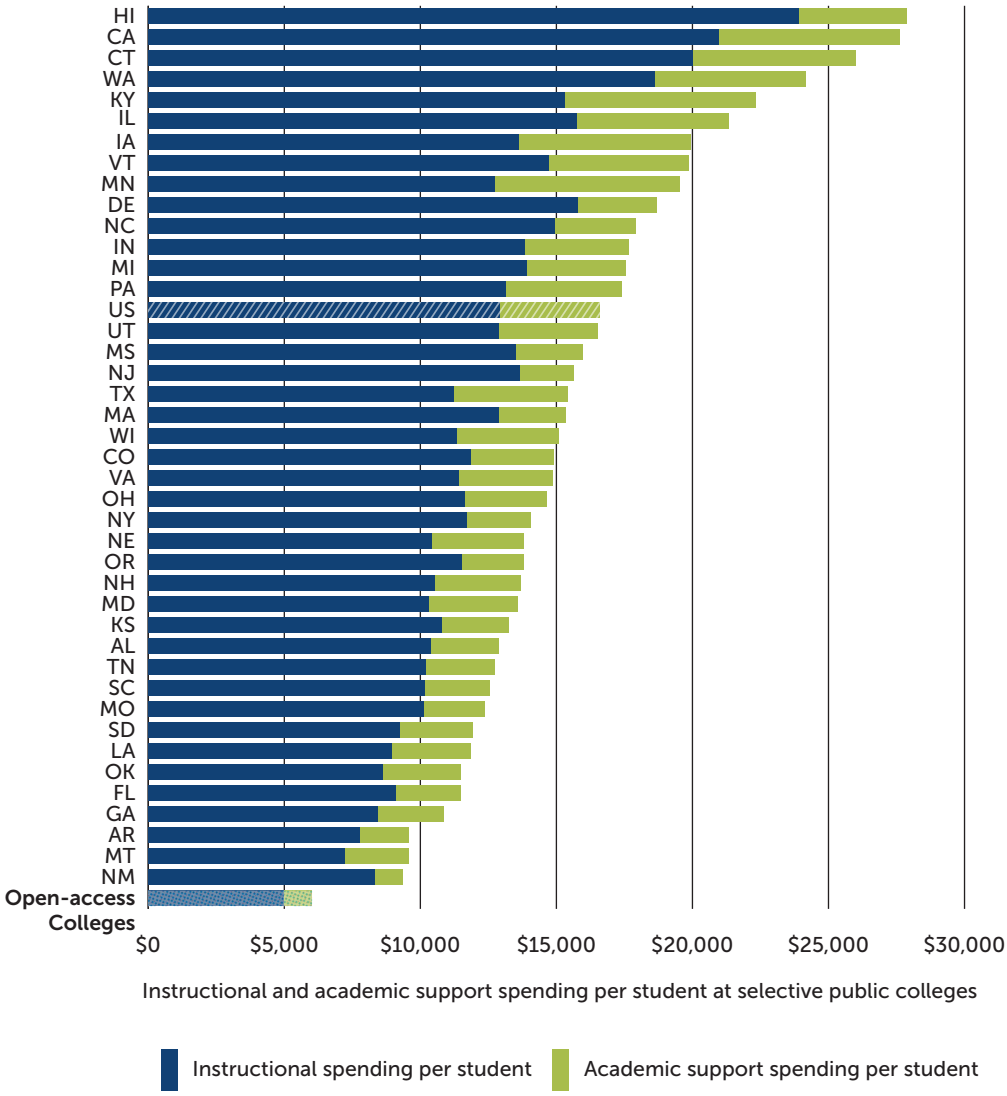
When looking at differences in spending, the most important areas are instructional and academic support, because those reflect resources spent directly on student learning.[69] The amounts spent in these vital areas vary widely between the states. However, even among the states where selective public colleges spend the least on instructional and academic support, they still spend far more than the average open-access public colleges. For example, in 2015, New Mexico's selective public college (the New Mexico Institute of Mining and Technology) spent the least on instructional and academic support activities among

68 Dynarski, "New Data Gives Clearer Picture of Student Debt," September 2015.
69 Colleges and universities spend money on many different items, including research, maintenance, athletics, fundraising, and other activities unrelated to direct classroom learning.

selective institutions: $9,300 per FTE student. This amount is still 55 percent more than the average open-access public college spends ($6,000 per FTE student). In fact, only in six states did open-access colleges spend more than $9,300 per FTE student.

In every other state, selective public colleges spend more than $9,300 per FTE student on instructional and academic support, and in some cases much more. In 10 of the other 40 states that had a selective public college in 2015, the colleges spent at least double this amount. These colleges are spending at least three times as much on instructional and academic support activities as the average open-access public college nationally (Figure 18).

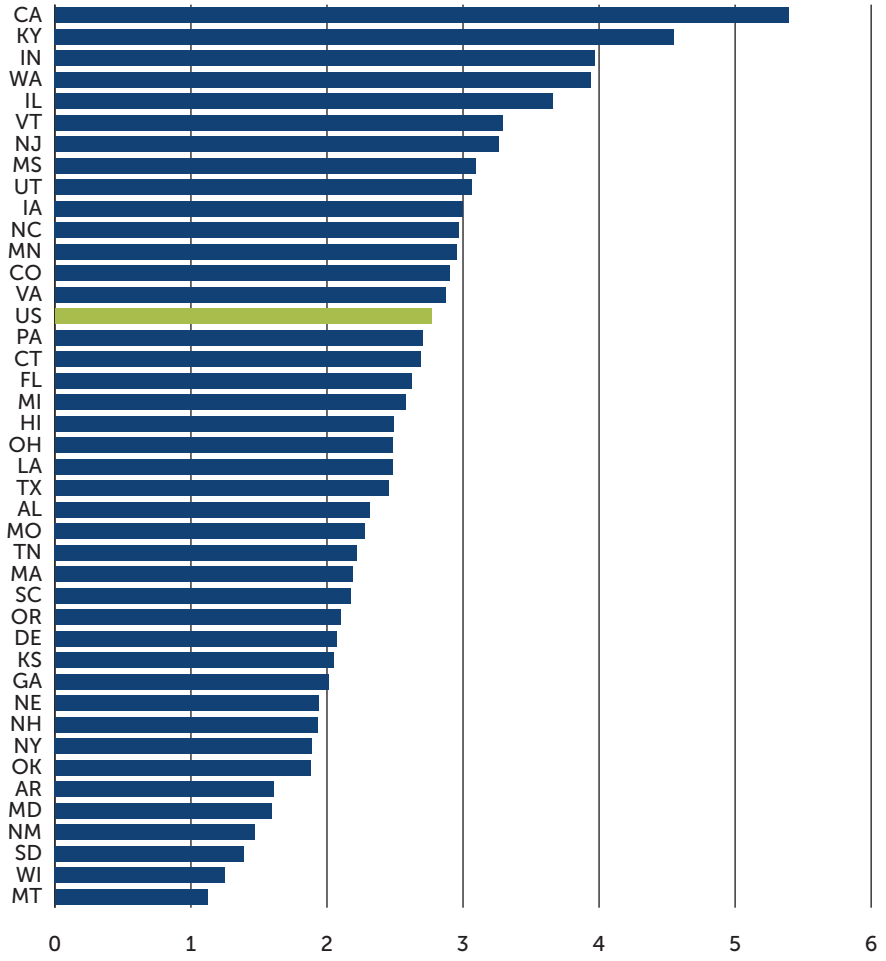
Figure 18. In 2015, selective public colleges in 20 states spent at least $15,000 per FTE student on instructional and academic support, two and a half times as much as open-access public colleges generally spend.



Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, academic year 2014-15.
Note: Students are measured in full-time equivalents to account for full-time and part-time students. See Appendix C for more information on finance methodology.

On average, selective colleges spend about 177 percent more per FTE student on instructional and academic support than open-access public colleges, but the disparity ranges widely across states. At one extreme sits California, where selective public colleges spend $27,600 per FTE student and open-access public colleges spend $5,100 per FTE student. In other words, in California, selective public colleges spend five times as much on instructional and academic support as open-access public colleges. At the other end of the spectrum, Montana's selective public colleges spend $9,600 per FTE student, which is only 12 percent more than what that state's open-access public colleges spend per FTE student (Figure 19).

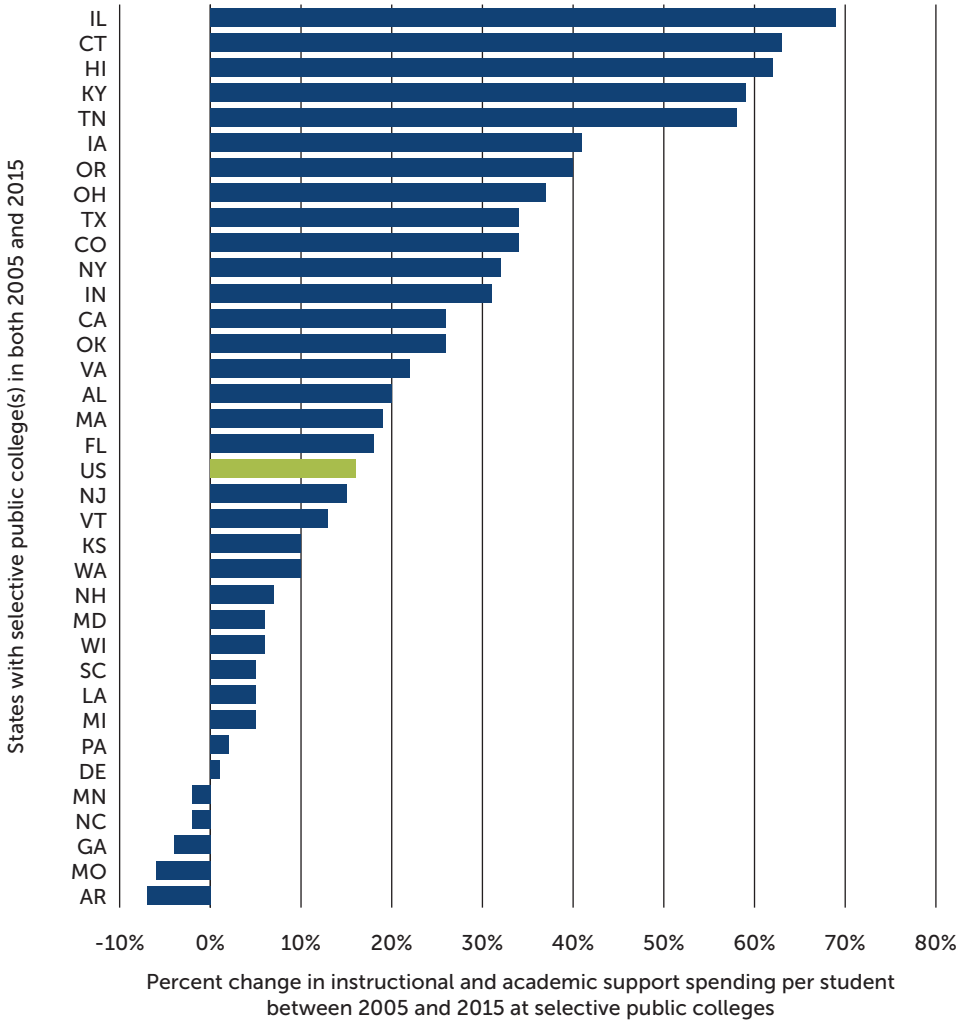
Figure 19. In California, selective public colleges spend five times as much on instructional and academic support as open-access public colleges.



Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, academic year 2014-15.
Note: Students are measured in full-time equivalents to account for full-time and part-time students. See Appendix C for more information on finance methodology.

Spending on instructional and academic support activities per FTE student has increased sharply for selective public colleges in most states. Only in five states—Arkansas, Missouri, Georgia, North Carolina, and Minnesota—did selective public colleges spend less in these areas in 2015 than they did in 2005. Arkansas selective public colleges cut back the most, but even that amounted to a modest 7 percent reduction. Selective public colleges in Illinois, Connecticut, Hawaii, Kentucky, and Tennessee increased instructional and academic support activity spending by at least 58 percent (Figure 20).

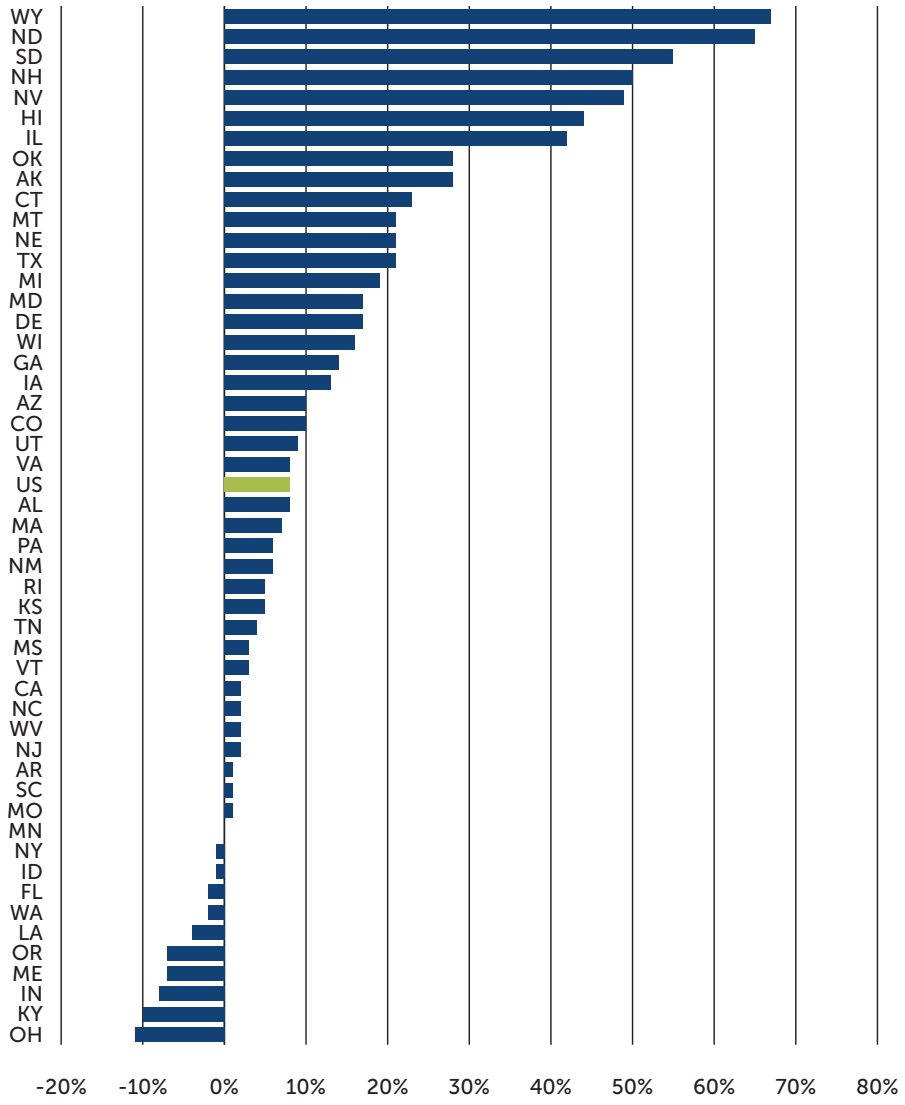
Figure 20. Selective public colleges increased instructional and academic support spending the most in Illinois and Connecticut between 2005 and 2015.



Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, academic years 2004-05 and 2014-15.
Note: Students are measured in full-time equivalents to account for full-time and part-time students. See Appendix C for more information on finance methodology.

Spending on instructional and academic support activities has increased for open-access public colleges in most states. Only in 10 states did they spend less in 2015 than in 2005. Open-access public colleges in Ohio cut back the most—an 11 percent reduction. In contrast, open-access public colleges in Wyoming, North Dakota, South Dakota, and New Hampshire increased spending by at least 50 percent (Figure 21).

Figure 21. Wyoming increased instructional and academic support spending per FTE student at open-access public colleges more than any other state.



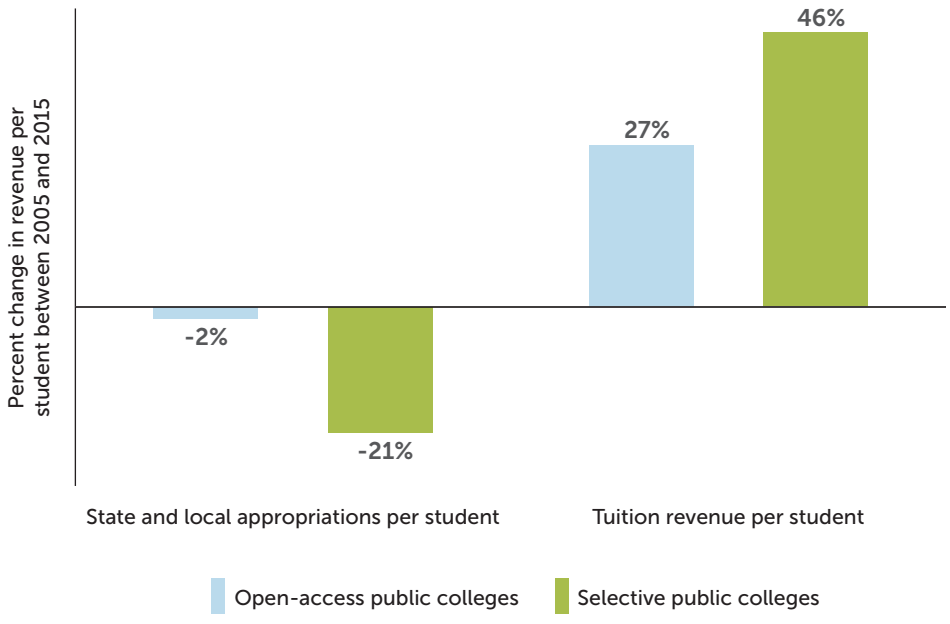
Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, academic years 2004-05 and 2014-15.
Note: Students are measured in full-time equivalents to account for full-time and part-time students. See Appendix C for more information on finance methodology.

Part III:

IN 15 STATES, SELECTIVE PUBLIC COLLEGES GET AT LEAST TWICE AS MUCH PUBLIC FUNDING AS OPEN-ACCESS PUBLIC COLLEGES

The growing gap in instructional and academic support spending is occurring at a time when public funding is being cut more at selective public colleges than at open-access public colleges. From 2005 to 2015, state appropriations to selective public colleges declined by 21 percent while appropriations to open-access public colleges barely declined (Figure 22).

Figure 22. State and local appropriations per FTE student to selective public colleges were cut significantly from 2005 to 2015, but tuition revenue per FTE student increased by 46 percent.



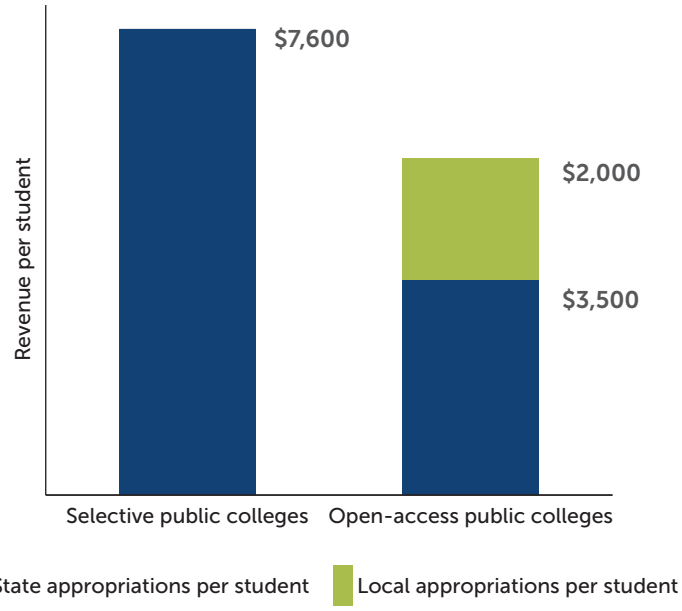
Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, academic years 2004-05 and 2014-15.
Note: Students are measured in full-time equivalents to account for full-time and part-time students. See Appendix C for more information on finance methodology.

