



BUILDING PATHWAYS

Ensuring College Success for
Shelby County Students

REFLECTIONS

Beginning in 2011, Leadership Memphis launched our community's first collaboration to improve postsecondary access and attainment, the Memphis Talent Dividend. Since that time, our community and state have continued to lead the country on strategies and policies to help open pathways to greater opportunity. We have seen FAFSA rates in Memphis rise to the highest in the nation, strong growth in high school graduation, and increases in postsecondary access, persistence, and completion. However, we still have a long way to go to achieve our goal that, by 2025, 55% of Shelby County residents will have a postsecondary credential, a goal that is linked to the needs of the future workforce.

The current COVID-19 crisis and the national movement against racial violence and injustice have also shown us all how fragile our progress really is. With close to 15% of Memphians unemployed, affecting communities of color the hardest, our path forward must learn from our past success, confront systemic racism directly, and rise to meet this latest challenge. We are already seeing these conversations transition into action and activism across our community.

Our school districts, community colleges, universities, and workforce partners are quickly adapting to meet the needs of their students in this new environment. The challenges are daunting, but this opportunity to rebuild our systems in a way that strengthens pathways to economic mobility and opportunity cannot be missed. What this report shows us is that there is a strong foundation to build on and that work must be done to establish new partnerships and supports for students across systems and partners.

The path to college and work was already a challenging one in the best of times, and now students face even greater roadblocks and uncertainty. We look forward to partnering with SCS, our higher-education community, and our nonprofit partners moving forward to respond to the immediacy of the COVID-19 crisis, and to rebuild for a future of economic prosperity in Memphis.



Mark Sturgis
Chief Executive Officer
Seeding Success

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are deeply grateful to Shelby County Schools (SCS) for the many hours of interviews and data gathering they provided for this report, without which it would not exist. So many different professionals were extremely generous with their time and information for this project. It takes great courage to give an outside entity your data and let them reflect it back to you. We hope this report helps illuminate how hard SCS employees work every day to create greater access and success for Memphis' public school students.

Such a report would not be possible without the contributions from professionals across K-12, higher education, and community organizations, who lent their expertise. In particular, we would like to thank SCS's Jessica Lotz, who was extremely helpful and patient with helping us navigate to the data, and our data guru, Jennifer McFerron, who helped us analyze it.

We are deeply grateful to the people at the following organizations who generously gave their time to be interviewed for this report. We appreciate your passion for helping more students complete college.

Shelby County Schools
Latino Memphis
REACH Memphis
Neighborhood Christian Centers

Boys and Girls Clubs of Memphis
KnowledgeQuest
Seeding Success

THE
KRESGE
FOUNDATION

This report was made possible by a grant from The Kresge Foundation. We are grateful for their support and commitment to postsecondary access and success for all students.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

The Tennessee College Access and Success Network (TCASN) is a nationally recognized, statewide nonprofit organization whose mission is to increase the number of Tennesseans with a postsecondary credential and foster a culture of college-going across the state. TCASN's team of Bob Obrohta and Wendy Blackmore has decades of collective expertise that span state government, federal college access programs, urban and rural initiatives, curriculum design, and the nonprofit sector.

Seeding Success (S2) is a Memphis cradle-to-career partnership that works to improve outcomes for every child by connecting institutions, community organizations, policies, and resources in a results-focused system of accountability. S2 emphasizes data-informed decision-making that centers the needs of our youth, and partnered with TCASN to create this report.

Learn more at www.tncollegeaccess.org.



CONTENTS

Note to Reader	6
Executive Summary	8
College Access and Completion: Data for Graduates of Shelby County Schools	11
College Access and Success for Shelby County Schools Graduates	12
College Enrollment	13
College Enrollment by High School	14
College Enrollment by Race and Ethnicity	15
College Enrollment by Institution Type	16
College Persistence	17
Persistence by Race and Ethnicity	18
College Completion	18
Understanding the College Access and Success Ecosystem for SCS Students	19
COVID-19 Disruption	20
Best Practices Before and During the COVID-19 Outbreak	21
Key Findings	22
Finding 1: Shelby County Schools' college access and success data is similar to that of Metro Nashville Public Schools (MNPS).	22
Finding 2: The issue isn't solutions. The issue is the ability to scale and sustain solutions. Differing priorities create an environment where successful programs and initiatives cannot be scaled or sustained.	23
Finding 3: SCS college completion rate is directly correlated to student success at The University of Memphis and Southwest Tennessee Community College.	26
Finding 4: District instability and community needs are intrinsically linked to academic preparation and college-going.	27
Recommendations	29
Individual High School Profiles	33
Endnotes	88

NOTE TO READER

For the purposes of this report, the term “college” refers to any formal training after high school, including technical certification, associate degree, and bachelor’s degree programs. The phrase “college-going” refers to college enrollment, usually college enrollment immediately following high school graduation. When ascertaining how Shelby County compares to other communities, the reader should remember the information presented in this report contains data that other communities may not have the ability to access. While this report includes data for the SCS school district, it focuses on 27 high schools identified by both the district and community partners. Due to the school-specific nature of many interventions, high school profiles for the 27 high schools are included at the end of this report.

Whenever district data is presented, it is inclusive of all high schools in SCS, including high schools we did not profile in preparing the report. We had access to multiple data sources, including data from the Tennessee Department of Education (TDOE), Tennessee Higher Education Commission (THEC), National Student Clearinghouse (NSC), the U.S Department of Education (USDOE), and SCS. Additionally, a number of community-based organizations graciously shared their knowledge and expertise.

The data presented in this report is not inclusive of the recent progress SCS has made on certain indicators such as Early Postsecondary Opportunities (EPSOs), as the district made the decision to prioritize several college-going and college-success indicators starting in 2018. TCASN encourages future reports to highlight these successes and share best practices with similar districts.

As is often the case in education, data is not perfect; however, our observations across the multiple data sources are consistent with not only one another, but also national trends. Data on college enrollment is from the TDOE, which is publicly available in the department’s Report Cards, and from the National Student Clearinghouse. Using these two sources together paints a richer picture of college-going than using either in isolation. The two data sources track information slightly differently but overall have close results and show similar trends. For this report, we use the term low-income to refer to economic disadvantage, which mirrors language used in college access and success research. For K-12 schools, the term more commonly used is economically disadvantaged. It is important to note that recent policy changes have affected how many students are considered economically disadvantaged. Previously, Tennessee used eligibility for the National School Lunch Program as an indicator; now the state uses direct certification of benefits to define economic disadvantage.

For the purposes of this report, when we report on high school students being low-income, we use a 1.6 multiplier to the TDOE’s reported data. We found this most closely aligns with other measures of income status, including Estimated Family Contribution on the Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA) and Pell grant eligibility, both considered standard markers of income status in higher education. The role and use of data in both K-12 and higher education have been an increasing focus; however, these two systems still lack a common language, as in the example with low-income and economically disadvantaged above. Our hope is that this report weaves disparate data sources together to tell the most complete story about how Memphis youth are moving from high school to college and beyond.

FOUNDATIONS OF THIS WORK

This report is guided by some foundational assumptions that inform word choices and the orientation of this work.

College Means Postsecondary

We believe that any formal training after high school counts as college, whether it is a six-month technical certificate or a four-year bachelor's degree. While the term college can connote a specific postsecondary experience, we use it in this report to encompass a broad vision for how postsecondary can look.

College Completion Creates Opportunity

A postsecondary credential or degree is a reliable pathway to economic mobility and increased opportunity. The potential of higher education to transform individual lives and reshape the future of communities is why we engage in this work every day. Since many of the benefits of postsecondary only come with a credential or degree, this report is oriented toward completion as the ultimate outcome of success.

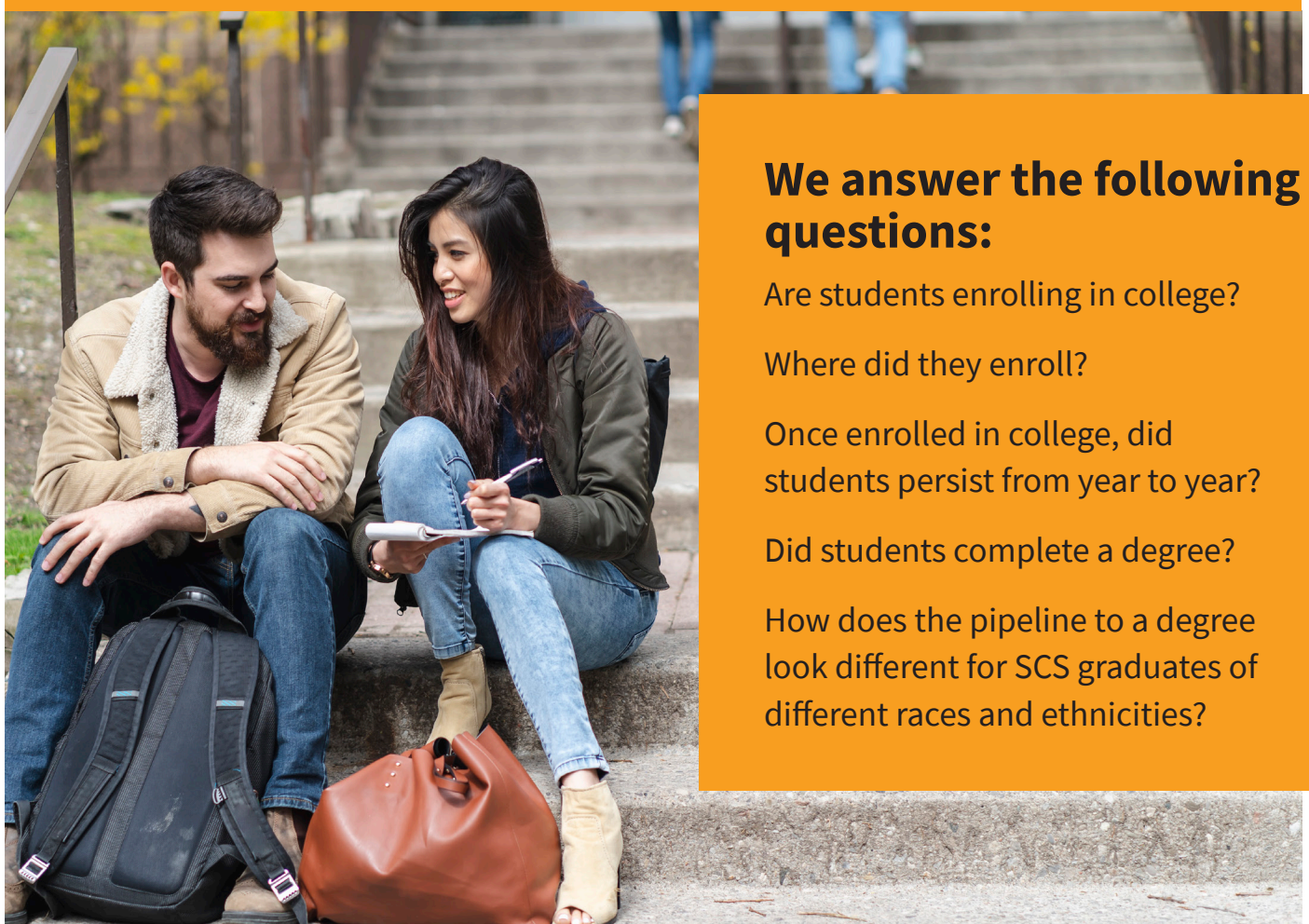
College Is for Everyone

Every public school student regardless of income, race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation and identity, national origin, immigration status, or family background should be prepared to access college and succeed once they get there. Not every student reaches their potential in high school, yet every student should have the opportunity to pursue the degree or credential of their choice.



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report shares baseline data on college access and success for SCS graduates for the first time. It looks at college access and success for SCS graduates and shares data on college access and success outcomes by race and ethnicity and provides key findings of the data supported through interviews with SCS staff and community-based organization professionals.



We answer the following questions:

Are students enrolling in college?

Where did they enroll?

Once enrolled in college, did students persist from year to year?

Did students complete a degree?

How does the pipeline to a degree look different for SCS graduates of different races and ethnicities?

Capturing a six-year college completion rate covers an enormous swath of Memphis' education history. To fully appreciate it, consider that the 2013 high school graduating class is the most recent class for which completion data is available. These students are now young adults (age 24) and are members of the Memphis workforce. But most of our report focuses on the recent graduate. By looking at trends in access, retention, interventions to improve, and college completion, we hope to provide insight into their trajectory and help design strategies and interventions to improve outcomes. The following statements summarize what we discovered.

OUR FINDINGS

College Access and Success for SCS Graduates

COLLEGE-GOING RATES DECLINED



The current SCS college-going rate for the class of 2018 is

56.3%

This is down 4% from the previous year.

21%

The combined college completion rate (2-year and 4-year) for the class of 2013

17%

EARNED BACHELOR'S

4%

EARNED ASSOCIATE

GAPS IN COLLEGE ENROLLMENT EXIST FOR BLACK AND HISPANIC/LATINO STUDENTS.

SCS graduates' persistence rates at two-year institutions lag behind rates of graduates from similar schools, a concern given that one out of three college-goers attends a two-year institution.

