Ascending Toward New Heights: Building Navigational Capital for Latinx Community College Students

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Abstract
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Ascending Toward New Heights: How One Program Builds Navigational Capital for Latinx Community College Students

Erin Doran and Paul Hengesteg

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Abstract

The Ascender program was created in 2012 by Catch the Next, Inc., to address the challenges of increasing community college retention and transfer rates of community colleges, especially among Latinx students in developmental education. This study looks at the experiences of participants in this program and how it provided validating experiences and fostered their navigational capital on campus and through the transfer process. Results show that a rich first-year experience and additional engagement with the Ascender program helps students learn how to better navigate the complex systems of financial aid and transfer processes while also building their confidence as successful college students.
The community college sector represents the most important entry point for Latinx students into higher education, given that approximately 40% of all Latinx college students are enrolled in this sector (Excelencia in Education, 2019). Melguizo (2009) suggested that Latinx students might have better chance of earning a bachelor’s degree if they enroll directly at a four-year institution, but high Latinx enrollment rates persist at community colleges. To increase transfer to four-year institutions, several programs and interventions have been established in community colleges nationwide to support Latinx students and students from other traditionally underserved groups (Baber, 2018; Núñez & Elizondo, 2013). The Ascender program addresses the disparities of retention and transfer rates among community college students, especially for those placed in developmental education. Though not exclusively for Latinx students, most students (approximately 90%) served since 2012 identify as Latinx (Our Program, n.d.). This study examines the experiences of participants in the Ascender program and how it fostered their navigational capital at their community college campuses and in the transfer process.

The following questions guided this research:

- How do students in the Ascender program describe their educational experiences within the program?
- How did the Ascender program help participants navigate their first year of college and beyond?

This study also extends the research on Latinx community college students who successfully matriculated through developmental education and at least one year of college by highlighting their voices and the experiences they point to that made them successful.

**Literature Review**
The pressing need to increase Latinx persistence and degree attainment is well-documented (Crisp & Nora, 2010; Núñez & Elizondo, 2013). Given that community colleges are often the postsecondary institution of choice for Latinx students, it is important to understand the programs and circumstances that increase their success, especially considering that fewer than 20% of Latinx community college students transfer to a four-year institution (Pérez & Ceja, 2010).

**Factors that Impact Transfer**

In their research brief on best practices for increasing Latinx educational attainment, Núñez and Elizondo (2013) identified the importance of building a “transfer culture,” an organizational priority explained by Bensimon and Dowd (2009), among others. Though community colleges traditionally serve a transfer function, transfer rates for Latinx students remain low. In Texas, approximately 11% of Latinx community college students earn a four-year degree within six years (Santiago, Perez, & Ortiz, 2017). For Latinx students enrolled in developmental education, things like financial aid, working fewer hours, and enrollment intensity are directly related to their success in their sophomore year (Crisp & Nora, 2010). In this study, the commitment to transfer is largely provided by the Ascender program with support from participating colleges. Similarly, Baber (2018) discussed how a community-based organization provides validating experiences for marginalized students, especially in supporting their academic goals.

**The Importance of Validating Relationships**

Several research studies identify the importance of engagement and relationships for Latinx students, such as those with faculty and staff members. Stanton-Salazar (2011) discussed institutional agents who provide low-income students and students from other marginalized
groups with social and navigational support. Lundberg (2014) found that frequent, extracurricular interactions with faculty improved community college student outcomes across racial/ethnic groups. In the same study, peer interactions were also positive, though the correlation was not as strong. Lundberg and Schreiner (2004) disaggregated their data by racial/ethnic group and found relationships with faculty were strong predictors of learning for Mexican American students and students from other Latinx subgroups (e.g., Puerto Rican). In one study focusing on the experience of Latinx students in developmental education, faculty members were the main source of validation or invalidation, contributing to students’ sense of confidence in themselves and in their ability to achieve their educational goals (Acevedo-Gil, Santos, Alonso, & Solórzano, 2015).