How are selective public colleges continuing to increase the gap in spending per student even as they are enduring deeper budget cuts than open-access public colleges?

1. **Selective public colleges started from a much greater base of financial support.** In 2015, selective public colleges received *more than double* the state support per student as open-access public colleges. Nationally, selective public colleges received $7,600 per student from state appropriations, whereas open-access public colleges received $3,500 per student. Open-access public colleges are much more likely to receive appropriations from local communities as well (i.e., local property tax to support community colleges), but even accounting for this, selective public colleges receive 38 percent more public funding per student ($7,600 vs. $5,500) than open-access public colleges (Figure 23).

2. **Selective public colleges can call on more sources of revenue: they can use tuition to make up the difference.** While states were cutting funding for selective public colleges, those institutions were dramatically increasing tuition. Leaders of public universities knew they had pricing power (public universities are largely less expensive than private universities), and they have used it. Meanwhile, open-access public colleges do not have much ability to raise their prices: in some cases, they are constrained from raising tuition by local government, and the value associated with their brand names is far lower than for the flagship selective public colleges.

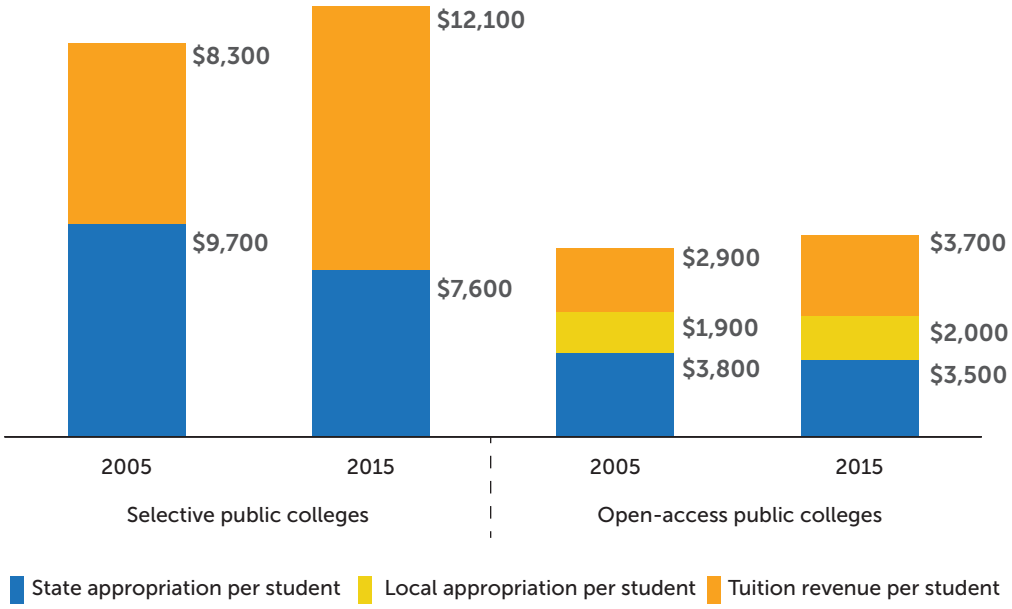
Figure 23. Selective public colleges receive more in state and local appropriations per FTE student than open-access public colleges.



Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, academic years 2004-05 and 2014-15.
Note: Students are measured in full-time equivalents to account for full-time and part-time students. See Appendix C for more information on finance methodology. A few selective public colleges receive local appropriations; however, in all cases it is a small amount.

In 2015 selective public colleges received $12,100 per FTE student in tuition revenue—which alone was more than double the combined state and local appropriations and tuition revenues of open-access public colleges. In the face of reduced public support between 2005 and 2015, selective public colleges increased their tuition revenue by $3,800 per FTE student, while open-access public colleges increased their tuition revenue by only $800 per FTE student (Figure 24).

Figure 24. Since 2005, selective public colleges have become more dependent on tuition revenue and have widened their funding advantage over open-access public colleges.

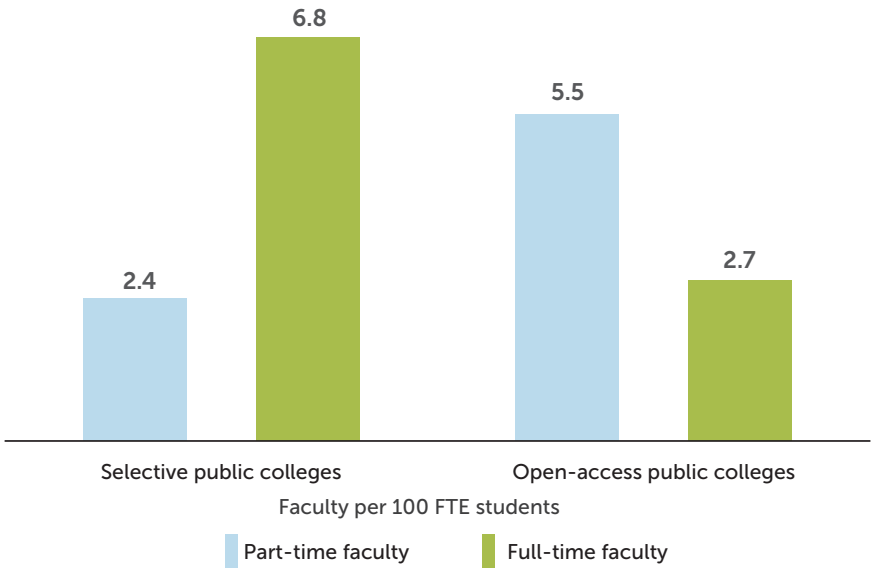


Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, academic years 2004-05 and 2014-15.
Note: Students are measured in full-time equivalents to account for full-time and part-time students. See Appendix C for more information on finance methodology.

Having more financial resources allows selective public colleges to have smaller class sizes and allows faculty members to devote more attention to individual students. Selective public colleges can rely more on full-time faculty for instruction than open-access public colleges. As of 2015, selective public colleges had 6.8 full-time faculty members per 100 FTE students, whereas open-access public colleges only had 2.7 full-time faculty members per 100 FTE students. Part-time faculty face additional challenges that may hamper their ability to offer students as much support as their full-time counterparts, including a lack of office space and cobbling together a full-time teaching load at multiple colleges. Research has found there are many benefits to having full-time faculty.[70] Open-access public colleges have to rely a lot more on part-time faculty than selective public colleges: the open-access colleges have 5.5 part-time faculty members per 100 FTE students, while selective public colleges have only 2.4 part-time faculty members per 100 FTEs (Figure 25).

70 See Schuetz, "Instructional Practices of Part-Time and Full-Time Faculty," 2002; Umbach, "How Effective Are They? Exploring the Impact of Contingent Faculty on Undergraduate Education," 2007; and Eagan, "Effects of Exposure to Part-time Faculty on Community College Transfer," 2008.

Figure 25. Selective public colleges have far more full-time faculty per 100 FTE students than open-access public colleges, which rely more heavily on part-time faculty.



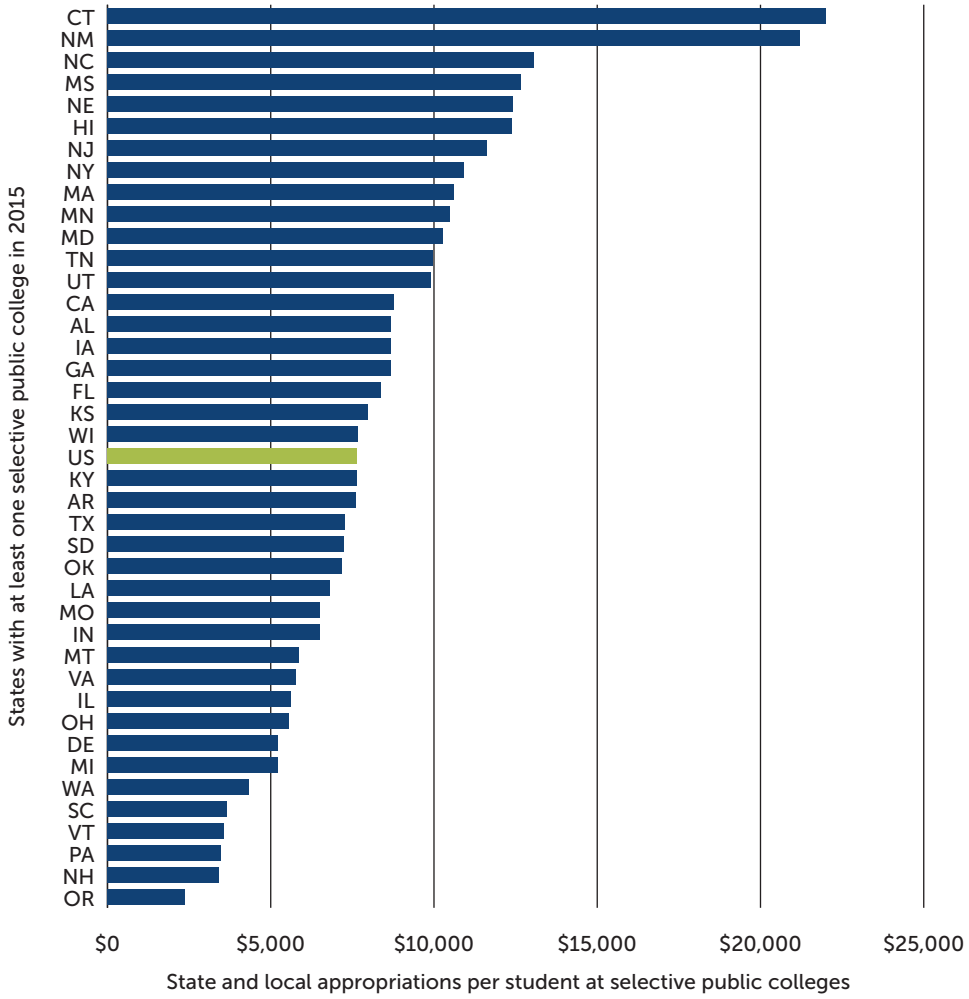
Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, academic year 2014-15.
Note: Students are measured in full-time equivalents to account for full-time and part-time students.

