

# REPORT

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## **BLOCKED: CALIFORNIA STUDENTS & HIGHER EDUCATION** GAPS AMONG CSU, UC & HIGH SCHOOL REQUIREMENTS LEAD TO INEQUITABLE ACCESS

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## Executive Summary

California is home to renowned public university systems, educating thousands of students every year and helping them build strong futures for themselves and their communities. The right to education is fundamental to the well-being of students and the larger society as research shows that more education can promote healthier lives and is associated with better employment prospects.<sup>1</sup> Due to these benefits, California prospers when its high school students continue their education and attend college.<sup>2</sup> With estimates showing about 40% of jobs in California will require a bachelor's degree in less than a decade, access to higher education is critical to California's prosperity.<sup>3</sup> However, California is failing to set students up for this future. This report shows that California's public universities do not provide equal access to higher education based solely on merit. This problem is due in part to course requirements that create an inequitable barrier to admission for many students who do not have an equal opportunity to fulfill them successfully. The report also explores data concerning which students are most affected by this barrier and offers recommendations for how the universities and public high schools can improve college access for all of California's students to build a stronger future for young people and communities.

## CSU and UC Base Eligibility for Admission on Completion of Specific Courses

California's two public university systems are the California State University (CSU) and the University of California (UC). Together with the California Community Colleges (CCC), CSU and UC form the basis of public higher education in the state. CSU and UC are selective institutions that provide bachelor's degrees and other advanced degrees for hundreds of thousands of students each year, roughly 486,000 at CSU and 285,000 at UC.<sup>4</sup> In the California 1960 Master Plan for Higher Education, the Legislature set the universities' eligibility targets at the top 33.3% of high school graduates for CSU and the top 12.5% for UC.<sup>5</sup> The universities establish their own eligibility criteria to define what makes a "top" graduate. These criteria are high school graduation, high standardized test scores, and a grade of C or higher in a minimum of 15 specific courses in seven subjects ("A-G").<sup>6</sup> Though each of these requirements restricts students' access, data from UC indicate that the course requirements are the greatest barrier for student admission.<sup>7</sup> As more high school students have met the minimum qualifications, CSU and UC have responded by tightening restrictions. For example, from 1983 to 2007, CSU and UC expanded required A-G coursework in certain subjects, added new subject areas, and increased the GPA requirement.<sup>8</sup>



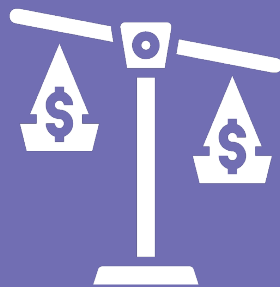
**40%**

**With estimates showing about 40% of jobs in California will require a bachelor's degree in less than a decade, access to higher education is critical to California's prosperity.**

## Discrepancies Among High Schools, CSU, and UC Requirements Put Burden on Students








Currently, the A-G course series does not align with the state's high school graduation requirements (Table 1). For example, students need to take three years of English to graduate from high school, but need four years of study to qualify for CSU and UC. Consequently, students can graduate from California high schools without being eligible for California universities. While many school districts have decided independently to adapt their requirements to match those of CSU and UC, not all have done so. In a 2017 survey, nearly half (49%) of school districts reported they did not require students to complete all A-G courses in order to graduate.<sup>9</sup> Of those that did match CSU and UC course requirements, 28% allowed students to pass with a D grade, which still kept CSU and UC eligibility out of reach for California students as the universities require a C grade or better. Moreover, not all schools even offer the full A-G curriculum to their students.<sup>10</sup>

For students lacking full access to A-G courses, CSU and UC offer three alternatives: take classes online or in summer school, demonstrate subject proficiency through additional standardized subject tests, or enroll in a community college and then transfer.<sup>11</sup> These options place the burden and costs of solving educational institutional gaps on students. Additionally, there are large economic and racial equity gaps in access to a computer or to high-speed internet; in standardized testing; and in CCC transfer rates.<sup>12</sup>



**There are large economic and racial equity gaps in access to a computer or to high-speed internet; in standardized testing; and in CCC transfer rates.**

