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ACCEPTANCE

This dissertation, WOMEN IN TWO-YEAR COLLEGES: A MATTER OF ACCESS, by KATHRYN R. HORNSBY, was prepared under the direction of the candidate's Dissertation Advisory Committee. It is accepted by the committee members in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in the College of Education, Georgia State University.

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ABSTRACT

WOMEN IN TWO-YEAR COLLEGES: A MATTER OF ACCESS

by

Kathryn R. Hornsby

Community college enrollment doubled during the 1940s and 1950s, but during the 1940s and 1950s, it was not common to compare male and female enrollment patterns. For this study, I disaggregated male and female enrollment information from four editions of American Junior Colleges (1940, 1948, 1952, and 1956) in order to explore the gendered meaning of access in regard to two-year colleges during the 1940s and 1950s. The analysis compared male and female enrollment and graduation in pacesetter states within the community college movement. By using descriptive statistics, I gave voice to a story that previously had been untold – the story of women’s access into one segment of higher education – two-year colleges. In order to provide context for the numbers I compiled, I investigated the literature on women in higher education in the post-World War II period – a literature almost completely focused on four-year institutions – to examine the degree to which that literature captured, or failed to capture, meanings of access for women. With the overcrowding in higher education due to the preponderance of veterans returning to colleges and universities immediately following World War II, women were often crowded out of four-year institutions. The two-year college provided a means for many women to enter higher education but did not provide them the same level of access as males. For the most part women had access

to programs preparing them for the dual labor market and/or reinforced their status as wife and mother.

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Kathryn R. Hornsby

A Dissertation

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Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
Educational Policy Studies
in
the Department of Educational Policy Studies
in
the College of Education
Georgia State University

Atlanta, Georgia
2008

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Three years ago, this project began as an interest in women's beginning involvement in two-year colleges. I was curious as to the role two-year colleges played during the historic time immediately following World War II. When I shared this idea with Philo Hutcheson my advisor and dissertation chair, he seemed to be equally excited that my research would be providing a voice to a story that had previously been untold.

For too long two-year colleges have been second-class citizens in the higher education world and the lack of scholarly research regarding my topic only reemphasizes that fact. By creating a database that I can share with other researchers, I hope to be able to provide a useful tool to explore the history of women's access into two-year colleges.

I appreciate Philo Hutcheson's continued enthusiasm and direction regarding this project, which was the driving factor in helping me complete my dissertation. Dennis Thompson stepped in and shared his viewpoint on this topic to which I owe much thanks.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Following World War II the United States began confronting its new responsibilities as a world leader. One of these responsibilities was strengthening democracy. President Harry S. Truman established the President's Commission on Higher Education (i.e. the Truman Commission) in 1947 to review higher education in the United States. The President's Commission on Higher Education declared:

The time has come to make education through the fourteenth grade available in the same way high school education is now available. To achieve this, it will be necessary to develop much more extensively than at present such opportunities as are now provided in local communities by the 2-year college. This means that tuition-free education should be available in public institutions to all youth for the traditional freshman and sophomore years for the traditional 2-year junior college course.¹

With a goal towards equalizing opportunity, the expansion into community colleges was for those who would benefit from some college but not a four-year degree. Specifically the report recommended "that the number of community colleges be increased and that their activities be multiplied."² The task of the community college was

¹*Higher Education for American Democracy: A Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948) , p. 37.

²*Ibid.*, p.67. When possible I am using the term two-year college to limit the confusion of the reader. However, if an author specifically uses the term community and/or junior college, I use the author's terminology (for example, Medsker and Tillery use the term community college).

to bring education to the masses.³ As open access institutions, community colleges opened their doors to students who would not have been able to attend college. From 1940 to 1950 enrollment grew in two-year colleges;⁴ but in comparison to men, women were still not enrolling at comparable rates, and in fact during the 1940s and 1950s it was not common to compare male and female enrollment patterns. Women as a distinct group were not an important concern for educators in postsecondary education. Consequently, this information is not readily available for historical analysis. In this study, I disaggregated male and female enrollment information in order to explore the gendered meaning of access in regards to two-year colleges during the 1940s and 1950s.⁵

This study examined post World War II United States to determine if the quiet time depicted in the popular media was a time more complex and perhaps not so quiet. As Eisenmann stated, “Women’s postwar role has, perhaps surprisingly, been rather neglected, even with the last two decades of strong research.”⁶ Higher education is still a relatively young field and more studies are necessary to stretch its analyses. By studying women’s postwar educational participation, we can learn more about this often-neglected time when women’s presence on campus began to grow.

³Arthur M. Cohen and Florence B. Brawer, *The American Community College*, 3rd edition (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1996), p.16.

⁴Leland L. Medsker and Dale Tillery, *Breaking the Access Barriers: A Profile of Two-Year Colleges*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971), p. 15.

⁵Unfortunately, I was not able to disaggregate by race due to the unavailability of the data. This study will focus solely on gender.

⁶Linda Eisenmann, “Integrating Disciplinary Perspectives into Higher Education Research: The Example of History,” *The Journal of Higher Education* 75 (January/February 2004): 16.

Historians of higher education have also paid little attention to the community college.⁷ Barbara Solomon's classic study of higher education, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America*, had very little to say about the community college. The community college appears to be the least studied of any educational entity partly based on its second-class status but also because much of its history has been lost due to the lack of archival records. These colleges need more in-depth studies regarding their history.

The community college was created to provide open access, but was higher education merely a stopgap in women's path to becoming wives and mothers? In other words, was the community college protecting cultural arrangements and social hierarchies or providing access to the social mobility championed by its democratic ideology?⁸ By adding the story of women in community colleges to the higher education literature, practitioners and policymakers will gain a better view of the complete higher education enterprise.

Using a historical lens, I explored the access of women into higher education, specifically two-year colleges. This study utilized a historical methodology including

⁷Philo A. Hutcheson, "Reconsidering the Community College," *History of Education Quarterly* 39 (Autumn 1999): 307-320. Universities typically have archival records (some organized better than others), but few community colleges preserved their records and even the American Association of Community Colleges (the successor of the American Association of Junior Colleges) does not have archival records that chronicle its existence.

⁸Paula Fass, *Outside In: Minorities and the Transformation of American Higher Education*, (New York: Oxford, 1989), pp. 156-188. In the chapter entitled "The Female Paradox: Higher Education for Women, 1945-1963," while not directly addressing the community college, Fass does discuss how educational institutions protect cultural arrangements and social hierarchies. She described the 1950s as a "holding period for women's education" (p. 186) with few modifications being made to the liberal arts curricula.

quantitative data to analyze the enrollment and graduate trends of the 1940s and 1950s by gender. In order to begin to understand women's access into two-year colleges, this study used information collected from *American Junior Colleges*, which was a companion volume to *American Universities and Colleges*. *American Junior Colleges* began in 1940 as a cooperative project between the American Association of Junior Colleges and the American Council on Education. This relatively untapped data set included institutions with national, regional, or state accreditation. Each institution supplied the following information: name and location, type and control, accreditation, history, calendar, requirements for admission and graduation, fees and other financial data, staff, enrollment, curricula, buildings, grounds, and equipment. Most institutions provided enrollment and graduate information by males and females. The data in this factbook were narrative in nature with no charts, graphs, or comparisons made between different groups. For this study, I compiled a database of enrollment and graduate information to analyze the changes in female access to higher education.

The four editions of *American Junior Colleges* during the 1940s and 1950s were in 1940,⁹ 1948, 1952, and 1956. By including all four editions in my analysis, my goal was to improve the study's ability to determine trends (if they existed) and increase the scope of the study. For my sample, I focused on what Medsker and Tillery described as pacesetter states during the 1960s. Of the 739 public two-year colleges in 1967, 201 (27%) were in the pacesetter states. Medsker and Tillery classified the following states as pacesetters in the community college movement: California, Florida, Illinois,

⁹The 1940 edition included data for 1939 and was the only edition published prior to United States involvement in World War II.

Michigan, New York, Texas, and Washington.¹⁰ These states had a dramatic growth in number of community colleges and student enrollment even as early as 1940.

Historically it is important to study the states that heeded the charge of the President's Commission on Higher Education to provide education to the masses and had the public support to develop community colleges that were models for the country. In order to provide some necessary contextual information regarding two-year colleges, I reviewed the American Association of Junior Colleges' *Junior College Journal* for 1940 – 1950. This journal provided a forum to share vocational curricula and additional pivotal information with junior college practitioners.

Limitations of the Study

Data submissions from colleges for the *American Junior Colleges* were voluntary, thus omissions decreased the validity of this study. Many colleges that did not submit data were relatively new institutions; and one would assume their enrollment and graduates were still small, and hence, their not reporting would not entirely hamper this study. However, an uncritical acceptance of Eells and Bogue's junior college listing in *American Junior Colleges* as an accurate representation of the number of junior colleges would not be wise. The editors tended to be inclusive rather than exclusive, so some of these schools may have done little junior college instruction. Even though the dataset is imperfect, it is the first dataset electronically compiled for this period of two-year college history, thus giving me the ability to analyze access in terms of gender.

¹⁰Medsker and Tillery, *Breaking the Access Barriers: A Profile of Two-Year Colleges*, pp. 25-26.

Educational Importance of the Study

More research is necessary to understand in detail the reasons behind women's fluctuations in enrollment in two-year colleges and higher education during the 1940s and 1950s. The 1940s and 1950s were a complex time that served as a building block for women's challenge of the ideological consensus that women belonged at home rather than in the workforce. As an open access institution, the two-year college served an important role in giving more people the opportunity to achieve an education although it was not the direct means of access to a four-year degree as often suggested by practitioners or scholars. My research in this area critically examined the specifics of this access and the influence of gender in continuing one's postsecondary education. In order to provide context for the numbers I compiled, I investigated the literature on women in higher education in the post-World War II period – a literature almost completely focused on four-year institutions – to examine the degree to which that literature captured, or failed to capture, meanings of access for women.

In order to provide context to a quantitative historical dissertation, the first two chapters focus on the rise of the two-year college and women in higher education. I present the early history of the junior college framed as the synthesis of elitism and populism.¹¹ Incorporated in the second chapter is the opening of the first junior college, the beginning of the American Association of Junior Colleges, and the impact of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act (G.I. Bill). In chapter 3, I explore women's role in higher education in the post-World War II era. As I previously mentioned, the literature has very little to say about community colleges but does provide valuable contextual

¹¹Mary Lou Zoglin, *Power and Politics in the Community College*, (Palm Springs, CA: ETC Publications, 1976), p. 4.

information regarding women's role in society during the 1940s and 1950s. Chapter 4 provides the results of the data compiled from the four editions of *American Junior Colleges* published during the 1940s and 1950s. This data provides enrollment and graduate information disaggregated by gender for the pacesetter states: California, Florida, Illinois, Michigan, New York, Texas, and Washington. In addition, this chapter highlights two colleges for a more in-depth review. The final chapter discusses the results, placing them in a framework of the literature. The analysis includes historical information garnered from the *Junior College Journal* publications during the 1940s and 1950s, providing additional information regarding the community college movement and in some cases women's access to higher education.

CHAPTER 1

THE RISE OF THE TWO-YEAR COLLEGE

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, several unique social forces contributed to the rise of the two-year college. With the United States' expanding economy, the need for trained workers was growing. Rapid social change occurred in the United States due to the increase in industrialization and economic development. As a result, agricultural occupational opportunities declined as newer, more specialized occupations grew in number and the need for skilled workers increased. At the same time children were staying in the home longer; adolescence lasted longer, requiring custodial care for a longer amount of time. Besides these social forces, society began to entwine social equality with the concept of greater access to higher education.¹² Two-year institutions met the new requirements for workers caught in what Medsker and Tillery described as a “dramatic shift from a rural-agricultural to an urban-industrial base.”¹³ This chapter will seek to explain how the synthesis of elitism and populism led to the creation of a unique institution.¹⁴

¹²Cohen and Brawer, *The American Community College*, p. 1; John H. Frye, *The Vision of the Public Junior College, 1990-1940: Professional Goals and Popular Aspirations*, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992), p. 15.

¹³Medsker and Tillery, *Breaking the Access Barriers: A Profile of Two-Year Colleges*, p. 13.

¹⁴Zoglin, *Power and Politics in the Community College*, p. 4.

Populist leaders stressed greater access to colleges and universities as the means for social equality. At the same time, elitist university scholars and leaders wanted to maintain the exclusive nature of their institutions.¹⁵ In other words, they were not enthusiastic about opening their doors wider to encompass the increasing numbers of students graduating from high school. Instead, as Brint and Karabel led us to believe, several university presidents were trying to divert students “away from the university into an upward extension of the high school.”¹⁶

At first glance, it appears inconceivable that these two different groups could agree on any issue. However, the union of the populists and the elitists was the catalyst necessary to accelerate the emergence of the two- year college.¹⁷ The concept of extending secondary education was not unique at that time. The elitists wanted the university to remain as a place of scholarship and research similar to the German system. According to the German model, students remained in the gymnasium (college-preparatory education) until twenty years of age. By prolonging high school, many students needed no further education. Having already completed their general education requirements, students proceeding to the university were supposed to be better qualified and ready to specialize. Consequently, the elitists embraced the German model and

¹⁵Allen A. Witt and others, *America's Community Colleges: The First Century*, (Washington, D.C.: Community College Press, 1994), pp. 4-5.

¹⁶Steven Brint and Jerome Karabel, *The Diverted Dream: Community Colleges and the Promise of Educational Opportunity in America, 1900-1985*, (New York: Oxford University, 1989), p. 25.

¹⁷Zoglin, *Power and Politics in the Community College*, p. 4; Witt and others, *America's Community Colleges: The First Century*, pp. 4-5.

argued that “the first two years of college were actually an extension of high school and that the ‘tutoring’ of these years had no place in a research university.”¹⁸

According to Brint and Karabel, in the late nineteenth century, several university presidents began questioning whether the first two years of college were a necessary part of university instruction.¹⁹ Presidents such as Henry Tappan at the University of Michigan in the early 1850s, Nicholas Murray Butler at Columbia University after the 1870s, David Starr Jordan at Stanford University beginning in the 1890s, and William Rainey Harper at the University of Chicago in the 1890s were trying to rid themselves of their freshman and sophomore classes. By creating junior colleges, “the university would be free to pursue its higher tasks of research and advanced professional training.”²⁰

As early as 1852, Henry Tappan at the University of Michigan highly criticized American higher education by stating, “In our country, we have no Universities. Whatever may be the names by which we choose to call our institutions of learning, still they are not Universities.”²¹ Trained in the German tradition, he believed American students should have fourteen years of preparatory training before entering the university. Tappan’s opinion was that the university should be similar to the German model and solely dedicated to professional training and research. According to his plan, students should complete their general education before entering the university, thereby being

¹⁸Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁹Brint and Karabel, *The Diverted Dream: Community Colleges and the Promise of Educational Opportunity in America, 1900-1985*, pp. 23-24.

²⁰Ibid, p. 25.

²¹Henry Tappan, *University Education*, (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1851) reprinted in T.J. Diener ed., *Growth of an American Invention*, (New York: Greenwood, 1986), p. 27.

fully prepared for scholarship and research. His proposals were not seriously implemented at the University of Michigan, and so the University of Chicago is typically considered the birthplace of the junior college.

One of the first university presidents to embrace the junior college (and given credit for coining the term) was William Rainey Harper at the University of Chicago.²² In 1890, Harper became the president of the University of Chicago. Harper, an innovator and visionary, tried to revolutionize higher education. One of his ideas was to divide the university departments into upper and lower divisions. The lower division was similar to high school and focused on academics. The first two years were designed as a way to prepare students for upper division study (advanced study and research). Harper's long-range goal was to create a system of free-standing two-year colleges to take over the training of freshman and sophomores.²³ In Storr's historical account of the beginning of the University of Chicago, he described Harper's first meeting with the Faculty of Arts, Literature, and Science in which he expressed the hope that the work of the lower colleges might be removed from the campus.²⁴ As Harper stated in the *Official Bulletin*,

²²Walter Crosby Eells, *The Junior College*, (Cambridge, MA: The Riverside Press, 1931). Eells designed this book as a text for his students at Stanford University. In the beginning of the book is a picture of William Rainey Harper with the inscription "Father of the Junior College."

²³Witt and others, *America's Community Colleges: The First Century*, p. 14.

²⁴Richard J. Storr, *Harper's University: The Beginnings*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), p. 117. Storr elaborated that "the University never gave serious thought to Harper's iconoclastic idea of removing instruction of underclassmen – and the students themselves – from the University campus." (p. 127) Even though the Junior College faculty was separated and the Associate in Arts, Literature, or Science was given for completion of Junior College work, the University still conformed with the traditions of other four-year colleges by keeping freshman and sophomores on campus.

No. 2, “this will permit the University of Chicago to devote its energies mainly to the University Colleges [upper division] and to strictly University Work.”²⁵

To the contrary, in Pedersen’s dissertation regarding the origins and development of the early public junior college, he argued against the “great man theory” of the development of two-year colleges. Instead Pedersen asserted, “the evidence shows that municipal junior colleges arose in response to highly parochial and pragmatic interests, which could vary one from city to the next.”²⁶ These local initiatives were neither a national movement to democratize education nor a way for university presidents to restructure higher education. Historians and other advocates (or even opponents) of the two-year college may have romanticized or overly dramatized the early beginnings of the two-year college. The two-year college appeared more as a local institution rather than as a partner in a national movement to restructure the educational system. These local institutions had unique stories and may have not realized that they were part of what some characterized as a national movement. Local initiatives were, nevertheless, powerful incentives for the establishment of junior colleges.

The story of the two-year college and access usually begins with Illinois’s Joliet Township school board organizing the nation’s first junior college in 1901. Joliet Junior College, founded under the influence of William Rainey Harper, president of the University of Chicago, is the oldest continuously existing two-year college in the nation. Initially Joliet Junior College mixed college courses in with those of Joliet High School. However, by 1915, the junior college’s enrollment had grown to such an extent that the

²⁵*Official Bulletin*, No. 2, (April 1891), p.3.

²⁶Robert P. Pedersen, *The Origins and Development of the Early Public Junior College: 1900-1940*, (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2000), p. 225.

administration constructed a facility specifically for the public junior college. According to the American Association of Community Colleges (AACC), this was the nation's first facility constructed specifically for use by a public junior college.²⁷

From these humble beginnings in Joliet, Illinois, a new type of institution was born. According to Brint and Karabel, "the early leaders of the junior college movement were typically men of small town Protestant backgrounds."²⁸ George Zook once described the junior college movement as an army of "struggling frontiersmen" put together by "General Koos" and "Colonels Eells and Campbell."²⁹ The views of these four – Walter C. Eells, Leonard Koos, Doak S. Campbell, and George Zook may have not had the wide acceptance that has been credited to them by Brint and Karabel and other authors. Instead their influence may have been more of a factor of their control over school journals, conferences, and graduate programs. Local junior college advocates may have viewed the junior college in a different way. Representatives from the junior colleges first met together in St. Louis on June 30 – July 1, 1920, at the invitation of George Zook, a higher education specialist for the U.S. Bureau of Education, and James

²⁷American Association of Community Colleges, *Celebrating a Century of Innovation in Higher Education: 1901- 2001*. Internet on-line. Available from <http://www.aacc.nche.edu/Content/NavigationMenu/ResourceCenter/Info_Planning_Tools/Promotional/AACCToolkit.pdf>, (29 October 2005) p. 5.

²⁸Brint and Karabel, *The Diverted Dream: Community Colleges and the Promise of Educational Opportunity in America, 1990-1985*, p. 34.

²⁹Ibid., p. 35. According to Pedersen, for locals "it was a pragmatic solution to immediate concerns and a vehicle for advancing local interests that such communities as Kilgore, Texas, and San Mateo, California, could readily implement without unacceptable cost to local taxpayers." For a more in depth discussion of this topic see Robert P. Pedersen's website at <http://junior-college-history.org/Sources/ZookOhio.html> or his dissertation; Pedersen, *The Origins and Development of the Early Public Junior College: 1900-1940*.

Wood, a Missouri junior college president. Philander Claxton, commissioner of education for the U.S. Bureau of Education, supported the national conference for economic reasons, hoping financially troubled small colleges would transform into junior colleges. By hosting a well-publicized national conference, Claxton hoped to encourage more four-year colleges to drop their upper divisions.³⁰ At first glance with only thirty-four members present at the St. Louis Conference, with over a third of them from Missouri, the attendance did not speak to a national conference. In Zook's opening comments, he stated:

It is a matter of common knowledge that during the last twenty years there have been formed a large number of national educational associations, and even a larger number of sectional and state educational associations, at which questions affecting the future welfare of our system of education have been freely discussed. Among the questions which have received no little consideration in recent years is that of the function and the future of the junior colleges. The junior colleges have been commanding this attention because they have been growing tremendously. Up to this time, however, there has been no gathering of representatives from the junior colleges themselves at which the place and function of the junior colleges in our system of education has been discussed. Indeed, the junior colleges are practically the only large body of people concerned with a definite type of education which so far have not held any national conferences. It, therefore, occurred to the Commissioner of Education and to me that it would be highly desirable for the Bureau of Education to call a meeting of representatives from the junior colleges of the country for a full and frank discussion of their mutual interests and problems. This, in brief, is the occasion for this conference.³¹

Even though Pedersen characterized the St. Louis conference as “elementary in its organization and narrow in its scope,”³² the participants, in an unprecedented move,

³⁰Witt and others, *America's Community Colleges: The First Century*, p.72.

³¹Eells, *The Junior College*, p. 75.

³²Robert Pedersen, “The St. Louis Conference: The Junior College Movement Reborn,” *Community College Journal* 65 (April – May 1995): 26-30.

decided to organize a national association of junior colleges. These first conference participants questioned the admissions practices used in higher education during this time. These early arguments may have helped challenge the traditional elitist notions of access.³³ At the first meeting in 1921 of the newly formed American Association of Junior Colleges in Chicago, David MacKenzie of Detroit Junior College was elected president.³⁴

The founding of the American Association of Junior Colleges in 1920 was a critical event in the early history of the two-year college. This association provided a forum for the discussion of the role, function, and organization of junior colleges within higher education. The first chief executive, Doak S. Campbell, a former professor at George Peabody College and a junior college president, became the executive secretary in 1922. The American Association of Junior Colleges grew steadily throughout the 1920s. At the Atlantic City meeting in 1929 a proposal came before the Association, from the Stanford University Press, for the publication of a monthly *Junior College Journal* under joint editorial control of the American Association of Junior Colleges and School of Education of Stanford University. In 1930 the association began the *Junior College Journal* with Walter C. Eells, a former Stanford professor, as editor and Doak S. Campbell, secretary of the Association, associate editor. In addition, there was a national advisory board of twenty leaders in the junior college field.³⁵

³³ Ibid., p. 30.

³⁴ Eells, *The Junior College*, p. 76.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 79.

During the beginning stages of junior college development, California took over the lead from Harper in Illinois. In California two of the key actors were Alexis F. Lange, Dean of the School of Education at the University of California in Berkeley, and David Starr Jordan, President of Stanford University. Similar to Tappan and Harper, Brint and Karabel characterized these men as being motivated by the opportunity to improve the status of their institutions and eliminate the first two years of study in their institutions.³⁶ Contrary to their opinion Gallagher characterized Lange as the opposite, arguing that he was a leader who emphasized the importance of diversity in American secondary education by making university entrance requirements more flexible.³⁷ Lange was critical of some parts of the German model, particularly that it was “too elitist.”³⁸ As Chairman of the California State Board of Education, Lange helped to inspire the junior college movement. By 1907, Lange defined secondary education as covering grades seven through fourteen.³⁹ Although the mid-west was the cradle of the junior college, California soon became the national leader in developing a statewide community college system. Through a legislative enactment in 1907, high school trustees were authorized to “prescribe post-graduate courses of study for the graduates of such high school, which course of study shall approximate the studies required in the first two years of University

³⁶Brint and Karabel, *The Diverted Dream: Community Colleges and the Promise of Educational Opportunity in America, 1900 – 1985*, p. 26.

³⁷Edward Gallagher, “Alexis Lange and the Origin of the Occupational Education Function in California Junior Colleges,” *Michigan Academician* XXII (1990), p. 243.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 244.

³⁹Edward Gallagher, “Jordan and Lange: The California Junior College’s Role as Protector of Teaching,” *Michigan Academician* XXVII (1994), p. 7.

courses.”⁴⁰ It would be ten years later before two other states, Michigan and Kansas, passed general junior college legislation.⁴¹ In 1910 the first public junior college opened in Fresno, California, as part of the local high school; however, the studies provided at that time could not be compared to University work.⁴² During these early years of junior college development in California, Lange and Jordan continued to be the driving force of the movement by encouraging the high schools to fill the gap between high school and postsecondary education. To encourage the high schools to begin offering college courses, the University of California at Berkeley began giving a Junior Certificate marking the completion of the first year of study. The University’s Junior Certificate was 109 units of academic credit, and 45 of those could be earned in high school.⁴³ Jordan continued to urge elimination of the first two years of college from the curriculum, but he was not successful. The faculty committee appointed to study his proposal concluded, “Upperclassmen coming from six-year high schools and small colleges with limited equipment and endowment, would not be as well trained or as far advanced as those who begin their college work here.”⁴⁴ By the end of World War I, it was clear that the universities could not hold the thousands of Californian youth wanting to enter postsecondary education. The local communities responded by increasing their support

⁴⁰Political Code Section 1681, *Statutes of California*, 1907, Chap. 69, p. 88.