State and local appropriations to selective public colleges vary widely across the states. At one extreme, selective public colleges in Connecticut and New Mexico[71] receive more than $20,000 per FTE student in state and local appropriations. At the other extreme, selective public colleges in Oregon receive less than $2,400 per FTE student in public money.[72] In six other states, selective public colleges receive less than $5,000 per FTE student in support (Figure 26).

71 In Connecticut, all branch campuses and the main campus of the University of Connecticut are considered selective. New Mexico has one selective public college: the New Mexico Institute of Mining and Technology.

72 In the state/local funding analysis, we exclude Colorado. IPEDS data suggest that Colorado state appropriations are less than $300 per FTE student. However, these data reflect a change in how the state supports higher education. Starting in fiscal year 2005-06, what was previously accounted for in the State Appropriation IPEDS survey is now mainly considered to be tuition revenue. Colorado created what is called the College Opportunity Fund that year to subsidize student tuition. According to data from the State Higher Education Executive Officers, overall educational appropriations in Colorado in 2015 are similar to levels in 2005—although tuition revenue per FTE increased by 50 percent. See State Higher Education Executive Officers, "Appropriations, Tuition, and Enrollment, by State," 2018.

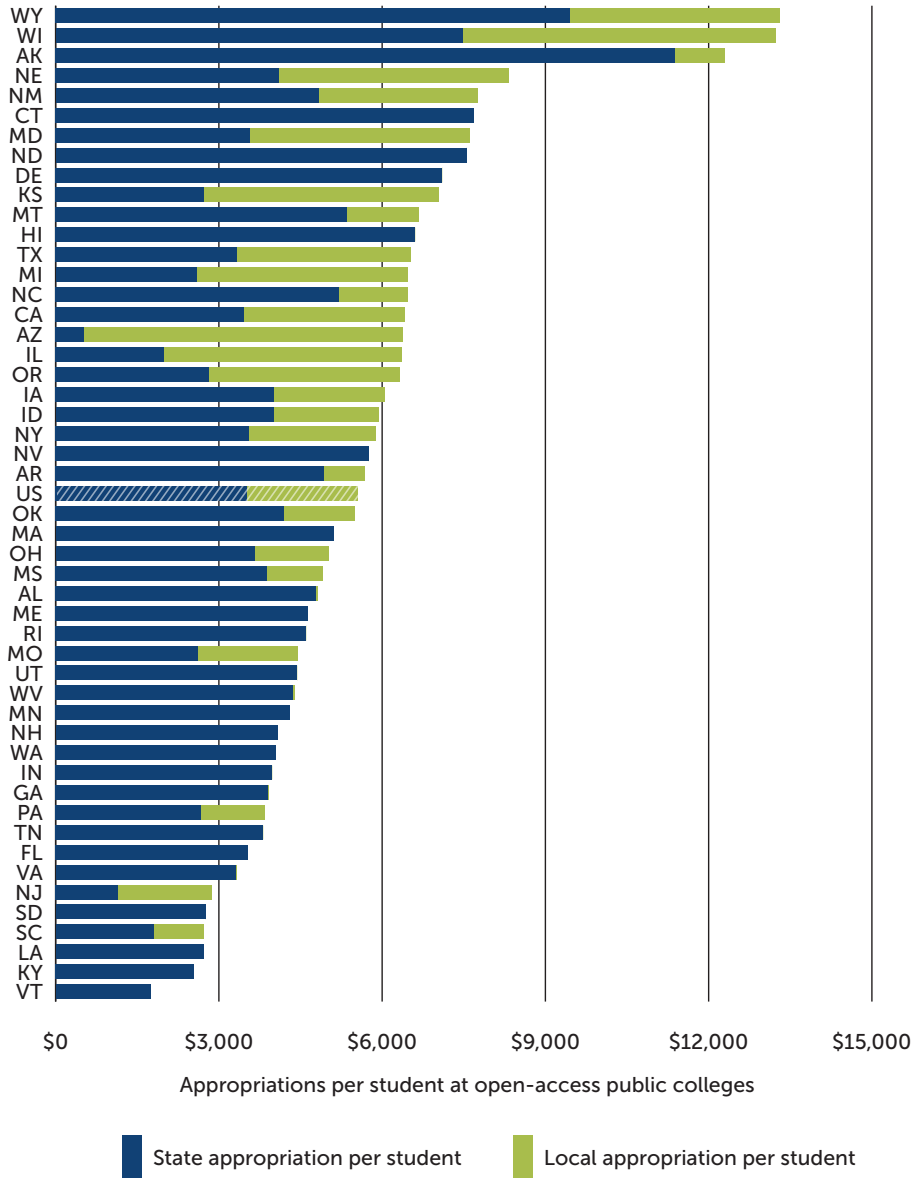
Figure 26. Selective public colleges in Connecticut and New Mexico receive far more state and local appropriations per FTE student than any other state.



Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, academic year 2014-15.
Note: Students are measured in full-time equivalents to account for full-time and part-time students. See Appendix C for more information on finance methodology. Colorado is excluded due to data limitations.

The amount of state and local support that open-access public colleges receive differs significantly between the states. In three states (Wyoming, Wisconsin, and Alaska), open-access public colleges receive more than $12,000 per FTE student. Meanwhile, in 12 other states, open-access public colleges receive less than $4,000 per FTE student in public support (Figure 27).

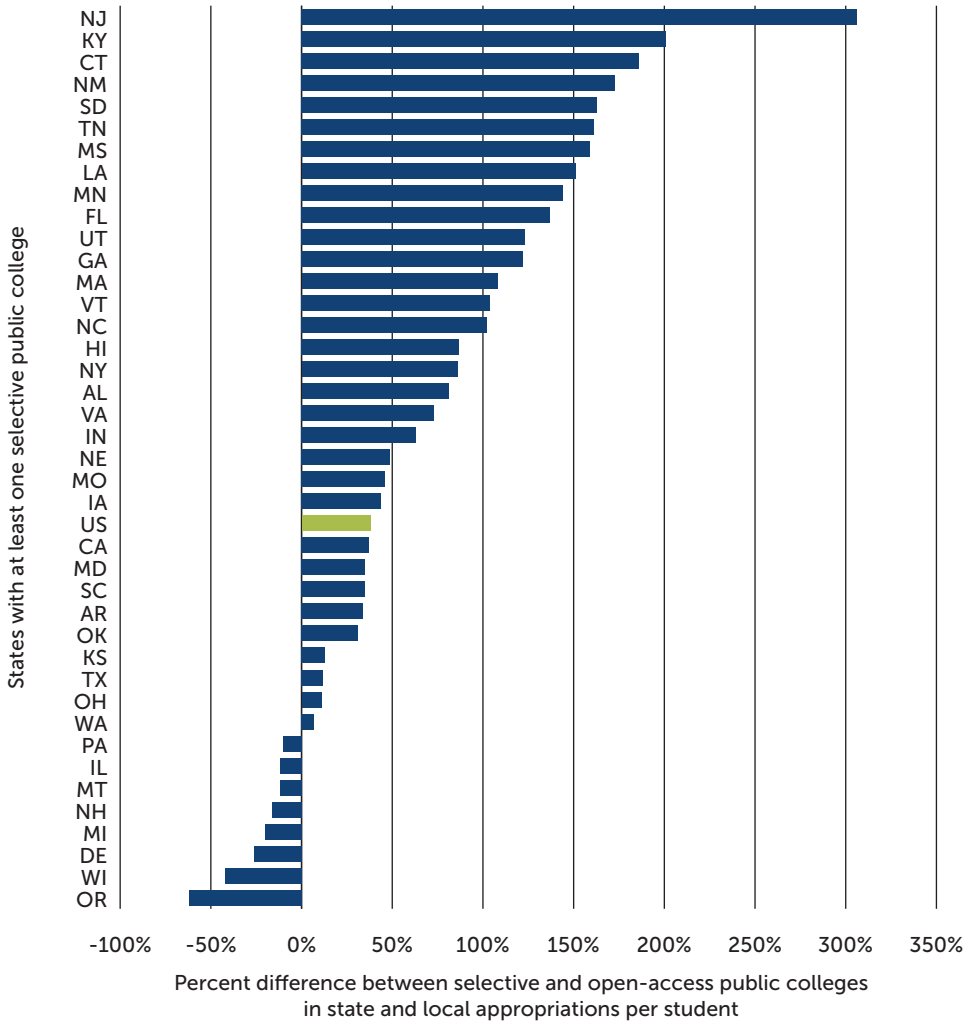
Figure 27. Open-access public colleges in Wyoming, Wisconsin, and Alaska receive far more state and local government funding per FTE student than any other state.



Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, academic year 2014-15.
Note: Students are measured in full-time equivalents to account for full-time and part-time students. See Appendix C for more information on finance methodology. Colorado is excluded due to data limitations.

New Jersey, Kentucky, and Connecticut have the largest differences in state and local appropriations per student between open-access and selective public colleges. In 2015, New Jersey's five selective public colleges received more than four times the amount of state and local appropriations per student as the state's open-access public colleges received. In fact, in 15 states, selective public colleges received *at least double* the amount of state and local appropriations per student as open-access public colleges received (Figure 28).

Figure 28: Fifteen states, led by New Jersey, give at least twice as much in appropriations per student to selective public colleges as they do to open-access public colleges.