KEY FINDINGS

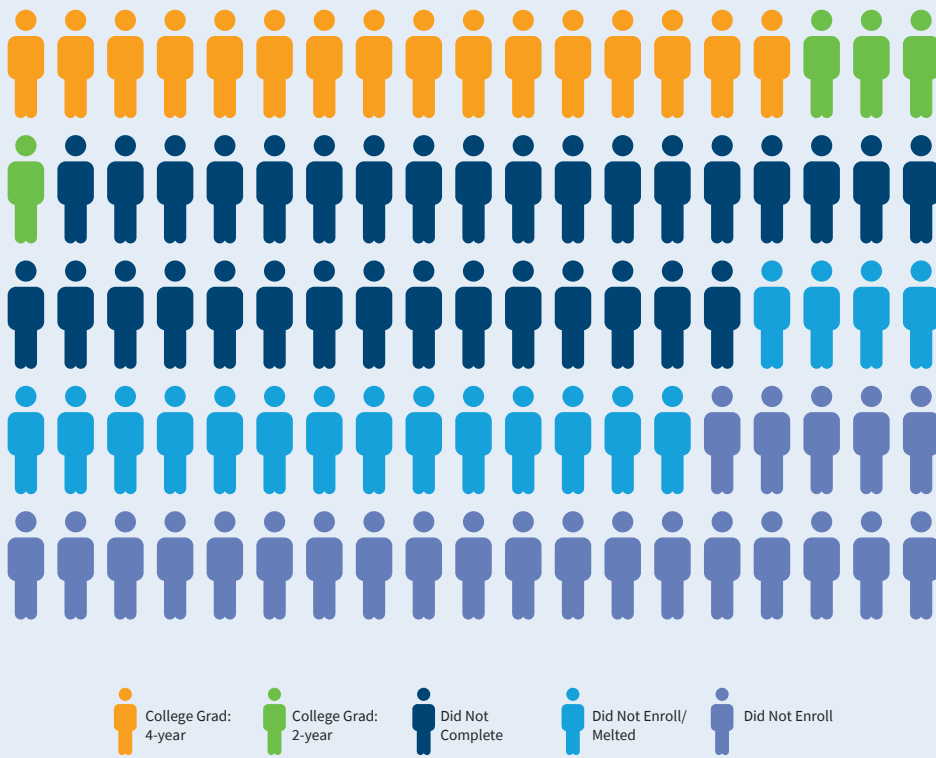
FINDING 1: Shelby County Schools' college access and success data is similar to that of Metro Nashville Public Schools (MNPS).

FINDING 2: The issue isn't solutions. The issue is the ability to scale and sustain solutions. Differing priorities create an environment where successful programs and initiatives cannot be scaled or sustained.

FINDING 3: District instability and community needs are intrinsically linked to academic preparation and college-going.

FINDING 4: SCS college completion rate is directly correlated to student success at The University of Memphis and Southwest Tennessee Community College.

Figure 1: Class of 2013 Completion by Institution Type



21%
OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES HAVE EARNED A DEGREE IN 6 YEARS

17%
OF SCS GRADUATES EARNED DEGREES AT FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTIONS

4%
EARNED DEGREES AT TWO-YEAR INSTITUTIONS.
(This includes students who have dropped out or transferred.)



OUTLOOK

Access – matriculation into higher education – is a monumental accomplishment for students and their families. We need policies that view access as one step along the way to degree/credential attainment and a stable career path. Too few SCS graduates complete a degree within six years after high school. As depicted in Figure 1, the college completion rate for the class of 2013 is 21%: 4% at two-year institutions and 17% at four-year institutions. Given the COVID-19 outbreak, the college-going and completion pipeline will become more fragile.

College Access and Completion:

Data for Graduates of Shelby
County Schools



College Access and Success for Shelby County Schools Graduates

This section provides key highlights of data that explores college access and success for SCS graduates by race and ethnicity. The overall data at key points in the college completion pipeline are captured in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2: SCS Bridge to Completion¹

Metric (HS Graduating Classes)	SCS
Steps toward College* (Class of 2018)	About 75%
Immediate College Enrollment (Class of 2018)	56.3%
Students Persisting to Second Year (Class of 2017)	74%
College Degree within Six Years (Class of 2013)	21%

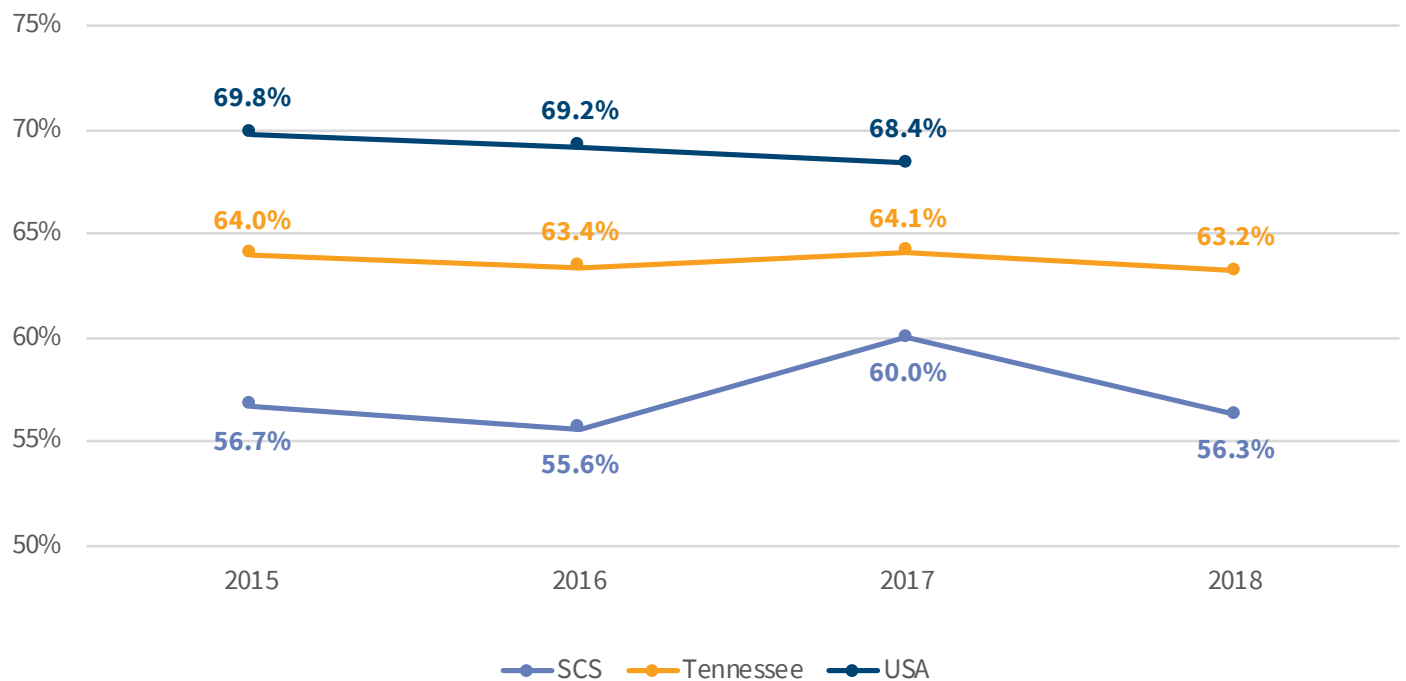
*College-going intention was estimated by calculating the proportion of 12th-graders who completed a FAFSA (Free Application for Federal Student Aid) using both headcount data from the TN Department of Education and FAFSA completion data from the Federal Student Aid at the U.S. Department of Education.

COLLEGE ENROLLMENT

There has been a decline in college enrollment of nearly 4% (-3.7%) for SCS graduates of the class of 2018 (Figure 3).² **The declining enrollment follows a four-year high of 60% in 2017, now falling back to previous levels consistent with 2015 and 2016 enrollment.** While declining enrollment mirrors both state and national trends, and a 4% decline in one year is significant, the overall enrollment trend appears stagnant with the college-going rate for 2017 seeming to be either an anomaly or evidence of a successful initiative that temporarily boosted enrollment and was not sustained. In the absence of a clear change or intervention that might have boosted the college-going-rate, we can only draw speculative conclusions about the 2017 spike. Factors beyond the school system, such as social conditions, the local economy, and the labor market changes, can influence college enrollment patterns.³

And similar enrollment fluctuations occur more broadly – not just in Shelby County. The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), for example, studying millions of students across the country, produces annual reports on The Condition of Education. In 2016, NCES found the immediate college enrollment rate hitting a seven-year high of 70%; in 2017, that rate dropped to 67% – a four-year low; in 2018, the rate rebounded to 69%.⁴ Set in the context of over 15 years of data, these year-over-year changes appear less dramatic. While a spike in a single year merits attention, observations over several years help separate random blips from emerging trends. This example underscores the importance of consistent and long-term data collection for SCS student matriculation rates, which will support a more precise analysis of changes over time.

Figure 3: SCS, Tennessee, and National College Enrollment: (2015–2018)



College Enrollment by High School

TCASN analyzed the college-going data of 27 SCS high schools identified by both the district and Seeding Success (Figure 4).⁵ While cumulatively these high schools closely mirror the district's overall college-going rate, there are stark differences in postsecondary enrollment by high school, with some high schools matriculating almost every graduate to postsecondary, others matriculating only a third, and one, fewer than one in five students. Ten of the 27 high schools examined have college enrollment rates at or above the district average. These 10 high schools tend to have larger enrollments. Only nine of the high schools saw college enrollment increase between 2017 and 2018.

Sixteen of the 27 high schools (59.2%) had declines in college enrollment greater than the district average, and five high schools had severe drops of greater than 10%: B.T. Washington (-14.1%), Craigmont (-12.7%), East (-11.6%), Southwind (-11%), and Westwood (-23.3%). While year-to-year swings of a few percentage points are common, and even high schools with high college enrollment rates are subject to swings, substantial swings are a point of concern.

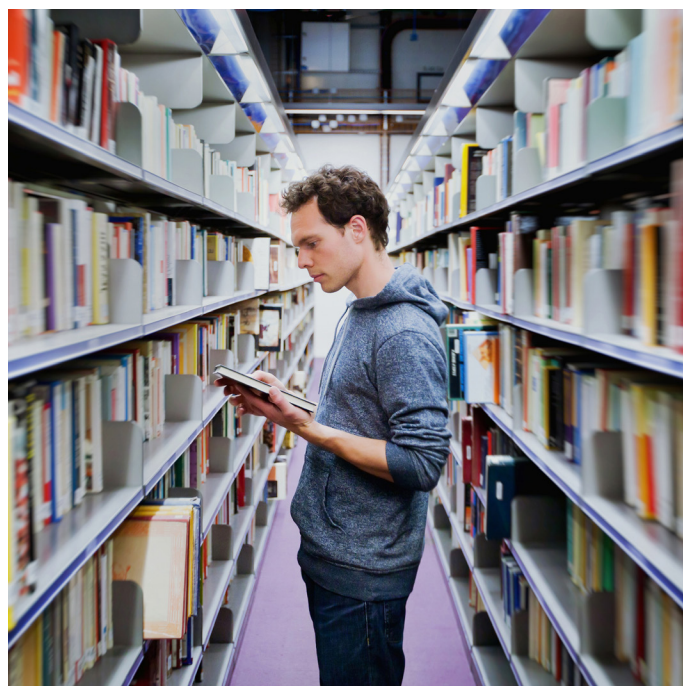


Figure 4: 2018 College Enrollment by High School

High School	2018 CGR	Change from 2017
Hollis F. Price	95%**	5**
Middle College	91.7%	5
White Station	76.5%	-4.8
Germantown	73.4%	-4.9
Whitehaven	69.8%	1.8
Bolton	65.5%	-4.4
UNITED STATES (2017)	64.1%	-0.7
Central	63.8%	-6.9
TENNESSEE (2018)	63.2%	-0.9
Overton	61.1%	5.4
Cordova	60.4%	0
Ridgeway	58.5%	-8.8
SCS DISTRICT (2018)	56.3%	-3.7
Southwind	50.2%	-11
Craigmont	47.9%	-12.7
Douglass	44.1%	-3
Melrose	43.8%	-4.3
East	43.2%	-11.6
Mitchell	40.7%	-9.8
Oakhaven	38.9%	-5.4
Kingsbury	38.2%	-7.1
Manassas	37.9%	2
Raleigh-Egypt	35.8%	-2.4
Wooddale	35.6%	0.2
Sheffield	33.3%	2.3
Kirby	33.3%	-5.2
B.T. Washington	32.2%	-14.1
Trezevant	28.9%	-7.3
Hamilton	25.0%	0.2
Westwood	17.6%	-23.3