**TABLE 1: CSU AND UC GENERALLY REQUIRE MORE COURSES THAN ARE NEEDED TO GRADUATE FROM CALIFORNIA HIGH SCHOOLS**

SUBJECT AREA	STATE GRADUATION REQUIREMENTS	CSU ADMISSION REQUIREMENTS	UC ADMISSION REQUIREMENTS
 <b>ENGLISH</b>	<b>3 YEARS</b>	<b>4 YEARS</b>	<b>4 YEARS</b>
 <b>MATH</b>	<b>2 YEARS:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Algebra 1</li> </ul>	<b>3 YEARS:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Algebra 1</li> <li>Algebra 2</li> <li>Geometry</li> </ul>	<b>3 YEARS (4 YEARS RECOMMENDED):</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Algebra 1</li> <li>Algebra 2</li> <li>Geometry</li> </ul>
 <b>SCIENCE</b>	<b>2 YEARS</b>	<b>2 YEARS, WITH LABS</b>	<b>2 YEARS, WITH LABS (3 YEARS RECOMMENDED)</b>
 <b>FOREIGN LANGUAGE</b> <b>VISUAL AND PERFORMING ARTS</b>	<b>1 YEAR:</b> Either foreign language, arts, or career technical education	<b>2 YEARS:</b> Foreign Language  <b>1 YEAR:</b> Visual and Performing Arts	<b>2 YEARS (3 YEARS RECOMMENDED):</b> Foreign Language  <b>1 YEAR:</b> Visual and Performing Arts
 <b>COLLEGE-PREPARATORY ELECTIVE</b>	Not applicable	<b>1 YEAR</b>	<b>1 YEAR</b>
 <b>HISTORY/SOCIAL SCIENCE</b>	<b>3 YEARS</b>	<b>2 YEARS</b>	<b>2 YEARS</b>
 <b>PHYSICAL EDUCATION</b>	<b>2 YEARS</b>	Not applicable	Not applicable

Source: California Department of Education, California State University, and University of California

## Course Requirements Inconsistent with High School Standards Create an Inequitable Barrier to CSU and UC

By design, the A-G course requirements have long placed CSU and UC completely out of reach for most high school graduates as the California universities seek the “top” 33.3% and 12.5% of graduates, respectively. However, the extent to which the course requirements block access for students varies significantly according to student characteristics. In 2018-19, many students, including students with disabilities, English language learners, students with low incomes, and students of color graduated high school *without* completing the A-G pathway, at rates that were higher than the state average of 50% (Figure 1).<sup>13</sup> Among students of differing racial and ethnic backgrounds, the A-G course requirements were most likely to pose a barrier for American Indian or Alaska Native graduates (69% did not complete), and least likely to pose a barrier for Asian graduates (25% did not complete) (Figure 2).