**Guiding Principles of the Ascender Program**

Through professional development (Doran & Singh, 2018; Doran, 2019), Ascender faculty are taught about additive approaches to teaching and mentoring Latinx students, including validation theory (Rendón, 1994), Yosso’s (2005) concept of community cultural wealth, and Crisp’s (2010) model for mentoring. This study focuses on the elements of validation theory and community cultural wealth, particularly how Ascender increases a student’s navigational capital. Rendón’s (1994) work on validation started with the premise that students of color often feel disconnected from their campus because they do not see themselves reflected in a space created for the predominant (i.e., White) culture. Rendón noted how the presence of faculty and staff who reflected Latinx students’ identities could provide them with validating experiences that reinforce their confidence in their presence on campus. This study also draws on Yosso’s community cultural wealth framework in the analysis process. Drawing from critical race theory and LatCrit theory, Yosso challenged prevailing notions of social and cultural capital
that failed to account for the types of capital that communities of color offer. Yosso identified six types of capital in her model: social, familial, linguistic, navigational, aspirational, and resistant. Social capital refers to the networks of individuals and communities a person is connected to. Familial capital focuses on the importance of kinship relationships that provide support and communal memory for individuals. Much research explains the critical importance of family and community and their positive contribution to student enrollment and success in college (Pérez & McDonough, 2008). Yosso also reframed bilingualism and biculturalism as positive aspects of a student’s background as she described linguistic capital. Navigational capital refers to the ability to navigate social systems and, as explained in this study, can also refer to navigating processes and institutions (e.g., applying for financial aid, understanding the structure of a community college). Finally, resistant capital represents a student’s ability to understand various forms of oppression and to therefore challenge inequality. All these forms of capital contribute to the overarching notion of community cultural wealth.

This study focuses on Ascender’s ability to validate students, to tap into their cultural wealth, and to build their navigational capital. We assume that the Latinx students have aspirational capital to pursue a higher education, demonstrated by the fact that all students we talked to had completed at least one year at their respective community college. The participants also noted a presence of familial capital in their relatives’ support for their collegiate process. As Yosso (2005) noted, navigational capital “acknowledges individual agency within institutional constraints, but it also connects to social networks that facilitate community navigation through places and spaces including schools” (p. 80). In line with this notion, we found that forms of navigational capital were not just about a student’s path to transferring but also about the way
Ascender makes the college experience a communal one that includes family and creates a sense of *familia* or *communidad* (community) on campus.

**Programmatic Context**

The Ascender program is overseen by the nonprofit organization, Catch the Next, Inc., based in Austin, Texas. Since its inception in 2012, the Ascender program has provided training for eight college systems and one university across 14 campuses (Our Impact, n.d.) with funding support from the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, the Meadows Foundation, and the Greater Texas Foundation.¹

The program recruits students through targeted advising based on their placement into the highest level of development reading and writing and/or math. To participate in Ascender, students agree to take prescribed courses, including a developmental course and its college-level equivalent (e.g., Freshman Composition). Students also take a class that covers career exploration, study skills, and the transfer process. Ascender participants also receive targeted advising and mentoring in addition to the college’s normal advising structure.

Catch the Next hosts a summer motivational conference that brings students to the University of Texas at Austin campus for two and a half days. The 2018 conference gave students the chance to “experience university life and motivated them to transfer to a four-year institution” (“CTN Transfer Motivational Conference,” n.d.). It also reinforced much of the advising and mentoring that campuses provide to students interested in transferring. The agenda included presentations from a transfer coordinator with the University of Texas and a panel of Ascender alumni who had successfully earned their four-year degrees. Attendees also stayed in residence halls at the university to try the residential experience.

¹ More information on the Ascender Program and its history can be found in Doran and Singh (2018) and Doran (2019). Moreover, outcomes data are available on the Catch the Next website (Our Impact, n.d.).
Methods

This study employs a basic qualitative design that uses interviews and focus groups to “[understand] the meaning a phenomenon has for those involved” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 24). This approach is appropriate for studies where the researcher focuses on how people make sense of their lived experiences (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). To better understand the experiences of students in the Ascender program and how it helped them navigate college, the first author attended the 2018 motivational conference. She worked with chaperones to identify students who would be willing to participate in the study; students were able to choose if they wanted to be interviewed in a focus group or individually. Sixteen students participated in interviews and/or focus groups. Before the interviews, they were asked to fill out a demographic survey that collected their majors (Table 1).

<<Insert Table 1 here>>

The focus groups lasted approximately one hour and were guided by a semi-structured interview protocol, which asked students about their transition to college, how they found out about Ascender, what influenced their decision to join the program, and how the program affected their college experience. Follow-up interviews were conducted with most of the students who participated in focus groups to ask clarifying questions or delve deeper into topics that emerged. Informed consent was sought before the focus groups and interviews, and the interviews were audio recorded with the participants’ knowledge. Pseudonyms are used to preserve students’ confidentiality.