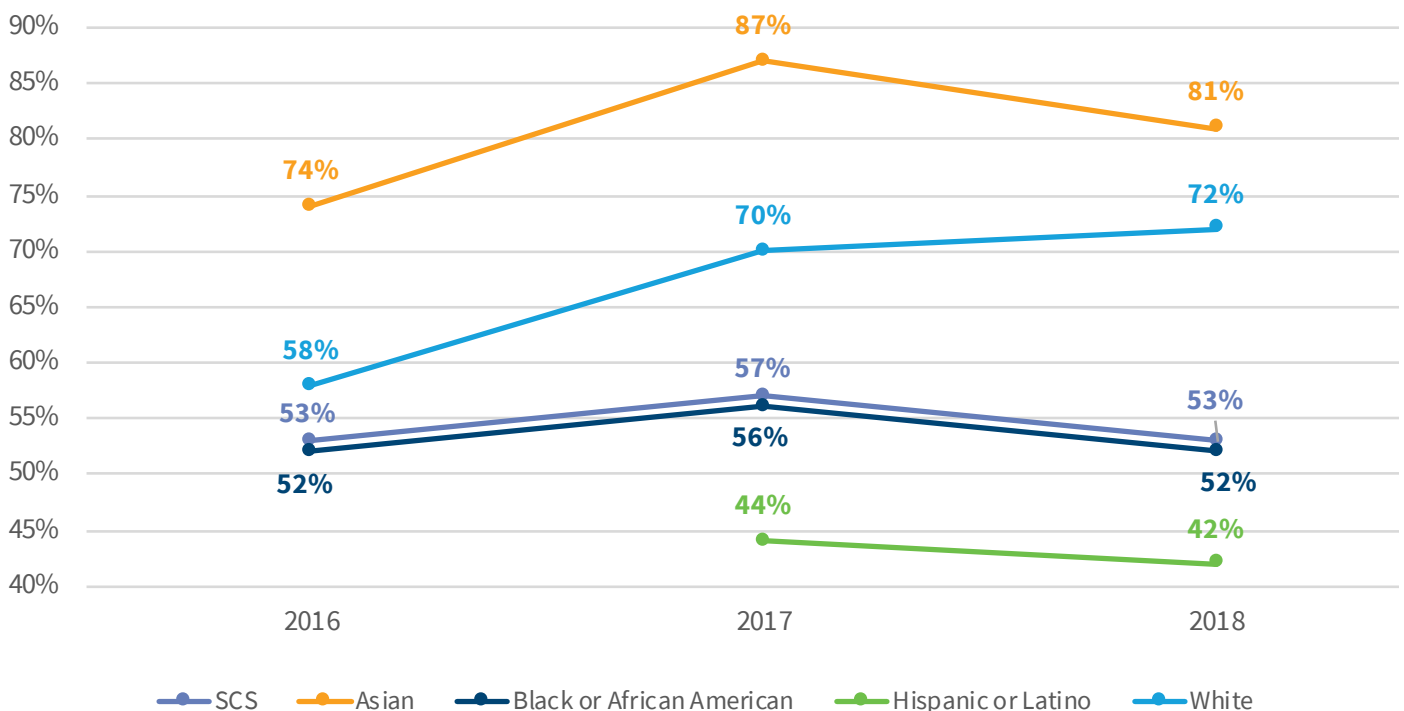
College Enrollment by Race and Ethnicity

The -3.7% decline in the district's college enrollment is primarily students of color. Declines in enrollment occurred in the following categories: African American (-4%), Hispanic (-2%), and Asian American (-6%). White student college-going increased by 2% (Figure 5).⁶

SCS is a majority minority district; students of color make up roughly 90% of the district. Black and Latino students lag behind their Asian and White peers when it comes to college enrollment, with the gap being far greater for Latino students (-30%). Black and African American students make up the largest racial or ethnic group for the class of 2018 and therefore most closely align to the district's overall rate, but college enrollment rates for Black students are lower than those of White and Asian students (-20%). Shelby County's race-based gaps in immediate college enrollment generally track with national patterns. In 2018, the immediate college enrollment rate of high-school completers was 62% for Black students, 63% for Latinx students, 70% for White students, and 78% for Asian students.⁷ While the SCS matriculation rates for most racial/

ethnic groups lag behind national rates, the effects of family income also bear acknowledgement. Compared to the rest of the United States, students from Shelby County face disproportionately high levels of poverty. This presents yet another headwind for college access: nationwide, family income correlates with rates of college matriculation. In 2016, 83% of high school graduates from high-income households enrolled in a postsecondary institution – just 63% of students for low-income backgrounds did so.⁸ In other words, Shelby County Schools – a district that serves majority minority students and a majority of economically disadvantaged students – confronts both systemic racism and entrenched poverty when striving to boost postsecondary matriculation. Developing strategies to close these gaps in enrollment by race, ethnicity and income is critical.

Figure 5: College Enrollment by Race or Ethnicity 2016-2018



College Enrollment by Institution Type

Nearly half (46%) of all SCS students attend two higher-education institutions: Southwest Tennessee Community College and The University of Memphis (Figure 6).⁹ The mix of colleges represented also speaks to Memphis' geography and student demographics. Ten of the top 25 colleges attended are Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), and except for Tennessee State University, all are either private or out-of-state public institutions. Collectively these institutions enroll 16% of SCS college-goers. Public institutions in Mississippi are also well-represented within the top 25 colleges attended. Both these factors likely have a significant effect on college affordability for SCS graduates that we discuss later in this report.

SOUTHWEST TENNESSEE COMMUNITY COLLEGE (SWTCC) is the top destination for most SCS students, with nearly 1 in every 3 students attending.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MEMPHIS is the top baccalaureate college destination, with 17%.

Nearly half of all SCS students attend either **SWTCC** or **THE UNIVERSITY OF MEMPHIS** (46%).

16% of all SCS students attend a **HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY**.

Figure 6: SCS College Enrollment (2013-2018)

SCS ENROLLMENT (2013-2018)		#	%
1	Southwest Tennessee Community College	6,749	29%
2	The University of Memphis	3,945	17%
3	MTSU	1,254	5%
4	TSU	1,212	5%
5	University of Tennessee Knoxville	1,062	5%
6	Lane College	651	3%
7	LeMoyne-Owen College	599	3%
8	Christian Brothers University	590	3%
9	Austin Peay State University	499	2%
10	University of Tennessee Chattanooga	474	2%
	Other	6,453	27%
TOTAL		23,488	

HBCU ENROLLMENT (16%)		#
	TSU	1,212
	Lane College	651
	LeMoyne-Owen College	599
	Rust College	349
	University of Arkansas Pine Bluff	233
	Jackson State University	216
	Mississippi Valley State University	184
	Xavier University of Louisiana	91
	Alabama A&M	85
	Philander Smith College	73
TOTAL		3,693

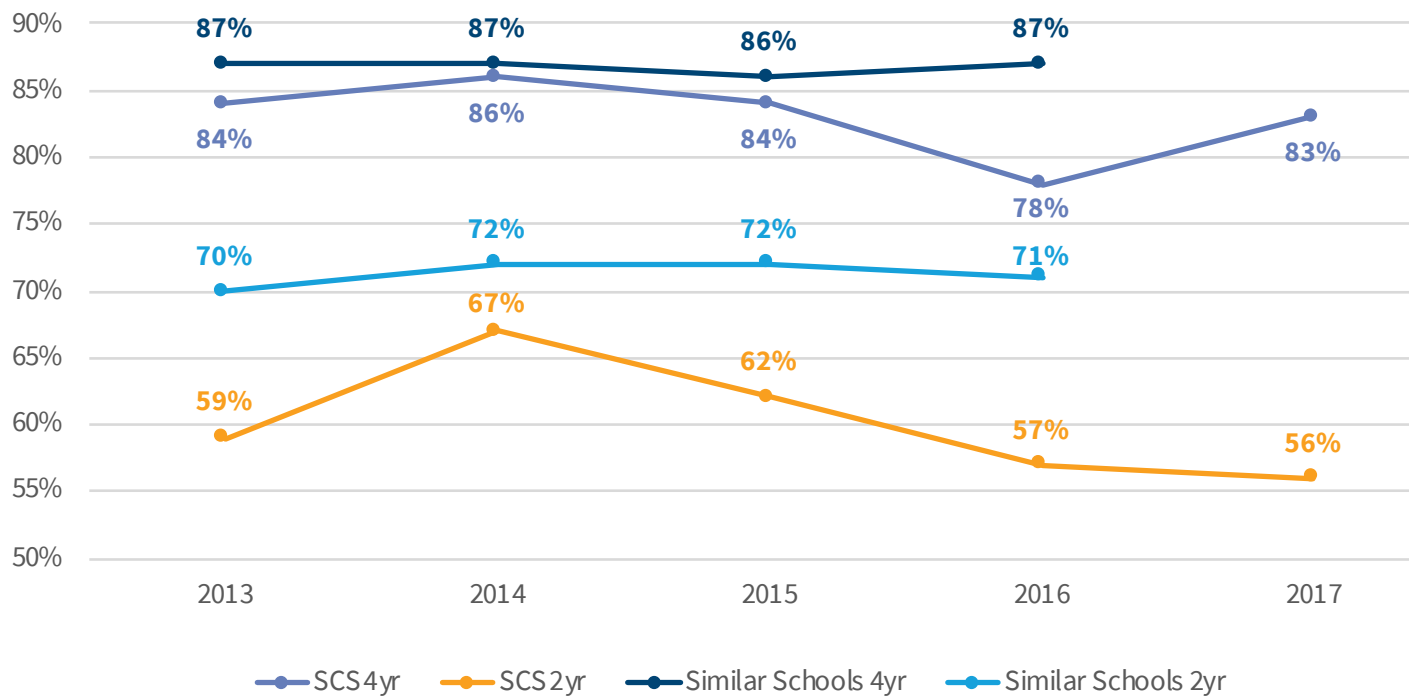


COLLEGE PERSISTENCE

For the class of 2017, persistence rates (the percent of college students returning for their second year) is at 74% and rose by 4% overall. In other words, three out of every four SCS college-goers are successfully making it to the second year of postsecondary education. The following chart (Figure 7), compares both community college and undergraduate persistence rates against similar school districts nationally.¹⁰ After experiencing a persistence drop for the class of 2016 at four-year colleges, persistence bounced back by 5% and returned to numbers similar to previous years. SCS, with the exception of 2016, trends similar to other districts nationally. However, compared to other districts, two-year institution persistence dropped -1% and continues a three-year decline at a greater rate than when compared with similar schools, with only 56% of students enrolling for their second year. Since 2014, persistence has declined steadily and is now 9% lower than at its 2014 high. This decline coincides with an increase in the share of students choosing to enroll in community college. In 2014, 30% of SCS college-goers enrolled in community college compared to 70% choosing to attend a baccalaureate institution. By 2017, the share of community college enrollees had risen to 34%.

It should also be noted that the 2017 cohort is the same group of students that had a high college-going rate of 60%. So this group of students not only enrolled in college at a higher rate, but persisted at undergraduate institutions at a higher rate than the previous year.

Figure 7: College Persistence Rates for SCS and Similar Schools by Institution Type (2013-2017)



College Persistence by Race and Ethnicity

White and Asian students have high rates of persistence. Hispanic students persist at rates slightly higher than the district average. Black students are persisting at rates slightly lower.¹¹ These rates mirror state and nationwide persistence trends by race and ethnicity.^{12, 13}

While reasons students fail to persist vary at the individual level, there are some general patterns found in the research, including first semester academic challenges, having to take remedial classes, less community involvement, less social capital around previous college experience, and financial struggles.^{14, 15} First-time college students come from diverse educational and socioeconomic backgrounds that affect academic preparation for college. A lifetime of educational inequality due to racism and poverty leaves many low-income students and students of color underprepared to begin college and less likely to complete a college degree.^{16, 17}

Regardless of preparation, historically underrepresented students – Black and Brown students, students from low-income backgrounds, first-generation college students – face additional systemic barriers to persistence and attainment upon college entry. Because the higher education system was designed at a time when particular groups were largely excluded, many researchers have pointed out the historical, organizational, and

administrative structures still in place that obstruct certain students' paths through college.¹⁸ Historically underrepresented students face push/pull factors outside of college (e.g., family responsibilities), fewer validating experiences with faculty who share their backgrounds, potentially unwelcoming campus racial climates, and greater financial strain.¹⁹ Researchers have, for example, only recently begun examining the significant challenges that students with basic needs insecurity – housing insecurity and food insecurity – face when it comes to postsecondary persistence and attainment.²⁰ Early findings suggest that students with basic needs insecurities are less likely to persist and more likely to underperform academically.^{21, 22} Factors such as these can explain some of the differences in retention and attainment among racial and ethnic groups and, just as importantly, point toward remedies that take a holistic approach.

Figure 8: *First to Second Year Persistence by Race and Ethnicity (2017)*²³

GROUP	2017 Persistence Rate (rounded)	Difference to District Avg.
SCS	74%	-
Asian	95%	21%
Black or African American	72%	-2%
Hispanic or Latino	77%	3%
White	83%	9%

COLLEGE COMPLETION

Nationally, college completion of a graduating high school class is 40%. National Student Clearinghouse data calculates college completion using a six-year time period. For this reason, the most recent completion rate accessible is for the class of 2013. **College degree completion for SCS' class of 2013 is 21%. Of this class, 17% of the high school graduates earned degrees at four-year colleges and 4% earned degrees from two-year colleges in this six-year period.**²⁴ As 2013 was the final year before the Shelby and Memphis districts merged, 21% should be considered more a frame of reference. Data for class of 2014, which will be available later in the 2020 year, should be considered more accurate for SCS. Degree completion by race and ethnicity also was not captured by the Clearinghouse for 2013. This data should be available for future classes.