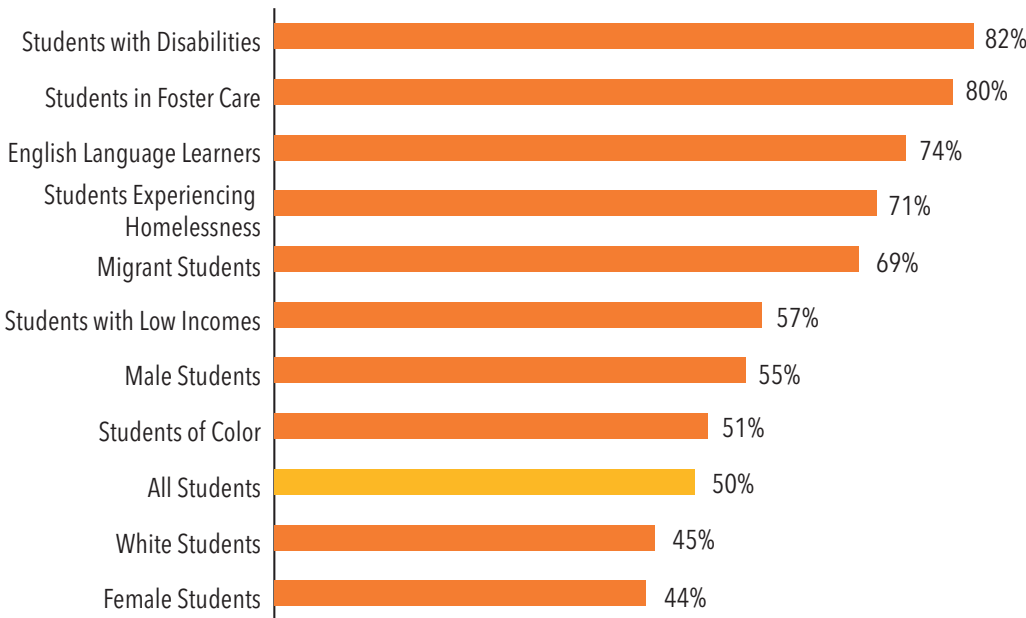
50%

In 2018-19, many students, including students with disabilities, English language learners, students with low incomes, and students of color graduated high school without completing the A-G pathway, at rates that were higher than the state average of 50%.

**FIGURE 1**

# Key Student Groups Are Less Likely to Complete the Courses Required for Admission to CSU or UC

Percentage of High School Graduates Not Meeting A-G Course Requirement, 2018-19



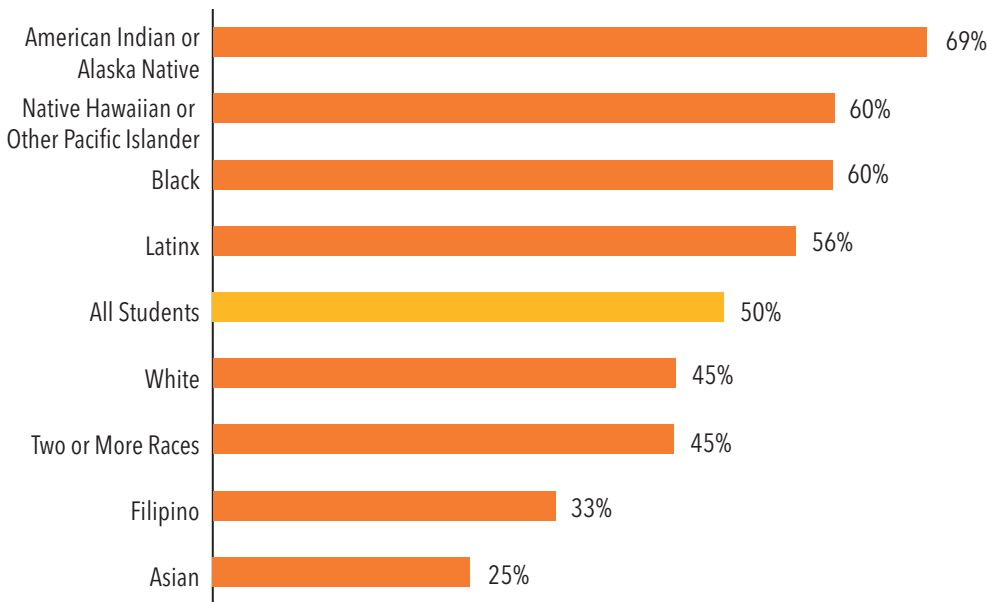
Note: Students must complete at least 15 college preparatory courses ("A-G") with a grade of C or better to be eligible for admission to the California State University or the University of California. Data on non-binary students are suppressed in the source data due to privacy concerns.  
Source: Budget Center analysis of California Department of Education data