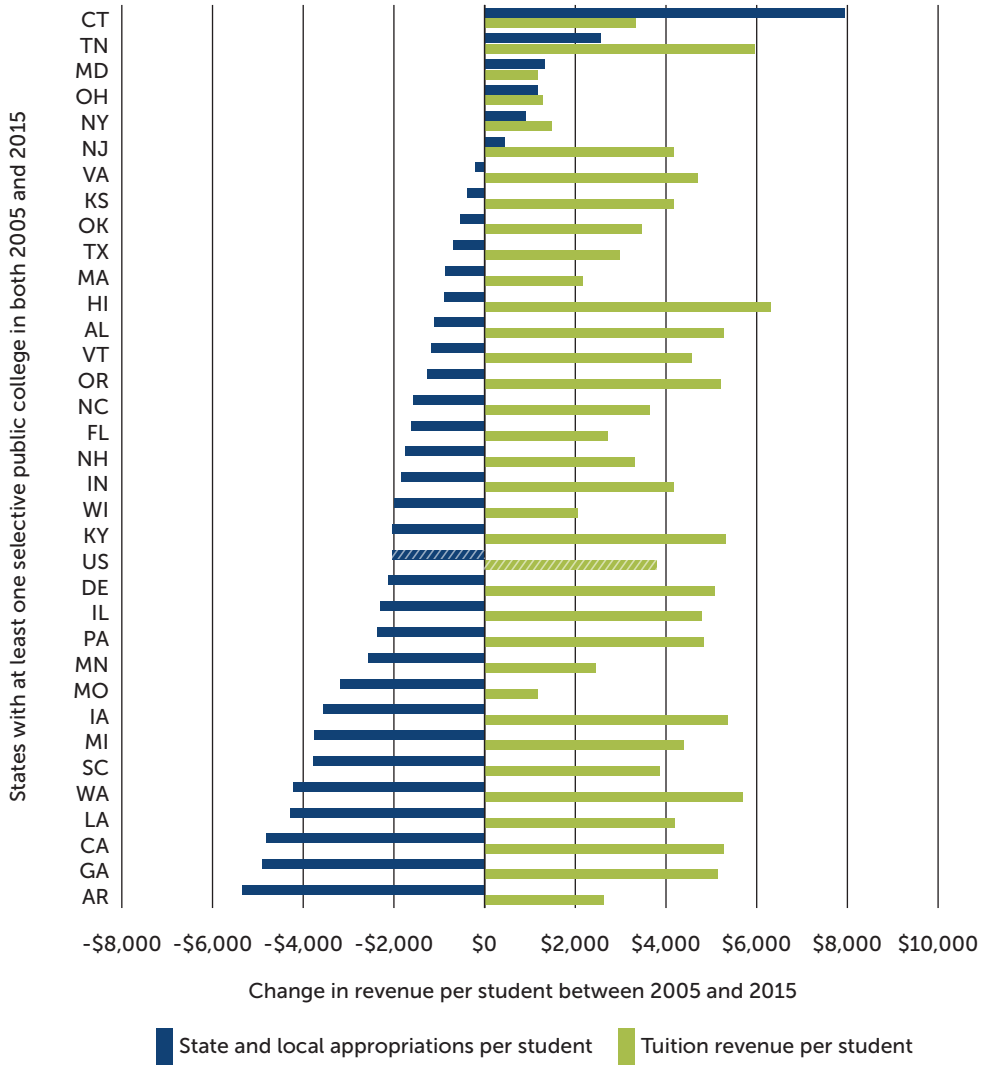
Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, academic year 2014-15.
Note: Students are measured in full-time equivalents to account for full-time and part-time students. See Appendix C for more information on finance methodology. Colorado is excluded due to data limitations.

Between 2005 and 2015, the vast majority of states cut state and local appropriations to selective public colleges. Out of the 35 states that had selective public colleges in both 2005 and 2015, government appropriations per FTE student increased during that time in only six states: Connecticut, Tennessee, Ohio, Maryland, New York, and New Jersey. Connecticut in particular has taken great strides in increasing funding to selective public colleges. In 2005, Connecticut selective public colleges received $14,000 per FTE student in state and local appropriations; by 2015, this amount had increased by 56 percent to $22,000 per FTE student.

In five states, state and local appropriations per FTE student at selective public colleges were reduced by 40 percent or more. South Carolina saw the largest decrease in state and local appropriations: 51 percent. In 2005, South Carolina selective public colleges received about $7,500 per FTE student in state and local appropriations, but by 2015, that amount was reduced to $3,700 per FTE student. Washington, Michigan, Arkansas, and Pennsylvania were the other states that had particularly large reductions in state and local appropriations. Arkansas reduced spending per FTE student at selective public colleges the most: $5,300.

At the same time, no selective public colleges received less tuition revenue per FTE student in 2015 than they received in 2005. Furthermore, increases in tuition revenue often offset the reductions in state and local appropriations. Selective public colleges had decreases in state and local appropriations in 29 states. Yet, in 24 of these states the increases in tuition more than offset the revenue losses from reduced state and local support (Figure 29).

Figure 29. Since 2005, selective public colleges have increased tuition revenue per FTE student in every state.



Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, academic years 2004-05 and 2014-15.
Note: Students are measured in full-time equivalents to account for full-time and part-time students. See Appendix C for more information on finance methodology. Colorado is excluded due to data limitations.

CONCLUSION

To confront race-based inequities, selective public colleges must adjust their admissions policies and state and federal policymakers must reduce funding inequities.

Leaders of selective public colleges often espouse the importance of diversity. But those colleges mostly exclude students who fail to score in the top quartile on college-entry exams.[73] To promote the postsecondary success of Blacks and Latinos, these colleges should promote equity. Ultimately, they must do that by placing less emphasis on test scores and developing measurements that are more inclusive. The problem is clear when we realize that there are many qualified Black and Latino students who do not get into selective colleges.

Some scholars and public officials have argued that nothing can be done to move more minority students into selective public colleges because minority students are unprepared to succeed in those colleges.[74] On the contrary, selective colleges are both unwilling and unprepared to admit minority students with a high chance of graduation because doing so would threaten their college ranking.[75]

Many selective public colleges say they are letting in only the most qualified applicants in a highly competitive process. In spring 2014, 1.6 million students had standardized test scores that indicated readiness to succeed at a selective college; however, there were only 434,000 seats available. So of course only a small share would get in. Standardized tests, however, are overrated and overused as predictors of college completion. First, even at their best, the SAT and ACT results account for as little as 15 percent and no more than 30 percent of the difference in graduation rates among individual students. Second, test scores and other metrics used for college admissions are probability statements on college success, not absolute statements on who is qualified for admission.

The public postsecondary system is more and more complicit as a passive agent in the systematic reproduction of white racial privilege across generations. College degrees bring higher earnings. Higher earnings buy more expensive housing in areas with the best schools and peer support for educational attainment. High household incomes, high parental educational attainment levels, and access to high-quality schools are all intertwined in determining which children are likely to succeed in college and have high future earnings.[76]

To argue, as we do here, for more racial equity in admissions and funding at public colleges is to suggest a need for additional exceptions to the basic dynamic that governs public higher education. Systemic obstacles like the overheated competition for enrollment in selective public colleges require systemic responses. We can start thinking systemically by moving away

73 These scores are roughly 1200 or higher on the SAT and 24 or higher on the ACT.

74 Transcript of Oral Argument, *Fisher v. Texas*, 579 US No. 14-981, available at https://www.supremecourt.gov/oral_arguments/argument_transcripts/2015/14-981_onjq.pdf; Sander and Taylor, *Mismatch,* 2012.

75 See, for example, Bowen and McPherson, "A Discredited Challenge to Affirmative Action," 2015.

76 The empirical evidence shows that parental education is now more important than family income in determining a child's future opportunity (see Reardon, "The Widening Academic Achievement Gap between the Rich and the Poor," 2011). In the postindustrial economy, access to high-quality postsecondary education and occupational preparation has become the primary means of intergenerational transmission of economic opportunity. For example, students whose parents have no more than a high school diploma have only a 13 percent chance of attaining a bachelor's degree. However, students whose parents have a graduate degree have a 73 percent chance of attaining a bachelor's degree (see endnote 6 in Carnevale and Strohl, *Separate & Unequal*, 2013).

from the current test-crazed admissions competition for seats at our top colleges.[77] We need to follow the lead of the 1,000 colleges that are SAT optional and create enrollment matrices that take into consideration more aspects of an applicant's qualifications.

In the end, the choice of which students should be admitted to a selective college must be based on a holistic process that balances merit, fairness, and opportunity. In determining that balance, university leaders and policymakers must consider a host of large questions: Should prestige and test-based metrics of educational merit alone drive public policy on college admissions and institutional funding? Or should a more equitable balance of merit and opportunity be our performance standard both in college admissions and the use of public funds in postsecondary education? Should selective public colleges be more representative of the taxpayer base that pays for them?

The argument for more minority access to selective colleges and the quality educational opportunities they provide is most easily made on equity grounds. The overzealous use of test scores and institutional prestige to signal merit tends to paper over the strong relationship between supposedly meritocratic metrics and unfair race and class advantages. Standardized test scores are much more powerful as social indicators than they are as educational predictors.

The overreliance on test scores as the defining metric for admission has essentially privatized selective public colleges.[78] This privatization of the market limits the access of the disadvantaged to the most selective colleges. There is great economic and social value in increasing access to selective colleges for minority students, especially for those who have a solid chance of graduating because they score above average on their college entrance exams. To be more representative of the public they serve, selective public colleges will need to accept more Black and Latino students who score between the 50th and 75th percentile on college-entry exams (1000-1200 on the SAT or 21-24 on the ACT).

Accepting such students would not significantly affect graduation rates. Black and Latino students who attend selective colleges graduate at an 81 percent rate, compared to the 86 percent graduation rate at these colleges for White students. From a societal perspective, any downward trend in overall graduation rates will be more than made up for by large gains in degree attainment by Blacks and Latinos.

These policies are worth pursuing. At the same time, we also must realize that selective colleges cannot increase their capacity enough to fully address the race-based educational inequities that exist in the higher education system. Open-access colleges *will* continue to serve a large share of college students.[79] To promote equity, we must find ways to improve the educational quality of open-access public colleges. That will require greater spending by states and possibly the federal government.

That does not mean equal funding is the remedy. Rather, higher education systems should look at how K–12 education is funded, with the most money going to the schools with the greatest need. We must move from a funding philosophy focused on access to the standard used by K–12 schools: adequacy.

77 Selective public colleges are getting much more difficult to get into in recent years. Fourteen selective public universities had acceptance rates of 40 percent or less in 2016-17, compared to six selective public colleges with that acceptance rate 10 years earlier. Powell, "It's Tougher to Get into These Public Schools," 2017.