Understanding the College Access and Success Ecosystem

for SCS Students

COVID-19 DISRUPTION

In the middle of conducting interviews with SCS staff and area stakeholders for this report, the COVID-19 virus outbreak occurred. The outbreak delayed our opportunity to interview individuals, as emergency needs of students took priority. Additionally, when we were able to arrange interviews, conversations had obviously shifted to current realities. Community-based organizations voiced concerns not only for how the virus was affecting the students they served, but also whether or not their organizations would be able to survive a looming financial crisis. School staff, rightly so, were prioritizing students' basic and academic needs.

Most likely, COVID-19 will negatively impact the nation's college-going and completion pipeline. Circumstances and early data point to fewer high school students enrolling in the fall, fewer college students returning, and shifts in college choice as students opt to stay closer to home, often switching from a four-year institution to a two-year institution. Further, the effects of COVID-19 on college-going will not play out equitably: Early research shows the top reason for changing first-choice schools was cost of attendance being too high, and a greater percentage of low-income and Hispanic/Latino students surveyed indicated ability to afford college had a strong impact on ability to attend.²⁵ The possibility of remote learning also disproportionately affects low-income students as the extent of the digital divide has been revealed, and access to internet and home computers could lead to gaps in achievement.

In response, state lawmakers have passed legislation to make financial aid easier to access and maintain and granted greater flexibility in dual credit courses and high school GPAs; many postsecondary institutions

in Tennessee have waived application fees, extended deadlines, and waived ACT or SAT assessment requirements for admission.²⁶

The earliest available college-going indicator showing the virus's impact is the number of students completing the Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA).²⁷ Nationally, FAFSA completion is down, especially for low-income students who are eligible for the Pell grant. Particular to SCS, as of May 8, 2020, the U.S. Department of Education was reporting FAFSA completion for SCS trending lower, with an estimated 50-54% completion rate, compared to 55-59% for the previous year.²⁸ The National College Attainment Network (NCAN) reported in early May that, in Tennessee, both cities and Title I-eligible public high schools had the largest declines in FAFSA completion as compared to last year. As of April 3, 2020, Tennessee cities' FAFSA completion was down -4.9% from the previous year and Title I-eligible public high schools had a double deficit decline compared to non-Title I schools at -5.5%.²⁹

These characteristics closely reflect SCS, and this data point is just the beginning of the virus's impact on college matriculation and persistence. It will be important for the community to continually monitor college-going and persistence indicators, not only to understand how youth opportunities are being affected, but also as a measure of economic and workforce development.

The COVID-19 virus will only magnify college-going barriers, potentially overwhelming or dismantling community and school initiatives that address college access and success. Our key findings point to elements that could become more fragile in the future.

BEST PRACTICES BEFORE AND DURING THE COVID-19 OUTBREAK

Shelby County Schools Ready Grad programs support 14,000+ students through more than 40 College, Career & Technical Education (CCTE) offerings at no cost to students, made possible through partnerships with higher-education institutions, businesses, local government, and nonprofits.

Early college programs allow students to take college-level courses for credit and pursue career certifications on-site at local college and university campuses. Despite the uncertainty around when in-person instruction will resume, the district continues to expand its institutional partnerships. In June, SCS announced the addition of a dual enrollment online program with Tennessee State University for courses in Coding and Agriculture.

CCTE programs offer access to the employment pipeline of more than 30 businesses, including Ford Motor Company, Kellogg's, Smith & Nephew, and ServiceMaster among others. Recently, SCS partnered with FedEx to create a Logistics Academy. Students who complete the workshop will be offered jobs upon graduation from high school, and those who accept a role would be eligible for the company's tuition assistance program. The first cohort of 50 students launched in 2019.

The district also has strong partnerships with nonprofit out-of-school providers of career and

technical training. The Juice Plus+ Technical Training Center of the Boys & Girls Clubs of Greater Memphis (TTC) offers highly specialized training for youth in culinary arts, information technology, logistics and warehouse distribution, automotive maintenance, welding, and employability skills.

Local philanthropy has recognized the financial fragility of the nonprofits and institutions students and families have heavily depended upon during the pandemic. The Community Foundation of Greater Memphis established a Mid-South COVID-19 Regional Response Fund, which has issued a total of \$4.2 million in rapid-relief grants to nonprofits for recovery and resiliency efforts. Additionally, in a move to protect postsecondary opportunity, the Community Foundation created a \$40 million endowment fund for LeMoyné-Owen College, securing the future of the vital HBCU.

The pandemic has undoubtedly magnified issues of systemic racism and racial inequity, and serves as a reminder that, despite our community's incremental progress in addressing these issues in education, much work remains to be done. SCS and the University of Memphis have partnered for an African American Male Academy which targets middle school students with a goal to improve graduation rates. In June, SCS Superintendent Dr. Joris Ray and U of M President M. David Rudd announced the creation of the George Floyd Memorial Scholarship fund to ensure that students of the African American Male Academy are supported through college.

Through continued collaboration and deepened partnerships, Memphis is committed to confronting inequity and transforming opportunity.

OUR FINDINGS

FINDING 1: Shelby County Schools' college access and success data is similar to that of Metro Nashville Public Schools (MNPS).

SCS students and MNPS students aspire, enroll, and persist at nearly the exact same rates and are trending in the same direction. Both districts have about 75% of their students taking steps toward college. The districts' 56% college-going rates are nearly identical. And students persist to their second year of college at the same rate of 74% (Figure 9). Additionally, for the class of 2018, both districts saw a -4% decline in college going over the previous year. Within the districts' -4% decline, they mirror each other in one additional very important way – students of color were disproportionately affected. The declines in enrollment occurred completely in African American, Hispanic, and Asian American student populations.³⁰

Figure 9: *First to Second Year Persistence by Race and Ethnicity (2017)*

Metric (HS Graduating Classes)	SCS	MNPS
Steps toward College* (Class of 2018)	About 75%	About 75%
Immediate College Enrollment (Class of 2018)	56.3%	56.9%
Students Persisting to Second Year (Class of 2017)	74%	74%
College Degree within Six Years (Class of 2013)	21%	26%

*College-going intention was estimated by calculating the proportion of 12th-graders who completed a FAFSA (Free Application for Federal Student Aid) using both headcount data from the TN Department of Education and FAFSA completion data from the Federal Student Aid at the U.S. Department of Education.

Declining enrollment for students of color in the two most populous Tennessee cities should be cause for concern. Given the similarities of the two communities, we are left to question whether these are coincidences or systemic barriers and policies affecting both urban communities that must be addressed. The issue needs further study. There are a couple of differences in the two school districts' data. First, college degree completion for the SCS class of 2013, the most recent class for which

completion data is available, is lower than degree completion in Nashville. One in five SCS students (21%) completed a degree in six years, whereas one in four MNPS students (26%) completed. It should be noted that 2013 is the year Memphis City and Shelby County school districts merged, and the completion data is reflective of the past district, not the current. The second difference is that, while both SCS and MNPS students overall persist to the second year at the same rate of 74%, SCS students persist

slightly higher (56% compared to 50%) at two-year institutions and slightly lower (83% compared to 85%) at four-year institutions. The persistence data is trending in the same directions for both districts. Persistence is going down at two-year institutions and going up at four-year institutions.

It is important to recognize socioeconomic conditions in the two districts. MNPS had a reported 44.3% of students economically disadvantaged in 2018-2019, compared to 59.8% at SCS in 2019.³¹

There are also vast disparities between schools, with the percent of economically disadvantaged students at SCS high schools ranging from 23% to 87%. Children living in poverty face greater barriers to achievement, and research shows economic disadvantage plays a factor in college persistence;³² systemic inequality between racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic groups beginning in early childhood persists through early adulthood to create disparities in academic achievement and constrain post-secondary opportunities and access for youth.³³

FINDING 2: The issue isn't solutions. The issue is the ability to scale and sustain solutions. Differing priorities create an environment where successful programs and initiatives cannot be scaled or sustained.

In trying to understand the college-going and completion data, we were particularly interested in the class of 2017. The 2017 class appears as an anomaly with both higher college-going and persistence rates compared to other years. We were interested as to whether or not there was a successful initiative (or initiatives) particular to this class that had driven both college-going and persistence data higher than the previous and post classes. It is possible that the 2017 class was simply unique in its student makeup and a higher percentage of students aspired to a postsecondary degree; but for a district as large as SCS, in our opinion, a random 4% increase does not seem likely. Unlike other Tennessee communities that saw an increase in college-going immediately following the 2015 implementation of Tennessee Promise, this increase occurs two years after. We came to believe something else must have occurred to make this class aspire to a postsecondary

degree at higher rates. To come up with an answer, questions surrounding the class of 2017 became a standard part of our interviews with both SCS and community-based professionals.

The interviews revealed variations on a common theme. Not only could no one exactly pinpoint what

Whether intentionally or inadvertently, it appears the community created a college-going environment over multiple years that had positive results for this particular class of students.

had occurred with the class of 2017 that made it unique, but everyone had a general idea and shared a common story of the community coming together to devise successful education solutions that showed early evidence of success and then ended up being squandered for one reason or another. As



The student who makes it to college has “gradual and continuous” experiences building on one another from an “ever-expanding network of adults,” each bringing “additional knowledge and skills ... to build the path to college.” These adults “accomplish the same four things – impart hope, build confidence, communicate the importance of education, and bring potential students and colleges together.”

– Arthur Levine and Jana Niddifer,
Beating the Odds: How the Poor Get to College

one SCS professional described it, “Our district is known for the strong initiatives we put into place to address high-at-risk and high-minority populations. Our weakness is that we don’t stick with anything long term.”

Based on our interviews, the best answer for the class of 2017 seems to be that, while not necessarily the primary target, the class was the beneficiary of multiple (a number now defunct) school and community-based initiatives occurring throughout the class’s K-12 experience. For multiple years, the class was physically present in middle and high schools during a time when they were surrounded by education and college-going initiatives. One example of this is the multi-year FAFSA campaigns. Being too young at the time of the campaigns to fill out financial aid forms and be considered part of the count for the challenge, the class still indirectly benefited from multiple years of communications messaging.

They, also, benefitted from watching their friends and siblings fill out financial aid forms and go off to college. Possibly, these siblings and friends, assisted them with filling out their forms when it was time for them to enroll. Interviews pointed to similar initiatives that overlapped with the class. Stakeholders pointed to attendance programs that occurred while these students were in middle school that would have influenced student aspirations and attainment. Others pointed to afterschool programming that assisted with college admissions applications, college visits, and financial assistance. Still others pointed to pilot projects or smaller community-based initiatives that existed, but have now since disappeared. As one professional stated, “It’s hard to nail it down to one thing. We partnered with many organizations. While we can’t take complete credit, we can take

credit for creating the culture for those things to come together.” While programs often take time to prove successful, time has been a barrier for SCS to creating sustainability because the district has seen multiple leadership changes over time. As one stakeholder shared, “New leaders are looking immediately for an increase in numbers, but it doesn’t happen that way. When we invest in multi-year initiatives, we see impact; but new leaders want to see immediate results. This leads to shifting priorities, and so we drop programs to focus on other needs. It’s like whack-a-mole. You get something going and then you whack it down because something else pops up and we go focus

on it. It’s not anyone’s fault. Education is driven by immediate numbers and results.”

Whether intentionally or inadvertently, it appears the community created a college-going environment over multiple years that had positive results for this particular class of students. So even while priorities may have been shifting within the district and/or the community, the shifting priorities tended to overlap with the same subset of students. The recipe of solutions acted as an undercurrent benefiting the class of 2017 – even though quite often they were not the intended primary audience of the specific programs.





FINDING 3: SCS college completion rate is directly correlated to student success at The University of Memphis and Southwest Tennessee Community College.

With nearly half of all students enrolling at these two higher-education institutions, success for UM and Southwest students equals success for the district. Reliance on two higher-education institutions puts SCS and the Memphis community more broadly in an interdependent position when it comes to postsecondary outcomes for students. There are many students, especially those living in poverty, who are unable to leave home to go to college due to family responsibilities. Such constrained postsecondary options means that any adverse policy change at either Southwest or UM will have a disproportionate effect on student outcomes for the district.

The higher-education institutions SCS students attend, other than Southwest and UM, are quite likely to be financially vulnerable in the wake of COVID-19 in ways that will reverberate for SCS graduates. Possible cuts to state funding both in Tennessee and in neighboring states could drive issues of affordability. HBCUs, a number of which are already in difficult financial situations, could struggle to maintain affordability for their student body.³⁴

Solidifying partnerships, not only with UM and Southwest but other institutions in order to insulate students from the effects of overreliance, should be explored.

Solidifying partnerships, not only with UM and Southwest but other institutions in order to insulate students from the effects of overreliance, should be explored. There may also be opportunities to identify both local and out-of-state institutions where SCS students are completing degrees and pursue more formal partnerships. These partnerships could include favorable admissions and scholarship opportunities for SCS graduates, perhaps subsidized through partnerships with industry groups and alumni in Memphis. Although partnerships with Southwest and UM are strong, pursuing additional options for things like dual enrollment offerings would create additional choice and options for students.

FINDING 4: District and community needs are intrinsically linked to academic preparation and college-going.