⁴¹Eells, *The Junior College*, p. 73.

⁴²C.L. McLane, “The Junior College or Upward Extension of the High School,” *School Review* XXI (March 1913): 161-170.

⁴³Hugh Ross, “University Influence in the Genesis and Growth of Junior Colleges in California,” *History of Education Quarterly* 3 (September 1963):144-145.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 146 from Herman A. Spindt, *College and University*, XXXIII (Fall, 1957), 27.

of junior colleges. With the increased interest in higher education, the number of junior colleges in California rose from twenty-one in 1921 to thirty-six in 1927.⁴⁵

Despite these developments, at the eve of World War II the two-year college was still a fledgling institution struggling for an identity. The United States Bureau of Education published statistics showing the growth of junior colleges over a ten-year period, represented in Table 1. Even though most two-year institutions were small, Koos pointed out that the junior college, within a brief period of twenty years, could be found in more than three-fourths of the states.⁴⁶ The two-year college movement continued, however, to be divided along regional lines with the growth in public institutions strongest in California, the Midwest, and the South. The Northeast, with an extensive system of small private colleges, was a latecomer to the junior college movement.⁴⁷ The junior college appeared to flourish because it was relatively inexpensive to attend and to operate. For many students the junior college provided the only way to attend an institution of higher education when most families could not afford the cost of sending their children away to college.⁴⁸

⁴⁵Hugh G. Price, "California Public Junior Colleges," *Bulletin of the California State Department of Education*, XXVII (February 1958), 66, 68.

⁴⁶Leonard V. Koos, *The Junior-College Movement* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1925), p. 14.

⁴⁷Witt and others, *America's Community College's: The First Century*, p. 63.

⁴⁸Brint and Karabel, *The Diverted Dream: Community Colleges and the Promise of Educational Opportunity in America, 1900 -1985*, pp. 53-54. For example, during 1935-1936, one-third of the families in the United States had an annual income of less than \$750. According to Eells, total student costs at the more prestigious private colleges was greater than \$1,000 per year. See Walter Crosby Eells, *Why Junior College Terminal Education?*, (Washington D.C.: American Association of Junior Colleges, 1941), p. 37.

Table 1: Growth of Junior Colleges (1916-1928)⁴⁹

	Number of Schools	Number of Instructors	Number of Students	Average Number of Students
<i>All Junior Colleges</i>				
1918	46	557	4,504	98
1920	52	988	8,102	156
1922	80	1,554	12,124	148
1924	132	1,758	20,559	156
1926	153	2,762	27,122	171
1928	248	3,484	44,855	181
<i>Public Junior Colleges</i>				
1918	14	172	1,367	98
1920	10	207	2,940	294
1922	17	404	4,771	281
1924	39	699	9,240	237
1926	47	953	13,859	295
1928	114	1,919	28,437	249
<i>Private Junior Colleges</i>				
1918	32	385	3,137	98
1920	42	781	5,162	123
1922	63	1,150	7,353	117
1924	93	1,059	11,319	122
1926	106	1,809	13,236	125
1928	134	1,565	16,418	123

After World War II higher education enrollments increased. In 1944 the Servicemen's Readjustment Act (the G.I. Bill), a federal program, gave veterans the opportunity to further their education in order to facilitate their readjustment to civilian

⁴⁹United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 38, p. 1. (1929) from Walter Crosby Eells *The Junior College*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Riverside Press, 1931). The last column of the chart was added by Eells and was not part of the Bureau's chart. Eells cautions the reader that these figures are far from complete. He gave the following example, "In 1920, Table 6 [Table 1 in this paper] shows only ten public junior colleges in the country, when there were 18 in California alone that year" (pp. 70-71).

life, and as a result, males flocked to college campuses,⁵⁰ including community colleges, as shown in Table 2.

With college attendance postponed for most males who were likely not to attend college until the end of World War II and many entering college solely because of the G.I. benefits, the enrollments in colleges across the country soared. Nevertheless, based on Serow's analysis the G.I. Bill's impact on the growth of higher education enrollment was limited.⁵¹

Of the 450,000 engineers, 180,000 doctors, dentists, and nurses, 360,000 school teachers, 150,000 scientists, 243,000 accountants, 107,000 lawyers, [and] 36,000 clergymen who earned degrees under provisions of the G.I. Bill, at least eighty percent would have done so without the legislation.⁵²

Instead, according to the *Education and Manpower Report* by the National Manpower Council, "about 20 percent of the veterans entering college in 1945 would not have enrolled if the G.I. benefits had not been available."⁵³ Regardless of the effect of the G.I. Bill, in 1946, over a million students from public and private institutions were veterans,

⁵⁰Women veterans were also eligible to further their education under the G.I. Bill but they represented less than three percent of the vetrans who attended college during this time. According to Olson, "when the last student had received his last check, the V.A. (of whom 64,728, or 2.9 percent, were women) counted 2,232,000 veterans who had attended college under the G.I. Bill." Keith W. Olson, *The G.I. Bill, the Veterans, and the College*, (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1974), p. 43.

⁵¹Robert C. Serow, "Policy as Symbol: Title II of the 1944 G.I. Bill," *The Review of Higher Education* 27 (Summer 2004): 484.

⁵²*Veterans Administration Press Release*, June 21, 1964, p.2.

⁵³The National Manpower Council, "Factors Influencing Education for Scientific and Professional Occupations," *Education and Manpower*, edited by Henry David, (New York: National Manpower Council, 1960), p. 249.

Table 2: Enrollment in Higher Educational Institutions, Fall Semesters
1939, 1945-1956

Year	Total Enrollment	Male Enrollment	Female Enrollment	Veteran Enrollment
1939	1,364,815	815,886	548,929	
1945	1,676,851	927,662	749,189	88,000
1946	2,078,095	1,417,595	660,500	1,013,000
1947	2,338,226	1,659,249	678,977	1,150,000
1948	2,403,396	1,709,367	694,029	975,000
1949	2,444,900	1,721,572	723,328	844,000
1950	2,281,298	1,560,392	720,906	581,000
1951	2,101,962	1,390,740	711,222	396,000
1952	2,134,242	1,380,357	753,885	232,000
1953	2,231,054	1,422,598	808,456	138,000
1954	2,446,693	1,563,382	883,311	78,000
1955	2,653,034	1,733,184	919,850	42,000
1956	2,918,212	1,911,458	1,006,754	1,169

Source: modified from chart in Olson's *The G.I. Bill, the Veterans, and the College* ⁵⁴

which led to the overcrowding that prevailed at many four-year institutions during this time. As a result, two-year colleges absorbed overflow enrollment from the crowded four-year institutions. Junior college total enrollment for 1946 was at a new high with approximately 10 percent of the total national enrollment for institutions of higher education.⁵⁵ These critical events of the 1940s resulted in more students attending both two-year and four-year colleges. As Olson stated, the G.I. Bill's college program did not "fundamentally alter the structure of higher education, except, of course to encourage bigness."⁵⁶

⁵⁴With noted exceptions, Kenneth A. Simon and W. Vance Grant, *Digest of Educational Statistics 1968* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1968) p. 68.

⁵⁵Medsker and Tillery, *Breaking the Access Barriers: A Profile of Two-Year Colleges*, p. 15.

⁵⁶Olson, *The G.I. Bill, the Veterans, and the Colleges*, pp. 109-110.

The G.I. Bill did not automatically catch on with the veterans. Since the G.I. Bill was passed in 1944, very little enrollment growth could be attributed to the G.I. Bill during the first year. However, in 1946 veteran enrollment climbed to 1,013,000 compared to only 88,000 in 1945 as shown in Table 2. One reason for this phenomenon could be the amendment to the G.I. Bill on December 19, 1945. The amendment removed the restrictions which limited veterans over twenty-five years old to one year of college, lengthened the time period within which a veteran could start and complete his/her education, and raised the monthly subsistence allowances from \$50 to \$65 dollars for single veterans and from \$75 to \$90 for veterans with dependents.⁵⁷ These revisions made the G.I. Bill more appealing to the veterans, and thus, more veterans enrolled in higher education.

Educators and government officials drastically underestimated the number of veterans who would take advantage of the act's benefits and enroll at college. These officials did not anticipate that veterans who were married or over twenty-five years old would become college students. However these groups flocked to college. Besides underestimating the veterans return to college, educators and officials were apprehensive of the veterans' ability to fit into college both academically and socially. Once enrolled into college veterans quickly dispelled any misgivings that they could not succeed as students.⁵⁸ Access, albeit specifically for veterans, did not result in a loss of student quality.

⁵⁷Olson, *The G.I. Bill, the Veterans, and the Colleges*, p. 37.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

Although more students were participating in higher education, some states were more actively involved than others in the dramatic growth in number of community colleges and student enrollment. Medsker and Tillery classified the following states as pacesetters in the community college movement: California, Florida, Illinois, Michigan, New York, Texas, and Washington, due to their having developed community college systems with impressive models for the rest of the country. These states benefited from “a favorable synthesis of enabling legislation, flexible fiscal policy, and broad public support”⁵⁹ Table 3 summarizes the number of two-year colleges,⁶⁰ enrollment, and percent of increase in number of two-year colleges and enrollment from 1939-1955.

Table 3: Summary Information for Pacesetter States

State	Number of Two-Year Colleges		Enrollment		% Increase	
	1939	1955	1939	1955	Number Colleges	Enrollment
California	57	61	86,357	294,508	7%	41%
Florida	3	8	1,908	4,815	66%	152%
Illinois	19	21	19,589	32,455	11%	165%
Michigan	12	15	4,187	17,937	25%	328%
New York	6	32	2,936	23,415	33%	697%
Texas	35	43	15,085	47,332	23%	214%
Washington	7	9	1,398	18,762	29%	1,242%

Source: Compiled from *American Junior Colleges* 1st – 4th Editions

⁵⁹Medsker and Tillery, *Breaking the Access Barriers: A Profile of Two-Year Colleges*, p. 25.

⁶⁰I summarized these data from the American Council on Education, *American Junior Colleges* (first edition), edited by Walter C. Eells (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1940) and the American Council on Education, *American Junior Colleges* (fourth edition), edited by Jesse R. Bogue (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1956). Neither Eells nor Bogue limited the institutions included in *American Junior Colleges* to colleges with junior and/or community in their name. Instead the editors tried to be inclusive rather than exclusive and included as many two-year colleges as possible in their factbooks, regardless of whether they included junior and/or community in their name.

Even though female enrollment in higher education as a whole and two-year colleges specifically seemed to follow similar trends, especially in regard to the G.I. Bill, two-year colleges attracted a greater percentage of women than higher education as a whole, as illustrated by Table 4. Enrollment data from 1939, 1947, 1951, and 1955 shows that women were entering higher education disproportionately to their makeup in the college-age population. Table 5 shows that the college-age gender breakdown for 1939, 1951, and 1955 was close to 50/50. With the G.I. Bill's overcrowding of four-year institutions, it is possible that two-year colleges fulfilled the purpose of providing education for some displaced women. In addition, the two-year colleges' open access admissions and lower priced tuition may have allowed some women to attend college who previously would not have had the chance.⁶¹

Table 4: Comparison of Enrollment in Higher Education and Two-Year Colleges

Year	Enrollment in Higher Education				Enrollment in Two-Year Colleges in Pacesetter States			
	Male	%	Female	%	Male	%	Female	%
1939	815,886	60%	548,929	40%	45,950	57%	34,198	43%
1947	1,659,249	71%	678,977	29%	107,908	64%	60,703	36%
1951	1,390,740	66%	711,222	34%	156,285	58%	111,100	42%
1955	1,733,184	65%	919,850	35%	223,913	60%	149,485	40%

Sources: Higher education enrollment numbers from chart in Olson's *The G.I. Bill, the Veterans, and the Colleges* and two-year enrollment numbers compiled from *American Junior Colleges* (1st-4th editions).⁶²

⁶¹The openness and accessibility of the early junior college is debatable. Pedersen discussed that "a few junior colleges raised the bar" by imposing admission standards stricter than more prestigious colleges. Most junior colleges did charge tuition fees in addition to tuition. In some states such as Texas and Oklahoma the junior college tuition was higher than the state university. Of course junior college attendance in California was free based on state law. See Pedersen, *The Origins and Development of the Early Public Junior College: 1900-1940* (pp. 37 - 52) for a debunking of the belief that the early junior college catered to the poor and marginal student.

⁶²Olson, *The G.I. Bill, the Veterans, and the Colleges*, p. 44; American Council on Education, *American Junior Colleges* (first edition), edited by Walter Crosby Eells

Table 5: College-age Population in Thousands

Year	Male	%	Female	%
1939	4,715	49.5%	4,808	50.5%
1951	4,386	50%	4,355	50%
1955	4,228	50%	4,215	50%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census⁶³

Higher education welcomed returning veterans, causing an end to women's short-lived numerical prominence in academia, climbing to 45 percent in 1945 (see Table 2).

Most colleges gave veterans preference over non-veterans in admission;⁶⁴ thus, between 1945 and 1956 the increase of males into higher education limited women's access.⁶⁵

Chapter 3 will explore in greater detail women's role in the post World War II era.

(Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1940), American Council on Education, *American Junior Colleges* (second edition), edited by Jesse R. Bogue (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1948), American Council on Education, *American Junior Colleges* (third edition), edited by Jesse R. Bogue (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1952) and the American Council on Education, *American Junior Colleges* (fourth edition), edited by Jesse R. Bogue (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1956).

⁶³I omitted 1947 because of the return of the adult veterans resulting in more nontraditional students entering higher education. U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Estimates of the Population of the United States, by Single Years of Age, Color and Sex: 1900 to 1959," *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 311, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965.

⁶⁴Olson, *The G.I. Bill, the Veterans, and the Colleges*, p. 43.

⁶⁵Susan M. Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s*, (Boston: Twayne, 1982), p. 106. By 1946, colleges turned away thousands of women to make room for veterans returning to college. For example, during World War II women were the majority of the students at Cornell University but after the war the proportion of women was 20%. In an article by Benjamin Fine of the *New York Times* he discussed how the overcrowded condition made it difficult for women students to get into college. The colleges were then putting the women last to be admitted. See Benjamin Fine, "Facilities in Colleges Taxed by Returning War Veterans," *New York Times*, 6 January 1946, pp. 1, 32.

Overcrowded colleges and universities were urged to refer veterans to junior colleges or to small four-year institutions where facilities were still available.⁶⁶ As the veterans rushed to college, it became difficult for a non-veteran to get into college. On some campuses, 75 to 90 percent of male students were veterans from World War II. Due to the overcrowding, temporary buildings and Quonset huts were used to house the students.⁶⁷

Overall, by the end of World War II the two-year college was at a turning point. What began as a way to rid the elite universities of the first two years of general education had become an institution in its own right. With the help of the President's Commission on Higher Education, the community college was heralded as central in the populist plan of expanding educational opportunity. The Commission recommended that the number of community colleges be increased because "the time has come to make education through the fourteenth grade available in the same way as high school is now available."⁶⁸ By making these recommendations, the Commission placed the community college in the center of future developments in higher education, not at the margins.⁶⁹ At the close of World War II, the stage was set for the junior college (newly identified as the

⁶⁶Benjamin Fine, "'Quack' Schools Seek GI Tuition, Junior College Survey Reveals," *New York Times*, 20 January 1946, pp. 1, 35.

⁶⁷Benjamin Fine, "Nation-wide Survey Indicates that College Enrollment is Stabilized at High Level," *New York Times*, 27 November 1949, sec. E, p. 9.

⁶⁸*Higher Education for American Democracy: A Report of The President's Commission on Higher Education*, vol. 1, p. 37.

⁶⁹Brint and Karabel, *The Diverted Dream: Community Colleges and the Promise of Educational Opportunity in America, 1900 -1985*, p. 71.

community college) to expand its access as her doors were opened for veterans and for women to further their education.

CHAPTER 3

WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION

As explained in chapter 2, even though total enrollment growth in higher education slowed during World War II, female access to higher education as a whole grew throughout the 1940s. Women accounted for 548,929 students in 1939. By 1950, female enrollment grew to 720,906 in higher education.⁷⁰ During World War II, women's professional opportunities grew as they entered the workplace as well as higher education. Greater access to higher education allowed women to enter fields historically unavailable to them; few women in the 1930s entered engineering and scientific fields. Rossiter described women in all areas of science during this time as having "reached an impasse."⁷¹ Even though they could be educated to the doctoral level, employment was difficult to obtain. For a short time, due to World War II, societal forces pushing women into gendered programs of study appeared to be eased.⁷² Between 1944 and 1946, women outnumbered men for the first time in the twentieth century in the number of

⁷⁰Olson, *The G.I. Bill, the Veterans, and the Colleges*, p. 44. The data I used came from a chart Olson used to depict enrollment in higher education institutions. He did not list the female enrollment, but since he included total enrollment and male enrollment, I was able to ascertain this information.

⁷¹Margaret W. Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940*, (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press, 1982), p. 315.

⁷²Barbara Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 188.

degrees awarded.⁷³ However, peacetime saw setbacks and challenges with the return of the men from the war, forcing many women to return to traditional pre-war roles of wife and mother. The conservative practice reemerged that women should be educated primarily for domesticity.⁷⁴ As veterans flocked back to college campuses after World War II, female students were often ignored.⁷⁵ While women's enrollment declined compared to men between 1947 and the end of the 1950s, women still increasingly participated in higher education and the number of female degree recipients increased as shown in Table 6.⁷⁶ The eventual impact of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act (the G.I. Bill of Rights), passed into law in 1944, further reduced women's access to higher education, even though the G.I. Bill became the symbol or perhaps the "point of

⁷³Paula Fass, *Outside In: Minorities and the Transformation of American Higher Education*, pp. 156-157. In the chapter entitled "The Female Paradox: Higher Education for Women, 1945-1963," Fass described higher education for women in the 1950s as "the female paradox: the fact that women were receiving more education than they seemed to need" (p. 157).

⁷⁴Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America*, p. 187.

⁷⁵Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), p. 216.

⁷⁶The National Manpower Council, "Post-high School Education and Training of Women," *Education and Manpower*, edited by Henry David, (New York: National Manpower Council, 1960), pp. 260-288. Eisenmann pointed out that "Father Knows Best" stereotypes of the 1950s have encouraged us to accept the notion "of women carelessly abandoning college in favor of home and family." See Linda Eisenmann, "Integrating Disciplinary Perspectives into Higher Education Research: The Example of History," *The Journal of Higher Education*, 16. According to Horowitz in *Campus Life*, with the pressure mounting for women to return to the home "it took a certain independence of mind for a college woman to envision a career" (p. 216).

demarcation between the eras of limited and mass higher education.”⁷⁷ Due to governmental subsidies, colleges gave veterans a warmer welcome than non-veterans, which led to the crowding-out of non-veterans.⁷⁸ Consequently, women went from being 56.9 percent of first time degrees awarded in 1946 to 35.3 percent in 1947 as shown in Table 6. This chapter will explain how society during this period was complex and

Table 6: Bachelor’s and First Professional Degrees Awarded to Men and Women, 1930-1956

Year	First Degrees Awarded			
	Total	Men	Women	Women’s Percent of Total
1930	122,484	73,615	48,869	39.9%
1940	186,500	109,456	76,954	41.3%
1942	185,346	103,889	81,457	43.9%
1944	125,863	55,865	69,998	55.6%
1946	136,174	58,664	77,510	56.9%
1947	272,144	175,987	96,157	35.3%
1948	271,019	175,456	95,563	35.3%
1949	366,634	264,168	102,466	27.9%
1950	433,734	329,819	103,915	24.0%
1951	384,352	279,343	105,009	27.3%
1952	331,924	227,029	104,895	31.6%
1953	304,857	200,820	104,037	34.1%
1954	292,880	187,500	105,380	36.0%
1955	287,401	183,602	103,799	36.1%
1956	311,298	199,571	111,727	35.9%

Source: modified from chart in David’s (Ed.) *Education and Manpower*, p. 267.⁷⁹

⁷⁷Serow, “Policy as Symbol: Title II of the 1944 G.I. Bill,” *The Review of Higher Education*, 486.

⁷⁸Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America*, p. 189. According to Solomon, some women’s colleges began enrolling males immediately following World War II including Vassar, Finch, and Sarah Lawrence Colleges.

⁷⁹Data compiled from U.S. Office of Education and U.S. Bureau of the Census records. The Council Staff, “Post-high School Education and Training of Women,” *Education and Manpower*, p. 267.

contradictory; on one hand there was increased female participation in higher education and the workforce, but on the other hand, there was the popular conception of women as wives and mothers.⁸⁰ According to Clark, who reviewed popular magazines regarding the G.I. Bill immediately following World War II, the images of women as wives and mothers encouraged the trend of women devoting themselves to domestic life since their soldier-husbands returned home. He reported only one article that mentioned wives going to college with their husbands.⁸¹

Besides popular magazines not addressing women's increased enrollment in college, little mention was made of women attending college in the *Junior College Journal* from 1948-1951. One article entitled "Informational Hygiene for Women in California Junior Colleges" discussed the presentation of adequate, useful, citizen-gearred health information to prospective mothers and professional women in the public junior college.⁸² Another article, "Functional Family-Life Education in Junior Colleges" reported the results of a preliminary analysis of junior-college offerings in home and family life, one of several in which the Commission on Life Adjustment Education recommended functional preparation for all youth. Of the 410 junior colleges surveyed

⁸⁰Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, "Mixed Messages: Women and the Impact of World War II," *Southern Humanities Review* 27 (1993): 235-238.

⁸¹Clark explained that only Morris in the *Ladies Home Journal* (October 1946) included anything regarding coverage of wives going to college with their husbands. Daniel A. Clark, "The Two Joes Meet – Joe College, Joe Veteran: The G.I. Bill, College Education, and Postwar American Culture," *History of Education Quarterly* 38 (Summer 1998): 165-189. For more details, see J. Morris, "Married Veterans Take Over the Campus," *Ladies Home Journal* 63 (October 1946): 32-39.

⁸²Mildred D. Wollett, "Informational Hygiene for Women in California Junior Colleges," *Junior College Journal* 19 (September 1948/May 1949): 21-27.

for that article, 99 (24.1 percent) offered courses in marriage and family life.⁸³ A third article, “Community-College Education for Women” was an editorial championing the community college’s responsibility for the preparation of women for family and community life.⁸⁴ Based on these few articles, the focus of the two-year college appeared to be on the returning veteran, with the preparation of women for home life as a secondary pursuit.

The popular culture of postwar America stereotyped women as middle-class, domestic, and suburban. This stereotype reinforced the ideal of home and family and subordinated women to the role of domestic homemaker.⁸⁵ Women constrained by the pressure to not work outside the home “donned their domestic harnesses” rather than threaten the social order.⁸⁶

At times, the culture seemed to be embracing the republican motherhood rhetoric of Catherine Beecher, prevalent in the early nineteenth century, that women needed to be educated solely to raise good citizens, thus, ensuring the continued practice of democratic

⁸³S. V. Martorana, “Functional Family-Life Education in Junior Colleges,” *Junior College Journal* 19 (September 1948/May 1949): 79-88.

⁸⁴Catherine J. Robbins, “Community-College Education for Women,” *Junior College Journal* 19 (September 1948/May 1949): 330-332.

⁸⁵Joanne Meyerowitz, ed., *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America 1945-1960*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), p. 3. Meyerowitz’s collection of articles regarding postwar America attempted to breakdown the traditional stereotypes that have oversimplified our views of women’s roles immediately following World War II.

⁸⁶Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*, (New York: Basic Books, 1988), p. 99.

principles.⁸⁷ In Adlai Stevenson's address to the Smith College graduating class of 1955, Stevenson acknowledged they might feel frustrated with their future roles as wives and mothers.

Now, as I have said, women, especially educated women such as you, have a unique opportunity to influence us, man and boy, and to play a direct part in the unfolding drama of our free society. But, I am told that nowadays the young wife or mother is short of time for the subtle arts, that things are not what they used to be; that once immersed in the very pressing and particular problems of domesticity, many women feel frustrated and far apart from the great issues and stirring debates from which their education has given them understanding and relish. Once they read Baudelaire. Now it is the Consumers' Guide. Once they wrote poetry. Now it's the laundry list. Once they discussed art and philosophy until late in the night. Now they are so tired they fall asleep as soon as the dishes are finished. There is, often, a sense of contraction, of closing horizons and lost opportunities. They had hoped to play their part in the crisis of the age. But what they do is to wash the diapers.⁸⁸

Nevertheless, these young women were encouraged to help promote a free society by educating the citizens of tomorrow. When public figures, such as Stevenson, openly celebrated the domesticity of women by championing women's quintessential role of wife and mother, the sexual division of labor seemed even stronger. Furthermore, the ideological climate focusing on the containment of communism with Cold War politics resulted in a resurgence of home and family ideals for many white middle-class Americans. The fear of atomic weapons ushered in a heightened need for security. With

⁸⁷Harriet Sigerman, ed., *The Columbia Documentary History of American Women Since 1941*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), p.111.