**FIGURE 2**

# Many Students of Color Are Less Likely to Complete the Courses Required for Admission to CSU or UC

Percentage of High School Graduates Not Meeting A-G Course Requirement, 2018-19



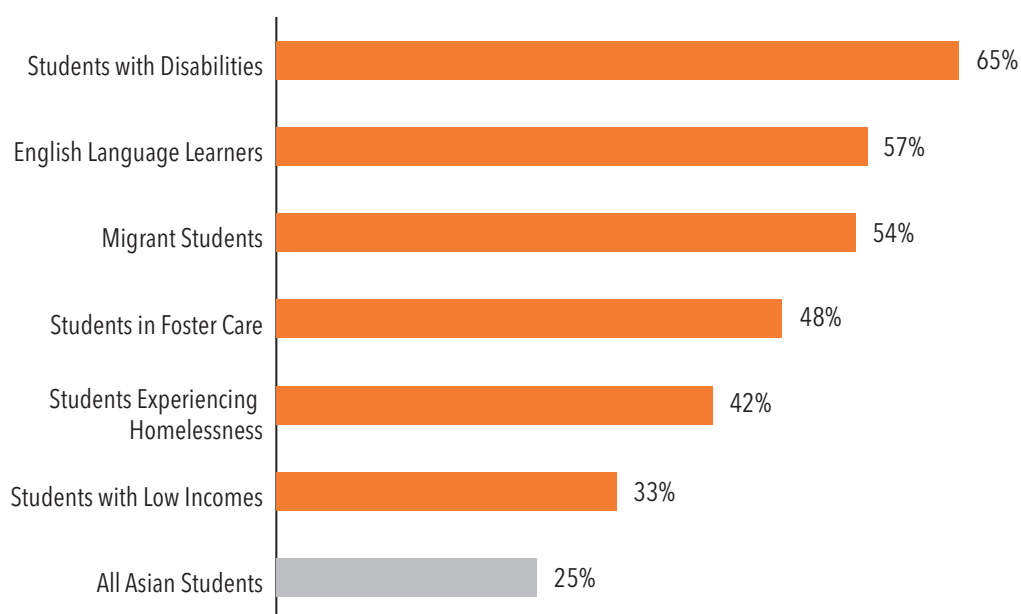
Note: Students must complete at least 15 college preparatory courses ("A-G") with a grade of C or better to be eligible for admission to the California State University or the University of California.  
Source: Budget Center analysis of California Department of Education data

Notably, somewhat older data on A-G course completion showed substantial differences among students of different Asian ethnicities.<sup>14</sup> In 2012-13, the most recent year for which these ethnic breakouts are available, 57% of Laotian students did not complete the A-G requirement, compared to 24% of Chinese students. These outcomes reflect the variation in educational attainment among Asian students that is due, in part, to the different immigration histories and economic experiences of disparate Asian groups.<sup>15</sup> More recent data are available for Asian students which show that completion rates vary significantly based on key characteristics. Whereas 25% of all Asian students in 2018-19 did *not* complete the A-G requirement, outcomes were worse for different groups, including those with disabilities (65%), those who were homeless (42%), and those with low incomes (33%) (Figure 3).<sup>16</sup> While similar disparities exist for all racial and ethnic groups, they are particularly important to note for Asian students, who face a “model minority” myth that obscures existing challenges.

**FIGURE 3**

## Among Asian Students, Key Student Groups Are Less Likely to Complete the Courses Required for Admission to CSU or UC

Percentage of Asian High School Graduates Not Meeting A-G Course Requirement, 2018-19



Note: Students must complete at least 15 college preparatory courses (“A-G”) with a grade of C or better to be eligible for admission to the California State University or the University of California.

Source: Budget Center analysis of California Department of Education data

## Disparities in Satisfying CSU and UC Course Requirements Reflect Societal and Educational Inequities

The A-G course requirements included in CSU and UC admissions are an inequitable barrier because students of different backgrounds face different societal challenges. Black and Latinx families tend to have fewer resources to prepare their children for college and are more likely to live in poorer neighborhoods than are white and Asian families of the same income level.<sup>17</sup> Additionally, living in poverty is associated with lower educational attainment, due to increased health problems, housing instability, food insecurity, and other challenges.<sup>18</sup> Children experiencing homelessness are also more likely to face chronic absences from school and to struggle academically, compared to students who are housed.<sup>19</sup>