Similar to other urban school districts serving a high percentage of students with multiple needs, a significant number of SCS students struggle academically. As it is a compulsory institution, the challenges of public schools can often mirror the struggles of a community. Poverty, trauma, long-term teacher vacancies, and rotating leadership are but a few drivers that can stress and strain schools and the students within them. We see this reflected in multiple measures, such as academic performance, attendance, discipline, etc. College-going and completion

Nearly every professional interviewed mentioned the need for improving academic preparation of students, but stressed the numerous barriers students face to academic success in the community.

are not immune to the stress. Lower college-going rates are concentrated in high schools where these issues tend to be more prominent, and students of color are disproportionately affected.

Nearly every professional interviewed mentioned the need for improving academic preparation of students, but stressed the numerous barriers students face to academic success in the community. “Within our community, there is so much poverty that we are always playing catch up because we don’t start on a level playing field. Average growth is not enough for our students. We have to have above average growth if we want to catch them up,” one professional shared. Nonprofit partners noted that the struggles are sometimes too much despite numerous initiatives and programs aimed to help students persevere, “We built clubs in the neighborhoods who most needed them, but a lot of those neighborhoods faced so many struggles that people left them. Then schools in those areas would close, and our program would have to move.”

Additionally, some partners noted that some SCS students think they are better prepared academically than they are. As one partner shared, “They think they are college ready when they are not. Some of our students have 4 and 4.5 GPAs but then get a 13 on the ACT.”

The churn of school district leadership creates an unstable network for the students. Just one teacher or one counselor leaving a position can completely dismantle a student’s adult network. Rotating leadership also has

had a negative impact on the community-based organizations providing service to the schools. Professionals mentioned how pre-approved plans were disrupted and sometimes upended by shifting leadership priorities. As one professional said, “One day they just took our space away in the school. Someone tried to help by giving us their study hall extra period but then

the principal transitioned, and we lost that too. Now we have to meet after school, and because students have other commitments, we lose them.” Another professional stated, “School department heads continue to change. A few years ago we were asked to open six sites, the school system picked the sites. Then the leadership changed and at the last minute, we were cut to two schools. This type of environment makes it hard to plan and budget.”

While this finding, most likely, is not surprising to anyone who has been involved in improving education for Shelby County students, we believe it important to add our voice of support to those we interviewed so that others who are in community leadership positions are aware of the importance. Constantly having to rebuild trust and relationships with new staff and create new plans for new priorities means less time spent on students. Student aspirations, academics, and opportunities all suffer for it.

Recommendations



Recommendations To Improve College Access and Success for SCS Students

COVID-19 has and continues to transform the education landscape. While the virus has magnified college-going barriers, the pandemic has given impetus for the higher education community to confront the inequity in its design. The Memphis Area Presidents Council is convening and communicating, sharing best practices about how to reopen safely, and how to scale solutions at the intersection of education, technology, health care, child care, and social justice. SCS has recognized its role as a protective institution that's meeting basic needs and has tried to continue to fill those gaps despite the pandemic. SCS has been doing re-entry listening sessions and surveys, asking the community about preferences for reopening and recovery, and trying to understand barriers and prioritize. As both K-12 and Higher-Ed move forward, we offer the following recommendations to further ensure students are supported:

RECOMMENDATION 1:

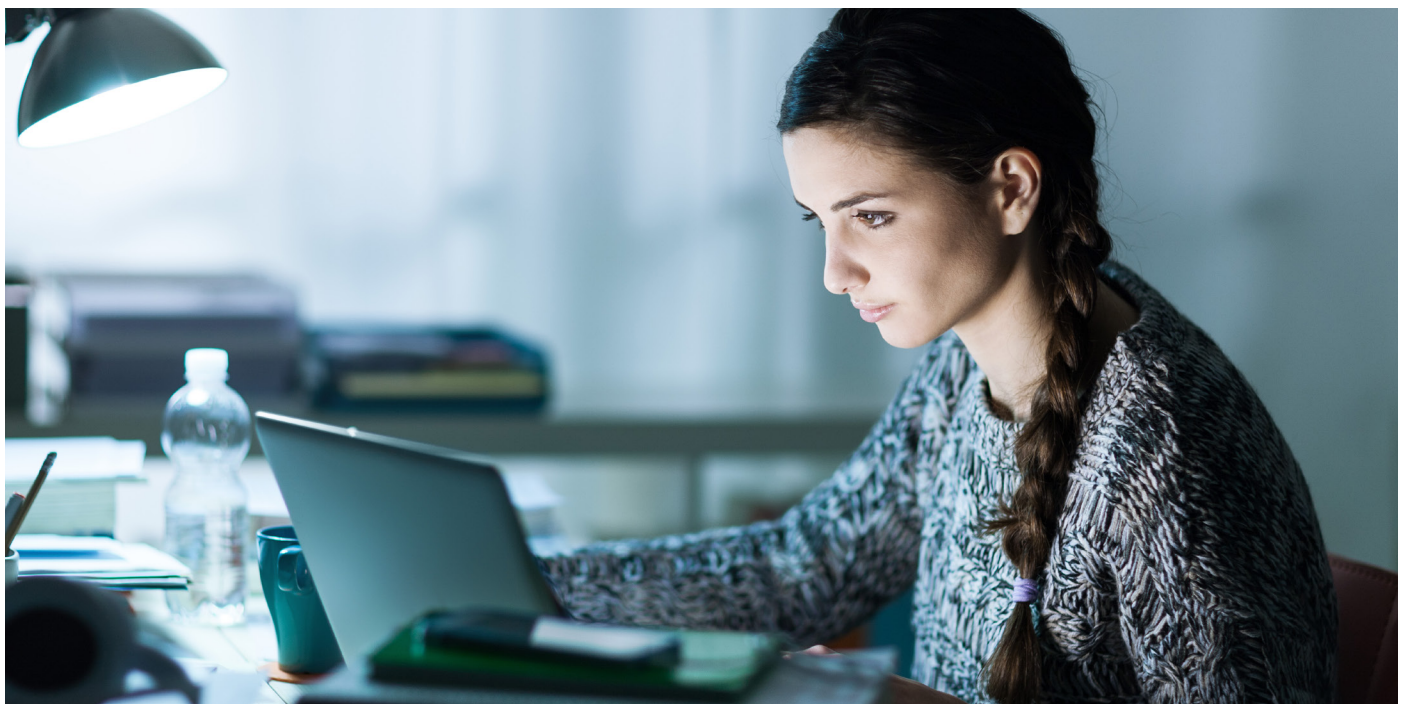
Mobilize postsecondary institutions to collect and share data around the potential causes of achievement gaps, such as basic needs (e.g., housing, food) insecurities. Tools for collecting such data are already available from organizations such as the Temple University-affiliated Hope Center for College, Community, and Justice. Their basic needs survey will provide the postsecondary sector with insights on social conditions that likely drive student attrition and obstruct degree attainment. Given the current crisis, establishing emergency funds for college students to address basic needs would be a solution that could be implemented.

RECOMMENDATION 2:

Pursue policy changes to Tennessee Promise funding that better support Memphis students. Such changes could include 1) changing funding from ‘last-dollar’ to ‘first-dollar,’ thereby permitting students to spend non-tuition restricted funds (such as Pell grants) on living expenses, 2) permitting students to use TN Promise funding on non-tuition expenses (e.g, housing), and 3) expanding funding to cover part-time students. Given the similarities between Memphis and Nashville, this would be an appropriate topic to align advocacy efforts.

RECOMMENDATION 3:

Pursue funding and partnerships with local institutions of higher education to expand summer bridge and college preparation programs for high school students – particularly those from historically underrepresented backgrounds. Such programming could mitigate summer slide/melt, encourage students to attend college, and build their skills and confidence to navigate the college system – academically, administratively, socially, and emotionally.



SCS High School Profiles

Bolton High School

41.6%

Economically Disadvantaged

67%

ESTIMATED

Students Eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch

1.2%

English Learners

78.2%

Black or African American

6.7%

Hispanic or Latinx

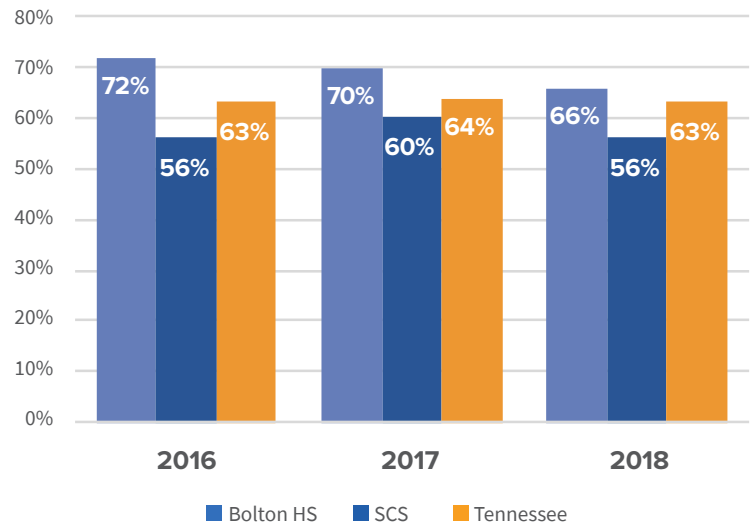
18.5

Average ACT Composite

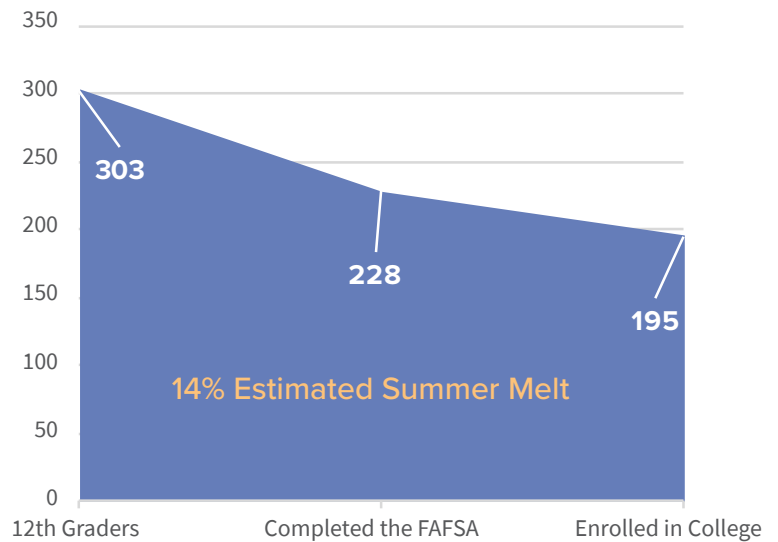
N/A

College Completion Rate

College-Going Rate Over Time



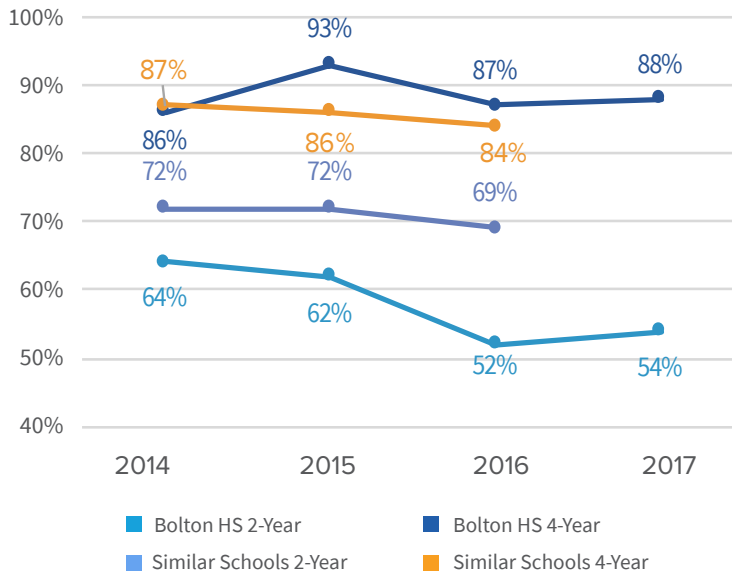
Class of 2018 High School to College Path



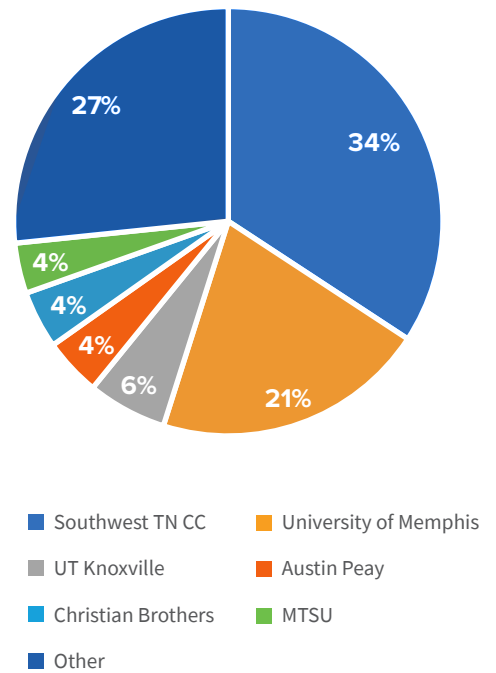
912 STUDENTS

(2018-19 School Year)