After the conference, the audio from the interviews was transcribed for analysis. Initial coding (Saldaña, 2016) was used in the first phase to get a sense of the contents of the interviews and what connections emerged between them. More specifically, codes were developed around
discussions of students’ identities and backgrounds, engagement with the classroom material, and how Ascender helped them adjust to college. Pattern coding (Saldaña, 2016) was used in a second round to break down the codes into categories or patterns (e.g., transfer plans, financial aid, increased understanding of the institution). As this is a qualitative study, it is worth discussing the positionalities of the researchers to this study. The first author, a Latina, began her engagement with Ascender in 2013 as a mentor to students at Palo Alto College in the San Antonio area. Though she has done previous research on the professional development aspects of the Ascender program, her interaction with students was limited to the 2018 conference. The second author is a doctoral student in higher-education administration who studies social justice education across various identities, especially LBGTQ+.

Limitations

This study is not without its limitations. First, based on intake surveys collected by Catch the Next, the Ascender program tends to serve students who are of “traditional” college age (18-22), the majority of whom typically work 19 hours per week or less. In these aspects, and likely others, Ascender participants do not necessarily mirror the more common characteristics of community college students who may be older and who attend part-time because of work and family obligations (Parker, 2018). Most of the students who attended the 2018 motivational conference appeared to fit within the 18-22 years-old category. Further, since this study focuses on students who participated in the motivational conference, they may have demonstrated a higher level of commitment to the program than others. Though they were asked about their least favorite part(s), students gave high degrees of praise to the Ascender program.

Results
The Ascender participants who were interviewed had varying college experiences. Gabriela was raised by her aunt and uncle, who fully supported her and her younger brother (enrolled at the same college) so they could focus on school and not have to work. Mayte was raised by a single mother who was openly hostile to her choice of major (graphic design). Angelina worked as a translator for her parents’ business while pursuing her associate degree and described her desire to attend law school. These stories illustrate the diversity of life experiences Latinx students bring to a community college. But the Ascender students also shared some common experiences: They described entering college as a confusing time when they sought out support. Through Ascender, they gained skills and knowledge that helped them navigate their campus and the transfer process. In illustrating the interconnectedness of Yosso’s (2005) model, familial capital influenced students’ participation in Ascender and their families’ participation in the college experience.

During the interviews and focus groups, students admitted they needed additional support transitioning from high school to college. Angelina described meeting with an advisor who recruited her to the program and said, “[The program] sounded really interesting and like a huge support group. It’s my first year of college, I don’t know what I’m getting myself into…So that’s how I got into the program.” Liliana learned about the program when she went to an advising session with her mother, who she recalled asking the advisor several questions. When they got home, “She was like, ‘I like this because it’s not just for you—it’s going to be a support for you.’” In the end, Liliana joined Ascender at her mother’s encouragement.

In her transition from high school to college, Emma talked about being somewhat checked out from her high school curriculum because she was focused on volleyball, track and field, and softball. She summed up her entrance into college in this way:
I was super anxious about college because I knew I was paying for it. And so I was very anxious about how I would survive in college and I would like talk to the advisors in high school like, ‘Oh, I don’t know what I’m going to do. I shouldn’t have waited this long to get my act together.’

By enrolling in college, these students demonstrated aspirational capital; however, they also recognized the need for on-campus support and positive relationships.

**Relationships Provide Important Moments of Validation**

As previously noted, all the students in this study had participated in at least two semesters of the Ascender program. Matthew talked about how the program helped him build a strong relationship with his instructors, which was crucial when his job as a monster truck driver with the Monster Jam tour had him traveling throughout his spring semester. His relationship with his developmental English instructor taught him how to fit in school with his studies. He admitted that his work demands sometimes interfered with school, but “[Mr. Rodríguez, the English instructor] always helped me out. Whenever I had some days where I was just out of it, he always kept me, like, ‘Hey man, it’s not going to be easy, but we’re gonna get through it.’ And eventually, here I am.” In the classroom, Mr. Rodríguez refocused Matthew in times when he “zoned out,” leading Matthew to describe him as “the best example of just always keeping an eye on every single student to make sure they were on track and focused and just helping out in general.” Fellow students in the Ascender program also helped their classmates stay focused. If Matthew forgot to tell an instructor he would be out of town, his classmates would keep him up-to-date with his work and help him catch up with what he missed. As Matthew’s story illustrates, the value of relationships with faculty and with peers was vital to his persistence and eventual success.