Housing segregation and economic discrimination block many California students from the advantage of well-resourced schools in their communities. Many Black, Latinx, and other students of color still attend schools that are “predominantly minority” and that are less likely to have smaller class sizes, a challenging curriculum, A-G courses, and highly qualified teachers — and more likely to have lower A-G course completion rates.<sup>20</sup> These students also have limited access to critical academic support and counseling that could help them enroll in A-G courses and improve their completion rates.<sup>21</sup>

Recent proposals by CSU and UC to increase the A-G course requirements again — an additional quantitative reasoning requirement (CSU) and another year of science (UC) — could leave many students of color even further behind. Both of these changes would disproportionately affect Black and Latinx students, who are more likely to attend schools that have difficulty staffing science classes, with the majority of teacher vacancies for STEM classes occurring in districts primarily serving children of color.<sup>22</sup>



Many Black, Latinx, and other students of color still attend schools that are “predominantly minority” and that are less likely to have smaller class sizes, a challenging curriculum, A-G courses, and highly qualified teachers – and more likely to have lower A-G course completion rates.

## Policymakers Can Improve CSU and UC Access by Reforming Course Requirements

With about 40% of all jobs in California expected to require a bachelor's degree by 2030, the state's economic future depends on equitably expanding students' access to higher education.<sup>23</sup> CSU and UC's policy of tying eligibility to the completion of certain courses (A-G) undermines that ideal as both access to and success in these courses is partially based on a student's social advantages — which they do not control. California students' long-term success in higher education and the workforce is therefore obstructed long before they enroll in college courses or apply for a job. To address this problem:

- **The state Board of Education (BOE) should align — within a decade — high school graduation requirements with current CSU and UC eligibility standards and boost support for K-12 schools to help students meet these requirements.**<sup>24</sup> BOE should set a goal to ensure that graduation requirements and CSU/UC eligibility course requirements are — and remain — aligned.<sup>25</sup> To reach this goal, schools would need a transition period, potentially up to a decade, and the necessary resources for success, including more teachers and staff to support students. This work should occur in consultation with CSU and UC, K-12 leaders and students, and other stakeholders representing various student groups.
- **CSU and UC should modify the A-G course requirements in the short-term to reflect current access.** The goal of the previous recommendation is for high school graduation requirements to reflect CSU/UC standards in the long-term. In the short-term, however, California's public universities should not maintain a standard for eligibility that is clearly inequitable. To this end, as schools prepare to align fully with CSU and UC policy, CSU and UC should modify A-G requirements to reflect students' *current* access to college preparatory courses. For example, given that some schools still do not offer the full A-G course series, CSU/UC could determine the A-G capacity at the schools least able to fulfill the pathway and then set that capacity as a temporary baseline requirement. If the school offers at most 11 A-G courses across all subjects (instead of the 15 CSU and UC currently require for eligibility), then CSU/UC eligibility requirements would, for the time being, be set at 11 A-G courses across all subject areas. These short-term modified requirements would provide students with rigorous college preparatory coursework and better ensure that students have an equal opportunity to meet eligibility criteria.

- **State policymakers should require CSU, and encourage UC, to modify the A-G course policy and provide support to manage potential implementation challenges.** Though CSU and UC typically determine their own eligibility criteria, state policymakers can take steps to require (or encourage) the changes outlined in the previous recommendation. For CSU, the state could adopt a statute mandating more equitable course requirements that reflect current levels of A-G access in high school. For UC, which has separate constitutional protections, state leaders could adopt intent language or consider budgetary incentives.<sup>26</sup> CSU and UC may have some concern that this revised A-G standard would be insufficiently rigorous and would leave some students unprepared to succeed in college. To address this concern, state policymakers should provide resources to the universities to enable them to offer academic support where necessary, as CSU/UC already offer to a significant share of incoming students.<sup>27</sup> Providing more targeted support to these students is a better course than continuing an inequitable policy.
- **State policymakers should require CSU and UC to report on equity impacts of the A-G policy and to work with BOE and K-12 leaders on any future changes.** The Legislature currently requires CSU and UC to regularly report their progress toward certain state higher education goals, including increased student access.<sup>28</sup> Policymakers should also require the universities to report on A-G disparities and progress toward increasing equitable access to A-G courses. When proposing changes to A-G policy, CSU and UC should report on the potential equity impacts and work with BOE and K-12 leaders to ensure schools can meet these changes.