⁸⁸Adlai E. Stevenson Commencement Address, Smith College, June 6, 1955. Smith College Archives, Northampton, Mass., pp. 4-7

increased conflict and tension between the United States and the Soviet Union, the home appeared to be the safest place in an unsafe world.⁸⁹

Even with the conservative emphasis on home and family, women were still entering the job market and furthering their education. Chafe argued that “the most striking feature of the 1950s was the degree to which women continued to enter the job market and expand their sphere.”⁹⁰ By 1950, women’s participation in the workforce increased to 32.1 percent, compared to 27.6 percent in 1940.⁹¹ Yet female college graduates were marrying at higher rates than in the past. By the 1940s three-quarters of women college graduates were married.⁹² Hartmann argues that this period “was one of transition rather than paradox.”⁹³ Women’s growing employment reflected both growing demand and supply for more workers. Although women were continuing to work outside the home, more often than not they were still working in primarily female occupations.⁹⁴

⁸⁹Linda Eisenmann, “Educating the Female Citizen in a Post-war World: Competing Ideologies for American Women, 1945-1965,” *Educational Review* 54 (2002): 134.

⁹⁰William H. Chafe, *The American Women: Her Changing Social, Economic, and Political Roles, 1920-1970*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 218.

⁹¹National Manpower Council, *Womanpower: A Statement by the National Manpower Council with Chapters by the Council Staff*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957), p. 112.

⁹²Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, p. 198.

⁹³Susan M. Hartmann, “Women’s Employment and the Domestic Ideal in the Early Cold War Years” in *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America 1945-1960*, edited by Joanne Meyerowitz, pp. 84-100.

⁹⁴As early as the early 20th century, as Horowitz discussed, women usually entered programs that correlated with paid work such as psychology, social work,

Many women saw working outside the home as only a temporary assignment. For example, in a study of Cornell undergraduates in 1950, the authors stated that “a career plays a more important part in the total life plans of a man than of a woman. For men it is a life work; for women it is more often an interlude.”⁹⁵ Based on their survey of 2,758 students of which 2,008 were men and 750 women, 52% of the women stated that “they did not expect to be working ten years after graduation, whereas all the men expected to be occupationally active.”⁹⁶ As depicted in Table 7, women were more likely than men to approve of combining career and family life.

Even though the era celebrated domesticity, two organizations began an investigation of women’s status in the United States. The first group to undertake this charge was the National Manpower Council (NMC) funded by the Ford Foundation. This group established at Columbia University in 1951 studied womanpower (i.e., issues related to women’s employment). The second group to examine women’s status was the Commission on the Education of Women supported by the American Council on Education (ACE). This commission grew from a conference organized by the ACE in 1951 to explore women’s role in serving the defense of this country. The interest generated by the conference spurred the National Association of Deans of Women (NADW), concerned about the discrimination faced by professional women in higher education, to contact the ACE regarding sponsoring a Commission on the Education of

scientific research, and teaching. See Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, p. 200.

⁹⁵Rose K. Goldsen and others. *What College Students Think* (Princeton, NJ: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1960), p. 46.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*

Table 7: Women Are More Likely Than Men to Approve of Combining Career and Family Life (Cornell, 1950)⁹⁷

Which of the following statements concerning women working do you come closer to agreeing with?

	All Students (2,758)	Men (2,008)	Women (750)
In general, I don't approve of women having careers	7%	9%	1%
I approve of a woman having a career if she wants one, providing she is not married	19%	22%	9%
I approve of a married woman having a career if she wants one, providing she has no children.	19%	19%	17%
I approve of a married woman having a career if she wants one, providing her children are older than:	28%	25%	37%
Infancy to pre school (up to 5 years)	2%	1%	3%
Grade school (6-10 years)	4%	4%	6%
Junior High (11-14 years)	3%	3%	3%
High School (15-17 years)	8%	7%	10%
18 or older	9%	9%	12%
No answer for age	2%	1%	3%
I approve of a married woman having a career if she wants one, regardless of the age of her children	24%	22%	29%
Don't know or no answer	4%	3%	6%

Women.⁹⁸ This public reconsideration of women's status directly contradicts the singularly focused traditional image of women perpetuated throughout the 1950s.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 48. The percentages from this table are directly from the Cornell study. Unfortunately the first column (all students) adds to 101% and the third column (women) adds to 99%. No explanation regarding this discrepancy is given by the authors.

⁹⁸For more information about the work of the National Manpower Council (NMC) and the Commission on the Education of Women (CEW) see Susan M. Hartmann, "Women's Employment and the Domestic Ideal in the Early Cold War Years" in *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America 1945-1960*, edited by Joanne Meyerowitz, pp. 84-100. See Linda Eisenmann, *Higher Education for Women in Postwar America, 1945-1965*, (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University, 2006).

Eisenmann described women in the post-war United States as finding themselves caught between competing ideologies. These women were being told by political and social leaders that it was time to act responsibly and leave the labor force to return to the family. At the same time, these women received the message that they were needed to fill manpower shortages, especially in scientific and technical areas. The patriotic ideology sent mixed messages with its dual call for more participation as scientists, engineers, and physicians and simultaneously demanding that women stay home and nurture the family.⁹⁹

Even after World War II women continued working outside the home. According to Eisenmann, the female adult labor market participation steadily increased with each decade since the early nineteenth century.¹⁰⁰ According to the National Manpower's research regarding utilization of the nation's resources during the post-war period the number of working women increased from 13.8 million in 1940 to 18 million in 1950.¹⁰¹ Women entering the workforce in 1944, however, were less likely to be in managerial or professional occupations than entrants from 1940 and 1941. By 1944, these women were more likely to be in operative or service occupations. In the immediate post-war years, it was the young women who left the labor force (presumably to start families), whereas women aged 25-44 and 45-64 increased their participation. In fact, many of the women

⁹⁹Eisenmann, "Educating the Female Citizen in a Post-war World: Competing Ideologies for American Women, 1945-1965," p. 135.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 136.

¹⁰¹National Manpower Council, *Womanpower: A Statement by the National Manpower Council with Chapters by the Council Staff*, p. 112.

who stayed working after the war or who subsequently returned to the workforce were older married women whose children were grown.¹⁰²

While women continued to join the workforce, the cultural expectations for women to remain at home strengthened throughout the Cold War period. During this era women were encouraged to participate in civic organizations such as the League of Women Voters, the Parent-Teacher Association, and local politics, thereby encouraging women into activities appropriate for nurturers, similar to the gendered “separate spheres” ideology.¹⁰³ These opportunities were culturally comfortable by not challenging the status quo. By serving as volunteers women improved the community without being employed and earning a wage.¹⁰⁴

This leads one to agree with Meyerowitz’s need to reassess postwar mass culture. In Meyerowitz’s investigation of public culture, she encountered books, articles, and films that contradicted the domestic ideology. In contrast to Friedan’s treatise published in *The Feminine Mystique*, not all women were denied careers outside the home or were relegated to the role of housewife. Unfortunately, Friedan’s journalistic work

¹⁰²Claudia Goldin, “The Role of World War II in the Increase in Women's Employment,” *American Economic Review* 81 (1991):741-756.

¹⁰³By the second quarter of the nineteenth century, separate spheres ideology developed as the “bipolar split between public and private, between the world and the household, made more palatable to women by an emphasis on the enhancement of their authority in the home and their moral authority over men” (p. 16). This ideology reinforced the importance of republican motherhood that mothers were the first teachers of the nation’s children, thus, needing an education to prepare these children for their roles as citizens. See Christie Anne Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South*, (New York: New York University, 1994).

¹⁰⁴Eisenmann, “Educating the Female Citizen in a Post-war World: Competing Ideologies for American Women, 1945-1965,” p. 137.

homogenized women into a white and middle to upper class group excluding lesbians, women of color, working-class, and unmarried women to name a few. The goal of Meyerowitz's study was to test generalizations about postwar mass culture by reading 489 nonfiction articles on women in a sample of popular magazines from 1946-1958.¹⁰⁵ Meyerowitz based her interpretation of the sample on a different method than Friedan's method. As she states,

Many historians today adopt a different approach in which mass culture is neither wholly monolithic nor unrelentingly repressive. In this view, mass culture is rife with contradictions, ambivalence, and competing voices. We no longer assume that any text has a single, fixed meaning for all readers, and we sometimes find within the mass media subversive, as well as repressive, potential.¹⁰⁶

Throughout her sample, the articles advocated both domestic and nondomestic ideals. She suggested that Friedan's version of the feminine mystique "is only one piece of the postwar cultural puzzle."¹⁰⁷ According to Meyerowitz, "the postwar mass culture embraced the same central contradiction – the tension between domestic ideas and individual achievement – that Betty Friedan addressed in *The Feminine Mystique*."¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Joanne Meyerowitz, "Beyond the Feminine Mystique – A Reassessment of Postwar Mass Culture, 1946-1959" *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America 1945-1960*, ed. by Joanne Meyerowitz, pp. 229-262. Meyerowitz's systematic sample included magazines from four target groups. Using her terminology the four magazine groups were as follows: middlebrow (*Reader's Digest* and *Coronet*), highbrow (*Harper's* and *Atlantic Monthly*), aimed at African Americans (*Ebony* and *Negro Digest*), and aimed at women (*Ladies' Home Journal* and *Woman's Home Companion*). See also William A. Darity, Jr., ed., "Betty Friedan", *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, (Macmillan Press, forthcoming, 2008).

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

In some instances, individual achievement and public service seemed to supersede home and family. For example, the *Woman's Home Companion* conducted opinion polls in 1947 and 1949 of its readership. As part of these polls, readers named the women they most admired – Eleanor Roosevelt, Helen Keller, Sister Elizabeth Kenny (who worked with polio victims), and Clare Boothe Luce (author and congresswoman) – all nondomestic women.¹⁰⁹

As depicted in this chapter, the stereotype of postwar women as quiescent, docile, and domestic does not accurately portray a more complex and contradictory period in history. Women were increasingly participating in higher education and the workforce; but at the same time, it appeared that colleges and universities were training them more to be wives and mothers. With the return of the World War II veterans to college campuses, many women were crowded out, thus encouraging the illusion of their return to the traditional pre-war role of wife and mother. Despite limitations in employment in terms of feminized and non-managerial careers and in education in terms of suggested academic programs, many women joined the labor force in increasing numbers. As historians, we should resist the urge to pigeonhole postwar women into the narrow domesticated role of wife and mother.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 236. See “The Women You Admire!,” *Woman's Home Companion*, January 1947, 12. “The Women You Admire!” *Woman's Home Companion*, January 1949, 8.

CHAPTER 4

METHODS AND RESULTS

As explained in the introduction, this study used a historical method to explore the access of women into higher education, specifically two-year colleges. The post-World War II United States witnessed an educational surge unlike anything in its past, partially due to veterans using the G.I. Bill to further their education. Two-year colleges were still relatively young institutions, but community colleges were one of higher education's answers to Truman's call for a strengthened democracy. These open-access institutions opened the door to higher education for many students during the 1940s and 1950s. Based on the literature review, the following societal factors affected female access to two-year colleges both positively and negatively during this time:

1. World War II caused more women to break from their traditional roles of wife and mother and enter higher education via a two-year college,
2. veterans returned from fighting in World War II,
3. the G.I. Bill was passed to help veterans readjust to civilian life by attending college, and
4. the President's Commission on Higher Education recommended that the number of community colleges be increased.

This chapter will focus on how the data were collected and the results of my initial data collection. From the data collected, I will then focus on two colleges operating during

the 1940s and 1950s to explore how they provided access to women during this specific timeframe.

Methods

In order to analyze the impact of these critical events on enrollment and graduation trends by gender, this study used information collected from the four editions of the *American Junior Colleges* (1940, 1948, 1952, and 1956) published during the 1940s and 1950s, a collection of self-reported data from two-year institutions, as one of its primary sources. For the duration of World War II data were not collected; therefore, a volume was not published in 1944. The data in these factbooks were narrative in nature with no charts, graphs, or comparisons made between different groups. My goal was to compile a database of enrollment and graduate information to analyze the changes in female access to higher education.

As part of this voluntary data collection process each institution was requested to supply the following information: name and location, type and control, accreditation, history, calendar, requirements for admission and graduation, fees and other financial data, staff, enrollment, curricula, buildings, grounds, and equipment. Fortunately, most reporting institutions provided enrollment and graduate information.

This study focused on the seven states that Medsker and Tillery described as pacesetters within the community college movement: California, Florida, Illinois, Michigan, New York, Texas, and Washington. As discussed in the introduction, Medsker and Tillery's criteria for describing these states as pacesetters were the dramatic growth in number of institutions and student enrollment in each of these states. These

seven states were the leaders in the community college movement.¹¹⁰ From 1939 to 1955, the *American Junior Colleges* factbook detailed 720 instances of two-year colleges reporting in pacesetter states.¹¹¹ Of the sample, 21 did not report total enrollment. In addition, 28 colleges did not submit enrollment disaggregated by male and female for one or more years during the four composite years of this study. In comparison, the number of colleges that did not disaggregate graduates by male and female was 59, which was slightly higher than for enrollment. Of these 59 colleges, only six reported total graduates. From the sample, 18 colleges did not report total enrollment and total graduates for one or more years during the timeframe of this study. This is not surprising due to the voluntary nature of data collection. These omissions decrease the validity of the study. Many colleges that did not submit data were relatively new institutions; and one would assume their enrollment and graduates were still small, so their not reporting would not entirely hamper this study. Even though the data set was not without its imperfections, the 666 two-year institutions reporting enrollment and 655 two-year institutions reporting graduates still provided valuable information to compare male and female enrollment and graduation during the 1940s and 1950s.

By developing a database of enrollment and graduation data, I was able to compare the enrollment and graduate data by gender in two-year colleges in the pacesetter states. This allowed me to further analyze the data to determine if trends existed and if the pacesetter states were a homogeneous group. Even though the pacesetter states were categorized by Medsker and Tillery as being leaders in the

¹¹⁰Medsker and Tillery, *Breaking the Access Barriers: A Profile of Two-Year Colleges*, pp. 25-26.

¹¹¹This number is a duplicated count.

community college movement,¹¹² there were still differences between the states regarding the organization and control of these institutions. Table 8 shows the number of private and public institutions in each of the pacesetter states. These differences may have influenced women's access to higher education in these states due to private institutions often being more selective and expensive than public institutions. Regardless of possible differences in gender, public two-year colleges showed growth in all of the pacesetter states. These were the institutions focused on access.

Table 8: Number of Two-Year Colleges in Pacesetter States by Public and Private Control

	1939		1947		1951		1955	
State	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private	Public
California	15	42	7	55	9	61	1	60
Florida	2	1	5	1	4	5	3	5
Illinois	10	9	10	12	11	14	8	13
Michigan	3	9	2	10	0 ¹¹³	10	2	13
New York	6	0	13	9	13	14	16	16
Texas	15	20	26	29	16	37	10	33
Washington	7	0	0	9	0	9	0	9

Source: Compiled from *American Junior Colleges* 1st-4th editions

¹¹²Medsker and Tillery, *Breaking the Access Barriers: A Profile of Two-Year Colleges*, pp. 25-26.

¹¹³Please note that for Michigan in 1951 Spring Arbor Junior College and Suomi College did not report, which made it appear that there were no private junior colleges in Michigan, which is inaccurate. In 1955 both of these colleges reported that they were private junior colleges. Therefore there were no new private junior colleges in Michigan; simply put these two colleges did not report in 1951 but reported in 1955.

In summary, by using a historical lens to study women's access to two-year colleges, I was able to explore in greater detail the meaning of access for women. Besides a quantitative analysis of the data, the analysis includes historical information from the *Junior College Journal* publications during the 1940s and 1950s. I read each journal specifically focusing on articles regarding pacesetter states, women, and access. Information from these articles was then categorized chronologically to determine if any trends or events within the state existed that explained data outliers. The *Junior College Journals* provided the contextual information necessary to fill in the gaps due to the limited amount of scholarly literature regarding this topic.

In order for this study to fully explore the meaning of access, I chose two colleges for a more in-depth review. I chose the institutions based on the following criteria:

1. they provided co-educational two-year instruction during the timeframe of this study,
2. they reported data to the American Junior College Directory for at least one of the following years (1939, 1947, 1951, or 1955),
3. they were located in a pacesetter state, and
4. they had available historical information for research purposes.

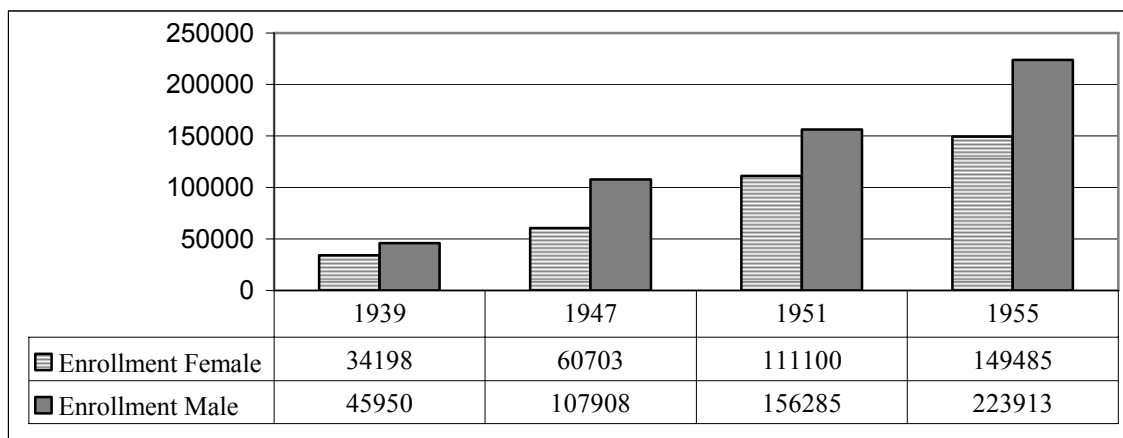
Each of the two colleges was either in the top or bottom quartile for enrollment of women during at least one of the following years (1939, 1947, 1951, or 1955). Interestingly, often the percentages of male and female students reflected the differences in enrollment. Many of the top 25 colleges had larger percentages of female students than reported on Figures 1 and 2; for the bottom 25 colleges, there were typically smaller percentages of women than men. I chose one college that was in the top quartile in enrollment of

women and one college that was in the bottom quartile for enrollment of women during the time span of this study. By focusing on colleges either doing an exemplary job enrolling women or a less than exemplary job enrolling women, the hope was to explore the meaning of access in a greater detail than mere analysis of the numbers would allow.

Results

Based on the data collected from the *American Junior Colleges* factbooks, males outnumbered females in enrollment in two-year institutions in pacesetters in all four years of the sample. Female enrollment increased by 337% from 34,198 in 1939 to 149,485 in 1955. In comparison, male enrollment increased by 387% from 45,950 in 1939 to 223,913 in 1955. Figure 1 illustrates the enrollment increase from 1939-1945, although it is also important to look beyond raw numbers.

Figure 1: Enrollment by Gender in Pacesetter States

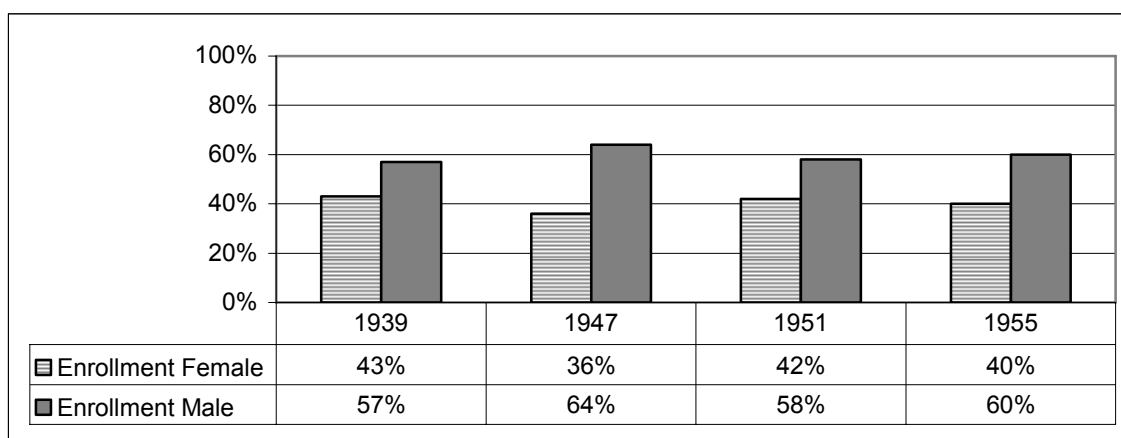


Source: Compiled from *American Junior Colleges* 1st-4th editions

The actual percentages of male and female enrollment out of the total enrollment are noteworthy. Figure 2 illustrates that the percentage of women in two-year colleges decreased after World War II, which coincides with what was happening in higher education as a whole. With the enactment of the G.I. Bill in 1944, the percentage of male

enrollment in two-year colleges increased to 64% in 1947. By 1951, women had increased as a percentage of total enrollment, which would appear to show that the possible handicap of the G.I. Bill was short-lived at best. However, 1955 shows a decrease in female percent of enrollment though not as pronounced as in 1947. It appears that a woman's role as wife and mother was still paramount in 1950s United States, and thus college attendance was not a socially important option. As I discuss later, women enrolled in higher education in larger numbers during the period studied; the decreasing proportion of women enrolled suggests the dampening effect of societal expectations.

Figure 2: Enrollment by Gender for Pacesetter States (by percent)



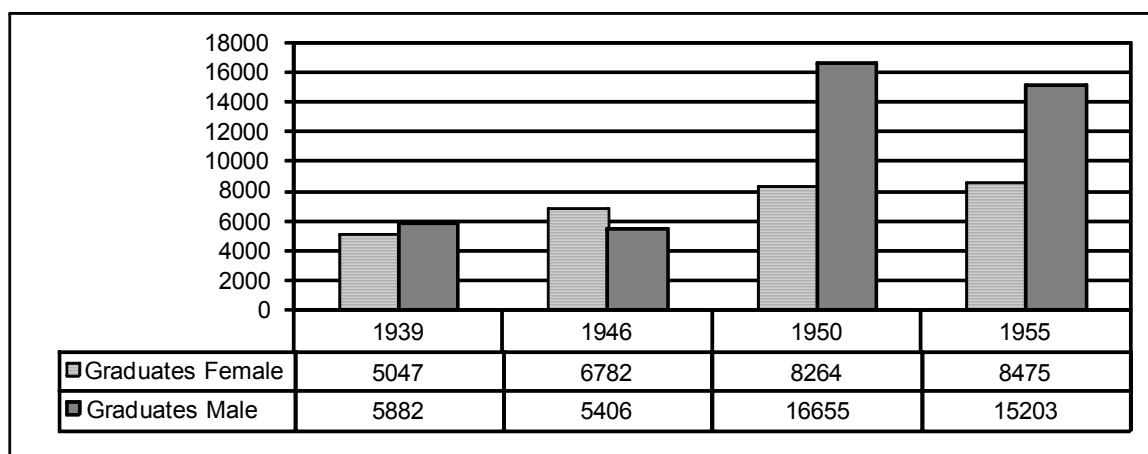
Source: Compiled from *American Junior Colleges* 1st-4th editions

Graduate information data provide an even greater detail of information about women's involvement in two-year colleges. Female graduates increased by 67% from 5,047 in 1938 to 8,475 in 1954.¹¹⁴ In comparison, male graduates increased by 158% from 5,882 in 1938 to 15,203 in 1954. Males who enrolled in two-year colleges tended to graduate in higher numbers than females, as shown in Figure 3. For example, in 1950,

¹¹⁴The volumes of *American Junior Colleges* for 1940 and 1956 reported graduates and enrollment from the same year. The volumes for 1948 and 1952 reported graduate information one year prior to enrollment data.

males graduated from a pacesetter state two-year college at a ratio of 2:1 compared to women. The percentage of male graduates compared to females in 1947 was 54% to 46% and in 1954 it was 64% to 36%. Even though the sample data include enrollment and graduate data from different years, it is still apparent that males were graduating at a higher percentage than females. The enrollment of males compared to females in 1947 was 64% to 36% and in 1955 it was 60% to 40%. Based on the ratio of male graduates to female graduates, females appeared to be dropping out of community college at a greater rate than males.