78 Highly selective public colleges are disproportionately attended by children from wealthy families. About 45 percent of students come from the wealthiest 20 percent of families, but only about 6 percent come from the poorest 20 percent of families. See Chetty et al., "Mobility Report Cards," 2017.

79 About 55 percent of students at public colleges attend open-access colleges. See sidebar on page 16.

In most cases, that would mean colleges that enroll students who have lower levels of academic preparation and need more college-level services would receive more resources in order to succeed. Public colleges and universities must simultaneously use data and information technology to improve outcomes. State and federal policymakers should invest in interventions that have shown the most promise to promote efficiency in college programs, such as

- adopting predictive analytics and intrusive counseling to direct the most vulnerable students toward targeted interventions that promote college access and success;[80]

- using labor market information to strengthen the connections between college and careers and develop consumer information tools that help prospective college students decide where to go and what to study;[81] and

- targeting financial aid toward the neediest students to ensure that college is affordable for students from all backgrounds.[82]

If we do not rise to the challenge of preparing Americans for careers more efficiently and more equitably, millions of Americans will be left behind. We will continue to leave unaddressed one of the key factors that divide this country along racial lines.

80 Carnevale et al., *Career Pathways*, 2017.
81 Ibid.
82 Crockett et al., *Targeting Financial Aid for Improved Retention Outcomes*, 2011, and Kantrowitz, *Targeting of Student Aid Programs According to Financial Need*, 2009.

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Appendix A:
DATA SOURCES

The data sources that this report relies on for its analyses are as follows:

The American Community Survey (ACS): ACS is a nationally representative survey conducted annually by the US Census Bureau. Each year the ACS is mailed to over 3 million households across the United States. We extracted publicly available data gathered by this survey to estimate the college-age (18-to-24-year-old) demographics nationally, and for each state. This report used the one-year sample files from the 2004, 2005, 2006, 2014, 2015, and 2016 surveys.

US Department of Education's Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS): IPEDS collects a broad array of information on postsecondary institutions in the United States. IPEDS consists of 12 different survey components covering such topics as enrollment, student financial aid, institutional finances, and completion rates. These data are collected annually, and the completion of the survey is mandatory for all postsecondary institutions to participate in federal financial assistance programs (Title IV of the Higher Education Act of 1965 programs). This public data set was used to gather information on postsecondary institution characteristics, enrollment patterns, and institutional finances.

NCES-Barron's Admissions Competitiveness Index Data Files: 1972, 1982, 1992, 2004, 2008, 2014: Each year Barron's Educational Series publishes *Profiles of American Colleges*, which ranks many four-year American colleges by categorizing them in one of seven groups: most competitive, highly competitive, very competitive, competitive, less competitive, noncompetitive, and special. The National Center for Education Statistics maintains a restricted-use data set that contains Barron's college admissions competitiveness rating for 1972, 1982, 1992, 2004, 2008, and 2014. We used this restricted-use data set in the process of defining the three bands of selectivity used in this report.

Education Longitudinal Study of 2002 (ELS): This longitudinal survey follows high school sophomores of 2002 and high school seniors of 2004 through their postsecondary years and into the workforce. This data product included six waves of follow-ups, with the final occurring in 2013. We used the restricted-use data set of this instrument in order to match postsecondary institutions with their level of selectivity—as well as to get information concerning test scores. These restricted-use data allowed us to calculate graduation rates by race, postsecondary selectivity, and test scores.

Appendix B:
HOW WE DEFINE SELECTIVITY

The universe of institutions that this analysis considers are all degree-granting US institutions that participate in Title IV programs. Additionally, most figures presented include only public institutions unless otherwise indicated.

This report categorized degree-granting institutions according to three categories of selectivity: selective, middle-tier, and open-access. In large part, these categories were based on Barron's selectivity rankings of American colleges from 2004 and 2014. The Barron's rankings were drawn from the *NCES-Barron's Admissions Competitiveness Index Files: 1972, 1982, 1992, 2004, 2008, 2014*. These data were then linked to IPEDS survey data using the unique identifier number (unit ID). Note that the following definitions were used for the enrollment and financial analyses in this report.

Selective Colleges

In this report, selective colleges are those that fall in the three most selective Barron's categories: most competitive, highly competitive, and very competitive. Barron's *Profiles of American Colleges 2015* defines these categories using the following criteria:

- *Most Competitive*: These colleges usually require admitted students to have a high school rank in the top 10-20 percent, and to have grade point averages (GPAs) of B+ or above. The median SAT scores of admitted students are between 1310 and 1600, and median ACT scores are above 29. These schools usually admit less than one-third of applicants.

- *Highly Competitive*: The highly competitive colleges look for students with GPAs of B and above and positions in the top 20-35 percent of their high school class. Median SAT scores are between 1240 and 1310. Median ACT scores are 27 to 28. Admissions rates are generally between 33 percent and 50 percent.

- *Very Competitive*: The very competitive colleges admit students with high school GPAs of B– and above who rank generally between the 35th percentile and 50th percentile of their high school class. Median scores are between 1150 and 1240 on the SAT and between 24 and 26 on the ACT. These colleges usually accept as many as one-half to three-fourths of their applicants, but a significant number accept less than one-third.

Additionally, if selective colleges have branch campuses listed in IPEDS that are not individually mentioned in Barron's *Profiles of American Colleges,* they are also considered selective. For example, while only the University of Connecticut main campus is listed in Barron's, this report also considers its branch campuses (Tri-Campus, Avery Point, and Stamford) as the same level of selectivity.

Middle-Tier Colleges

Middle-tier colleges are those that fall into the fourth and fifth most selective Barron's categories: competitive and less competitive. Barron's *Profiles of American Colleges 2015* defines these categories using the following criteria:

- *Competitive*: Competitive is a broad category in which colleges generally admit students with median SAT scores between 1000 and 1140 and with ACT scores between 21 and 23. Some require high school GPAs of a B– or better, while others accept a minimum GPA of C. Most of the competitive colleges admit 50-65 percent of applicants, while some admit 75-85 percent. A small number of these colleges accept less than one-half of applicants.

- *Less Competitive*: Median scores in this tier of colleges are generally below 1000 on the SAT or below 21 on the ACT, though some that require admissions tests do not report entry medians. Many of these colleges accept students with GPAs of a C average or below in high school and in the top 65 percent of their class. Acceptance rates are above 85 percent.

As with selective colleges, if middle-tier colleges have branch campuses listed in IPEDS (with a unique unit ID number) that are not individually mentioned in Barron's, they are also considered as middle-tier colleges. For example, Arizona State University is considered a middle-tier college, but has numerous branch campuses that are not mentioned in Barron's, so they are also considered to be middle-tier colleges.

Open-Access Colleges

Open-access colleges include all two-year colleges that are degree-granting, all four-year colleges that are not listed in Barron's and are not branch campuses of a selective or middle-tier college, and colleges that fall into Barron's noncompetitive college category. Barron's *Profiles of American Colleges 2015* defines this category using the following criteria:

- *Noncompetitive*: Noncompetitive colleges require only evidence of high school graduation. Entrance exams are sometimes used for placement purposes. Seating capacity can limit the acceptance rates in these colleges, but those with acceptance rates of 98 percent and higher are automatically included.

Specialty Colleges and Service Academies

Schools that Barron's considers special are excluded from this analysis. These colleges include specialized schools of study, such as professional art and music schools. They are excluded as they tend to have admission requirements that are not based on general academic criteria. Examples include the Massachusetts College of Art and Design and the University of North Carolina School of the Arts. Other special schools include colleges that are oriented towards working adults, such as SUNY Empire State College and Thomas Edison State University.

While service academies are public institutions, and in some cases categorized by selectivity in Barron's rankings, they are also excluded from this analysis. This report highlights how well public state institutions represent state demographics—whereas service academies serve a national mission. These schools include the United States Military Academy in New York, the United States Naval Academy in Maryland, the United States Air Force Academy in Colorado, the United States Coast Guard Academy in Connecticut, and the United States Merchant Marine Academy in New York.

Table B-1. List of Selective Public Colleges in 2015 and/or 2005

Selective public colleges	State	2015	2005
Auburn University	AL	●	●
University of Alabama Huntsville	AL	●	●
University of Arizona	AZ		●
University of Arkansas	AR	●	●
University of Central Arkansas	AR	●	
California Polytechnic State University	CA	●	●
San Diego State University	CA	●	
University of California Berkeley	CA	●	●
University of California Davis	CA	●	●
University of California Irvine	CA	●	●
University of California Los Angeles	CA	●	●
University of California San Diego	CA	●	●
University of California Santa Barbara	CA	●	●
University of California Santa Cruz	CA	●	●
Colorado School of Mines	CO	●	●
Colorado State University Fort Collins	CO	●	●
University of Colorado Colorado Springs	CO	●	
University of Colorado Boulder	CO	●	●
University of Connecticut (and branch campuses)	CT	●	●
University of Delaware	DE	●	●
Florida International University	FL	●	●
Florida State University	FL	●	●
New College of Florida	FL	●	●
University of Central Florida	FL	●	●
University of Florida	FL	●	●
University of North Florida	FL	●	●
University of South Florida St. Petersburg	FL	●	
Fort Valley State University	GA	●	
Georgia College & State University	GA	●	
Georgia Institute of Technology	GA	●	●
Georgia State University	GA	●	
Kennesaw State University	GA	●	
University of Georgia	GA	●	●
University of Hawaii Manoa	HI	●	●
Illinois State University	IL	●	
University of Illinois Chicago	IL	●	
University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign	IL	●	●
Indiana University Bloomington	IN	●	●
Purdue University	IN	●	●
Iowa State University	IA		●
University of Iowa	IA	●	●
Kansas State University	KS	●	●