As set out in the 1960 Master Plan for Higher Education, CSU and UC are responsible for providing higher education to California's students. As CSU and UC are selective institutions, students' access to that education is inherently restricted. However, those restrictions should be based on merit, not on social factors over which students have no control. CSU and UC's current course requirements policy yields significant inequities in college eligibility; the burden of addressing those inequities should not rest on individual students. In California, fair access to higher education remains an ideal. State policymakers, CSU and UC, K-12 leaders, and stakeholder groups representing students must all work together to finally turn that ideal into reality — a California where all students have the opportunity to equitably pursue a higher education and policymakers invest in the next generation of the state's learners and leaders.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Adriana Ramos-Yamamoto and Monica Davalos, *Confronting Racism: Overcoming COVID-19, and Advancing Health Equity* (California Budget & Policy Center, February 2021), 28, <https://calbudgetcenter.org/resources/confronting-racism-overcoming-covid19-advancing-health-equity/>.

<sup>2</sup> Some research suggests that for every \$1 Californians invest in the state's public universities, the state receives a net return on investment of \$4.80 for students who graduate, with a lifetime return per graduate of over \$200,000. These estimates are for students who complete a bachelor's degree. The return for those who attend, but do not complete college has been estimated to be \$2.40 per student. Jon Stiles, Michael Hout, and Henry Brady, *California's Economic Payoff: Investing in College Access and Completion* (The Institute for the Study of Societal Issues at the University of California, Berkeley, April 2012), <https://collegecampaign.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Californias-Economic-Payoff-Full-Report-FINAL.pdf>.

<sup>3</sup> Public Policy Institute of California, *Meeting California's Workforce Needs* (October 2019), <https://www.ppic.org/wp-content/uploads/higher-education-in-california-meeting-californias-workforce-needs-october-2019.pdf>.

<sup>4</sup> CSU's 23 campuses provide undergraduate and graduate education and UC's 10 campuses provide undergraduate, graduate, and professional education. See California Budget & Policy Center, *First Look: Revised Budget Proposal Lays Foundation for a More Equitable California, Further Action Needed to Create Sustainable Investments* (May 2021), <https://calbudgetcenter.org/resources/first-look-revised-budget-proposal-lays-foundation-for-a-more-equitable-california-further-action-needed-to-create-sustainable-investments/>.

<sup>5</sup> However, over the years both CSU and UC have at times exceeded or failed to meet these targets. See "California Master Plan for Higher Education," University of California (webpage), accessed June 7, 2021, <https://www.ucop.edu/institutional-research-academic-planning/content-analysis/academic-planning/california-master-plan.html> and Legislative Analyst's Office, *Maintaining the Master Plan's Commitment to College Access* (February 2004), 15, [https://lao.ca.gov/2004/college\\_access/021304\\_college\\_access.pdf](https://lao.ca.gov/2004/college_access/021304_college_access.pdf).

<sup>6</sup> In 2020, both CSU and UC suspended the testing requirement through spring 2023 (CSU) and until fall 2024 (UC). See "Freshman: Admission Requirements," The California State University (webpage), accessed June 3, 2021, [https://www2.calstate.edu/apply/freshman/getting\\_into\\_the\\_csu/pages/admission-requirements.aspx](https://www2.calstate.edu/apply/freshman/getting_into_the_csu/pages/admission-requirements.aspx) and "University of California Board of Regents Unanimously Approved Changes to Standardized Testing Requirement for Undergraduates," University of California (webpage), accessed June 3, 2021, <https://www.universityofcalifornia.edu/press-room/university-california-board-regents-approves-changes-standardized-testing-requirement>, and "Minimum Admission Requirements," University of California (webpage), accessed June 3, 2021, <https://admission.universityofcalifornia.edu/counselors/freshman/minimum-requirements/>.

<sup>7</sup> University of California Academic Senate, *Report of the UC Academic Council Standardized Testing Task Force (STTF)* (January 2020), 47-48, <https://senate.universityofcalifornia.edu/files/underreview/sttf-report.pdf>.