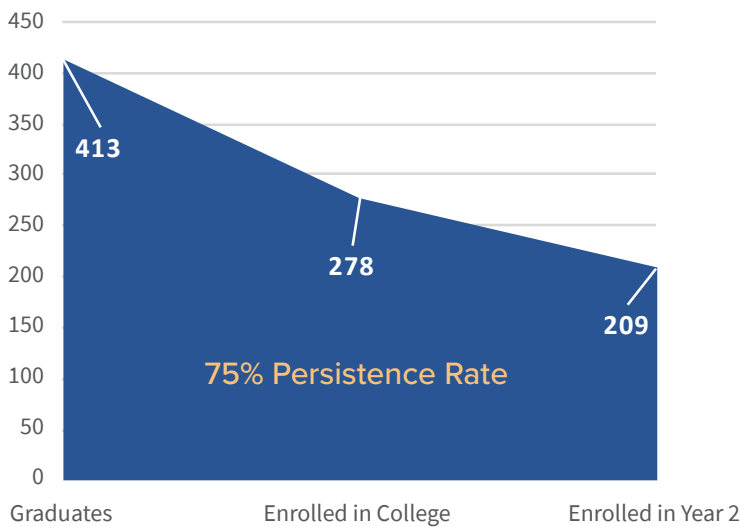
First to Second Year College Persistence



Top Colleges by Class of 2018 Enrollment



Class of 2017 College Enrollment and Persistence



1. Southwest TN CC (63)
 2. University of Memphis (38)
 3. UT Knoxville (11)
 4. Austin Peay (8)
 5. Christian Brothers (8)
 6. MTSU (7)
 7. TSU (5)
 8. Bethel University (3)
 9. Lane College (3)
 10. UT Martin (3)
- Other (35)

Booker T. Washington High School

85.7%

Economically Disadvantaged

100%

ESTIMATED

Students Eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch

0.0%

English Learners

99.4%

Black or African American

0.2%

Hispanic or Latinx

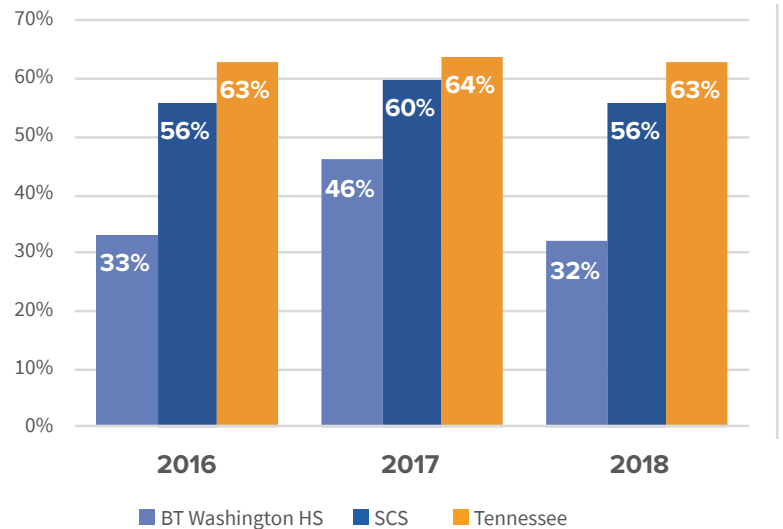
13.8

Average ACT Composite

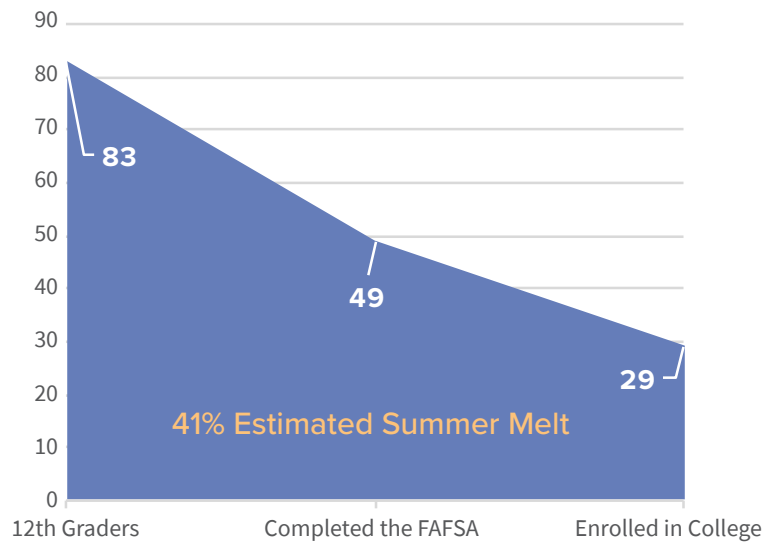
6%

College Completion Rate

College-Going Rate Over Time



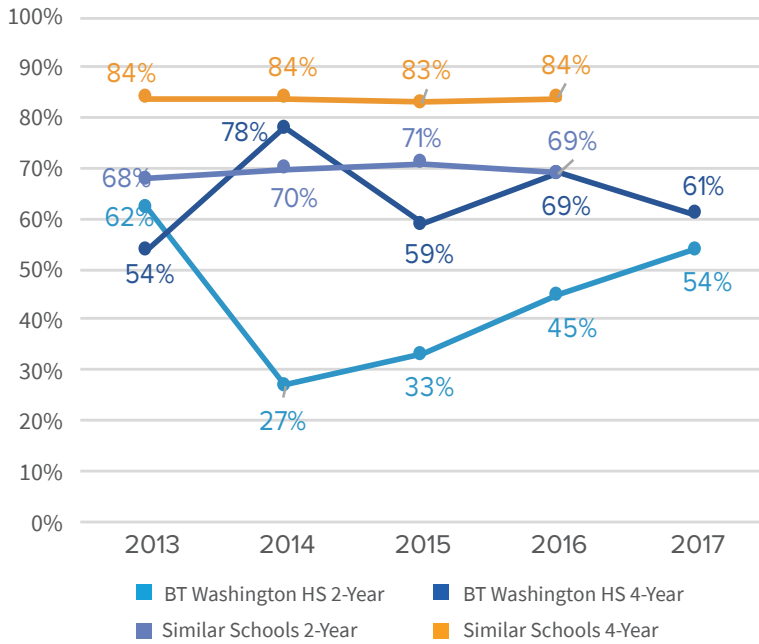
Class of 2018 High School to College Path



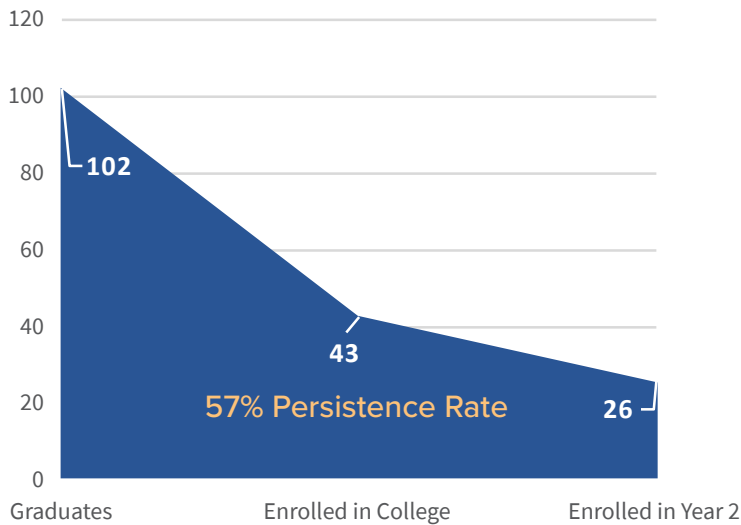
483 STUDENTS

(2018-19 School Year)

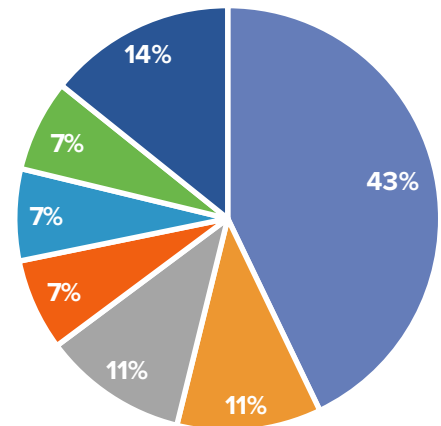
First to Second Year College Persistence



Class of 2017 College Enrollment and Persistence



Top Colleges by Class of 2018 Enrollment



- Southwest TN CC
- Alabama A&M
- Le Moyne Owen
- Lane
- TSU
- Walters State
- Other

1. Southwest TN CC (12)
2. Alabama A&M (3)
3. LeMoyne-Owen College (3)
4. Lane College (2)
5. TSU (2)
6. Walters State CC (2)
7. American Intercontinental University (1)
8. Coahoma CC (1)
9. MTSU (1)
10. University of Memphis (1)
11. Other (0)

Central High School

48.8%

Economically Disadvantaged

78%

ESTIMATED

Students Eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch

3.4%

English Learners

84.5%

Black or African American

4.6%

Hispanic or Latinx

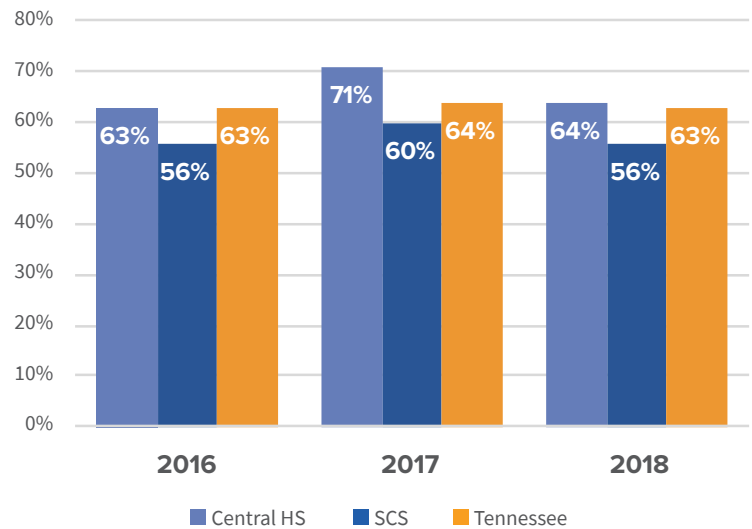
18.8

Average ACT Composite

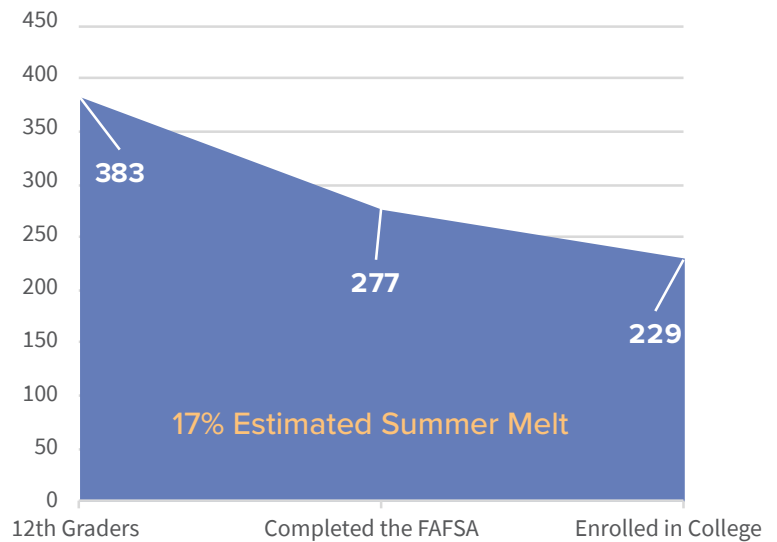
38%

College Completion Rate

College-Going Rate Over Time



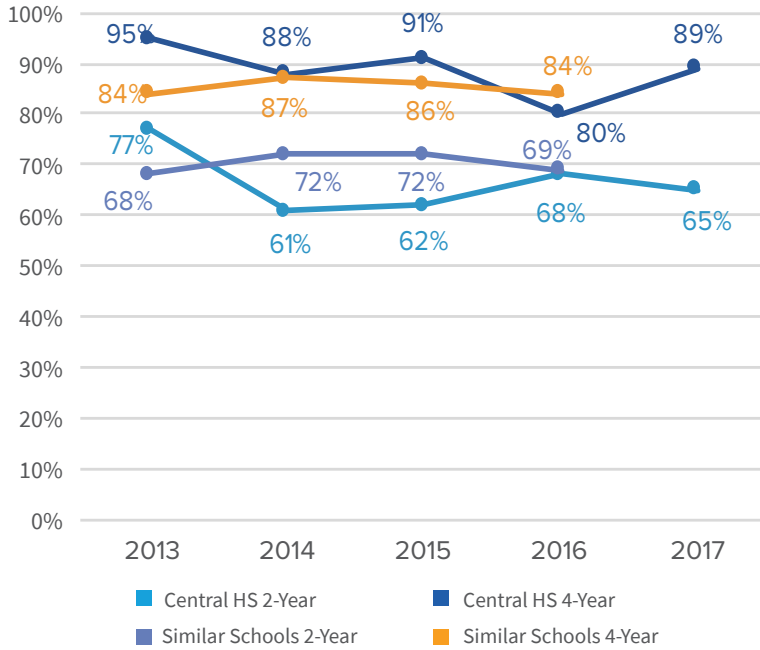
Class of 2018 High School to College Path