Figure 3: Graduates by Gender in Pacesetter States



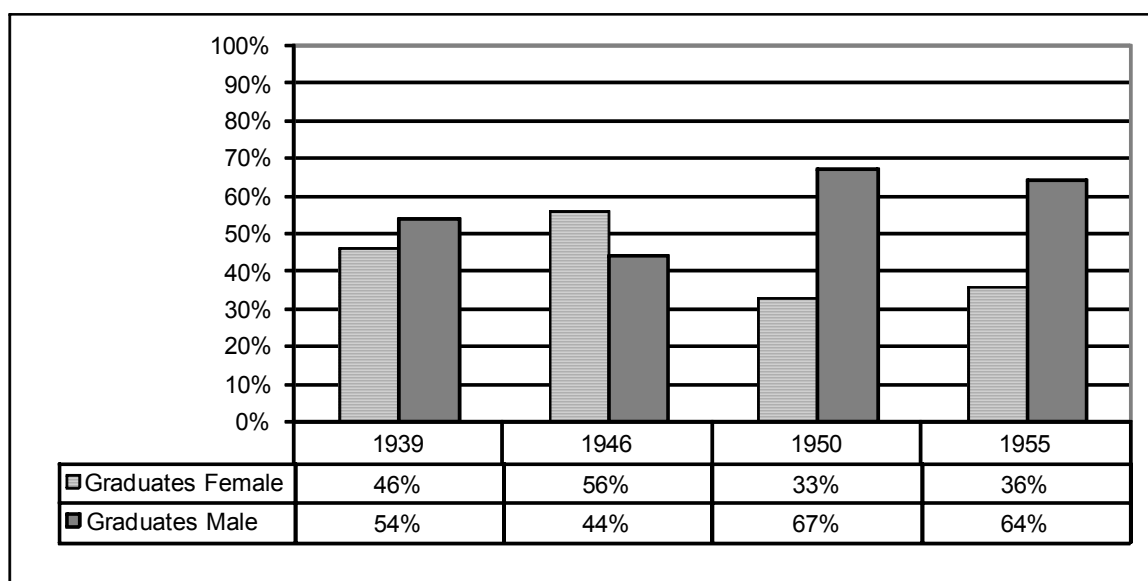
Source: Compiled from *American Junior Colleges* 1st - 4th Editions

In fact, 1946 was the only year from the four-year sample when women graduates outnumbered males. Even though the G.I. Bill was enacted in 1944, many veterans did not immediately rush to enroll in college even by 1946. The amendment to the G.I. Bill on December 19, 1945 made it more attractive to the veterans, as noted earlier.¹¹⁵ These revisions made the G.I. Bill more appealing to the veterans and thus, more veterans enrolled in higher education. As shown in Table 2 of Chapter 2, the number of veterans

¹¹⁵Olson, *The G.I. Bill, the Veterans, and the Colleges*, p. 37

using the G.I. Bill rose from 88,000 in 1945 to 1,013,000 in 1946. Most returning veterans had not had time to enroll and graduate from a two-year college in 1946. By 1950, more veterans had taken the opportunity to use the G.I. Bill to further their education, which is reflected in the increased percentage of males graduating from a two-year college. The percentage of two-year college graduates who were male rose from 44% in 1946 to 67% in 1950 (see Figure 4).

Figure 4: Graduates by Gender in Pacesetter States (including percent)

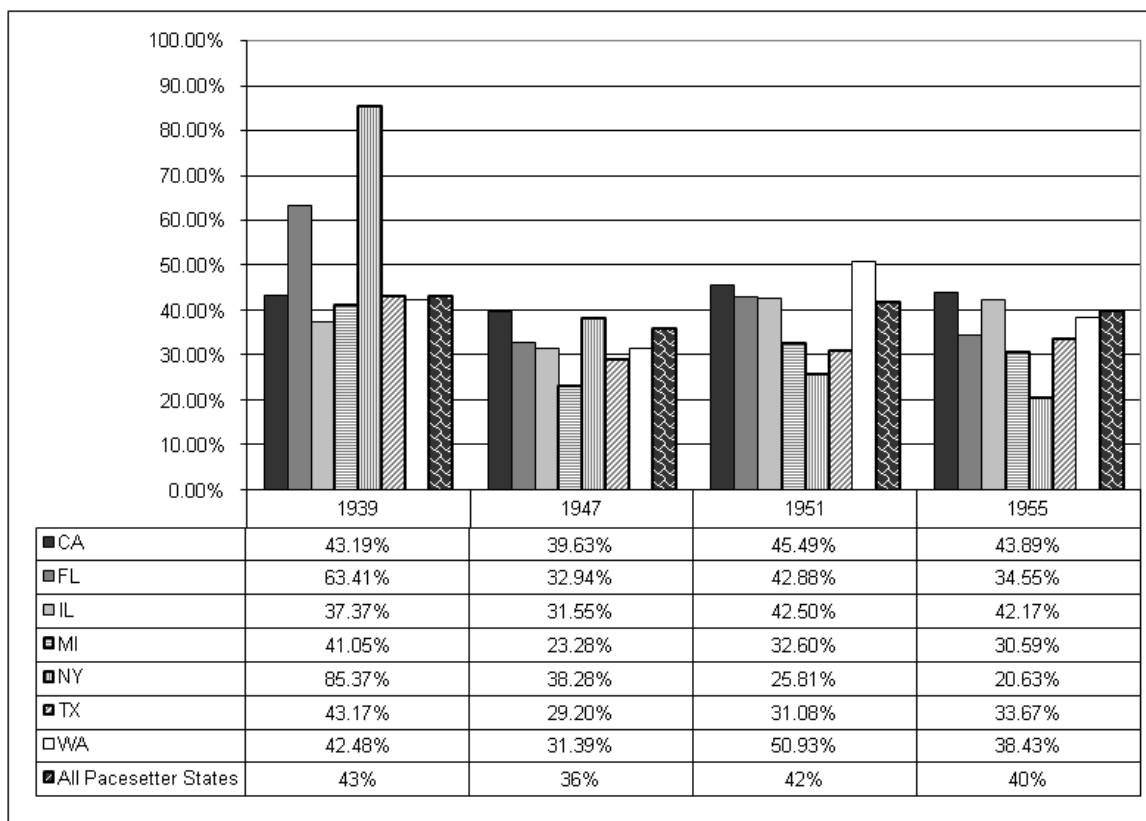


Source: Compiled from *American Junior Colleges* 1st - 4th Editions

Even though the overall impact of the G.I. Bill is evident in the sample, within the pacesetter states the enrollment and graduate percentages for women did vary. Figures 5 and 6 show the variation of enrollment and graduate percentages for women by state. New York appears as an outlier, but closer examination of the data shows that in 1939, all six of the two-year colleges in the sample were privately controlled and four of the six

were women's colleges.¹¹⁶ As more coeducational, publicly controlled two-year institutions opened in New York, their data became more similar to the other pacesetter states.

Figure 5: Percentage of Women of Total Enrollment in Pacesetter States



Source: Compiled from *American Junior Colleges* 1st-4th editions

If New York is excluded as an outlier, then in 1939 the pacesetter state with the highest female enrollment percentage was Florida. At that time Florida only had three two-year colleges (two private and one public). In raw numbers, Florida had the lowest enrollment in two-year colleges with only 1,908 students in 1939. As the number of

¹¹⁶I summarized these data from the American Council on Education, *American Junior Colleges* (first edition), edited by Walter C. Eells (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1940).

institutions and the enrollment in these institutions grew throughout Florida, their female enrollment percentage began to appear to be more similar to the other pacesetter colleges.

The enrollment and graduate percentages for women fluctuate among pacesetter states. Enrollment of veterans in higher education was highest in 1946 and 1947 and during this time the percentage of female enrollment in two-year colleges declined. There was a stabilization of these percentages among pacesetter states after 1950. As discussed in chapter 3, the 1950s brought an increased emphasis on domesticity for women but at the same time more women were entering higher education. Therefore, comparing female's enrollment to males can be deceptive and may make it appear that they were not enrolling in higher education when in fact they were doing so in record numbers. Nevertheless, as is evident on Figure 6, the percentage of female graduates declined on all pacesetter states from 1938 to 1954.

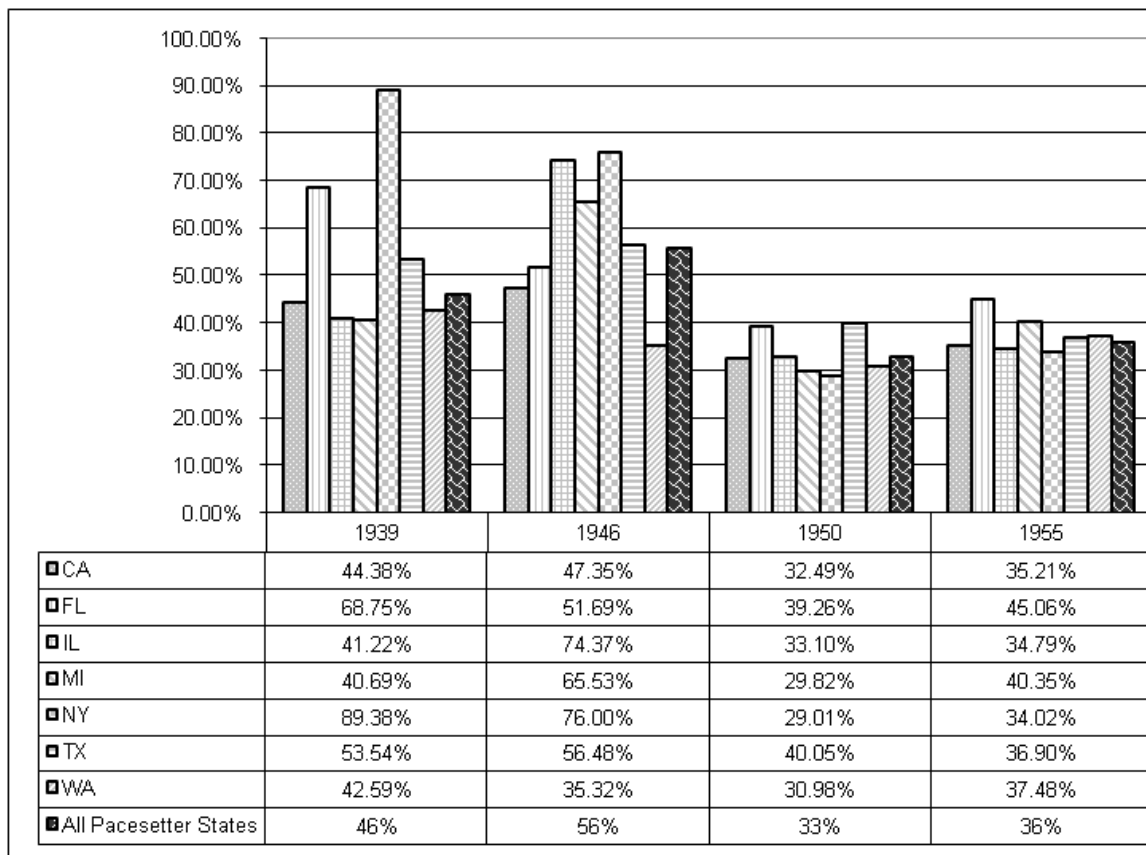
During the 1940s and 1950s women were receiving mixed messages regarding the need to further their education beyond high school.¹¹⁷ In the surge of veterans returning to higher education after World War II, the non-veterans were often crowded out to make room for the returning veterans.¹¹⁸ As Eisenmann argued, the cultural expectations for women to remain at home strengthened, but at the same time they were expected to be

¹¹⁷Fox-Genovese, "Mixed Messages: Women and the Impact of World War II," *Southern Humanities Review*, 235-238.

¹¹⁸Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America*, p. 189. Solomon discussed the GI bill's affect on female access to higher education but failed to acknowledge that some percentage (admittedly small) of veterans were women.

educated caregivers.¹¹⁹ The intense focus on the home and family may have encouraged some women to reconsider enrollment in higher education, but nevertheless many women continued to enter the gates of academia; they graduated, however, at lower rates than did men.

Figure 6: Percentage of Women of all Graduates in Pacesetter States



Source: Compiled from *American Junior Colleges* 1st - 4th Editions

Even though female enrollment in two-year colleges and higher education did seem to follow similar trends, especially in regard to the G.I. Bill, two-year colleges did attract a greater percentage of women than higher education as a whole. When comparing enrollment in all higher education to two-year colleges in pacesetter states

¹¹⁹Eisenmann, "Educating the Female Citizen in a Post-war World: Competing Ideologies for American Women, 1945-1965," *Educational Review*, 137.

(shown in Table 4 in Chapter 2), the percent of female enrollment was higher in two-year colleges. In all four years of the sample, the percentage of women enrolling in two-year colleges in pacesetter states was higher than higher education as a whole. By 1955, females comprised 40% of the enrollment in two-year colleges compared to 35% of the enrollment in higher education as a whole. With the G.I. Bill's overcrowding of four-year institutions, it is possible that two-year colleges did fulfill the purpose of providing education for some displaced women. The two-year colleges' open access admissions and lower priced tuition may have allowed some women to attend college who previously would not have had the chance. In addition, Pedersen described the parental perception that two-year colleges provided a "safe haven" in comparison to the university. By children (especially daughters) staying home an additional two years, parents would be able to extend their supervision and curb youthful independence.¹²⁰

In comparing the data by public or private control, it appears that the pacesetter states were highly similar to two-year colleges as a whole. Until the time of World War II, private junior colleges substantially outnumbered public institutions. According to Brint and Karabel, because of the expanding state systems the private junior colleges (usually higher in cost) began to lose the competition for students.¹²¹ Nationwide the number of private colleges fell from 350 in the early 1940s to 259 by 1955, a decrease of 26%.¹²² Comparatively, in pacesetter states the number of private colleges fell from 58

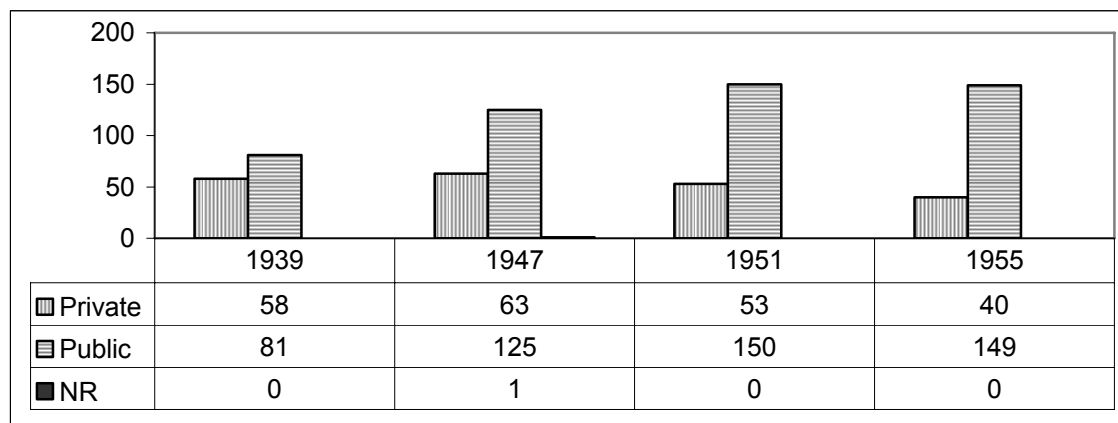
¹²⁰Pedersen, *The Origins and Development of the Early Public Junior College: 1900-1940*, pp. 226-227.

¹²¹Brint and Karabel, *The Diverted Dream: Community Colleges and the Promise of Educational Opportunity in America, 1900 -1985*, p. 243.

¹²²Tyrus Hillway, *The American Two-Year College*, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958), pp. 16-18.

in 1939 to 40 in 1955 (see Figure 7), a decrease of 31%. During the 1930s the eastern colleges were more often private in comparison to more public institutions in the west.¹²³ Private college enrollments surged in the immediate postwar era but by the mid-1950s, private colleges only enrolled one-seventh of the students enrolled in the public colleges.

Figure 7: Two-Year Colleges in Pacesetter States by Private and Public Control¹²⁴



Source: Compiled from *American Junior Colleges* 1st - 4th Editions

As discussed previously, western states tended to have more public two-year institutions than eastern states. As a group, the pacesetter states were not dissimilar to two-year colleges as a whole. In 1939 California, with 42 two-year colleges, operated more public institutions than any other pacesetter state as shown in Table 9. New York had no public two-year institutions in 1939. After World II the number of private institutions slightly increased from 58 to 63. However, the percentage of private institutions as compared to total institutions decreased from 41% in 1939 to 33% in 1947.

¹²³Brint and Karabel, *The Diverted Dream: Community Colleges and the Promise of Educational Opportunity in America, 1900 -1985*, p. 57.

¹²⁴For purposes of discussion, I collapsed the classifications county, district, local, municipal, state, state and county into public. In addition, one institution did not report how it was governed. I categorized this as a nonresponse, indicated as NR in the figure.

By 1955 the percentage of private two-year colleges in pacesetter states dropped to 21%, slightly higher than the national average for private two-year colleges. Overall, postwar United States saw a gradual upswing in the number of public two-year institutions, especially in California, which by 1951 had 61 total public two-year institutions and only one privately controlled institution.

Table 9: Number of Two-Year Colleges in Pacesetter States by Public and Private Control

Year	State	Private	Public	Total
1939	California	15	42	57
1947		7	55	62
1951		9	61	70
1955		1	60	61

Year	State	Private	Public	Total
1939	Florida	2	1	3
1947		5	1	6
1951		4	5	9
1955		3	5	8

Year	State	Private	Public	Total
1939	Illinois	10	9	19
1947		10	12	22
1951		11	14	25
1955		8	13	21

Year	State	Private	Public	Total
1939	Michigan	3	9	12
1947		2	10	12
1951		0	10	10
1955		2	13	15

Table 9: Number of Two-Year Colleges in Pacesetter States by Public and Private Control

Year	State	Private	Public	Total
1939	New York	6	0	6
1947		13	9	23 ¹²⁵
1951		13	14	27
1955		16	16	32

Year	State	Private	Public	Total
1939	Texas	15	20	35
1947		26	29	55
1951		16	37	53
1955		10	33	43

Year	State	Private	Public	Total
1939	Washington	7	0	7
1947		0	9	9
1951		0	9	9
1955		0	9	9

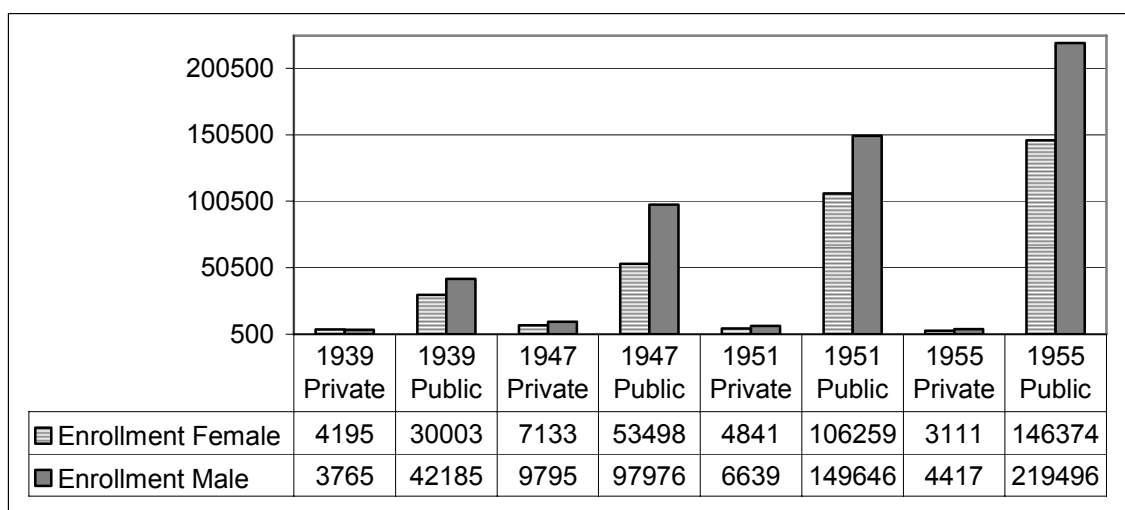
Source: Compiled from *American Junior Colleges* 1st - 4th Editions

When comparing the male and female enrollment in privately versus publicly controlled two-year colleges in pacesetter states, it appears that males and females enrolled in private colleges at a more proportionately similar rate than in publicly controlled two-year colleges as depicted in Figure 8. For example, in 1939, 3,765 males enrolled in private two-year colleges compared to 4,195 females. In contrast for the same year, 42,185 males enrolled in public two-year colleges compared to 30,003 females, almost one and a half times more males enrolled than females. Gradually as shown in Figure 9 males began enrolling in private institutions at a greater rate from 47% in 1939 to 60% in 1955.

¹²⁵One two-year college that was listed in the *American Junior Colleges Directory* did not report whether it was privately or publicly controlled in 1947. Therefore, the total institutions for New York in 1947 does not equal the sum of private and public institutions.

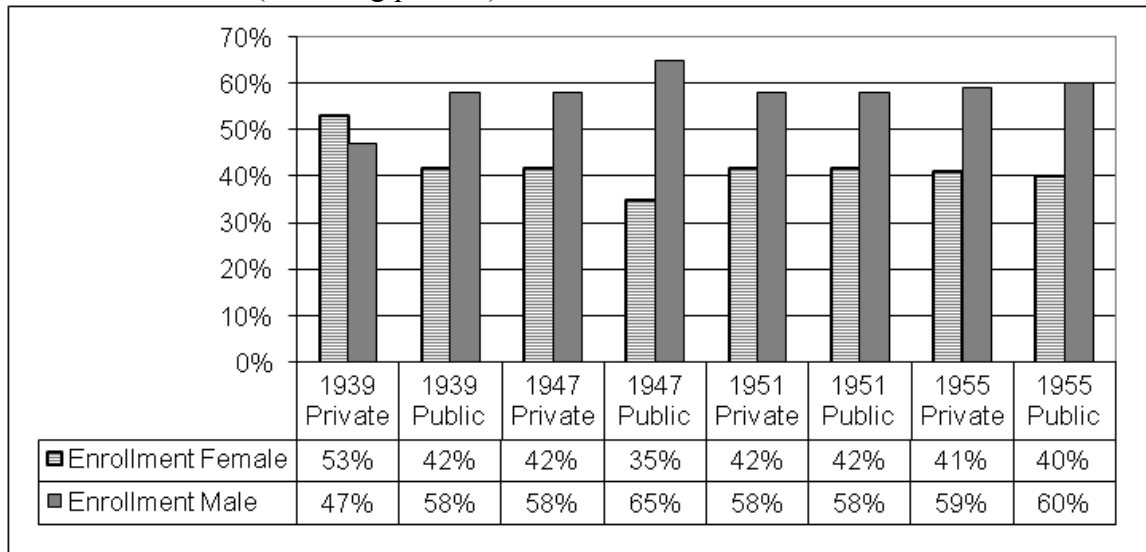
By 1955 public two-year colleges were steadily increasing in enrollment while private two-year colleges were rapidly decreasing in enrollment. In 1955 the total enrollment in the 149 pacesetter states' public two-year colleges was 390,105 compared to the 7,865 enrolled in 40 private two-year colleges. Most of the private institutions were smaller institutions with enrollment ranging from 9 to 1,536 students. In contrast, the public institutions were generally larger with enrollment ranging from 30 to 39,915 students. Even though the public institutions were for the most part larger than the private institutions, only 10 public institutions had enrollment greater than 10,000 during 1939 to 1955. Overall enrollment in public two-year institutions was growing steadily after World II from 72,188 in 1939 to 365,870 in 1955 giving the appearance of greater access for males and females in furthering their education.

Figure 8: Male and Female Enrollment in Two-Year Colleges in Pacesetter States by Private and Public Control



Source: Compiled from *American Junior Colleges* 1st-4th editions

Figure 9: Male and Female Enrollment in Two-Year Colleges in Pacesetters by Private and Public Control (including percent)



Source: Compiled from *American Junior Colleges* 1st-4th editions

In order to explore more fully the meaning of access, I chose two public colleges for a more in-depth analysis. Both colleges were co-educational two-year colleges in a pacesetter state during the timeframe of this study. The two institutions chosen were Long Beach City College (CA) and Mohawk Technical Institute (NY). For both of these colleges, I will share a brief history of events taking place during the timeframe of this study; I was able to obtain college catalogs from the 1940s and 1950s for both of these colleges. These catalogs provided valuable information regarding the curricula offered immediately following World War II.

The first college I will examine will be Long Beach City College in Long Beach, California. From 1947 to 1955, Long Beach City College enrolled more female students than any other college from a pacesetter state. In addition, the female enrollment greatly outnumbered the male enrollment as shown in Table 10. In 1951, 63% of the enrollment

was female, but by 1955 the percentage dropped to 56% as male enrollment slightly increased.

Table 10: Top 25 Pacesetter State Colleges by Female Enrollment (1939, 1947, 1951, and 1955)

Year	State	Control	College	Enrollment Male	Enrollment Female	Total Enrollment
1939	CA	Public	San Bernardino Valley Junior College	3719	4598	8317
1939	CA	Public	Los Angeles City College	3673	3014	6687
1947	CA	Public	Long Beach City College	8035	11715	19750
1947	CA	Public	Los Angeles City College	6460	2787	9247
1947	CA	Public	San Jose Evening Junior College	1094	2632	3726
1947	CA	Public	Pasadena City College	3209	2580	5789
1947	CA	Public	San Bernardino Valley College	2305	2505	4810
1951	CA	Public	Long Beach City College	14014	24308	38322
1951	CA	Public	Los Angeles City College	14524	11908	26432
1951	WA	Public	Olympic College	3239	4201	7440
1951	IL	Public	Wright Junior College	5275	3222	8497
1951	CA	Public	East Contra Costa Junior College	2586	2941	5527
1951	CA	Public	East Los Angeles Junior College	2421	2544	4965
1955	CA	Public	Long Beach City College	17531	22384	39915
1955	CA	Public	Pasadena City College	9338	9202	18540
1955	CA	Public	Los Angeles City College	9470	7511	16981
1955	CA	Public	College of San Mateo	5351	6279	11630
1955	CA	Public	Los Angeles Junior College of Business	1810	5105	6915
1955	CA	Public	Santa Monica City College	9560	4781	14341
1955	IL	Public	Chicago City Junior College Wright Branch	5450	3842	9292
1955	CA	Public	City College of San Francisco	5024	3636	8660
1955	CA	Public	Orange Coast College	2738	3376	6114
1955	CA	Public	College of Marin	1812	3354	5166
1955	IL	Public	Joliet Junior College	2720	2801	5521
1955	TX	Public	San Antonio College	3894	2495	6389

Source: Compiled from *American Junior Colleges* 1st-4th editions

Long Beach Junior College was established April 6, 1927 as explained by

Superintendent Keppel:

WHEREFORE I, Mark Keppel, County Superintendent of Schools of Los Angeles County, do find and declare that the Long Beach City Junior College District of Los Angeles County, California was duly formed on April 6, 1927. The Long Beach Junior College District of Los Angeles

County, California is composed of, and is co-terminous with Long Beach City High School District of Los Angeles County, California, which said High School District is composed of Long Beach City School District and Llewellyn School District, both of Los Angeles County, California.¹²⁶

Like many other two-year colleges of its time, originally it was housed in a high school. In the case of Long Beach Junior College, it was initially located at Woodrow Wilson High School. Instruction at Long Beach Junior College began in September, 1927.¹²⁷ The City Federation of Parents and Teachers played a pivotal role in establishing the junior college. The following resolution appears in the minutes for March 2, 1926:

To the Board of Education Long Beach, California
Whereas, We realize that many of our young people graduate from High School at an early age and though desirous of higher education are not fortified to leave home protection and enter University life and
Whereas, There are ambitious High School graduates who are unable financially to acquire a complete college education and
Whereas, We believe that the Junior College offers to young students superior advantages over the crowded University in providing a closer contact with instructors, thus bringing out the latent possibilities of the student; therefore,
Be it resolved, That it is the sense of this meeting that we desire your Honorable Board to establish as soon as possible the department of Junior College in our Public School System of Long Beach; and be it further resolved that we pledge our loyal cooperation and support in behalf of the much desired project.