<sup>8</sup> Hans Johnson, *Higher Education in California: New Goals for the Master Plan* (Public Policy Institute of California, April 2010), 7, [https://www.ppic.org/content/pubs/report/R\\_410HJR.pdf](https://www.ppic.org/content/pubs/report/R_410HJR.pdf).

<sup>9</sup> Niu Gao, Lunna Lopes, and Grace Lee, *California's High School Graduation Requirements* (Public Policy Institute of California, November 2017), <https://www.ppic.org/publication/californias-high-school-graduation-requirements/>.

<sup>10</sup> "In the 2016–17 school year, a significant share of California high schools did not offer the full A–G sequence in key subjects: math (12%),

English (14%), science (14%), and social science (10%).” See Niu Gao and Hans Johnson, *Improving College Pathways in California* (Public Policy Institute of California, November 2017), 7, [https://www.ppic.org/wp-content/uploads/r\\_1117ngr.pdf](https://www.ppic.org/wp-content/uploads/r_1117ngr.pdf) and “UC Expands Free Online Course Offerings for California High School Students,” University of California (webpage), accessed June 7, 2021, <https://www.universityofcalifornia.edu/press-room/uc-expands-free-online-course-offerings-california-high-school-students>.

<sup>11</sup> At UC, less than 1% of students are admitted through substituting test scores for A-G courses. See University of California Academic Senate, *Report of the UC Academic Council*, 16, <https://senate.universityofcalifornia.edu/files/underreview/sttf-report.pdf>.

<sup>12</sup> Erik Saucedo, *Distance Learning and the Digital Divide: Opportunity Gap Grows for California K-12 Students* (California Budget & Policy Center, January 2021), <https://calbudgetcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/FS-Digital-Divide.pdf>; Richard V. Reeves and Dimitrios Halikias, *Race Gaps in SAT Scores Highlight Inequality and Hinder Upward Mobility* (The Brookings Institution, February 1, 2017), <https://www.brookings.edu/research/race-gaps-in-sat-scores-highlight-inequality-and-hinder-upward-mobility/>; and Hans Johnson and Marisol Cuellar Mejia, *Increasing Community College Transfers: Progress and Barriers* (Public Policy Institute of California, September 2020), 11, <https://www.ppic.org/wp-content/uploads/increasing-community-college-transfers-progress-and-barriers-september-2020.pdf>.

<sup>13</sup> Budget Center analysis of California Department of Education data.

<sup>14</sup> The Campaign for College Opportunity, *The State of Higher Education in California: Asian American, Native Hawaiian, Pacific Islander* (September 2015), 27, [https://collegecampaign.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/2015-State-of-Higher-Education\\_AANHPI2.pdf](https://collegecampaign.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/2015-State-of-Higher-Education_AANHPI2.pdf).

<sup>15</sup> Karthick Ramakrishnan and Farah Z. Ahmad, *State of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders Series: A Multifaceted Portrait of a Growing Population* (Center for American Progress, September 2014), 46, [https://cdn.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/AAPIRreport-comp.pdf?\\_ga=2.243163202.1528116878.1623875113-1752269650.1623070206](https://cdn.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/AAPIRreport-comp.pdf?_ga=2.243163202.1528116878.1623875113-1752269650.1623070206).

<sup>16</sup> Budget Center analysis of California Department of Education data.

<sup>17</sup> University of California Academic Senate, *Report of the UC Academic Council* (January 2020), 73, <https://senate.universityofcalifornia.edu/files/underreview/sttf-report.pdf>.

<sup>18</sup> New York University, Metropolitan Center for Research on Equity and the Transformation of Schools, *Equity and Excellence In College and Career Readiness: Study of Education In Battle Creek, Michigan* (March 2017), addendum, [https://steinhardt.nyu.edu/sites/default/files/2020-06/BC\\_Vision\\_Study\\_Recommendations\\_Web.pdf](https://steinhardt.nyu.edu/sites/default/files/2020-06/BC_Vision_Study_Recommendations_Web.pdf)

<sup>19</sup> Monica Davalos and Kayla Kitson, *California’s Latinx, Black, Native American, and Pacific Islander Students Disproportionately Experience Homelessness* (California Budget & Policy Center, December 2020), <https://calbudgetcenter.org/resources/californias-latinx-black-native-american-and-pacific-islander-students-disproportionately-experience-homelessness/>.