Selective public colleges	State	2015	2005
University of Kansas	KS		●
Murray State University	KY		●
University of Louisville	KY	●	●
Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College	LA	●	●
University of New Orleans	LA	●	
Coppin State University	MD	●	
Morgan State University	MD	●	
Salisbury University	MD	●	●
St. Mary's College of Maryland	MD	●	●
Towson University	MD	●	●
University of Maryland Baltimore County	MD	●	●
University of Maryland College Park	MD	●	●
University of Massachusetts Amherst	MA	●	
University of Massachusetts Lowell	MA		●
Grand Valley State University	MI	●	●
Michigan State University	MI	●	●
Michigan Technological University	MI	●	●
Northern Michigan University	MI	●	
Oakland University	MI	●	
University of Michigan Ann Arbor	MI	●	●
University of Michigan Dearborn	MI	●	●
Southwest Minnesota State University	MN		●
University of Minnesota Morris	MN	●	●
University of Minnesota Twin Cities	MN	●	●
University of Mississippi	MS	●	
Missouri State University	MO	●	
Missouri University of Science and Technology	MO	●	●
Truman State University	MO	●	●
University of Missouri	MO	●	●
University of Missouri Kansas City	MO		●
University of Missouri St. Louis	MO	●	●
Montana State University	MT	●	
Montana Tech of the University of Montana	MT	●	
University of Nebraska Lincoln	NE	●	
University of New Hampshire	NH	●	●
New Jersey Institute of Technology	NJ	●	●
Ramapo College of New Jersey	NJ		●
Rowan University	NJ	●	●
Rutgers University Camden	NJ		●
Rutgers University New Brunswick	NJ	●	●
Rutgers University Newark	NJ		●
Stockton University	NJ	●	●

Selective public colleges	State	2015	2005
The College of New Jersey	NJ	●	●
New Mexico Institute of Mining and Technology	NM	●	
CUNY Bernard M. Baruch College	NY	●	●
CUNY City College	NY	●	
CUNY Hunter College	NY	●	
CUNY Queens College	NY	●	
SUNY Binghamton University	NY	●	●
SUNY Buffalo State College	NY		●
SUNY College at Brockport	NY	●	
SUNY College of Agriculture and Technology at Cobleskill	NY	●	
SUNY College of Environmental Science and Forestry	NY	●	●
SUNY Fredonia	NY	●	●
SUNY Geneseo	NY	●	●
SUNY New Paltz	NY		●
SUNY Oneonta	NY	●	●
SUNY Oswego	NY	●	
SUNY Plattsburgh	NY	●	
SUNY Purchase College	NY		●
SUNY Stony Brook University	NY	●	●
SUNY University at Albany	NY	●	●
SUNY University at Buffalo	NY	●	
Appalachian State University	NC	●	●
North Carolina State University	NC	●	●
University of North Carolina Asheville	NC	●	●
University of North Carolina Chapel Hill	NC	●	●
University of North Carolina Wilmington	NC	●	●
Miami University (and branch campuses)	OH	●	●
Ohio State University (and branch campuses)	OH	●	
Ohio University Main Campus	OH	●	
University of Cincinnati (and branch campuses)	OH	●	
Northeastern State University	OK	●	
Oklahoma State University (and branch campuses)	OK	●	●
University of Oklahoma	OK	●	●
University of Science and Arts of Oklahoma	OK	●	
University of Oregon	OR	●	●
Pennsylvania State University (and branch campuses)	PA	●	●
Temple University	PA	●	
University of Pittsburgh Main Campus	PA	●	●
University of Rhode Island	RI		●
Clemson University	SC	●	●
College of Charleston	SC	●	●
University of South Carolina	SC	●	●

Selective public colleges	State	2015	2005
Winthrop University	SC	●	
South Dakota School of Mines and Technology	SD	●	
Tennessee Technological University	TN		●
University of Tennessee Knoxville	TN	●	
University of Tennessee Martin	TN	●	
Texas A & M University College Station	TX	●	●
Texas State University	TX	●	●
Texas Tech University	TX		●
University of Houston	TX	●	
University of Texas Austin	TX	●	●
University of Texas Dallas	TX	●	●
University of Utah	UT	●	
University of Vermont	VT	●	●
Christopher Newport University	VA	●	●
College of William & Mary	VA	●	●
George Mason University	VA	●	●
James Madison University	VA	●	●
University of Mary Washington	VA	●	●
University of Virginia	VA	●	●
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University	VA	●	
University of Washington (and branch campuses)	WA	●	●
Western Washington University	WA	●	●
University of Wisconsin Eau Claire	WI	●	●
University of Wisconsin La Crosse	WI	●	●
University of Wisconsin Madison	WI	●	●
University of Wisconsin Stevens Point	WI		●

Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System and National Center for Education Statistics—*Barron's Admissions Competitiveness Index Data Files*.

Appendix C:
FINANCIAL ANALYSIS METHODOLOGY

This report used the finance and 12-month enrollment IPEDS surveys of 2005 and 2015 for the institutional financial analysis. All of the financial numbers were adjusted to 2015 dollars using the Consumer Price Index Research Series Using Current Methods (CPI-U-RS). While IPEDS provides wide-ranging postsecondary information annually, using these data entails a number of challenges that require adjustments.

First, when institutions fill out the finance survey, they do not all face the same questions; some finance survey questions differ depending on which accounting board standards that institution follows. The vast majority of public institutions follow Governmental Accounting Standards Board (GASB) standards, but a handful (such as the University of Delaware) follow Financial Accounting Standard Board (FASB) standards. Additionally, the questions in a survey may change between years. Thus, to compare 2005 and 2015, we had to adjust some data points.

To create standardized variables across years and reporting standards, we used the definitions in a crosswalk developed for the Delta Cost Project.[1] The following is a list of the main financial variables defined in this report, the corresponding Delta Cost variable names, and brief descriptions of what is included in the variables.

- **Tuition Revenue:** This variable follows the "nettuition01" Delta Cost variable definition, which is total revenue from tuition collected from students after all institutional grant aid is provided.

- **State and Local Appropriations:** This variable follows the "state_local_app" Delta Cost variable definition. This includes all appropriations by a state legislative body and appropriations by governments below the state level. This does not include state appropriations for specific projects or programs, nor does it include capital appropriations or revenues for grants and contracts.

- **Academic Spending:** This variable follows the "acadsupp01" Delta Cost variable definition. Academic support spending covers expenditures that support an institution's primary missions of instruction, research, and public service. Academic support spending covers a broad array of activities including libraries and galleries, academic administration, and professional/curriculum development activities. This definition excludes the sum of all operations and maintenance expenses and interest associated with academic support activities.

- **Instructional Spending:** This variable follows the "instruction01" Delta Cost variable definition. It includes all credit and non-credit instructional activities including academic, vocational, community education, and adult basic education instructional activities. In some cases, where they are not separately budgeted, some spending for non-instructional activities in research and public service is captured. The sum of all operations and maintenance expenses, and interest associated with instructional spending, is excluded from this definition.

1 The Delta Cost Project crosswalk, which it calls the Data Mapping File, and the Delta Cost Data Dictionary can be accessed at http://www.deltacostproject.org/delta-cost-project-database.

Further, we adjusted expenditure and revenue variables on a per-student basis. Here we use 12-month full-time-equivalent (FTE) enrollments from the 12-month enrollment survey component. A total FTE count was used that included all reported undergraduate and graduate students and estimated first-professional students.

Another complication comes from "parent-child" reporting. In short, there are many instances in which data for a "child" campus are reported by a "parent" campus combined with that parent campus's data. For example, the University of Connecticut and its three branch campuses (Tri-Campus, Avery Point, and Stamford) each report to IPEDS, but the branch campuses do not report all of their information. While the branch campuses in Connecticut report enrollment numbers, they do not report financial numbers.

There are two approaches we could use to counter this problem. The first would be to collapse all child, or branch, campuses/institutions into their parent institution. In broad strokes, this is the approach undertaken by the Delta Cost Project. However, there are a number of child institutions that Barron's ranks differently than their parent, and this variance would be lost if we collapsed child and parent institutions together. The second approach, which is used in this report, is to allocate the spending of the child reported by the parent to the child and subtract that amount from the parent. This adjustment was conducted using a financial allocation factor reported in IPEDS.

One final adjustment for this analysis is the exclusion of extraordinarily high-cost institutions. These include schools that principally provide graduate and professional training or medical training. Thus, all institutions in which the majority of students were graduate students were excluded, as well as all medical centers. For example, we excluded such institutions as the CUNY School of Law, the Texas Tech University Health Sciences Center, and the Oregon Health and Science University.

Appendix D:
GRADUATION RATES AND TEST-SCORE METHODOLOGY

The Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analyses of graduation rates, test scores, and race is based on our analyses of the National Center on Education Statistics (NCES) restricted-use *Education Longitudinal Study of 2002* (ELS) and *NCES-Barron's Admissions Competitiveness Index Files: 1972, 1982, 1992, 2004, 2008, 2014*.

The ELS provides individual data, including ACT/SAT data and a survey-administered exam, with post-institutional data including outcomes (such as college completion) as late as 2012, or eight years following an on-time high school graduation.

Our work linked the ELS data to Barron's data using the IPEDS institutional identifier. Here, selective institutions were defined as the three most selective tiers in the Barron's Competitive Index data. Open-access colleges are defined as least- and non-competitive selective tiers in the Barron's Competitive Index data, along with all other unranked Title IV four-year and two-year institutions.

The ELS student data are used to establish SAT/ACT score quartiles. These test data are also used to establish the test distribution by race, social class, and selectivity, which in turn enables us to provide counts, by various subgroups, of students with similar test scores who do not attend selective colleges.