City Federation of Parents and Teachers¹²⁸

Even in its early years, the college developed student activities, and its teams won awards in debate and in sports such as men's basketball, men's wrestling, men's baseball,

¹²⁶Donald A. Drury, *The First Fifty Years: Long Beach City College, 1927-1977*, (Long Beach, CA: Long Beach Community College District, 1978), p. 6.

¹²⁷Ibid., p. 7.

¹²⁸Ibid., p. 9.

and men's and women's swimming. Its intramural program was the oldest program of its type for junior college students in the nation.¹²⁹

After Woodrow Wilson High School was destroyed by an earthquake in 1933, classes were offered outdoors and in tents. In 1935, the college moved to its present location. During World War II, the Long Beach area was a military training center and embarkation point.¹³⁰ The World War II years almost led to the demise of the college with enrollment dropping due to enlistments, draft calls, and military reserve call-ups. In addition, enrollment was impacted by many civilians being hired by war production industries. As enrollment declined many instructors were placed on a leave of absence with the Long Beach Junior College and employed in secondary schools. In 1944-1945 the college went through a major reorganization and created a new entity, Long Beach City College, bringing together all post-high school education in the district in a unified manner. Based on the reorganization, the three divisions were: Liberal Arts (the original Junior College), General Adult (formed from the district's Adult Education Department), and a Technical Institute (formed from the Trade Extension Evening High School and the War Production Training Program).¹³¹ With enrollment increasing rapidly following World War II, the college expanded in 1949 by adding the Pacific Coast Campus.

Students were categorized into two types: the recommended group who had already completed college entrance requirements and the non-recommended group of those not meeting college entrance requirements. Students enrolled in certificate and

¹²⁹Ibid., p. 10.

¹³⁰Ibid.

¹³¹Ibid., pp. 33-34.

diploma courses. The certificate programs included the pre-professional curricula and were designed for transfer to four-year institutions. The diploma programs included transfer courses but were designed mainly for students in occupational, semi-professional, and general college majors who were not candidates for a four-year degree.¹³² Wartime classes prepared both men and women for work in defense industries through special training programs provided by Long Beach City College in 1944. These wartime classes provided by the Technical Institute trained over 70,000 workers through its War Production Training Program. The major training areas included in the Technical Institute were the following: aircraft maintenance and repair, building and construction trades, design, drafting and technical illustration, electricity, graphic arts, machine tools, mechanical maintenance, metal working, personal service, petroleum technology, public service, radio communications, refrigeration, ship construction, technical science, and welding.¹³³

The war years saw a steady decrease in the number of male students; as a result women became the campus leaders. From 1942 to 1944, women were the editors of the school paper the *Viking*, student body presidents, and most of the class officers. Several of the male clubs disbanded during this time due to lack of membership.¹³⁴ After World War II the student activities program flourished when the students began returning by the thousands in 1946-1947. Major college events such as the charity drive, the homecoming

¹³²Ibid., p. 12.

¹³³*Long Beach City College: General Information and Announcement of Courses*, (Long Beach: California, Long Beach Public Schools, 1950-1952), p. 13.

¹³⁴Donald A. Drury, *The First Fifty Years: Long Beach City College, 1927-1977*, p. 38.

parade intermixed with assorted athletic contests, dances, concerts, and drama productions provided a wide range of extracurricular activities for the Long Beach City College students.¹³⁵

As the large number of veterans began returning to campus, the administration of the campus changed to incorporate these older students. A veteran's counselor was designated in each of the divisions of the Long Beach City College to help answer questions regarding veterans' rights and benefits. In addition, veterans were allowed credit for military service based on the recommendation of the Division of Readjustment Education of the California State Department of Education. The veterans counselor assigned credit upon receiving discharge papers from the veterans. Educational experience gained during military service was evaluated and credit allocated after enrollment in the College. The recommendations of the American Council on Education were followed in evaluating educational experience. Veterans were required to present military service and educational experience records to be eligible to receive credit for them.¹³⁶

¹³⁵Ibid., p. 53.

¹³⁶*Long Beach City College: General Information and Announcement of Courses*, (Long Beach: California, Long Beach Public Schools, 1950-1952), p. 26. The awarding of credit was based on the Guide to the Evaluation of Educational Experiences in the Armed Services published in 1946 by the American Council on Education. This guide for the educational community to evaluate educational experiences was compiled immediately after World War II at the University of Illinois under the auspices of the Cooperative Study of Training and Experiences in the Armed Services with G.P. Tuttle directing the project. The purpose of this guide was to prevent the practice of granting blanket credit to veterans as a reward for service. E.F. Lindquist listed the objectives of the early literature as those which: "1. describe the training programs in the various branches of the services, 2. will indicate in so far as possible the equivalents of those programs in terms of subjects generally taught in secondary and higher institutions, and

In addition, the culture of the campus changed. Married students began to appear at Long Beach City College after World War II. At times the husband and wife were both enrolled in college. As a result, the Child Development Center was opened on the Carson Street campus. In 1949 an organization was formed for older students, Voksne, with the minimum age for members being 24.

Long Beach City College, with its close proximity to the Veterans Administration Hospital, enrolled many disabled students. In an effort to create greater accessibility, the College began adding ramps to its buildings as early as the 1940s. In November of 1950 wheelchair students participated in a campus “ramp race.” Overall Long Beach City College’s accessibility efforts may have helped encourage more disabled veterans to attend the college.¹³⁷

By the end of the postwar period, Long Beach City College had successfully expanded to meet the needs of the veterans. During the mid-1950s, the campus was offering occupational programs in accounting and bookkeeping, auto body, auto mechanics, carpentry and cabinet-making, trade cooking, dental and medical office assisting, diesel engines, drafting, electricity, electronics, machine shop, materials testing, mechanical drawing, merchandising, radio communications, refrigeration, secretarial training, sheet metal, and welding (see Table 11).

3. will suggest the approximate equivalents in terms of credit.” See E.F. Lindquist, “The Use of Tests in the Accreditation of Military Experience and in the Educational Placement of War Veterans,” *Educational Record* XXV (October 1944), 361. See also Philo A. Hutcheson, “The Enduring Impact of Progressivism on Higher Education: The G.I. Bill and the American Council on Education,” History of Education Society, Pittsburgh, PA, October 2002.

¹³⁷Donald A. Drury, *The First Fifty Years: Long Beach City College, 1927-1977*, p. 57.

These occupational programs were offered by the Business and Trade Division and did not include many academic courses. The Division courses in English, history, and mathematics were non-transferable and were designed for the needs of the occupational student seeking immediate employment. Students wishing to transfer to a four-year college could take additional general education courses through the Liberal Arts Division or the General Adult Division. The five miles between the campuses of the Business and Trade Division and the Liberal Arts Division became a symbolic difference. The Liberal Arts Division (LAD) had the transfer courses, social clubs, student government, and inter-collegiate athletics; and these students were considered to be university-bound. In contrast, the Business and Trades Division (BTD) was preparing students for blue-collar occupations.¹³⁸ Drury reported “overtones of academic snobbery from both students and faculty at LAD and a not-unnatural defensiveness and resentment from those of BTD.”¹³⁹ The occupational programs were terminal in nature and may have appealed to more lower-middle class and working-class students.

¹³⁸Ibid., pp. 64-65.

¹³⁹Ibid., p. 64.

Table 11: Fields of Specialization Offered by Long Beach City College and Schools for Adults 1955-1957¹⁴⁰

Business and Technology Division			
Airframe & Powerplant Mechanics	Clerical-General Office	Medical Office Assisting	Sales
Accounting	Cooking	Mill Cabinet	Sheet, Metal & Air Conditioning
Advertising	Dental Office Assisting	Merchandising	Ship Construction & Repair
Air Conditioning	Diesel Mechanics	Oil Field Technology (Production & Drilling)	Stenography-Secretarial
Auto Body Repair & Painting	Drafting, Architectural & Mechanical	Painting	Television
Automobile Mechanics	Electricity	Physical Testing Technician (Industrial)	Tool Design & Development
Boatbuilding	Electronics	Plastering	Traffic & Transportation Management
Bookkeeping	Engineering Drawing	Plumbing	Upholstering
Business Operation & Management	Hotel & Restaurant Management	Publications	Waitress & Hostess Training
Calculating Machine Operation	Industrial Relations	Radio Communication	Welding
Carpentry	Insurance	Real Estate	
Chemical Testing Technician	Machine Shop	Refrigeration	

¹⁴⁰*Long Beach City College and School for Adults: General Information and Announcement of Courses* (Long Beach, California: Long Beach Public Schools, 1955-1957), p. 15.

Table 11: Fields of Specialization Offered by Long Beach City College and Schools for Adults 1955-1957

Liberal Arts Division			
Accounting	Economics	Journalism	Physics
Advertising Art	Education	Landscape Architecture*	Physiology
Agriculture*	Engineering	Law	Political Science
Anthropology	English	Librarianship	Psychology
Architecture*	Fisheries	Marine Biology*	Public Health
Art	Food Science*	Mathematics	Public Administration
Astronomy	Foreign Service*	Medicine	Recreation
Bacteriology	Forestry*	Medical Technology	Religion
Bio-Chemistry	French	Merchandising	Sociology
Botany	Geography	Meteorology	Social Welfare
Business Administration	Geology	Mineralogy*	Spanish
Chemistry	Geophysics	Music	Speech
Child Development	German	Nursing	Telecommunications
Chiropody	Health Education	Occupational Therapy	Theatre Arts
Clothing & Textiles*	History	Optometry	Veterinary Medicine
Costume Design	Home Economics*	Osteopathy	Wild Life Management*
Criminology*	Industrial Arts*	Pharmacy*	Zoology
Dentistry	Industrial Design	Philosophy	
Dental Hygiene	Interior Decoration	Physical Education*	
Dietetics*	International Relations	Physical Therapy	

*For these majors a student would complete only part of the lower division at Long Beach City College and would need to transfer to a four-year institution.

The tuition and fees throughout the California system of community colleges were nominal, because the Ballard Act of 1917 abolished tuition. California two-year colleges

were not allowed to charge tuition, and fees were highly limited.¹⁴¹ In the Long Beach City College catalog from 1950-1952, the fees and expenses were described as:

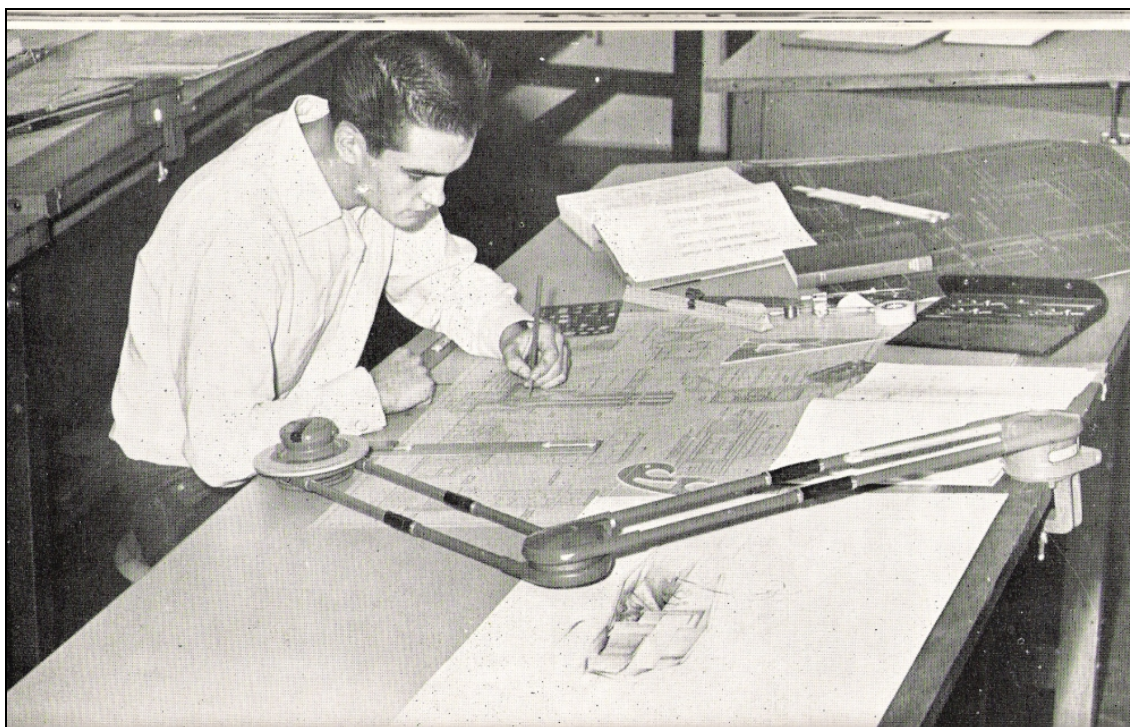
Students buy their own textbooks and supplies, and voluntarily pay student body dues which are used to defray the expenses of an extensive extracurricular program. Expenses for books and supplies ordinarily range from eighteen to thirty-five dollars per semester depending upon the program of studies selected.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹Political Code Section 1750b, *Statutes of California*, 1917; Walter Crosby Eells, "California Fees," *Junior College Journal* 11 (September 1940/May 1941): 108. In 1940 Attorney General Earl Warren of California ruled the following types of fees illegal in any of the public junior colleges of the state:

1. Registration fees.
2. Fee for catalogue and courses.
3. Fee for any text or photograph for use in a personnel or guidance program.
4. Fee to evaluate credentials from other institutions.
5. Fee for an examination in any subject.
6. A late registration or program change fee.
7. Any charge for towels, etc., if necessary to follow any required physical education course, although the district might require a student to furnish or pay the cost of such incidentals if their need is occasioned by his use of the gymnasium or other facility for purely recreational or extra-curricular courses.

¹⁴²*Long Beach City College and School for Adults: General Information and Announcement of Courses*, (Long Beach, California: Long Beach Public Schools, 1950-1952), p. 23.

Figure 10: Drafting Student Long Beach City College 1955-1957¹⁴³



In reviewing the Long Beach City College catalogs available during the time period of this study (1938/1939, 1939/1940, 1947/1948, 1950/1952, 1953/1955, and 1955/1957) only one picture showed women in a program of study. Instead most pictures were of male students, as exemplified in Figure 10. The only picture of a female student, related to a program of study, was for the home living program (see Figure 11), and the two women in the photograph are focusing their attention on the man. Overall Long Beach City College was offering a wide range of liberal arts, business, and technology programs as part of its terminal and general education mission. The College provided a strong service to the veterans immediately preceding World War II. Except for a brief period during World War II, it appears that academic programs and extracurricular activities centered on the perceived needs of men.

¹⁴³*Long Beach City College and School for Adults: General Information and Announcement of Courses*, p. 20.

Figure 11: Home Living Students Long Beach City College 1955-1957¹⁴⁴



Unlike Long Beach City College, which began prior to World War II, Mohawk Valley Technical Institute in Utica, New York was a new two-year institution in 1946. The earliest data reported to the *American Junior College Directory* for the New York State Institute of Applied Arts and Sciences- Utica in 1947 listed an enrollment of 411 students with no breakdown between males and females. The institution's name changed slightly in 1951 to the State University Institute of Applied Arts and Sciences- Utica which had a total enrollment of 738 students composed of 599 males and 139 females. By 1955, the name of the institution had changed to Mohawk Valley Technical Institute with a total enrollment of 600 composed of 582 males and 18 females (shown in Table 12).

¹⁴⁴Ibid., p. 30.

Table 12: 25 Two-Year Colleges from Pacesetter States with the Lowest Female Enrollment (1939, 1947, 1951, and 1955)

Year	State	Control	College	Enrollment Male	Enrollment Female	Total Enrollment
1939	CA	Private	Armstrong Junior College	11	10	21
1939	IL	Private	Elgin Junior College	26	13	39
1939	MI	Private	Suomi College	7	16	23
1939	CA	Private	Beulah College	14	20	34
1939	TX	Private	Schreiner Institute	213	21	234
1939	WA	Private	Clark Junior College	40	24	64
1939	TX	Private	Texas Military College	47	25	72
1947	MI	Public	Benton Harbor, Junior College of	60	16	76
1947	TX	Private	Schreiner Institute	302	17	319
1947	CA	Public	San Benito County Junior College	62	18	80
1947	NY	Private	Paul Smith's College of Arts and Sciences	170	20	190
1947	TX	Private	Westminister College	99	25	124
1947	CA	Public	Santa Barbara Junior College	325	29	354
1947	CA	Public	San Diego Junior College-Business and Technical Center	97	30	127
1951	NY	Private	Paul Smith's College of Arts and Sciences	188	4	192
1951	TX	Private	Fort Worth Business-Distributive Education College	159	10	169
1951	CA	Public	Palo Verde College	54	15	69
1951	IL	Public	Elgin Community College	72	16	88
1951	TX	Public	Solomon Coles Junior College	43	16	59
1951	TX	Private	South Texas Junior College	119	25	144
1955	NY	Private	Paul Smith's College of Arts and Sciences	242	9	251
1955	CA	Public	San Benito Junior College	16	14	30
1955	NY	Public	Mohawk Valley Technical Institute	582	18	600
1955	TX	Private	Allen Military Academy	99	20	119
1955	TX	Private	South Texas Junior College	318	30	348

Source: Compiled from *American Junior Colleges* 1st-4th editions¹⁴⁵

The institution began as an experiment after World II by the New York State Legislature in order to accommodate the higher education of veterans. New York State

¹⁴⁵ All colleges not reporting male and/or female enrollment were removed from this table.

was the only state without a state-run public university (a public university was run by the city of New York) and instead relied on private colleges and universities to educate its youth. Many high school graduates would go outside the state to attend low-cost state colleges and universities. With the G.I. Bill paying the tuition, veterans flocked to the state's private schools, such as Columbia University, Cornell University, and the University of Rochester, resulting in severe overcrowding of these institutions. Governor Thomas E. Dewey realized the political need to accommodate all qualified veterans who sought a higher education. The state legislature funded the establishment of five institutes of Applied Arts and Sciences to be located in Binghamton, Buffalo, New York City, White Plains, and Utica.¹⁴⁶ The state issued a temporary charter to the Associated Colleges of Upper New York (ACUNY) to oversee the campuses. The trustees were college presidents of private schools in the state.¹⁴⁷ The ACUNY offered the first half of a four-year program in the liberal arts, business administration, and engineering.¹⁴⁸ The New York State Department of Education planned for the Utica campus to develop courses in retailing, mechanical, electrical, and textile technology. The initial classes in Utica were in retailing and started October 1, 1946.¹⁴⁹ Sixty-eight students registered for

¹⁴⁶Albert V. Payne, *Mohawk Valley Community College: The Early Years* (Oneida County Historical Society: Occasional Paper 19, 1996), pp. 2-3. This article was a speech given by Payne to the Oneida County Historical Society describing his early experiences helping to start the Utica campus and eventually becoming the first president of Mohawk Valley Technical Institute in 1953.

¹⁴⁷Olson, *The G.I. Bill, the Veterans, and the Colleges*, pp. 68-71.

¹⁴⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹Payne, *Mohawk Valley Community College: The Early Years*, pp. 2-3.

the course in retail business management.¹⁵⁰ Institute programs were designed to train students as technical personnel in business and industry or as entrepreneurs:

This design recognizes that liberal subjects take on occupational significance in community living, and that the technical subjects provide the freedom of action resulting from occupational competency. Institute philosophy recognizes the need of society for an educational program to help young men and women make positive contributions as citizens and workers, and the need of individuals for better total living.¹⁵¹

In 1949, with the creation of the State University of New York (SUNY), all institutions of higher learning (including the institutes of Applied Arts and Sciences) became part of this new organization. As a result, Utica was able to grant Associate in Applied Science degrees beginning in 1951.

In the beginning, students were not charged tuition. But in 1952, the new provisions of the Community College Law recommended that the five institutes be separated from the State University and,

be sponsored by the community in which they were located and that students be required to pay tuition in an amount not to exceed one third of the cost of operating the educational program. The state's share would be one third and the rest would be paid by the county from which the student came by a charge back system. Cost of equipment would be shared equally by the state and the sponsoring community.¹⁵²

Based on these new provisions, the Oneida County Board of Supervisors voted to sponsor the State University Institute at Utica on September 1, 1953 and changed the name of the institute to the Mohawk Valley Technical Institute to reflect the community it served.

Students applying for admission to Mohawk Valley Technical Institute were

¹⁵⁰*Bulletin of Mohawk Valley Technical Institute* (Utica, New York: Mohawk Valley Technical Institute, 1953), p. 6.

¹⁵¹*Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹⁵²Payne, *Mohawk Valley Community College: The Early Years*, p. 7.

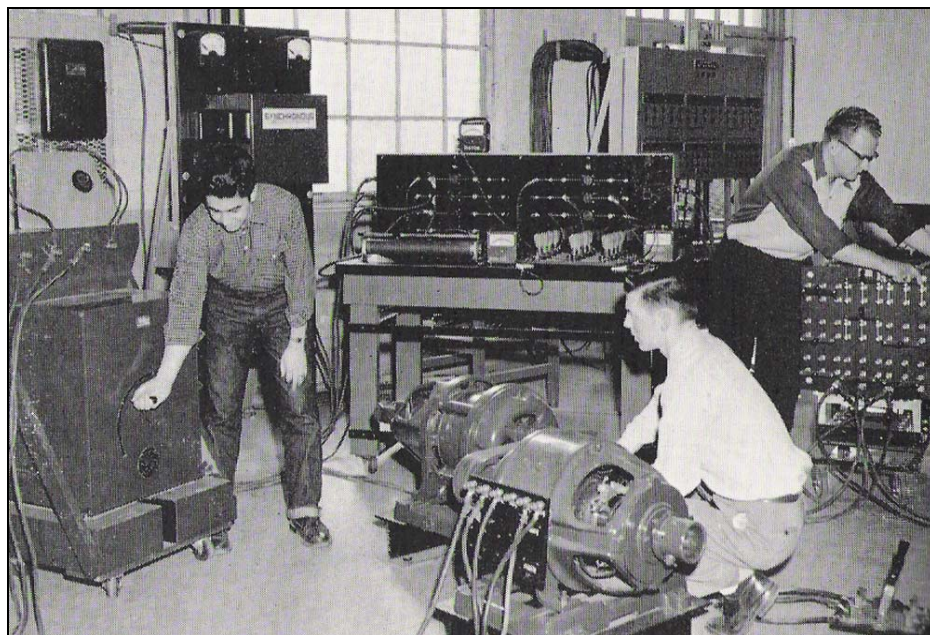
required to be a graduate of an approved four-year high school. The State Equivalency Diploma could be accepted in lieu of a high school diploma.¹⁵³ By 1953, the courses of study leading to the degree of Associate of Applied Science were the following: electrical technology, mechanical technology, and retail business management. The institute stressed practical work in all of its programs. As stated in the college catalog,

Field trips and observation tours afford the student opportunities to view successful enterprises in action. In so far as is practicable three consecutive months of practical work experience, spent entirely on the job in prescribed establishments, are arranged for each student. During this period, the student worker is paid, by his employer, the prevailing wage for the job held by the student. The off-campus work experience is scheduled during the fall for the Retailing students and during the summer for the Industrial students.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³*State University of New York: Institute of Applied Arts and Sciences Bulletin* (Utica, New York: State Institute of the Applied Arts and Sciences, 1950), p. 14.

¹⁵⁴*Bulletin of Mohawk Valley Technical Institute*, 1953, p. 12.