<sup>20</sup> Ramos-Yamamoto and Davalos, *Confronting Racism*, 28; “A-G Courses,” Public Policy Institute of California (webpage), accessed June 7, 2021, <https://www.ppic.org/blog/tag/a-g-courses/>; and University of California Academic Senate, *Report of the UC Academic Council*, 73.

<sup>21</sup> University of California Academic Senate, *Report of the UC Academic Council*, 73; and The Education Trust-West, *Unlocking Doors and Expanding Opportunity: Moving Beyond the Limiting Reality of College and Career Readiness in California High Schools* (2011), [https://west.edtrust.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/ETW-Unlocking-Doors-and-Expanding-Opportunity-Report-July-2011\\_0.pdf](https://west.edtrust.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/ETW-Unlocking-Doors-and-Expanding-Opportunity-Report-July-2011_0.pdf).

<sup>22</sup> Niu Gao et al., *New Eligibility Rules for the University of California?: The Effects of New Science Requirements* (Public Policy Institute of California, November 2019), 20-21, <https://www.ppic.org/wp-content/uploads/new-eligibility-rules-for-university-of-california-the-effects-of-new-science-requirements.pdf>; and The Education Trust-West, *Seen, Heard, Reflected: Building and Sustaining a Diverse STEM Teacher Pipeline* (November 2020), 9, <https://west.edtrust.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/ETW-Seen-Heard-Reflected-Building-and-Sustaining-a-Diverse-STEM-Teacher-Pipeline-Nov-2020-Final.pdf>.

<sup>23</sup> Public Policy Institute of California, *Meeting California's Workforce Needs* (October 2019), <https://www.ppic.org/wp-content/uploads/higher-education-in-california-meeting-californias-workforce-needs-october-2019.pdf>.

<sup>24</sup> Increasing the number of students who complete the A-G course requirements would also significantly increase the pool of students eligible for CSU and UC. CSU and UC already likely admit students beyond their state-mandated limits of the top 33.3% and the top 12.5% of graduates, respectively. In the 2016-17 Budget Act, the Legislature signaled its willingness to consider expanding these eligibility limits, although no such expansion ever took effect. See Legislative Analyst's Office, *The 2017-18 Budget: Higher Education Analysis* (February 2017), 5, <https://lao.ca.gov/reports/2017/3559/Higher-Education-Analysis-021617.pdf>.

<sup>25</sup> The Board of Education would need to decide if students would need a C grade to graduate (in line with CSU and UC grade requirements) or if a D would be permissible (in line with state standards). Requiring a C would ensure that graduates met CSU and UC standards, but might reduce graduation rates. Allowing a D would permit more students to graduate, but could confuse students and require more counseling to ensure students understand the higher university standard.

<sup>26</sup> Jason Constantouros, email message to author, June 16, 2021; and Legislative Analyst's Office, *Maintaining the Master Plan's Commitment to College Access* (March 2004), 9, [https://lao.ca.gov/2004/college\\_access/021304\\_college\\_access.pdf](https://lao.ca.gov/2004/college_access/021304_college_access.pdf).

<sup>27</sup> Both university systems admit and provide academic support for students they deem "unprepared" for college-level work; 40% of incoming CSU students and 23% of incoming UC students were "unprepared" in 2017. See Legislative Analyst's Office, *Overview of Remedial Education at the State's Public Higher Education Segments* (March 1, 2017), 3, <https://lao.ca.gov/handouts/education/2017/Overview-Remedial-Education-State-Public-Higher-Education-Segments-030117.pdf>.

<sup>28</sup> Legislative Analyst's Office, *The 2017-18 Budget: Higher Education Analysis*, 14.

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