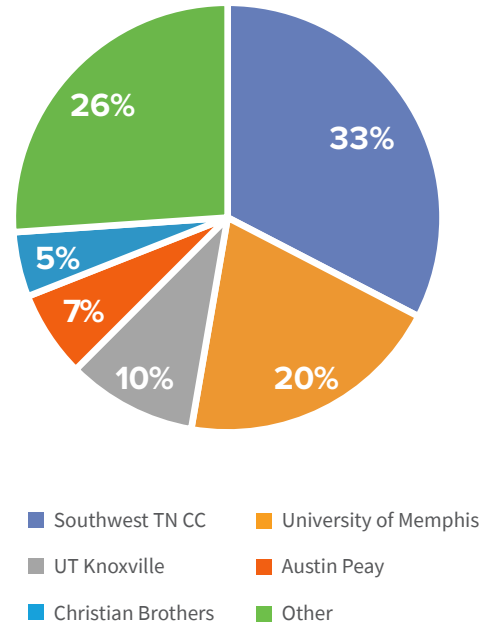
1,507 STUDENTS

(2018-19 School Year)

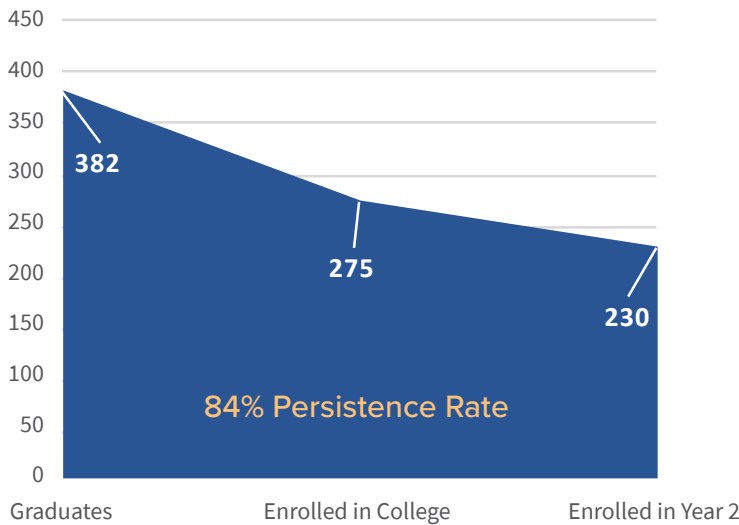
First to Second Year College Persistence



Top Colleges by Class of 2018 Enrollment



Class of 2017 College Enrollment and Persistence



1. Southwest TN CC (60)
 2. University of Memphis (37)
 3. UT Knoxville (18)
 4. Austin Peay (12)
 5. Christian Brothers (9)
 6. LeMoyne-Owen (7)
 7. MTSU (6)
 8. TSU (6)
 9. Alabama A&M (4)
 10. Clark Atlanta (4)
- Other (66)

Cordova High School

37.9%

Economically Disadvantaged

61%

ESTIMATED

Students Eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch

8.1%

English Learners

64.6%

Black or African American

23.5%

Hispanic or Latinx

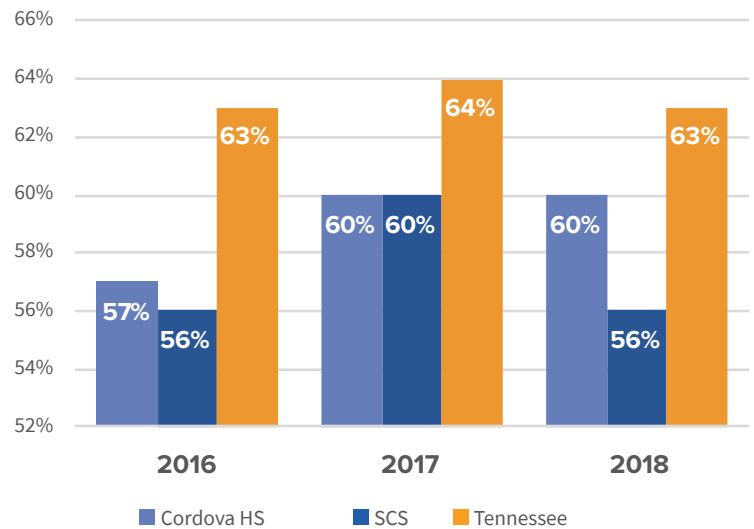
17.9

Average ACT Composite

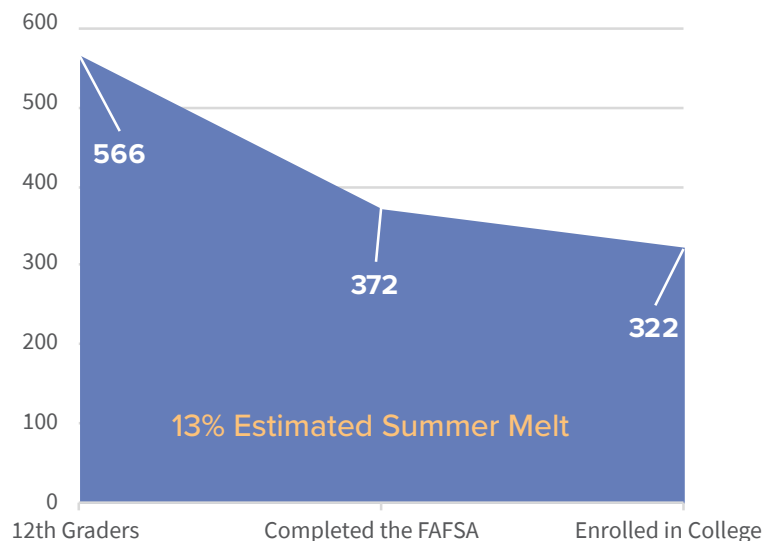
31%

College Completion Rate

College-Going Rate Over Time



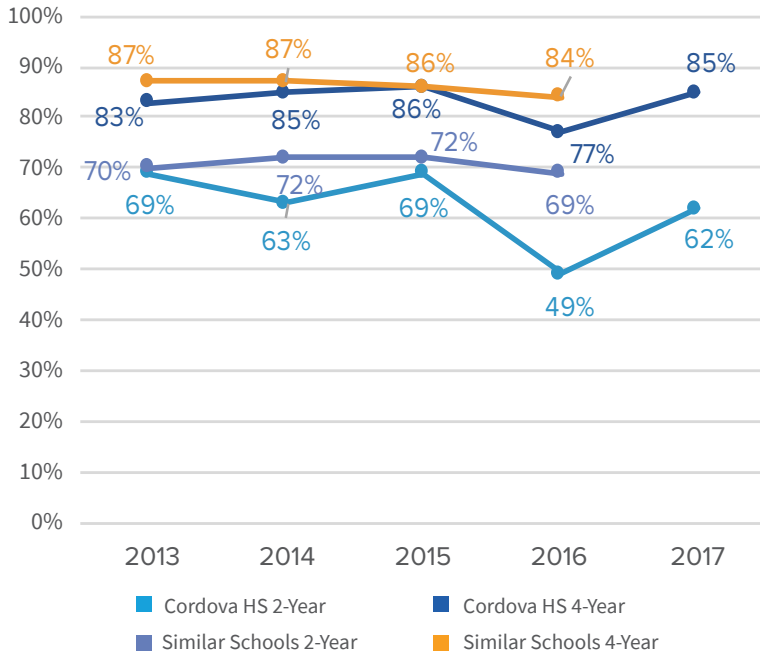
Class of 2018 High School to College Path



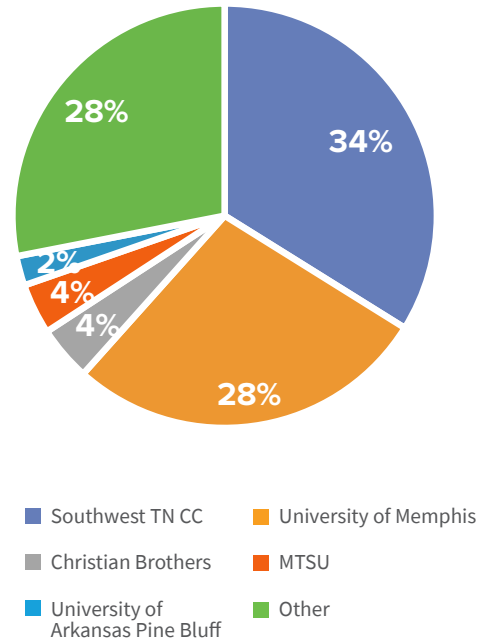
2,270 STUDENTS

(2018-19 School Year)

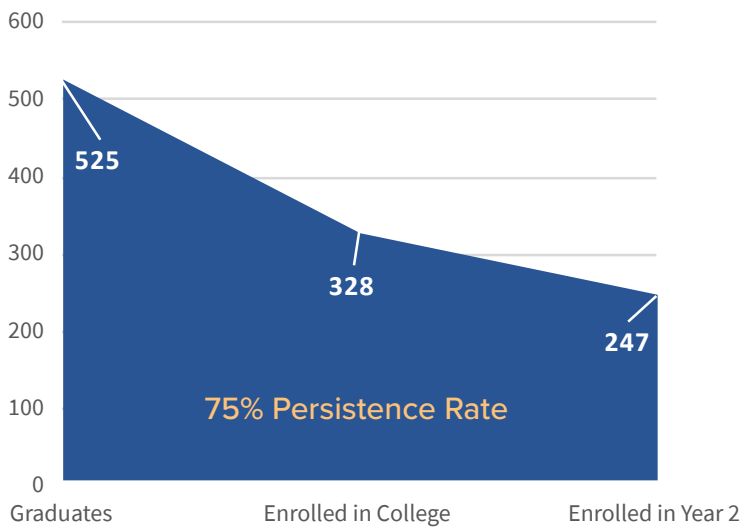
First to Second Year College Persistence



Top Colleges by Class of 2018 Enrollment



Class of 2017 College Enrollment and Persistence



1. Southwest TN CC (105)
 2. University of Memphis (86)
 3. Christian Brothers (13)
 4. MTSU (12)
 5. University of Arkansas Pine Bluff (7)
 6. LeMoyne-Owen (6)
 7. TSU (6)
 8. UT Knoxville (5)
 9. Bethel (4)
 10. Lane (4)
- Other (62)

Craigmont High School

65.8%

Economically Disadvantaged

100%

ESTIMATED

Students Eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch

2.8%

English Learners

89.4%

Black or African American

6.7%

Hispanic or Latinx

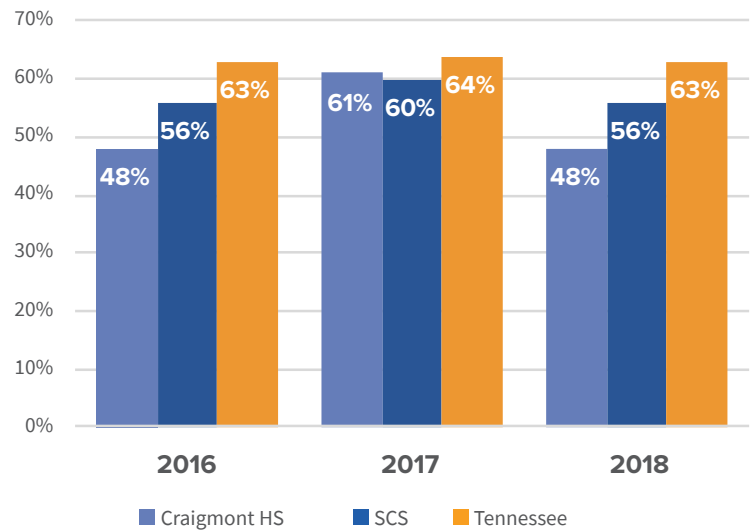
16

Average ACT Composite

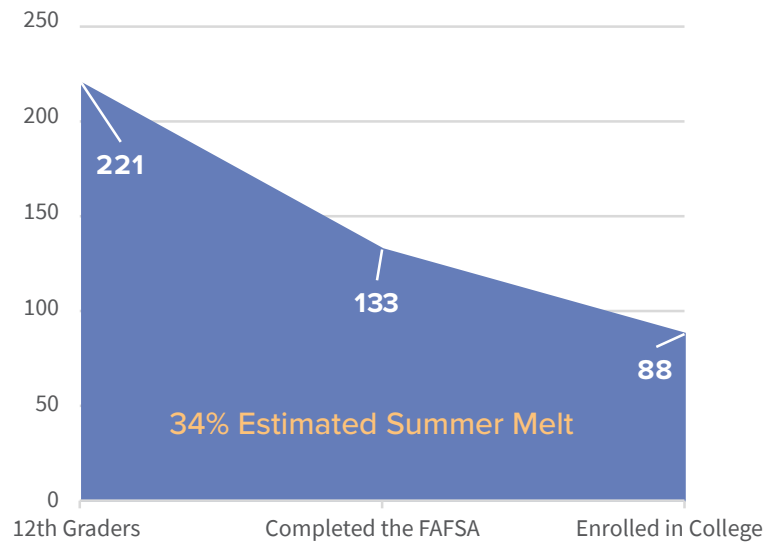
16%

College Completion Rate

College-Going Rate Over Time



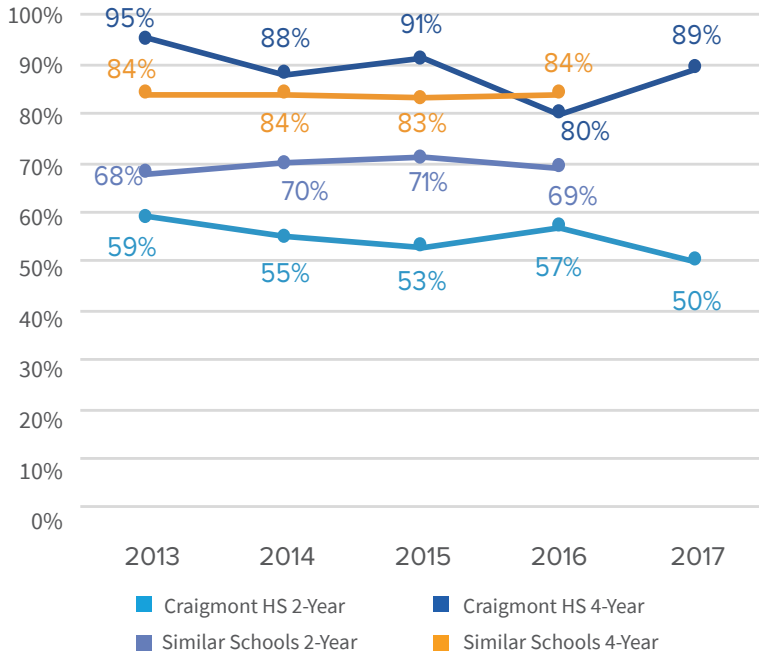
Class of 2018 High School to College Path