Figure 12: Electrical Technology Students Mohawk Valley Technical Institute 1955-1956¹⁵⁵



Tuition for residents of New York State was \$300 for one full academic year of three quarters. Other fees such as a registration fee of \$5.00 and a student activity fee of \$7.00 were charged as necessary.¹⁵⁶ The college catalogs provided limited information regarding services to veterans during the 1950s. The only mention regarding veterans was the following: “Veterans, to obtain all government benefits, must comply with all requirements of the Veterans Administration before registration is completed. They should consult the nearest veterans’ agency before the application is made.”¹⁵⁷ With this

¹⁵⁵*Bulletin of Mohawk Valley Technical Institute* (Utica, New York: Mohawk Valley Technical Institute, 1955-1956), p. 28.

¹⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁵⁷*Ibid.*, p. 16. Olson discussed that, even though the G.I. Bill did not require the Veterans Administration to provide counseling and guidance to its students, the Veterans Administration developed a counseling program. Beginning in June 1944 at the City College of New York the Veterans Administration established counseling centers across

reference being the only mention regarding veterans in the college catalog, a reasonable assumption would be that veterans made up a small percentage of the overall college enrollment, as was the case naturally in the mid-1950s.

At Mohawk Technical Institute most students lived in rented rooms. Men and women made applications for rooms through the office of the Dean of Women. All women students had to sign a Housemother-Student Agreement along with the housemother and their parents. This Agreement included regulations for social events and week-end travel.¹⁵⁸

With female enrollment increasing throughout the 1950s, school activities gradually became more encompassing of both genders. However, it appeared from pictures of students in the college catalog that programs of study still remained gendered. Mohawk Valley Technical Institute offered only three programs of study. In the catalog pictures of males were used for all three programs, as shown in Figure 12 with the picture of the electrical students. The only program of study with any females pictured was retail management (see Figure 13).

the country. By May 1947, 382 centers were in existence usually associated with a college or university. See Olson, *The G.I. Bill, the Veterans, and the Colleges*, pp. 61-62.

¹⁵⁸*Bulletin of Mohawk Valley Technical Institute*, 1955-1956, p. 19.

Figure 13: Retail Business Management Department Students¹⁵⁹



Even though specific program enrollment data is not available for Long Beach City College or Mohawk Valley Technical Institute, the pictures in the college catalogs present a gendered view of the program choices for women. The enrollment of women in college increased during the post-war years, but women appeared to still be entering programs traditional for their gender. Furthermore, occupational programs focused on men, such as electrical technology and mechanical technology at Mohawk Valley Technical Institute, apparently resulted in predominately male enrollments. Due to the influx of veterans into higher education after World War II, women made up a smaller percentage of the total student population in the two-year college. Women continued to enter higher education even when cultural expectations encouraged them to remain at home. This contradictory reaction will be further explored in the final chapter of this

¹⁵⁹Ibid., p. 29

study and placed on a framework of literature to further explain the meaning of access in higher education.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

As described in previous chapters, the 1950s was a time of mixed signals for women. While women were encouraged to stay home and nurture their families, they were needed in the workplace to fill employment gaps, especially in scientific and technical areas.¹⁶⁰ After the return of the veterans from World War II, women did not simply abandon employment to return to their families. Instead many women remained in the workplace and continued to enroll in higher education. This study has explored specifically the role of the two-year college in providing access to higher education for women, a profoundly understudied topic. I focused solely on the seven states that Medsker and Tillery described as pacesetters, leaders in the community college movement, comparing male and female enrollment and graduation during the 1940s and 1950s. By 1951, 267,385 students were enrolled in two-year colleges in pacesetter states making up 48% of the national two-year college enrollment (shown in Table 13). In hindsight, I question whether all seven of these states can accurately be labeled pacesetters during the time period of this study. California, Illinois, Texas, and New York were clearly the leaders among the seven states in regard to number of institutions and enrollment. During the 1940s and 1950s it is questionable whether Florida, Michigan, and Washington were truly pacesetter states in the community college

¹⁶⁰Eisenmann, "Educating the Female Citizen in a Post-war World: Competing Ideologies for American Women, 1945-1965," p. 135.

movement. However, by the 1960s all seven states were clearly leaders within the community college movement.

Table 13: Comparison of Two-Year Colleges in Pacesetter States to Two-Year Colleges Nationwide

Year	Number of Two-Year Colleges	Number of Two-Year Colleges in Pacesetter States	Enrollment in Two Year Colleges	Enrollment in Two-Year Colleges in Pacesetter States	Percent of Two-Year College Enrollment
1939	575	139	196,710	80,148	41%
1947	652	188	446,734	168,611	38%
1951	623	203	559,463	267,385	48%
1955	NR ¹⁶¹	189	NR	373,398	

Compiled from *American Junior Colleges* 1st-4th editions

In terms of women enrolling in institutions of higher education, shown in Table 4 of Chapter 2, two-year colleges attracted a greater percentage of women than higher education as a whole. For example, in 1947 two-year college enrollment was 36% female compared to 29% female enrollment in higher education as a whole. It is important to note here that we cannot safely disaggregate data without looking at various characteristics of four-year and two-year institutions separately. Two-year and four-year institutions may attract different types of students due to the common two-year college open-door admissions policy. In addition, these institutions were usually closer to home and less expensive than four-year colleges or universities. Besides these factors, the two-

¹⁶¹The chart on page 14 and 15 of the *American Junior Colleges*, summarizing total enrollment and number of public and private junior colleges by year and state, included the data for academic year 1953-1954. However in compiling the pacesetter data, I used the institutional data in the same volume but it was for academic year 1954-1955. Therefore I could not compare the two different academic years. Of the four volumes of the *American Junior Colleges* I used for this study, this was the only volume that had this problem.

year college may have provided local access to students who otherwise would not have been able to attend college.

This study focused on the seven pacesetter states within the community college movement. Due to the dramatic growth in the development of two-year colleges within the pacesetter states, higher two-year college enrollment would be expected than in the remaining non-pacesetter states. Surprisingly, even among the pacesetter states the enrollment and graduation percentages of females and males did vary as shown in Figures 5 and 6 in Chapter 4. Excluding New York as an outlier, the pacesetter state with the highest female enrollment percentage in 1939 was Florida with 63.41%. By 1955 the pacesetter states' female enrollment percentage ranged from California's 43.89% to New York's 20.63%. The female enrollment percentage for all pacesetter states in 1955 was 40% and appeared to be stabilizing as the number of veterans returning to higher education decreased.

The President's Commission on Higher Education encouraged access to collegiate education beyond the 12th grade in its six-volume report, *Higher Education for American Democracy*. The resulting widespread development of community colleges and junior colleges appeared to be opening the door of higher education to many who would not normally attend. While access is often seen as the entry of students into higher education, perhaps an expanded definition would be more appropriate in relation to two-year colleges. Even though it was apparent that enrollment for two-year colleges in pacesetter states was steadily growing (from 80,148 in 1939 to 373,398 in 1955), an important question is were these institutions protecting cultural arrangements and social hierarchies or were they instead providing access to gendered social mobility? This

chapter will focus on whether or not the open-door policy of the two-year college actually provided access for women to social mobility as championed by its democratic ideology.

As mentioned previously the literature on women in higher education is almost completely focused on four-year institutions. Writers such as Fass and Eisenmann fail to capture the meaning of access for women enrolled in two-year colleges immediately following World War II. With colleges and universities being overcrowded due to returning veterans, two-year colleges became the door through which many women entered higher education. Even with the return of the veterans, many women continued to enter the job market and further their education beyond high school. Much of the growth in women's enrollment in higher education was in the two-year sector.

In exploring two public two-year colleges, Long Beach City College and Mohawk Valley Technical College, I learned that enrollment does not necessarily equal access. For example, Long Beach City College, located in California, was the largest two-year college in a pacesetter state. With a strong liberal arts division and business and technology division, the college offered a diverse menu of programs for the transfer student and the occupational student seeking immediate employment. Although in 1951, 63% of the enrollment was female, the review of six catalogs from 1938 to 1957 only showed one picture depicting women in a program of study, the home living program. The home living program fits well into the notion of education's role in training the wife and mother. Beginning in the late 1940s, higher education saw a curricular backlash with the return of the discussion regarding the purpose of educating women. Educators began encouraging a feminine education. Women still enrolled in "male" fields, but they were

few in number.¹⁶² Men not only had access to college, they had access to programs that ensured a good income.

During World War II, the preparation of women for the responsibilities of homemaking and citizenship, in other words republican motherhood, was incorporated into the educational system. Republican motherhood can be traced back to the revolutionary war period. As described by Kerber,

In the years of the early Republic a consensus developed around the idea that a mother, committed to the service of her family and to the state, might serve a political purpose. Those who opposed women in politics had to meet the proposal that women could – and should – play a political role through the raising of a patriotic child. The Republican Mother was to encourage in her sons civic interest and participation. She was to educate her children and guide them in the paths of morality and virtue. But she was not to tell her male relatives for whom to vote. She was a citizen but not a constituent.¹⁶³

The two-year college was no different from the four-year college or university in trying to feminize education. For example, in 1941 a forum at Stephens College, a private two-year college in Missouri, addressed the topic “the American Woman and Her Responsibilities.” This forum was arranged by President James Madison Wood and was a three-day session attended by leaders in education, industry, labor, agriculture, club organization, and the legal and medical professions. The forum stressed women’s role in the future of American democracy.¹⁶⁴ Societal expectations were for women to be wives and mothers in order to help uphold the democratic tradition, which continued after

¹⁶²Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America*, p. 190.

¹⁶³Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America*, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 1997), p. 283.

¹⁶⁴Jane Floyd Buck, “Stephens Forum,” *Junior College Journal* 12, (September 1941/May 1942): 343-344.

World War II. During the 1950s, in one important aspect higher education was in a “holding period” with few changes being made to curriculum for women’s education.¹⁶⁵

During this time after World War II, the middle-class grew and became more prominent. Beginning in the mid-1940s marriage and fertility rates boomed resulting in the baby boom of 1946-1963. The median age for marriage dropped from 21.5 to 20.3 for women and from 24.3 to 22.7 for men¹⁶⁶ These larger social forces influenced the college expectations for men and women, evident at Long Beach City College and Mohawk Valley Technical Institute and also shown in the results of the Cornell survey.

To complicate the historical puzzle, enrollment in a two-year college, which was usually less expensive and closer to home, became a way to stall young women’s enrollment in four-year colleges or universities. As stated in the resolution of March 2, 1926 made by the City Federation of Parents and Teachers detailed in Chapter 4, “we realize that many of our young people graduate from High School at an early age and though desirous of higher education are not fortified to leave home protection and enter University life.”¹⁶⁷ As Pedersen argued, for some families the two-year college became a way to ensure young women did not stray far from home.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵Fass, *Outside In: Minorities and the Transformation of American Higher Education*, p. 186.

¹⁶⁶Eisenmann, “Educating the Female Citizen in a Post-war World: Competing Ideologies for American Women, 1945-1965,” p. 137.

¹⁶⁷Donald A. Drury, *The First Fifty Years: Long Beach City College, 1927-1977*, p. 9.

¹⁶⁸Pedersen, *The Origins and Development of the Early Public Junior College: 1900-1940*, pp. 226-227

With the overcrowding in higher education due to the preponderance of veterans returning to colleges and universities immediately following World War II, women were often crowded out of four year institutions. An article by Winifred Long in the *Junior College Journal* in 1946 was aptly entitled “It’s a Man’s World This Year.” Long described an undisclosed New England junior college president as stating the previous year “The whole place – men’s dormitories and all – is filled with women!”, when institutions were 70 percent women.¹⁶⁹ However the return of the veterans brought about a complete reversal of the previous year’s scenario. This appeared to be happening throughout the country as veterans returned to college. According to the American Association of Junior College’s survey results shown in Table 14, with 322 coeducational junior colleges reporting, the median percentage of male students in two-year colleges was 68 percent in 1946. In 11 of these colleges, men comprised between 90 and 96 percent of the enrollment. Even women’s junior colleges were admitting men as day students, if there was a need in their community.¹⁷⁰ Was the two-year college, the fortress as described in Long Beach City College’s resolution, a door open to women to pursue their higher education? If so, did this door provide the same level of access to males as to females?

The data in this study show that a good part of the growth of women’s enrollment in higher education occurred in the two-year college sector. Consequently, the two-year college provided a means for many women to enter higher education. But these

¹⁶⁹Winifred R. Long, “It’s a Man’s World This Year,” *Junior College Journal* 17 (September 1946/May 1947): 156.

¹⁷⁰*Ibid.*

institutions did not provide the benefits of the baccalaureate.¹⁷¹ Furthermore, it is impossible to know how many women transferred to four-year institutions. For the most part women had access to programs preparing them for the dual labor market and/or reinforced their status as wife and mother. Females did not have the same level of access as males. Males were encouraged to enroll in programs of study ensuring a good income in contrast to females.

Table 14: Percentage of Men in Two Year Colleges in 1946¹⁷²

Percentage of Men	Number of Institutions
90-99	11
80-89	46
70-79	99
60-69	87
50-59	46
40-49	18
30-39	10
20-29	1
10-19	3
1-9	1
Total	322

In the example of Mohawk Valley Technical Institute it is unclear whether earning an associate degree from this college would enhance a student's (male or female) social mobility. By 1953 the college offered three programs of study: electrical technology, mechanical technology, and retail business management. All three of these programs were practical applied learning programs. Institutes such as Mohawk Valley

¹⁷¹There is no contemporary analysis of the benefits of the baccalaureate but the work of many scholars decades later indicates that the baccalaureate's rate of return is far more substantial than some college education. See Ernest T. Pascarella and Patrick T. Terenzini, *How College Affects Students: A Third Decade of Research*, (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 2005).

¹⁷²Ibid.

inserted an additional tier into the educational hierarchy by offering sub-baccalaureate work. Brint and Karabel would explain that colleges like Mohawk Valley, not functioning as transfer institutions, help to manage the ambitions of the masses. Even though hard work and ambition are virtues in the United States, there is not room in our society for everyone to succeed. Thus, the two-year college has a role in social reproduction by providing terminal education to more blue-collared occupations, which in turn extends and limits opportunity at the same time by providing sub-baccalaureate education.¹⁷³

Mohawk Technical Institute's curriculum was utilitarian in nature and was driven by political interests within the state. In this case, Burton Clark's argument applies that the college was actually "cooling-out" its students by diverting their aspirations away from more professional upper-middle class occupations into more working-class occupations.¹⁷⁴ Although Clark did not specifically address gender issues in his article, his argument could be extended to include the idea that two-year colleges were actually "cooling-out" women's aspirations by encouraging them to enroll in programs traditional to their gender with lower earning potential.¹⁷⁵

This research shows that women's access to higher education was even more complicated than argued in the literature. After World War II enrollment in higher education was growing dramatically as a result of the GI Bill. The influx of veterans

¹⁷³Brint and Karabel, *The Diverted Dream: Community Colleges and the Promise of Educational Opportunity in America, 1900 -1985*, pp. 7-9.

¹⁷⁴Burton Clark, "The 'Cooling-Out' Function in Higher Education," *Education, Economy and Society*, edited by A.H. Halsey et al., (New York: Free Press, 1961), pp. 513-521.

¹⁷⁵I do not have data about teacher preparation, which could have been a key area for women in terms of careers, although in a highly gendered, even feminized, sense.

crowded out women and may have caused more women to enroll in two-year institutions. In addition, many parents may have seen the two-year college as a less threatening prospect than a larger university not necessarily in their local community. Keeping their young daughters close to home gave the parents an additional two years of supervision before they went to a university or married. In addition, the two-year college was very likely to have been lower in cost than a four-year college or university.

Educating women during the 1940s to 1950s appeared to be a contradiction in terms at times. With the push towards greater domesticity a college degree may not have seemed essential for a woman. However, many women were still working outside the home, not to mention women working for economic reasons. Instituted before the 1930s the “marriage bars” which prohibited married women from working in various school districts, government, and other organizations and allowed firing single women as soon as they were married were relaxed in the 1940s and practically nonexistent in the 1950s except in teaching.¹⁷⁶ Usually working women tended to be older, married, and well-educated, as more women completed college.¹⁷⁷

A limitation of this study was the lack of program level data by gender. Based on this limitation, I cannot analyze the data by enrollment for particular programs of study, which might have made a compelling argument regarding access. Nevertheless, the question remains, did two-year colleges provide women access to social mobility? Two-year colleges for the most part did not provide women access to social mobility both because of the curriculum being offered and because of the difficulty of transferring from

¹⁷⁶Goldin, "The Role of World War II in the Increase in Women's Employment," p. 743.

¹⁷⁷Ibid., p. 755.

a two-year college to a four-year college. Historical data regarding transfer rates is not clear, but transfer rates from two-year colleges to four-year colleges are usually low leading to low baccalaureate attainment rates.¹⁷⁸ Since a higher percentage of women were enrolled in two-year colleges, poor transfer rates may have resulted in a greater problem for women. Even though women were enrolling in two-year colleges, the claim in the literature about increases of women in higher education should be restrained in light of the reduced probability of these students earning a baccalaureate degree. If a student was enrolled in a terminal vocational program, then the door was basically shut on an opportunity for transfer to a four-year college or university. It is true that the two-year college did open the door to an education for many who would not have been able to attend a four-year college or university. For the most part, however, a two-year associate degree did not provide the same opportunities for social mobility as a four-year baccalaureate degree.

Historians of higher education have not studied the community college in any great detail. For future research more studies on the history of the community college will yield a greater understanding of its role in education. In addition, the historiography of women's education needs to include all educational options for women. Since archival records are practically non-existent at most two-year colleges, researchers have to be more creative and search for other means to gather primary source information. More

¹⁷⁸Christie and Hutcheson compared baccalaureate degree attainment of two-year versus four-year degree matriculants. Research relied on data from the National Center for Educational Statistics' High School & Beyond Sophomore Cohort longitudinal data set (1995). Their data showed that matriculation at a two-year college reduces the probability of attaining a baccalaureate degree by 10.3%. Ray L. Christie and Philo A. Hutcheson, "Net Effects of Institutional Type on Baccalaureate Degree Attainment of "Traditional" Students," *Community College Review* 31 (2003): 307-320.

case studies of different types of two-year colleges will yield more information about academic programs offered to students during this time. In addition, expanding this study to include non-pacesetter states might generate some interesting comparisons of enrollment and graduation data between pacesetter and non-pacesetter states. Further research examining the meaning of access for women and educational institutions' role in protecting cultural arrangements and social hierarchies will draw much needed attention to this often ignored sector in higher education.

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Appendix A

Pacesetter State Database Compiled from *American Junior College Journals*

Year	State	Control	College	Enrollment Male	Enrollment Female	Total Enrollment	Graduates Male	Graduates Female	Total Graduates
1955	CA	Public	Allan Hancock College	230	142	372	24	18	42
1955	CA	Public	American River Junior College			0			0
1955	CA	Public	Antelope Valley Junior College	1097	644	1741	42	9	51
1955	CA	Public	Bakersfield College	2848	1713	4561	151	65	216
1955	CA	Public	Chaffey College	1056	638	1694	76	53	129
1955	CA	Public	Citrus Junior College	348	132	480	55	30	85
1955	CA	Public	City College of San Francisco	5024	3636	8660	482	176	658
1955	CA	Public	Clarence W. Pierce School of Agriculture	2525	2115	4640	63	28	91
1955	CA	Public	Coalinga College	146	62	208	10	6	16
1955	CA	Public	College of Marin	1812	3354	5166	71	32	103
1955	CA	Public	College of San Mateo	5351	6279	11630	205	64	269
1955	CA	Public	College of the Sequoias	884	510	1394	122	69	191
1955	CA	Public	Compton Junior College	2425	1635	4060	256	136	392
1955	CA	Public	East Contra Costa Junior College	3260	1898	5158	118	70	188
1955	CA	Public	East Los Angeles Junior College	4783	2421	7204	214	146	360
1955	CA	Public	El Camino College			6100	203	110	313
1955	CA	Public	Fresno Junior College	1834	555	2389	86	40	126
1955	CA	Public	Fullerton Junior College	1172	753	1925	150	99	249
1955	CA	Public	Glendale College	1731	689	2420	160	71	231
1955	CA	Public	Hartnell College	617	321	938	74	49	123

Year	State	Control	College	Enrollment Male	Enrollment Female	Total Enrollment	Graduates Male	Graduates Female	Total Graduates
1955	CA	Public	Imperial Valley College	338	192	530	24	14	38
1955	CA	Public	Lassen Junior College	139	49	188	34	5	39
1955	CA	Public	Long Beach City College	17531	22384	39915	406	188	594
1955	CA	Public	Los Angeles City College	9470	7511	16981	691	419	1110
1955	CA	Public	Los Angeles Harbor Junior College	2080	950	3030	113	29	142
1955	CA	Public	Los Angeles Junior College of Business	1810	5105	6915	22	99	121
1955	CA	Public	Los Angeles Trade-Technical Junior College	8986	1999	10985	413	201	614
1955	CA	Public	Los Angeles Valley College	4418	2295	6713	203	107	310
1955	CA	Private	Menlo College	255	0	255	72	0	72
1955	CA	Public	Modesto Junior College	2275	2345	4620	125	80	205
1955	CA	Public	Monterey Peninsula College	1448	1057	2505	57	49	106
1955	CA	Public	Mount San Antonio Junior College	3279	1307	4586	165	100	265
1955	CA	Public	Napa College	360	153	513	68	14	82
1955	CA	Public	Oakland Junior College			11971	143	208	351
1955	CA	Public	Oceanside-Carlsbad College	1033	802	1835	26	11	37
1955	CA	Public	Orange Coast College	2738	3376	6114	149	68	217
1955	CA	Public	Palo Verde College	132	142	274	10	4	14
1955	CA	Public	Palomar College	470	379	849	57	13	70
1955	CA	Public	Pasadena City College	9338	9202	18540	628	339	967
1955	CA	Public	Porterville College	218	152	370	28	24	52
1955	CA	Public	Reedley College	476	240	716	88	52	140
1955	CA	Public	Riverside College	566	290	856	70	53	123
1955	CA	Public	Sacramento Junior College	1733	1073	2806	299	166	465
1955	CA	Public	San Benito Junior College	16	14	30	0	4	4
1955	CA	Public	San Bernardino Valley College	1256	608	1864	148	83	231
1955	CA	Public	San Diego Junior College	4885	1402	6287	191	38	229
1955	CA	Public	San Jose Evening Junior College	890	1425	2315	1	2	3
1955	CA	Public	San Jose Junior College	1180	392	1572	107	38	145
1955	CA	Public	San Luis Obispo Junior College	63	104	167	7	15	22
1955	CA	Public	Santa Ana College			1007	127	31	158

Year	State	Control	College	Enrollment Male	Enrollment Female	Total Enrollment	Graduates Male	Graduates Female	Total Graduates
1955	CA	Public	Santa Barbara Junior College	649	472	1121	21	28	49
1955	CA	Public	Santa Monica City College	9560	4781	14341	182	89	271
1955	CA	Public	Santa Rosa Junior College	1819	2315	4134	151	119	270
1955	CA	Public	Shasta College	429	306	735	82	43	125
1955	CA	Public	Sierra College	431	240	671	69	58	127
1955	CA	Public	Stockton College	1044	566	1610	132	84	216
1955	CA	Public	Taft College	226	113	339	25	12	37
1955	CA	Public	Vallejo College	303	252	555	59	52	111
1955	CA	Public	Ventura College	832	481	1313	140	56	196
1955	CA	Public	West Contra Costa Junior College	3093	1993	5086	163	113	276
1955	CA	Public	Yuba College			2517			102
1955	FL	Public	Chipola Junior College	450	152	602	55	20	75
1955	FL	Private	Edward Waters College			337	14	49	63
1955	FL	Private	Florida Christian College	153	59	212	21	11	32
1955	FL	Private	Jacksonville Junior College	547	149	696	53	19	72
1955	FL	Public	Palm Beach Junior College	305	159	464	40	28	68
1955	FL	Public	Pensacola Junior College	501	213	714	18	25	43
1955	FL	Public	St. Petersburg Junior College	1006	757	1763	53	37	90
1955	FL	Public	Washington Junior College	59	106	165	13	30	43
1955	IL	Public	Belleville Township Junior College	1019	436	1455	40	14	54
1955	IL	Public	Centralia Township Junior College	115	45	160	32	5	37
1955	IL	Public	Chicago City Junior College Crane Branch	696	513	1209	25	32	57
1955	IL	Public	Chicago City Junior College Woodrow Wilson Branch	3279	1790	5069	268	67	335
1955	IL	Public	Chicago City Junior College Wright Branch	5450	3842	9292			580
1955	IL	Public	Danville Junior College	101	104	205			14
1955	IL	Public	Elgin Community College	830	910	1740	28	1	29
1955	IL	Public	Joliet Junior College	2720	2801	5521	99	47	146
1955	IL	Private	Kendall College	94	57	151	16	14	30
1955	IL	Public	La Salle-Peru-Oglesby Junior College	140	237	377	37	24	61
1955	IL	Private	Lincoln College	103	39	142	31	10	41