**Developing Tools to “Do” college**
Yosso (2005) indicated that navigational capital may include social and psychological techniques that enable people of color to move through institutions where their presence or participation has not been traditionally represented or visible. One strategy that students learn in the Ascender program is both practical and psychological. When Crystal decided to pursue a nursing degree, she said she quickly became overwhelmed with how to balance her school work with other obligations (e.g., work, family, social life). The most important skill Crystal learned in her Learning Frameworks course was how to use a day planner. While seemingly simple, the day planner gave Crystal the ability to see that she could manage her life best if she stuck to a schedule, and it gave her the confidence to see that she could meet the various demands of her life. She even admitted, “I carry a planner now, and I used to not carry a planner. I was like, ‘People who carry planners are dumb.’ And here I am, ‘Where’s my planner?’”

Notably, four of the five students who participated in Crystal’s focus group agreed with the importance of time management and pulled out their day planners, journals, or phones to show the interviewer how they tracked their time. Estela said the day planner helped her be more organized and procrastinate less. Mayte explained, “I wasn’t very organized growing up, and really going to college, I’m like ‘I really need to be organized because I have so many things on my hands.’” Using a day planner helped Mayte balance a schedule that included her classes, student government, and a club where she was an officer:

And after [Dr. Gomez, the Learning Frameworks instructor] was teaching me how to be organized and also keep things in pace and time, because every day time is going to go fast. But sometimes you just need to go one-by-one and don’t rush it. Take it slow, you’ll be fine. Yeah, you’ll be fine and the day will go as it goes.

Alicia was similarly committed to her calendars:

I [didn’t] keep an agenda with me before. Now I just keep agendas everywhere. Like one in my backpack, one at home. And then I keep a calendar to remind me in my room and then one in the living room. Like I wasn’t that type, but I needed that.
The Learning Frameworks course taught Alicia how to manage her time and convinced her to finish her homework before her busy weekends with work, social time, and family obligations. Keeping their schedules organized was important for these students, even if their prior selves rejected the idea.

**Building Navigational Capital for Transfer**

One component crucial for Ascender students is the attention paid to financial aid. Crystal, for example, spoke at length about how her Ascender advisor regularly sent information about grants and scholarships to the students in the program. More directly, the advisor would send emails telling participants specifically to apply for a grant or scholarship. As a result, Crystal won a scholarship that paid a large portion of her second-year tuition. The experience introduced Crystal to the process of researching and applying for financial aid. When she decided to transfer to a private university to complete her B.A., she did not feel overburdened with her choice to forego a more affordable public institution.

Ascender faculty also helped students apply scholarships. Gina noted, “Dr. Gomez has helped me with not only scholarships [but] with the letter of recommendation.” In unison, Crystal and Estela echoed with, “same.” Interestingly, Mayte had a work-study position where she helped others find and apply for scholarships. She said, “And since I know how to do it now, it’s gonna be pretty easy.”

When Ascender students were asked about their transfer plans, they spoke with confidence in their choices—both in terms of where they would transfer and the degree they would pursue. Crystal said the private institution she was transferring to would be more expensive, but it had better passing rates on the licensure exams she would eventually take in nursing. Mayte wanted to attend Syracuse University because of its graphic design program and
ROTC program, which supported her eventual goal of joining the military. Gabriela, who wanted
to do social work with Child Protective Services, knew she would transfer to a local private
university for a bachelor’s degree and then complete a master’s degree. Angelina was certain that
she would eventually go to law school and, through her Learning Frameworks class, had ruled
out the types of law she knew she did not want to practice.

The benefits of the Ascender program were not limited to the students in this study. As
previously noted, Liliana’s mother encouraged her to join the program. Gabriela’s Learning
Frameworks instructor was a family friend who recruited her to the program before she came to
college. Gabriela later encouraged her brother to join the Ascender program with her. As the
oldest siblings, Gabriela and her brother convinced their younger siblings and relatives who were
preparing to enter college to at least consider the program if they qualified for it. This was
common among the students interviewed who had family members and friends who would
eventually go to the same college. In line with Yosso’s (2005) concept of community cultural
wealth, the benefits of building navigational capital went beyond the students themselves; they
encouraged others to participate in the program while developing navigational knowledge and
skills (e.g., applying for grants and scholarships) that they could impart to others outside the
program.

The Ascender program also offered opportunities for families to engage with the colleges
their children were attending. For Angelina, whose immigrant parents spoke little English,
Ascender helped them learn about their daughter’s college experience. At Noche de Familia
(Family Night), they were able to converse in Spanish with the Ascender faculty and advising
staff, asking questions and bringing back information that could be of use to Angelina’s younger
siblings, relatives, and her community. The event also gave joy to her father, who won a game of
Lotería (Mexican bingo) and was excited because he had never won anything before. The validating experiences also extended to families and empowered them with knowledge they needed to help support their children.