Appendix E:
FALL ENROLLMENTS

2015	White	Black/African American	Hispanic/Latino	Asian	Other	Total
Selective	279,221	30,283	53,401	50,301	21,266	434,472
Middle tier	297,190	75,607	86,620	27,503	25,678	512,597
Open access	552,411	181,881	308,904	63,209	55,764	1,162,168
Total	**1,128,822**	**287,771**	**448,925**	**141,013**	**102,707**	**2,109,238**

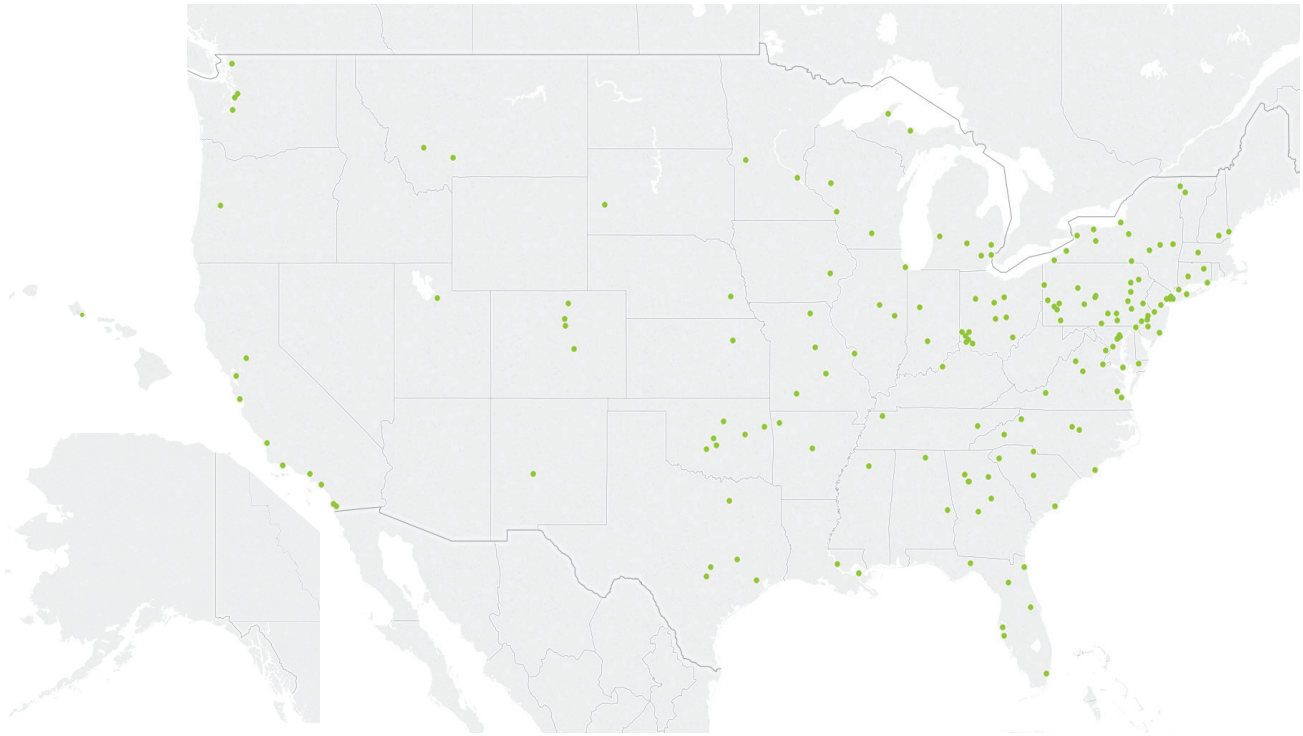
2005	White	Black/African American	Hispanic/Latino	Asian	Other	Total
Selective	235,569	19,589	23,672	34,153	2,723	315,706
Middle tier	340,784	72,812	40,520	26,496	5,115	485,728
Open access	648,988	166,098	154,543	52,115	14,117	1,035,860
Total	**1,225,341**	**258,499**	**218,735**	**112,764**	**21,955**	**1,837,294**

Change	White	Black/African American	Hispanic/Latino	Asian	Other	Total
Selective	43,652	10,694	29,729	16,148	18,543	118,766
Middle tier	-43,595	2,795	46,100	1,007	20,562	26,870
Open access	-96,577	15,783	154,361	11,094	41,647	126,308
Total	**-96,519**	**29,272**	**230,190**	**28,249**	**80,752**	**271,944**

Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, using the *Barron's Admissions Competitiveness Index Data Files* to define selectivity.

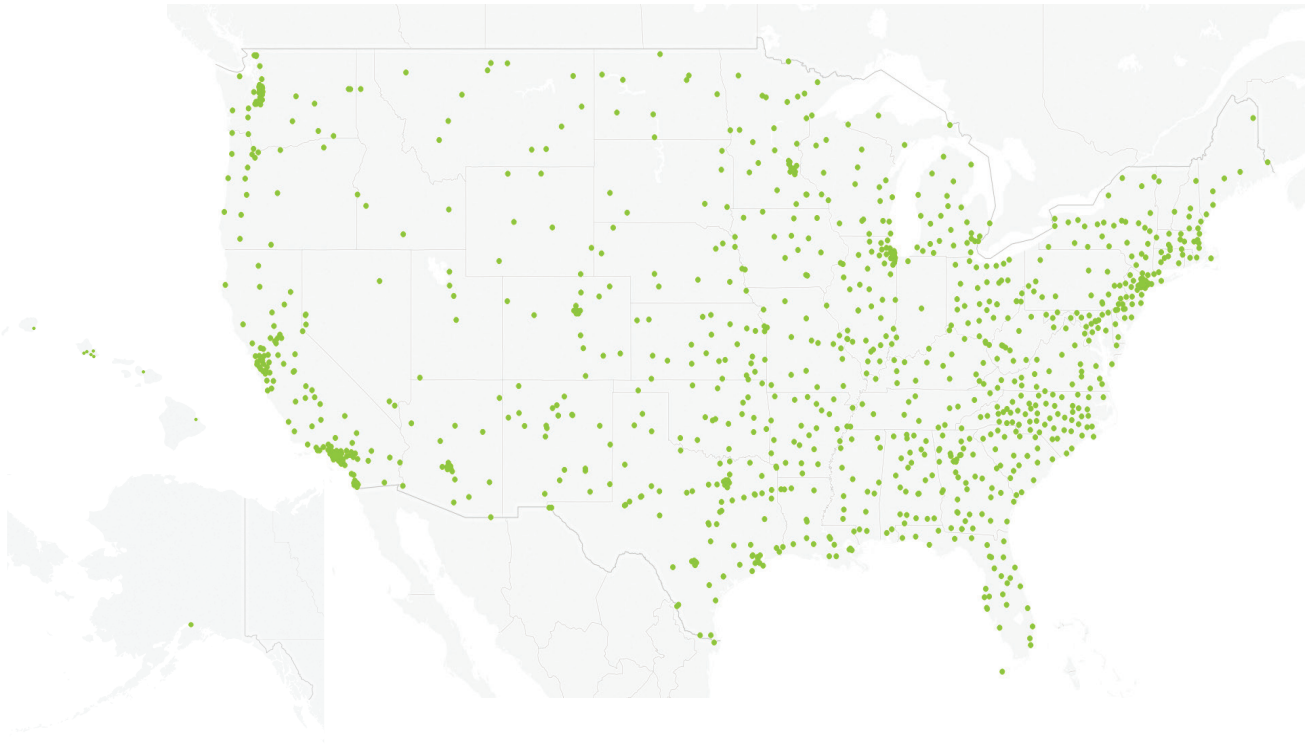
Appendix F:
MAPS OF SELECTIVE AND OPEN-ACCESS PUBLIC COLLEGES IN THE UNITED STATES

Figure F1. The nation's selective public colleges are focused on the coasts and in the Central and Eastern time zones. Nine states do not have a selective public college and 13 states only have one selective public college.



Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, 2014-15 academic year.

Figure F2. All states have more than one open-access public college; most states have many.



Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, 2014-15 academic year.

Appendix G:
STATES WITH SIZABLE BLACK OR LATINO COLLEGE-AGE POPULATIONS

Table G1. States with sizable Black college-age populations

Rank	State	2015 College-age Black population	Share of national Black college-age population	Black share of state college-age population
1	Florida	367,000	8%	21%
2	Texas	367,000	8%	13%
3	Georgia	362,000	8%	35%
4	New York	310,000	7%	16%
5	North Carolina	241,000	5%	24%
6	California	240,000	5%	6%
7	Illinois	217,000	5%	18%
8	Maryland	178,000	4%	32%
9	Virginia	177,000	4%	21%
10	Louisiana	176,000	4%	38%
11	Michigan	164,000	4%	17%
12	Pennsylvania	162,000	4%	13%
13	Ohio	162,000	4%	15%
14	Alabama	152,000	3%	32%
15	South Carolina	151,000	3%	31%
16	Mississippi	139,000	3%	44%
17	Tennessee	133,000	3%	21%
18	New Jersey	125,000	3%	16%
19	Missouri	84,000	2%	14%
20	Indiana	70,000	2%	10%
21	Arkansas	56,000	1%	19%
22	Kentucky	44,000	1%	10%
23	Connecticut	43,000	1%	12%
24	Delaware	23,000	< 1%	26%

Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the US Census Bureau's *American Community Survey*, 2014 to 2016 pooled years.
Note: The District of Columbia is not included because it does not have an open-access or selective public college.

Table G2. States with sizable Latino college-age populations

Rank	State	2015 college-age Latino population	Share of national Latino college-age population	Latino share of state college-age population
1	California	1,872,000	28%	48%
2	Texas	1,243,000	18%	45%
3	Florida	505,000	8%	28%
4	New York	428,000	6%	22%
5	Arizona	274,000	4%	41%
6	Illinois	253,000	4%	20%
7	New Jersey	188,000	3%	24%
8	Colorado	138,000	2%	26%
9	New Mexico	117,000	2%	56%
10	Washington	112,000	2%	17%
11	Georgia	110,000	2%	11%
12	North Carolina	108,000	2%	11%
13	Massachusetts	104,000	2%	15%
14	Nevada	98,000	1%	38%
15	Virginia	90,000	1%	11%
16	Connecticut	69,000	1%	19%
17	Oregon	67,000	1%	18%
18	Maryland	63,000	1%	11%
19	Oklahoma	52,000	1%	13%
20	Utah	50,000	1%	15%
21	Kansas	42,000	1%	14%
22	Idaho	27,000	< 1%	17%
23	Nebraska	22,000	< 1%	12%
24	Rhode Island	21,000	< 1%	19%
25	Hawaii	19,000	< 1%	14%
26	Delaware	10,000	< 1%	12%
27	Alaska	9,000	< 1%	11%
28	Wyoming	7,000	< 1%	13%

Source: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce analysis of data from the US Census Bureau's *American Community Survey*, 2014 to 2016 pooled years.

Our Separate & Unequal Public Colleges: How Public Colleges Reinforce White Racial Privilege and Marginalize Black and Latino Students
can be accessed online at cew.georgetown.edu/SUStates

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