Year	State	Control	College	Enrollment Male	Enrollment Female	Total Enrollment	Graduates Male	Graduates Female	Total Graduates
1955	IL	Public	Lyons Township Junior College	258	107	365	52	20	72
1955	IL	Private	Mallinckrodt College	0	16	16	0	12	12
1955	IL	Public	Moline Community College	1721	1140	2861	13	1	14
1955	IL	Private	Monticello College	0	164	164	0	60	60
1955	IL	Public	Morton Junior College	489	209	698	82	33	115
1955	IL	Private	North Park College	505	606	1111	83	88	171
1955	IL	Private	St. Bede Junior College	72	0	72	15	0	15
1955	IL	Private	Shimer College	84	48	132	13	8	21
1955	IL	Private	Springfield Junior College	303	149	452	34	25	59
1955	IL	Public	Thornton Junior College	290	111	401	41	24	65
1955	MI	Public	Alpena Community College	79	56	135	9	18	27
1955	MI	Public	Bay City Junior College	721	306	1027	111	54	165
1955	MI	Public	Community College and Technical Institute	457	431	888	22	19	41
1955	MI	Public	Flint Junior College	740	425	1165	117	65	182
1955	MI	Public	Gogebic Community College	100	50	150	23	3	26
1955	MI	Public	Grand Rapids Junior College	731	407	1138	110	61	171
1955	MI	Public	Henry Ford Community College	2969	322	3291	83	39	122
1955	MI	Public	Highland Park Junior College	941	370	1311	129	141	270
1955	MI	Public	Jackson Junior College	416	212	628	40	42	82
1955	MI	Public	Muskegon Community College	809	405	1214	65	30	95
1955	MI	Public	Northwestern Michigan College	403	611	1014	26	9	35
1955	MI	Public	Port Huron Junior College	376	180	556	37	20	57
1955	MI	Public	South Macomb Community College	95	72	167			0
1955	MI	Private	Spring Arbor Junior College	65	56	121	16	19	35
1955	MI	Private	Suomi College	50	43	93	6	17	23
1955	NY	Municipal	Auburn Community College	104	48	152	14	6	20
1955	NY	Private	Bennett Junior College	0	222	222	0	104	104
1955	NY	Private	Briarcliff Junior College	0	241	241	0	90	90
1955	NY	County	Broome County Technical Institute	712	76	788	97	15	112
1955	NY	Private	Catherine McAuley Junior College	0	51	51	0	3	3
1955	NY	Private	Cazenovia Junior College	0	150	150	0	43	43

Year	State	Control	College	Enrollment Male	Enrollment Female	Total Enrollment	Graduates Male	Graduates Female	Total Graduates
1955	NY	Private	Concordia Collegiate Institute	67	60	127	21	26	47
1955	NY	Private	Dominican Junior College of Blauvelt	0	88	88	0	9	9
1955	NY	Private	Epiphany Apostolic College	15	0	15	7	0	7
1955	NY	Public	Erie County Technical Institute	1830	194	2024	244	64	308
1955	NY	Private	Eymard Preparatory Seminary	10	0	10	1	0	1
1955	NY	Public	Fashion Institute of Technology	571	575	1146	40	146	186
1955	NY	Private	Finch College	0	153	153	0	58	58
1955	NY	Private	Hervey Junior College	153	35	188	15	10	25
1955	NY	Private	Holy Cross Preparatory Seminary	45	0	45	11	0	11
1955	NY	Public	Hudson Valley Technical Institute	590	0	590	73	0	73
1955	NY	Public	Jamestown Community College	187	84	271	16	5	21
1955	NY	Private	Mercy Junior College	0	68	68	0	6	6
1955	NY	Public	Mohawk Valley Technical Institute	582	18	600	100	12	112
1955	NY	Public	New York City Community College of Applied Arts and Sciences	6927	1237	8164	623	313	936
1955	NY	Public	Orange County Community College	66	461	527	75	53	128
1955	NY	Private	Our Lady of Hope Mission Seminary	31	0	31	10	0	10
1955	NY	Private	Packer Collegiate Institute	0	40	40	0	17	17
1955	NY	Private	Paul Smith's College of Arts and Sciences	242	9	251	70	2	72
1955	NY	Private	St. Joseph's Seraphic Seminary	101	0	101	34	0	34
1955	NY	Public	State University Agricultural and Technical Institute- Alfred	897	349	1246	196	113	309
1955	NY	Public	State University Agricultural and Technical Institute- Canton	320	157	477	114	34	148
1955	NY	Public	State University Agricultural and Technical Institute-Delhi	189	54	243	68	9	77
1955	NY	Public	State University Agricultural and Technical Institute- Morrisville	410	118	528	165	27	192
1955	NY	Public	State University Institute of Agriculture and Home Economics	192	121	313	56	40	96
1955	NY	Public	State University Long Island Agricultural and Technical Institute	6412	694	7106	387	79	466
1955	NY	Public	Westchester Community College	1195	377	1572	141	45	186
1955	TX	Private	Allen Military Academy	99	20	119	15	1	16
1955	TX	Public	Alvin Junior College			324	11	3	14

Year	State	Control	College	Enrollment Male	Enrollment Female	Total Enrollment	Graduates Male	Graduates Female	Total Graduates
1955	TX	Public	Amarillo College	2395	1270	3665	39	69	108
1955	TX	Public	Arlington State College	2726	525	3251	108	33	141
1955	TX	Public	Blinn College	738	144	882	240	18	258
1955	TX	Public	Cisco Junior College			235	28	12	40
1955	TX	Public	Clarendon Junior College	72	90	162	20	22	42
1955	TX	Private	Decatur Private College	176	84	260	33	20	53
1955	TX	Public	Del Mar College	3682	1788	5470	63	59	122
1955	TX	Public	Frank Phillips College	578	250	828	41	19	60
1955	TX	Public	Gainesville College	70	70	140	13	9	22
1955	TX	Public	Henderson County Junior College	415	154	569	31	12	43
1955	TX	Public	Howard County Junior College	586	252	838	27	13	40
1955	TX	Private	Jacksonville College	237	81	318	15	14	29
1955	TX	Public	Kilgore College	1003	573	1576	125	81	206
1955	TX	Public	Laredo Junior College	591	325	916	128	22	150
1955	TX	Public	Lee College	660	391	1051	36	13	49
1955	TX	Private	LeTourneau Technical Institute of Texas	284	0	284	39	0	39
1955	TX	Private	Lon Morris College	168	147	315	34	29	63
1955	TX	Private	Lutheran Concordia College	45	0	45	25	0	25
1955	TX	Public	Navarro Junior College	325	187	512	48	36	84
1955	TX	Public	Odessa College	1534	890	2424	50	17	67
1955	TX	Private	Our Lady of Victory College	6	87	93	0	10	10
1955	TX	Public	Pan American College	634	633	1267	3	12	15
1955	TX	Public	Panola College	232	126	358	27	12	39
1955	TX	Public	Paris Junior College	634	180	814	71	35	106
1955	TX	Public	Ranger College	343	203	546	51	26	77
1955	TX	Public	St. Phillip's College	422	288	710	75	47	122
1955	TX	Public	San Angelo College	766	459	1225	65	61	126
1955	TX	Public	San Antonio College	3894	2495	6389	131	53	184
1955	TX	Private	Schreiner Institute	143	38	181	12	14	26
1955	TX	Private	South Texas Junior College	318	30	348	25	5	30
1955	TX	Public	Southwest Texas Junior College	171	102	273	17	7	24

Year	State	Control	College	Enrollment Male	Enrollment Female	Total Enrollment	Graduates Male	Graduates Female	Total Graduates
1955	TX	Private	Southeastern Bible Institute Junior College Division	46	121	167	11	31	42
1955	TX	Public	Tarleton State College	636	181	817	63	34	97
1955	TX	Public	Temple Junior College	187	194	381	28	32	60
1955	TX	Public	Texarkana College	540	326	866	50	34	84
1955	TX	Public	Texas Southmost College	830	449	1279	38	34	72
1955	TX	Public	Tyler District College	225	298	523	83	129	212
1955	TX	Public	Tyler Junior College	1161	675	1836	61	75	136
1955	TX	Public	Victoria College	650	218	868	60	21	81
1955	TX	Public	Weatherford College	178	70	248	15	14	29
1955	TX	Public	Wharton County Junior College			594	60	49	109
1955	WA	Public	Centralia Junior College	199	81	280	33	10	43
1955	WA	Public	Clark College	1446	960	2406	106	62	168
1955	WA	Public	Everett Junior College	2036	1642	3678	58	32	90
1955	WA	Public	Grays Harbor College	259	102	361	40	30	70
1955	WA	Public	Lower Columbia Junior College			1487	30	21	51
1955	WA	Public	Olympic College	4498	1802	6300	87	37	124
1955	WA	Public	Skagit Valley Junior College	752	686	1438	27	33	60
1955	WA	Public	Wenatchee Valley College	383	342	725	31	19	50
1955	WA	Public	Yakima Valley Junior College	938	947	1885	70	45	115
1947	TX	Public	Amarillo College	636	393	1029	17	27	44
1947	CA	Public	Antelope Valley Junior College	214	35	249			0
1947	IL	Public	Austin Evening Branch, Chicago City Junior College	636	484	1120	4	2	6
1947	CA	Public	Bakersfield College	322	1728	2050	11	34	45
1947	MI	Public	Bay City Junior College	753	139	892	12	21	33
1947	NY	Private	Bennett Junior College	0	185	185	0	88	88
1947	MI	Public	Benton Harbor, Junior College of	60	16	76			0
1947	CA	Private	Beulah College	21	41	62	2	4	6
1947	IL	Private	Blackburn College	151	173	324	1	58	59
1947	TX	Public	Blinn College	189	88	277	2	10	12
1947	TX	Private	Brantley-Draughon College	550	550	1100	10	15	25
1947	NY	Private	Briarcliff Junior College	0	201	201	0	84	84

Year	State	Control	College	Enrollment Male	Enrollment Female	Total Enrollment	Graduates Male	Graduates Female	Total Graduates
1947	TX	Public	Brownsville Junior College	381	111	492	6	16	22
1947	TX	Private	Butler College			0			0
1947	CA	Private	California Concordia College			0			0
1947	NY	Private	Cazenovia Junior College	13	180	193		42	42
1947	CA	Public	Central Junior College	131	52	183	8	4	12
1947	WA	Public	Centralia Junior College	215	48	263	4	7	11
1947	IL	Public	Centralia Township Junior College	138	64	202	0	5	5
1947	CA	Public	Chaffey College	817	392	1209	44	70	114
1947	TX	Public	Cisco Junior College	114	116	230	21	9	30
1947	CA	Public	Citrus Junior College	210	56	266	14	7	21
1947	CA	Public	Clarence W. Pierce Junior College			0			0
1947	TX	Public	Clarendon Junior College	54	63	117	6	10	16
1947	WA	Public	Clark College			606			0
1947	TX	Private	Clifton Junior College	103	38	141	6	8	14
1947	CA	Public	Coalinga Junior College	45	31	76	3	1	4
1947	CA	Public	Compton Junior College	2778	724	3502			314
1947	NY	Private	Concordia Collegiate Institute	102	79	181	15	22	37
1947	TX	Public	Corpus Christi Junior College				8	22	30
1947	MI	Public	Dearborn Junior College	353	96	449			0
1947	TX	Private	Decatur Baptist College	175	82	257	4	19	23
1947	CA	Private	Deep Springs	25	0	25	8	0	8
1947	TX	Private	Draughon's Business College	150	150	300	70	50	120
1947	TX	Private	Draughon's Business Colleges (Amarillo, Dallas, Lubbock, Wichita Falls)			0			0
1947	TX	Private	Draughon's Business College	350	250	600	200	150	350
1947	TX	Private	Durham's Business Junior College-Harlingen	95	73	168	5	25	30
1947	TX	Private	Durham's Business Junior College-Houston			0			0
1947	TX	Private	Durham's Business Junior College-San Antonio	150	175	325	110	250	360
1947	CA	Public	East Los Angeles Junior College	861	321	1182	1	2	3
1947	TX	Public	Edinburg Junior College	348	143	491	1	11	12

Year	State	Control	College	Enrollment Male	Enrollment Female	Total Enrollment	Graduates Male	Graduates Female	Total Graduates
1947	CA	Public	El Camino College			0			0
1947	IL	Public	Englewood Evening Branch, Chicago City Junior College	366	259	625	2	6	8
1947	IL	Private	Evanston Collegiate Institute	48	104	152	2	7	9
1947	WA	Public	Everett Junior College	1026	583	1609	13	41	54
1947	NY	Public	Fashion Institute of Technology and Design	88	221	309	3	60	63
1947	NY	Private	Finch Junior College	10	240	250	0	100	100
1947	MI	Public	Flint Junior College	751	191	942	11	39	50
1947	FL	Private	Florida Naval Academy Junior College			0			0
1947	IL	Private	Frances Shimer College	35	150	185	0	71	71
1947	CA	Public	Fresno Junior College	327	55	382	11	36	47
1947	CA	Public	Fullerton Junior College	1338	502	1840	43	68	111
1947	TX	Public	Gainesville Junior College	88	60	148	2	5	7
1947	CA	Public	Glendale College	1693	669	2362	46	84	130
1947	MI	Public	Gogebic Junior College	390	41	431	2	5	7
1947	MI	Public	Grand Rapids Junior College	1467	445	1912	44	80	124
1947	CA	Public	Grant Technical College	1226	173	1399	6	2	8
1947	WA	Public	Grays Harbor College	294	74	368	13	10	23
1947	TX	Public	Hardin College	1682	767	2449	42	46	88
1947	TX	Public	Henderson County Junior College	287	132	419			0
1947	IL	Public	Herzl Junior College	1170	610	1780	25	63	88
1947	MI	Public	Highland Park Junior College	994	390	1384	7	2	9
1947	TX	Public	Hillsboro Junior College	507	74	581	3	22	25
1947	TX	Private	Hockaday Junior College	0	124	124	0	53	53
1947	NY	Private	Holy Cross Preparatory Seminary	58	0	58	14	0	14
1947	TX	Public	Houston, Junior College of University of			10220	184	279	463
1947	TX	Public	Howard County Junior College	247	76	323	6	2	8
1947	MI	Public	Jackson Junior College	562	210	772	10	25	35
1947	FL	Private	Jacksonville Junior College	363	149	512	0	3	3
1947	NY	NR	Jamestown College, Alfred University	137	72	209	5	7	12
1947	CA	Public	John Muir College	1101	493	1594			0

Year	State	Control	College	Enrollment Male	Enrollment Female	Total Enrollment	Graduates Male	Graduates Female	Total Graduates
1947	TX	Public	John Tarleton Agricultural College	1375	339	1714	6	17	23
1947	IL	Public	Joliet Junior College	512	180	692	63	45	108
1947	TX	Public	Kilgore College			1749	17	49	66
1947	TX	Public	Lamar College	1470	311	1781	19	44	63
1947	IL	Public	La Salle-Peru-Oglesby Junior College	286	82	368	5	19	24
1947	CA	Public	Lassen Junior College	158	33	191	2	6	8
1947	TX	Public	Lee Junior College	333	222	555	3	10	13
1947	TX	Private	LeTourneau Technical Institute of Texas	204	0	204			0
1947	CA	Private	Lick-Wilmerding School	46	0	46			0
1947	IL	Private	Lincoln College, James Millikin University	146	69	215	2	10	12
1947	TX	Private	Lon Morris College	236	172	408	12	19	31
1947	CA	Public	Long Beach City College	8035	11715	19750	33	69	102
1947	NY	Public	Long Island Agricultural and Technical Institute	687	53	740	12	4	16
1947	CA	Public	Los Angeles City College	6460	2787	9247	75	220	295
1947	CA	Private	Los Angeles Pacific College	59	46	105	2	5	7
1947	WA	Public	Lower Columbia Junior College	469	292	761	9	13	22
1947	IL	Public	Lyons Township Junior College	410	112	522	12	29	41
1947	NY	Private	McKeechnie-Lunger School of Commerce	114	84	198	17	26	43
1947	CA	Public	Marin Junior College	4000	715	4715	42	19	61
1947	TX	Private	Mary Allen College	89	101	190	8	18	26
1947	CA	Private	Menlo Junior College	387	0	387	12	0	12
1947	CA	Public	Oceanside-Carlsbad Junior College			283	6	18	24
1947	CA	Public	Modesto Junior College	923	298	1221	34	68	102
1947	WA	Public	Olympic Junior College	444	131	575			0
1947	CA	Public	Monterey Peninsula College			0			0
1947	IL	Private	Monticello College	0	326	326	0	77	77
1947	IL	Private	Morgan Park Junior College	328	133	461	35	35	70
1947	IL	Public	Morton Junior College	896	241	1137	28	42	70
1947	CA	Public	Mount San Antonio College	591	205	796			0

Year	State	Control	College	Enrollment Male	Enrollment Female	Total Enrollment	Graduates Male	Graduates Female	Total Graduates
1947	WA	Public	Mount Vernon Junior College	101	62	163			0
1947	MI	Public	Muskegon Junior College	455	144	599	22	11	33
1947	CA	Public	Napa Junior College	166	69	235	22	9	31
1947	TX	Public	Navarro Junior College	232	73	305			0
1947	NY	Public	New York State Agricultural and Technical Institute - Alfred	485	76	561	58	21	79
1947	NY	Public	New York State Agricultural and Technical Institute - Canton	196	107	303	45	28	73
1947	NY	Public	New York State Agricultural and Technical Institute - Delhi	125	51	176	4	30	34
1947	NY	Public	New York State Agricultural and Technical Institute - Morrisville	291	68	359	69	19	88
1947	NY	Public	New York State Institute of Agriculture and Home Economics	147	87	234	12	32	44
1947	NY	Public	New York State Institute of Applied Arts and Sciences - Buffalo			480			0
1947	NY	Public	New York State Institute of Applied Arts and Sciences - Utica			411			0
1947	IL	Private	North Park College	869	667	1536	27	109	136
1947	TX	Public	North Texas Agricultural College	2121	377	2498	35	44	79
1947	CA	Private	Notre Dame, College of	0	146	146	0	38	38
1947	CA	Public	Orange Coast Junior College			0			0
1947	FL	Private	Orlando Junior College	123	120	243	3	14	17
1947	TX	Private	Our Lady of Victory College	0	92	92	0	17	17
1947	NY	Private	Packard School	560	411	971	7	149	156
1947	NY	Private	Packer Collegiate Institute	0	120	120	0	34	34
1947	FL	Public	Palm Beach Junior College	220	113	333	0	25	25
1947	CA	Public	Palo Verde Junior College			0			0
1947	CA	Public	Palomar College	527	246	773	1	2	3
1947	TX	Public	Paris Junior College	592	206	798	20	19	39
1947	CA	Public	Pasadena City College	3209	2580	5789	115	286	401
1947	NY	Private	Paul Smith's College of Arts and Sciences	170	20	190			0
1947	IL	Private	Peoria Junior College of Bradley University	223	57	280			0
1947	TX	Private	Pineywood Business Junior College	71	52	123	60	46	106

Year	State	Control	College	Enrollment Male	Enrollment Female	Total Enrollment	Graduates Male	Graduates Female	Total Graduates
1947	CA	Public	Placer College	305	89	394	26	12	38
1947	TX	Private	Port Arthur College			0			0
1947	MI	Public	Port Huron Junior College	415	126	541	15	22	37
1947	CA	Public	Porterville College	182	80	262	12	11	23
1947	TX	Public	Ranger Junior College	143	60	203	14	7	21
1947	CA	Public	Reedley College	279	202	481	31	35	66
1947	CA	Public	Riverside College	3416	2347	5763	16	26	42
1947	NY	Private	Roberts Junior College	94	76	170	13	26	39
1947	NY	Private	Rochester Business Institute	665	457	1122	45	238	283
1947	CA	Public	Sacramento Junior College	80	155	235	2019	959	2978
1947	TX	Private	Sacred Heart Dominican College	0	116	116	0	21	21
1947	IL	Private	Saint Bede Junior College	126	0	126	12	0	12
1947	FL	Private	Saint Petersburg Junior College	384	140	524	44	14	58
1947	CA	Public	Salinas Evening Junior College			0			0
1947	CA	Public	Salinas Junior College	701	266	967	16	20	36
1947	TX	Public	San Angelo College	619	186	805	27	50	77
1947	TX	Public	San Antonio Junior College			0			0
1947	TX	Public	San Antonio Junior College, St. Philip's Branch	294	101	395	2	36	38
1947	CA	Public	San Benito County Junior College	62	18	80	5	4	9
1947	CA	Public	San Bernardino Valley College	2305	2505	4810	20	42	62
1947	CA	Public	San Diego Junior College- Applied Arts and Science Center	591	230	821			0
1947	CA	Public	San Diego Junior College- Business and Technical Center	97	30	127			0
1947	CA	Public	San Francisco, City College of	5305	2146	7451	90	157	247
1947	CA	Public	San Jose Evening Junior College	1094	2632	3726	3	0	3
1947	CA	Public	San Jose Junior College	1089	846	1935	11	17	28
1947	CA	Public	San Luis Obispo Junior College	177	122	299	1	5	6
1947	CA	Public	San Mateo Junior College	1745	592	2337	135	72	207
1947	CA	Public	Santa Ana College	1152	516	1668	13	33	46
1947	CA	Public	Santa Barbara Junior College	325	29	354			0

Year	State	Control	College	Enrollment Male	Enrollment Female	Total Enrollment	Graduates Male	Graduates Female	Total Graduates
1947	CA	Public	Santa Maria Junior College	618	449	1067	0	6	6
1947	CA	Public	Santa Monica City College, Junior College Division			1952	25	47	72
1947	CA	Public	Santa Rosa Junior College	1118	647	1765	21	78	99
1947	TX	Private	Schreiner Institute	302	17	319	9	9	18
1947	IL	Public	Schurz Evening Branch, Chicago City Junior College	707	471	1178	0	2	2
1947	TX	Private	South Texas College of Commerce	156	76	232			0
1947	TX	Private	Southwestern Junior College	76	60	136	11	11	22
1947	MI	Private	Spring Arbor Junior College	48	68	116	3	16	19
1947	IL	Private	Springfield Junior College	514	138	652	8	27	35
1947	CA	Public	Stockton Junior College	1219	688	1907	115	192	307
1947	MI	Private	Suomi College	102	61	163	5	28	33
1947	CA	Public	Taft Junior College	195	75	270	5	1	6
1947	TX	Public	Temple Junior College	186	157	343	18	63	81
1947	TX	Public	Texarkana College	354	156	510	12	21	33
1947	TX	Private	Texas Lutheran College	168	101	269	8	15	23
1947	TX	Private	Texas Military College	111	0	111			0
1947	FL	Private	Thomas Alva Edison College	93	59	152	10	5	15
1947	IL	Public	Thornton Junior College	311	114	425	14	21	35
1947	TX	Private	Tyler Commercial College			0	300	100	400
1947	TX	Public	Tyler Junior College	548	141	689	5	20	25
1947	CA	Public	Vallejo College	1583	48	1631	1	2	3
1947	CA	Public	Ventura Junior College	685	315	1000			24
1947	TX	Public	Victoria Junior College	354	95	449	3	8	11
1947	CA	Public	Visalia College	1005	1062	2067	20	23	43
1947	NY	Private	Walter Hervey Junior College	655	63	718			0
1947	TX	Private	Weatherford College	178	116	294	10	14	24
1947	WA	Public	Wenatchee Junior College	164	111	275	87	0	87
1947	TX	Private	Westminister College	99	25	124	2	5	7
1947	TX	Public	Wharton County Junior College	295	77	372			0

Year	State	Control	College	Enrollment Male	Enrollment Female	Total Enrollment	Graduates Male	Graduates Female	Total Graduates
1947	IL	Public	Woodrow Wilson Junior College	2773	999	3772	33	120	153
1947	IL	Public	Wright Junior College	4040	1335	5375	24	114	138
1947	WA	Public	Yakima Valley Junior College	242	51	293	37	18	55
1947	CA	Public	Yuba College	428	129	557	9	25	34
1951	CA	Public	Antelope Valley Junior College	196	30	226	9	3	12
1951	CA	Private	Armstrong College			756	35	82	117
1951	CA	Public	Bakersfield College	1657	1845	3502	142	89	231
1951	CA	Private	Brown Military Academy Junior College	24	0	24	9	0	9
1951	CA	Private	California Concordia College	19	0	19	7	0	7
1951	CA	Public	Central Junior College	149	84	233	24	17	41
1951	CA	Public	Chaffey College	618	386	1004	131	61	192
1951	CA	Public	Citrus Junior College	150	76	226	25	9	34
1951	CA	Public	Clarence W. Pierce School of Agriculture	1494	732	2226	81	0	81
1951	CA	Public	Coalinga Junior College	101	45	146	15	4	19
1951	CA	Public	College of Marin			11979	144	73	217
1951	CA	Public	College of the Sequoias	1285	1024	2309	110	51	161
1951	CA	Public	Compton Junior College	2001	953	2954	441	187	628
1951	CA	Private	Deep Springs College	15	0	15	11	0	11
1951	CA	Public	East Contra Costa Junior College	2586	2941	5527			0
1951	CA	Public	East Los Angeles Junior College	2421	2544	4965	238	149	387
1951	CA	Public	El Camino College	2820	1131	3951	206	76	282
1951	CA	Public	Fresno Junior College	973	410	1383	17	12	29
1951	CA	Public	Fullerton Junior College	803	69	872	197	98	295
1951	CA	Public	Glendale College	1534	755	2289	271	108	379
1951	CA	Public	Grant Technical College	679	580	1259	48	37	85
1951	CA	Public	Hartnell College	498	285	783	68	62	130
1951	CA	Public	John Muir College	791	506	1297	174	81	255
1951	CA	Public	Lassen Junior College	123	36	159	33	3	36
1951	CA	Public	Long Beach City College	14014	24308	38322	336	149	485
1951	CA	Public	Los Angeles City College	14524	11908	26432	900	495	1395