**Discussion**

As previously noted, recent research reported that about 11% of Latinx community college transfer students earned a bachelor’s degree within 6 years (Santiago, et al., 2017). In explaining the broader systemic issues that hinder or prevent Latinx students from pursuing higher education (e.g., poverty, attending underfunded K-12 schools, higher levels of academic underpreparedness for college; see Crisp & Nora, 2010; Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Núñez & Elizondo, 2013), these statistics can seem dire. Meanwhile, additive models such as Rendón’s (1994) validation theory and Yosso’s (2005) community cultural wealth model serve as reminders that Latinx students arrive on community college campuses with their own forms of capital to be tapped into during their college experience. In this case, the Ascender program drew on students’ aspirational capital (e.g., their academic and professional goals) by giving them knowledge and experiences that helped them make their goals achievable—specifically goals of transferring to a four-year institution and earning a bachelor’s degree. In fostering navigational capital, the Ascender program builds capacity within the Latinx network of faculty, staff, and participants who can share their knowledge and skills with the broader community of families and classmates to promote transfer. A contribution of this study is in thinking about how navigational capital permeates beyond the individual to the larger community.

The students recognized the need for support beyond the normal structure of college (e.g., academic advisors, career counselors), and Ascender enabled deeper relationships with faculty through on- and off-campus events, having faculty for more than one semester, and using faculty
chaperones at the summer motivational conference. This study supports previous literature that affirms the positive impact faculty relationships can have in validating students and supporting their persistence and transfer goals (Rendón, 1994; Lundberg, 2014).

This study also affirms previous research on the importance of family for Latinx students in the collegiate experience (Mendoza, Hart, & Whitney, 2011; Pérez & McDonough, 2008), and we argue that Ascender extends the network of family to include faculty and peers with whom students spend prolonged periods of time. We found that family could influence a student’s decisions to enroll in Ascender, and students who had siblings or other relatives encouraged them to enroll at the same college and join the program. Through special events, the program brought family members into the college experience.

This study also focused on the intent of the Ascender program to build students’ navigational capital in the transfer and collegiate processes. From the seemingly mundane (e.g., teaching students to keep a schedule) to making strategic decisions about where to transfer, students showed confidence in their plans to fulfill their academic goals. In relation to student success coursework, Hatch (2016) noted that scholars and practitioners often talk about high-impact practices without a clear understanding of what that means. Like Baber (2018), this study highlights the contribution of outside groups in providing positive experiences to community college students. The Ascender program offers some of the best practices for Latinx community college students such as culturally relevant teaching (Núñez & Elizondo, 2013), but this study also captured the students’ voices describing their own experiences. In this way, we can look at the best practices through the additive framing of Rendón’s (1994) and Yosso’s (2005) theories and see that students recognized the program as a positive impact on their academic lives. It appears that those students who maintain a longer relationship with the Ascender program see
direct links between their engagement and their academic success and increased confidence in their goals.

**Implications for Research and Practice**

This study provides a starting point for better understanding the lived experiences of Latinx community college students who placed in developmental education and have persisted through at least one year of college. A future study could focus on Ascender students who have transitioned to four-year institutions to see if they experienced any sort of transfer shock. A longitudinal study might look at students who did not maintain strong ties to Ascender and if the two semesters were sufficient to help them navigate the transfer process.

For institutional practice, this study highlights the importance of hiring faculty and staff who understand the cultural backgrounds of the students they serve. While the research on the effectiveness of developmental education and student success courses is mixed at best (Bailey, Jaggars, & Scott-Clayton, 2013; Hatch, 2016), the findings from this study show that the skills and relationships built in these courses can have broader impacts on students’ lives beyond the first semester or year of college. Like the findings of Duggan and Williams (2010), we recommend colleges develop curricula that serve the needs of their community-college population to create a strong transfer culture on their campus. While understanding that the adoption of programs like Ascender is not always feasible in a time of leaner budgets, community colleges might look at how they may systematically incorporate some of the bigger parts of this program (e.g., validation, cultural competence, anti-deficit thinking) in teaching and student services.

**Conclusion**
This study looked at students’ experiences in the community college sector and how they saw their involvement in the Ascender program helping them in their first year and beyond. This program offers insight into how other institutions may increase this form of capital in their students and advance their Latinx students’ transfer and graduation rates. What is significant to this study is how even a simple strategy, like learning to keep a day planner, built up the self-confidence in these participants that enabled them to become successful college students with bigger academic goals.

Table 1. Student Demographic Information
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References


Melguizo, T. (2009). Are community colleges an alternative path for Hispanic students to attain a bachelor’s degree? *Teachers College Record, 111*(1), 90-123.


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