Year	State	Control	College	Enrollment Male	Enrollment Female	Total Enrollment	Graduates Male	Graduates Female	Total Graduates
1951	CA	Private	Los Angeles College	75	0	75	30	0	30
1951	CA	Local	Los Angeles Harbor Junior College	1388	619	2007	26	8	34
1951	CA	Public	Los Angeles Metropolitan Junior College			12333	13	64	77
1951	CA	Private	Los Angeles Pacific College	15	35	50	9	5	14
1951	CA	Public	Los Angeles Trade-Technical College	4947	1559	6506	13	2	15
1951	CA	Public	Los Angeles Valley College	874	548	1422	69	59	128
1951	CA	Private	Lux College			0			0
1951	CA	Private	Menlo College	271	0	271	89	0	89
1951	CA	Public	Modesto Junior College	1217	576	1793	185	79	264
1951	CA	Public	Monterey Peninsula College	378	325	703	59	40	99
1951	CA	Public	Mount San Antonio Junior College	1717	450	2167	157	71	228
1951	CA	Public	Napa College	1185	1028	2213	36	30	66
1951	CA	Public	Oceanside-Carlsbad College	105	72	177	43	25	68
1951	CA	Public	Orange Coast College	1699	1619	3318	123	37	160
1951	CA	Public	Palomar College	660	215	875	33	13	46
1951	CA	Public	Palo Verde College	54	15	69	11	6	17
1951	CA	Private	Palos Verdes College	25	30	55	4	8	12
1951	CA	Public	Pasadena City College	2851	1943	4794	535	283	818
1951	CA	Public	Placer College	286	150	436	87	44	131
1951	CA	Public	Porterville College	129	60	189	18	6	24
1951	CA	Public	Reedley College	399	225	624	99	41	140
1951	CA	Municipal	Riverside College	367	199	566	134	85	219
1951	CA	Public	Sacramento Junior College	1299	857	2156	361	170	531
1951	CA	Public	Salinas Evening Junior College			0			0
1951	CA	Public	San Benito County Junior College			0			0
1951	CA	Public	San Bernardino Valley College	1851	1750	3601	170	86	256
1951	CA	Public	San Diego Junior College	1054	540	1594	168	46	214
1951	CA	Public	San Francisco City College	4483	1925	6408	689	213	902
1951	CA	Public	San Jose Evening Junior College			3872	1	4	5
1951	CA	Public	San Jose Junior College			0			0

Year	State	Control	College	Enrollment Male	Enrollment Female	Total Enrollment	Graduates Male	Graduates Female	Total Graduates
1951	CA	Public	San Luis Obispo Junior College	92	105	197	20	17	37
1951	CA	Public	San Mateo District Junior College	1281	651	1932	227	90	317
1951	CA	Public	Santa Ana College	394	230	624	127	53	180
1951	CA	Public	Santa Barbara Junior College	915	635	1550	1	1	2
1951	CA	Public	Santa Maria Junior College	163	126	289	23	7	30
1951	CA	Public	Santa Monica City College			6146	302	131	433
1951	CA	Public	Santa Rosa Junior College	1119	793	1912	173	100	273
1951	CA	Public	Shasta College	303	300	603	11	7	18
1951	CA	Public	Stockton College	1081	831	1912	193	140	333
1951	CA	Public	Taft Junior College	160	56	216	36	14	50
1951	CA	Public	Vallejo College			827	74	26	100
1951	CA	Public	Ventura Junior College	500	302	802	152	70	222
1951	CA	Public	West Contra Costa Junior College	858	371	1229			0
1951	CA	Public	Yuba College	1172	1009	2181	98	54	152
1951	FL	Public	Chipola Junior College	181	142	323	37	16	53
1951	FL	Private	Edward Waters College	179	157	336	8	23	31
1951	FL	Private	Jacksonville Junior College	353	182	535	48	16	64
1951	FL	Private	Orlando Junior College	212	73	285	39	11	50
1951	FL	Public	Palm Beach Junior College	211	202	413	2	3	5
1951	FL	Private	Webber College	0	28	28	0	10	10
1951	FL	Public	Pensacola Junior College	115	83	198	15	10	25
1951	FL	Public	St. Petersburg Junior College	498	383	881	49	39	88
1951	FL	Public	Washington Junior College	44	96	140			0
1951	IL	Public	Belleville Township Junior College			1217	32	9	41
1951	IL	Public	Centralia Township Junior College	70	38	108	32	8	40
1951	IL	Public	Danville Community College	39	41	80			0
1951	IL	Public	Elgin Community College	72	16	88			0
1951	IL	Public	Evanston Township Community College	102	42	144	27	8	35
1951	IL	Municipal	Herzl Junior College	1038	848	1886	61	63	124
1951	IL	Public	Joliet Junior College	1098	1157	2255	93	31	124

Year	State	Control	College	Enrollment Male	Enrollment Female	Total Enrollment	Graduates Male	Graduates Female	Total Graduates
1951	IL	Private	Kendall College	61	70	131	20	27	47
1951	IL	Public	La Salle-Peru-Oglesby Junior College	153	275	428	53	25	78
1951	IL	Private	Lewis College	62	0	62	26	0	26
1951	IL	Private	Lincoln College of the James Millikin University	94	40	134	13	7	20
1951	IL	Public	Lyons Township Junior College	243	90	333	91	34	125
1951	IL	Private	Mallinckrodt College	0	14	14	0	7	7
1951	IL	Municipal	Moline Community College	770	1060	1830	26	4	30
1951	IL	Private	Monticello College	0	207	207	0	96	96
1951	IL	Public	Morton Junior College	526	251	777	117	60	177
1951	IL	Private	North Park College	472	594	1066	170	123	293
1951	IL	Private	Peoria College of Bradley University	239	178	417			0
1951	IL	Private	St. Bede Junior College	53	0	53	35	0	35
1951	IL	Private	St. Henry's Preparatory Seminary	27	0	27	6	11	17
1951	IL	Private	Shimer College	19	67	86	0	21	21
1951	IL	Private	Springfield Junior College	239	119	358	44	26	70
1951	IL	Public	Thornton Junior College	258	83	341	55	29	84
1951	IL	Municipal	Woodrow Wilson Junior College	3186	2006	5192	244	125	369
1951	IL	Municipal	Wright Junior College	5275	3222	8497	595	147	742
1951	MI	Public	Bay City Junior College			457	88	44	132
1951	MI	Public	Benton Harbor Junior College	123	54	177	29	13	42
1951	MI	Public	Dearborn Junior College	586	195	781	96	24	120
1951	MI	Public	Flint Junior College	642	334	976			202
1951	MI	Public	Gogebic Junior College	202	135	337	43	6	49
1951	MI	Public	Grand Rapids Junior College	639	434	1073	91	59	150
1951	MI	Public	Highland Park Junior College	912	395	1307	167	83	250
1951	MI	Public	Jackson Junior College	395	133	528	74	27	101
1951	MI	Public	Muskegon Community College	292	141	433	84	14	98
1951	MI	Local	Post Huron Junior College	255	136	391	27	27	54
1951	NY	Private	Bennett Junior College	0	190	190	0	74	74
1951	NY	Private	Briarcliff Junior College	0	221	221	0	89	89

Year	State	Control	College	Enrollment Male	Enrollment Female	Total Enrollment	Graduates Male	Graduates Female	Total Graduates
1951	NY	Private	Cazenovia Junior College	0	162	162	0	54	54
1951	NY	Private	Concordia Collegiate Institute	56	45	101	32	20	52
1951	NY	State and City	Fashion Institute of Technology	89	267	356	49	97	146
1951	NY	Private	Finch Junior College	0	245	245	0	88	88
1951	NY	Private	Holy Cross Preparatory Seminary	60	0	60	21	0	21
1951	NY	Public	Jamestown Community College	163	66	229	10	5	15
1951	NY	Private	Oblate Preparatory School	42	0	42			0
1951	NY	Public	Orange County Community College	199	55	254			0
1951	NY	Private	Packard Junior College	608	642	1250	25	121	146
1951	NY	Private	Packer Collegiate Institute	0	59	59	0	30	30
1951	NY	Private	Paul Smith's College of Arts and Sciences	188	4	192	57	3	60
1951	NY	Private	Rochester Institute of Technology	963	331	1294	438	83	521
1951	NY	Private	St. John's Atonement Seminary	31	0	31	10	0	10
1951	NY	Private	St. Joseph's Seraphic Seminary	99	0	99	39	0	39
1951	NY	State	State University Agricultural and Technical Institute- Alfred	1461	125	1586	233	32	265
1951	NY	State	State University Agricultural and Technical Institute- Canton	442	128	570	116	40	156
1951	NY	State	State University Agricultural and Technical Institute- Delhi	206	69	275	100	30	130
1951	NY	State	State University Agricultural and Technical Institute- Farmingdale	984	113	1097	371	32	403
1951	NY	State	State University Agricultural and Technical Institute- Morrisville	500	96	596	190	23	213
1951	NY	State	State University Institute of Agriculture and Home Economics	445	157	602	82	47	129
1951	NY	State	State University Institute of Applied Arts and Sciences- Binghamton	263	79	342	85	30	115
1951	NY	State	State University Institute of Applied Arts and Sciences- Brooklyn	3097	903	4000	594	202	796
1951	NY	State	State University Institute of Applied Arts and Sciences- New York	1344	178	1522	220	60	280

Year	State	Control	College	Enrollment Male	Enrollment Female	Total Enrollment	Graduates Male	Graduates Female	Total Graduates
1951	NY	State	State University Institute of Applied Arts and Sciences- Utica	599	139	738	116	22	138
1951	NY	State	State University Institute of Applied Arts and Sciences	806	126	932	144	16	160
1951	TX	Private	Allen Military Academy	135	0	135	29	0	29
1951	TX	Public	Alvin Junior College	216	429	645	2	2	4
1951	TX	Public	Amarillo College	1020	612	1632	54	60	114
1951	TX	State	Arlington State College	1463	389	1852	157	50	207
1951	TX	Public	Blinn College	79	522	601	70	32	102
1951	TX	Public	Cisco Junior College	128	60	188	12	8	20
1951	TX	Public	Clarendon Junior College	48	37	85	15	11	26
1951	TX	Private	Clifton Junior College	55	34	89	30	12	42
1951	TX	Private	Decatur Baptist College	122	51	173	13	15	28
1951	TX	Public	Del Mar College	2891	1347	4238	68	44	112
1951	TX	Public	Edinburg Regional College	473	402	875	92	52	144
1951	TX	Public	Frank Phillips College	166	117	283	24	12	36
1951	TX	Public	Gainesville Junior College	150	43	193	13	6	19
1951	TX	Public	Hardin Junior College of Midwestern University	619	235	854	20	11	31
1951	TX	Public	Henderson County Junior College	777	158	935	21	13	34
1951	TX	Public	Houston Junior College	6599	1990	8589	40	43	83
1951	TX	Public	Howard County Junior College	478	171	649	49	3	52
1951	TX	Public	Kilgore College	827	332	1159	156	86	242
1951	TX	Public	Lamar College	3062	1265	4327	143	77	220
1951	TX	Public	Laredo Junior College	277	82	359	33	9	42
1951	TX	Public	Lee College	726	322	1048	27	15	42
1951	TX	Private	LeTourneau Technical Institute of Texas	204	0	204	81	0	81
1951	TX	Private	Lon Morris College	148	115	263	46	32	78
1951	TX	Public	Navarro Junior College	200	82	282	47	15	62
1951	TX	District	Odessa College	639	415	1054	19	14	33
1951	TX	Public	Panola County Junior College	110	74	184	28	8	36
1951	TX	Public	Paris Junior College	489	170	659	46	37	83

Year	State	Control	College	Enrollment Male	Enrollment Female	Total Enrollment	Graduates Male	Graduates Female	Total Graduates
1951	TX	Public	Ranger Junior College	437	90	527	49	15	64
1951	TX	Public	St. Philip's College	491	144	635	77	42	119
1951	TX	Public	San Angelo College	645	187	832	49	33	82
1951	TX	Public	San Antonio College	930	631	1561	78	30	108
1951	TX	Private	Schreiner Institute	206	34	240	61	2	63
1951	TX	Public	Solomon Coles Junior College	43	16	59	5	1	6
1951	TX	Private	South Texas Junior College	119	25	144	6	7	13
1951	TX	Public	Southwest Texas Junior College	166	114	280	21	17	38
1951	TX	Private	Southwestern Bible Institute Junior College Division	152	146	298	14	11	25
1951	TX	Private	Southwestern Junior College	110	107	217	18	12	30
1951	TX	State	Tarleton State College	735	236	971	42	30	72
1951	TX	Public	Temple Junior College	150	218	368	21	41	62
1951	TX	Public	Texarkana College	439	202	641	33	20	53
1951	TX	Private	Texas Lutheran College	128	105	233	2	4	6
1951	TX	Public	Texas Southmost College	1128	229	1357	47	12	59
1951	TX	Public	Tyler Junior College	843	816	1659	85	90	175
1951	TX	Public	Tyler Junior College Branch	93	215	308	9	61	70
1951	TX	Public	Victoria College	686	125	811	30	17	47
1951	TX	Public	Weatherford Collge	156	48	204	22	16	38
1951	TX	Public	Wharton County Junior College	415	279	694	47	27	74
1951	TX	Private	Draughon's Business Colleges (Abilene, Amarillo, Dallas, Lubbock, San Antonio, Wichita Falls)	300	275	575	200	169	369
1951	TX	Private	Durham's Business Junior Colleges (Austin, Fort Worth, Harlingen, Houston, San Antonio)	300	246	546	6	80	86
1951	TX	Private	Fort Worth Business- Distributive Education College	159	10	169	51	25	76
1951	TX	Private	Pineywood Business Junior College			0			0
1951	TX	Private	Port Arthur College			0	55	105	160
1951	TX	Private	Rutherford School of Business			900	80	98	178
1951	WA	Public	Centralia Junior College	439	289	728	44	23	67
1951	WA	Public	Clark College	918	693	1611	89	36	125

Year	State	Control	College	Enrollment Male	Enrollment Female	Total Enrollment	Graduates Male	Graduates Female	Total Graduates
1951	WA	Public	Everett Junior College	1291	743	2034	60	32	92
1951	WA	Public	Grays Harbor College	643	591	1234	5	4	9
1951	WA	Public	Lower Columbia Junior College	486	592	1078	28	12	40
1951	WA	Public	Olympic College	3239	4201	7440	37	16	53
1951	WA	Public	Skagit Valley Junior College			260	27	7	34
1951	WA	Public	Wenatchee Junior College	334	306	640	28	12	40
1951	WA	Public	Yakima Valley Junior College	581	815	1396	54	25	79
1939	TX	Public	Amarillo College	156	168	324	18	22	40
1939	CA	Public	Antelope Valley Junior College	50	54	104	4	11	15
1939	CA	Private	Armstrong Junior College	11	10	21	1	0	1
1939	CA	Public	Bakerfield Junior College	550	408	958	83	58	141
1939	MI	Public	Bay City Junior College	270	164	434	75	48	123
1939	NY	Private	Bennett Junior College	0	113	113	0	36	36
1939	FL	Private	Bethune-Cookman College	75	169	244	12	36	48
1939	CA	Private	Beulah College	14	20	34	6	4	10
1939	IL	Private	Blackburn College	169	139	308	55	49	104
1939	IL	Public	Blinn College	47	65	112	9	13	22
1939	CA	Public	Brawley Junior College	76	49	125	18	13	31
1939	NY	Private	Briarcliff Junior College	0	111	111	0	34	34
1939	TX	Public	Brownsville Junior College	98	81	179	4	15	19
1939	TX	Private	Butler College			200			0
1939	CA	Private	California Concordia College	20	0	20			0
1939	NY	Private	Cazenovia Seminary	47	35	82	7	8	15
1939	CA	Public	Central Junior College	94	72	166	19	16	35
1939	WA	Private	Centralia Junior College	67	42	109	16	11	27
1939	CA	Public	Chaffey Junior College	487	389	876	112	90	202
1939	CA	Public	Citrus Junior College	146	178	324	20	16	36
1939	TX	Public	Clarendon Junior College	49	65	114	8	11	19
1939	WA	Private	Clark Junior College	40	24	64	7	3	10
1939	TX	Private	Clifton Junior College	37	35	72	14	10	24
1939	CA	Public	Coalinga Extension Center, Fresno State College	59	52	111	16	10	26

Year	State	Control	College	Enrollment Male	Enrollment Female	Total Enrollment	Graduates Male	Graduates Female	Total Graduates
1939	CA	Private	Cogswell Polytechnical College			248	11	11	22
1939	CA	Public	Compton Junior College	1183	618	1801	171	98	269
1939	NY	Private	Concordia Collegiate Institute	61	40	101	17	0	17
1939	TX	Public	Corpus Christi Junior College	80	108	188	3	13	16
1939	CA	Private	Cumnock Junior College	25	33	58	3	9	12
1939	TX	Private	Decatur Baptist College	80	60	140	19	21	40
1939	CA	Private	Deep Springs Junior College	20	0	20	3	0	3
1939	TX	Public	Edinburg Junior College	127	122	249	21	30	51
1939	IL	Private	Elgin Junior College	26	13	39	6	2	8
1939	IL	Private	Evanston Collegiate Institute	65	88	153	12	12	24
1939	IL	Private	Ferry Hall	0	9	9	0	1	1
1939	NY	Private	Finch Junior College	0	205	205	0	63	63
1939	MI	Public	Flint Junior College	268	204	472	43	29	72
1939	FL	Private	Florida Normal and Industrial Institute	61	110	171	24	54	78
1939	MI	Public	Fordson Junior College	70	40	110			0
1939	IL	Private	Frances Shimer Junior College	0	89	89	0	31	31
1939	CA	Public	Fresno Junior College	165	128	293			0
1939	CA	Public	Fullerton Junior College	838	574	1412	131	104	235
1939	TX	Public	Gainesville Junior College	78	83	161	7	18	25
1939	CA	Public	Glendale Junior College	830	673	1503	88	81	169
1939	MI	Public	Gogebic Junior College	119	74	193	22	13	35
1939	MI	Public	Grand Rapids Junior College	512	356	868	110	81	191
1939	WA	Private	Grays Harbor Junior College	125	73	198	27	16	43
1939	TX	Public	Hardin Junior College	212	160	372	47	37	84
1939	IL	Public	Herzl Junior College	1067	558	1625	137	61	198
1939	MI	Public	Highland Park Junior College	227	127	354	37	22	59
1939	TX	Public	Hillsboro Junior College	171	107	278	19	20	39
1939	TX	Private	Hockaday Junior College	0	110	110	0	19	19
1939	CA	Private	Holmby College	0	66	66			0
1939	MI	Public	Jackson Junior College	205	146	351	38	23	61
1939	TX	Public	John Tarleton Agricultural College	760	389	1149	66	67	133
1939	IL	Public	Joliet Junior College	197	137	334	72	41	113

Year	State	Control	College	Enrollment Male	Enrollment Female	Total Enrollment	Graduates Male	Graduates Female	Total Graduates
1939	TX	Public	Kilgore College	355	233	588	55	49	104
1939	TX	Public	Lamar College	345	219	564	47	45	92
1939	IL	Public	La Salle-Peru-Oglesby Junior College	181	112	293	37	36	73
1939	CA	Private	La Sierra College			311	17	37	54
1939	CA	Public	Lassen Junior College	103	39	142	10	3	13
1939	TX	Public	Lee Junior College	186	145	331	20	18	38
1939	CA	Private	Lick and Wilmerding Schools			78	19	33	52
1939	IL	Private	Lincoln College, James Millikin University	57	53	110	11	27	38
1939	TX	Private	Lon Morris College			400			0
1939	CA	Public	Long Beach Junior College	1105	792	1897	120	123	243
1939	CA	Public	Los Angeles City College	3673	3014	6687	279	268	547
1939	CA	Private	Los Angeles Pacific College	34	43	77	3	6	9
1939	WA	Private	Lower Columbia Junior College	102	50	152	11	4	15
1939	CA	Private	Lux Technical Institute	0	207	207	0	32	32
1939	IL	Public	Lyons Township Junior College	138	96	234	35	30	65
1939	CA	Public	Marin Junior College	512	503	1015	62	51	113
1939	TX	Private	Marshall, College of	166	155	321	30	44	74
1939	TX	Private	Mary Allen Junior College	56	128	184	11	27	38
1939	CA	Private	Marymount College	0	27	27	0	8	8
1939	CA	Private	Menlo Junior College	184	0	184	59	0	59
1939	CA	Public	Modesto Junior College	617	474	1091	138	160	298
1939	IL	Private	Monticello College	0	93	93	0	21	21
1939	IL	Private	Morgan Park Junior College	179	122	301	22	28	50
1939	IL	Public	Morton Junior College	790	351	1141	106	52	158
1939	WA	Private	Mount Vernon Junior College	123	55	178	18	12	30
1939	MI	Public	Muskegon Junior College	212	136	348	43	19	62
1939	IL	Private	North Park College	638	398	1036	120	84	204
1939	TX	Public	North Texas Junior Agricultural College	984	376	1360	95	52	147
1939	CA	Public	Oceanside-Carlsbad Junior College	91	98	189	9	10	19
1939	TX	Private	Our Lady of Victory College	0	92	92	0	16	16

Year	State	Control	College	Enrollment Male	Enrollment Female	Total Enrollment	Graduates Male	Graduates Female	Total Graduates
1939	NY	Private	Packer Collegiate Institute	0	126	126	0	61	61
1939	FL	Public	Palm Beach Junior College	51	45	96	9	9	18
1939	TX	Public	Paris Junior College	209	279	488	46	66	112
1939	CA	Public	Pasadena Junior College	2311	1729	4040	423	302	725
1939	CA	Public	Placer Junior College	199	137	336	28	20	48
1939	CA	Public	Pomona Junior College	260	144	404	57	32	89
1939	MI	Public	Port Huron Junior College	159	130	289	32	27	59
1939	CA	Public	Porterville Junior College	171	84	255	29	13	42
1939	MI	Private	Presentation Junior College	0	28	28	0	7	7
1939	TX	Public	Ranger Junior College	39	63	102	4	9	13
1939	CA	Public	Reedley Junior College	162	153	315	46	37	83
1939	CA	Public	Riverside Junior College	861	756	1617	99	72	171
1939	CA	Public	Sacramento Junior College	1801	1045	2846	260	189	449
1939	CA	Private	Saint Petersburg Junior College	179	183	362	46	55	101
1939	TX	Private	Saint Phillip's Junior College	31	104	135	6	29	35
1939	CA	Public	Salinas Junior College	451	311	762	46	54	100
1939	TX	Public	San Angelo College	88	102	190	14	35	49
1939	TX	Public	San Antonio Junior College	177	123		40	25	
1939	CA	Public	San Benito County Junior College	49	34		9	3	
1939	CA	Public	San Bernardino Valley Junior College	3719	4598		67	47	
1939	CA	Public	San Diego Junior College	101	77				0
1939	CA	Public	San Francisco Junior College	1885	848		167	71	
1939	CA	Public	San Jose Junior College	1580					0
1939	CA	Public	San Luis Obispo Junior College	165	174		12	4	
1939	CA	Public	San Mateo Junior College	854	628		123	80	
1939	CA	Public	Santa Ana Junior College	620	491		88	62	
1939	CA	Public	Santa Maria Junior College	119	108		20	12	
1939	CA	Public	Santa Monica Junior College	741	447		141	93	
1939	CA	Public	Santa Rosa Junior College	473	357		57	39	
1939	TX	Private	Schreiner Institute	213	21		28	6	
1939	WA	Private	Spokane Junior College	76	119		15	21	
1939	MI	Private	Spring Arbor Junior College	35	30		13	8	

Year	State	Control	College	Enrollment Male	Enrollment Female	Total Enrollment	Graduates Male	Graduates Female	Total Graduates
1939	IL	Private	Springfield Junior College	147	93		49	30	
1939	CA	Public	Stockton Junior College	823	653		92	95	
1939	MI	Private	Suomi College	7	16		1	7	
1939	CA	Public	Taft Junior College	217	163		28	20	
1939	TX	Public	Temple Junior College	57	73		10	14	
1939	TX	Public	Texarkana College	97	93		14	20	
1939	TX	Private	Texas Lutheran College	80	73		19	22	41
1939	TX	Private	Texas Military College	47	25		16	4	20
1939	IL	Public	Thornton Junior College	133	49		10	20	39
1939	TX	Public	Tyler Junior College	129	111	240	16	15	31
1939	CA	Public	Ventura Junior College	273	232	505	61	41	102
1939	CA	Public	Victoria Junior College	48	72	120	16	25	41
1939	CA	Public	Visalia Junior College	261	268	529	30	45	75
1939	TX	Private	Wayland Baptist College	132	86	218	13	33	46
1939	TX	Private	Weatherford College	159	123	282	26	38	64
1939	TX	Private	Westminister College	71	42	113	13	13	26
1939	CA	Private	Williams Junior College			0	6	6	12
1939	IL	Public	Woodrow Wilson Junior College	1685	1206	2891	196	143	339
1939	IL	Public	Wright Junior College	2538	1137	3675	269	129	398
1939	WA	Private	Yakima Valley Junior College	106	109	215	30	25	55
1939	CA	Public	Yuba County Junior College	196	146	342	27	28	55