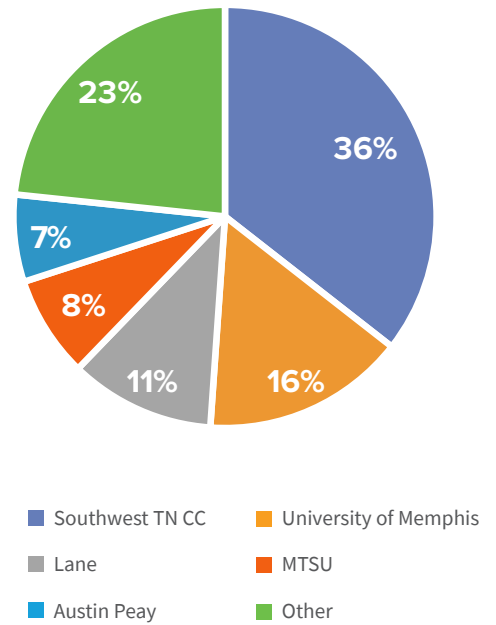
830 STUDENTS

(2018-19 School Year)

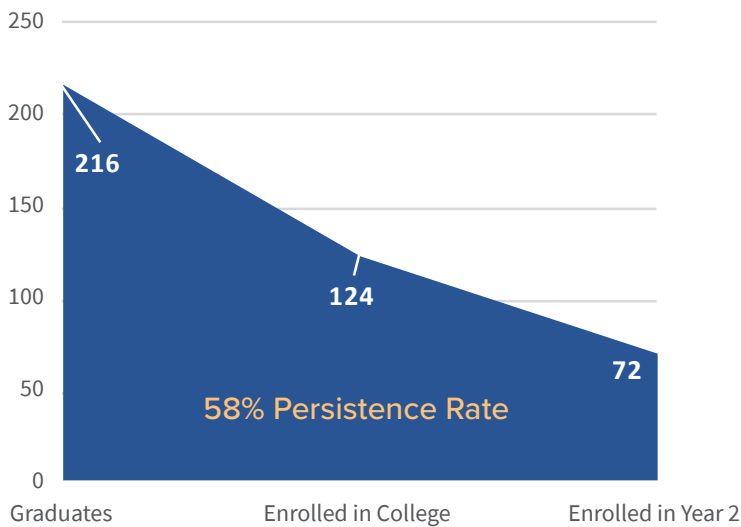
First to Second Year College Persistence



Top Colleges by Class of 2018 Enrollment



Class of 2017 College Enrollment and Persistence



1. Southwest TN CC (32)
 2. University of Memphis (14)
 3. Lane (10)
 4. MTSU (7)
 5. Austin Peay (6)
 6. TCAT Memphis (5)
 7. Strayer (2)
 8. TSU (2)
 9. College of Lake County (1)
 10. Cornell University (1)
- Other (10)

Douglass High School

78.7%

Economically Disadvantaged

100%

ESTIMATED

Students Eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch

4.1%

English Learners

90.8%

Black or African American

7.8%

Hispanic or Latinx

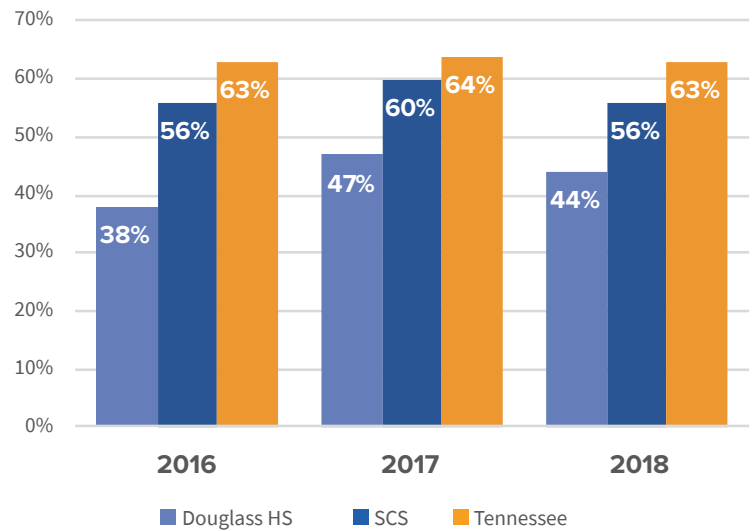
15.9

Average ACT Composite

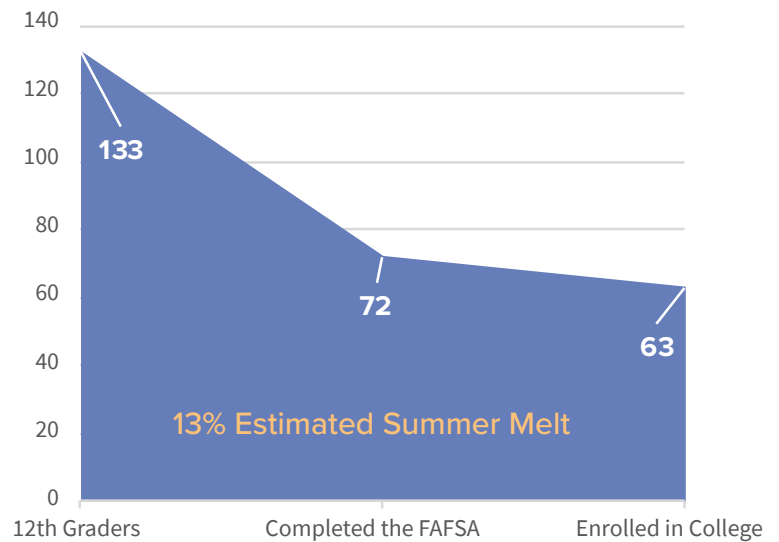
8%

College Completion Rate

College-Going Rate Over Time



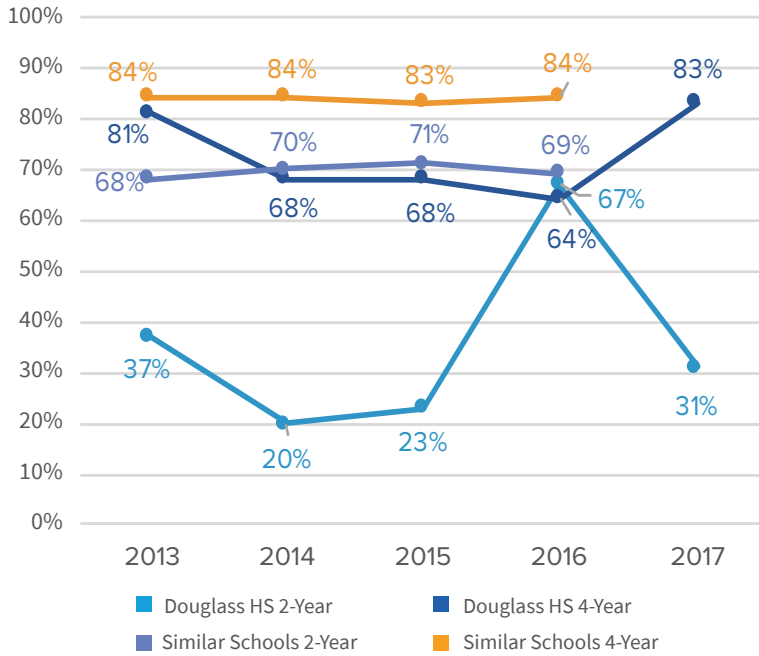
Class of 2018 High School to College Path



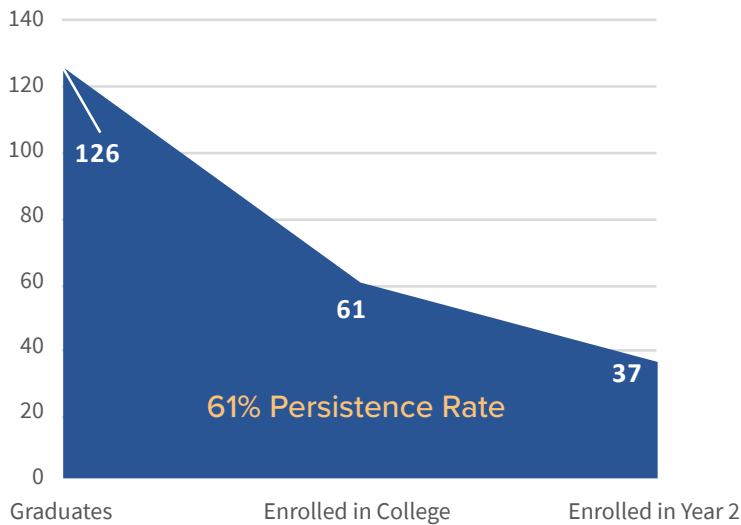
563 STUDENTS

(2018-19 School Year)

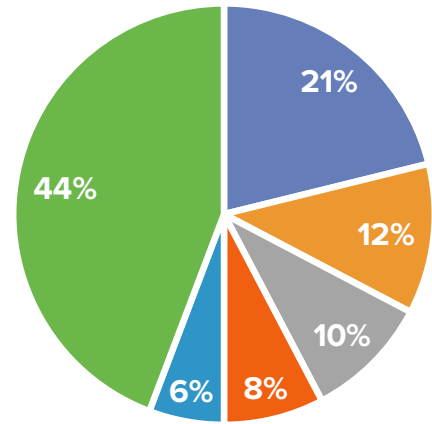
First to Second Year College Persistence



Class of 2017 College Enrollment and Persistence



Top Colleges by Class of 2018 Enrollment



- Southwest TN CC
- Paul Quinn College
- Christian Brothers
- Austin Peay
- Rust College
- Other

1. Southwest TN CC (11)
 2. Paul Quinn College (6)
 3. Christian Brothers (5)
 4. Austin Peay (4)
 5. Rust College (3)
 6. University of Memphis (3)
 7. Lane College (2)
 8. LeMoyne-Owen (2)
 9. Rochester Community & Technical College (2)
 10. Tuskegee (2)
- Other (12)

East High School

47.7%

Economically Disadvantaged

76%

ESTIMATED

Students Eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch

3.8%

English Learners

86.9%

Black or African American

5.1%

Hispanic or Latinx

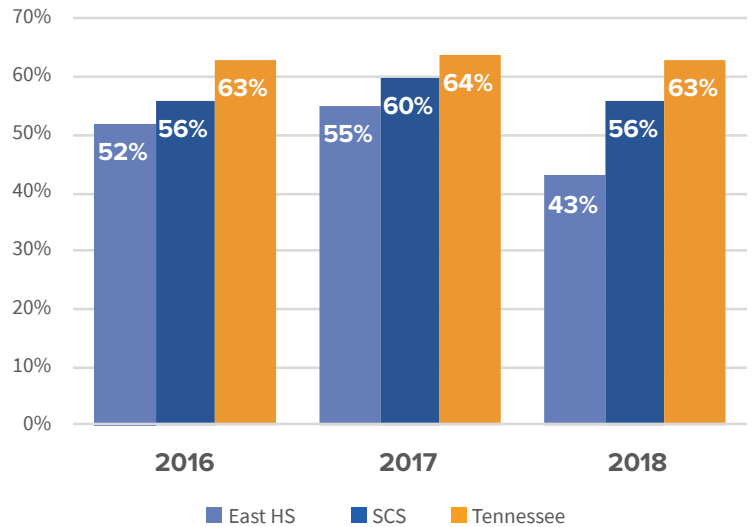
16

Average ACT Composite

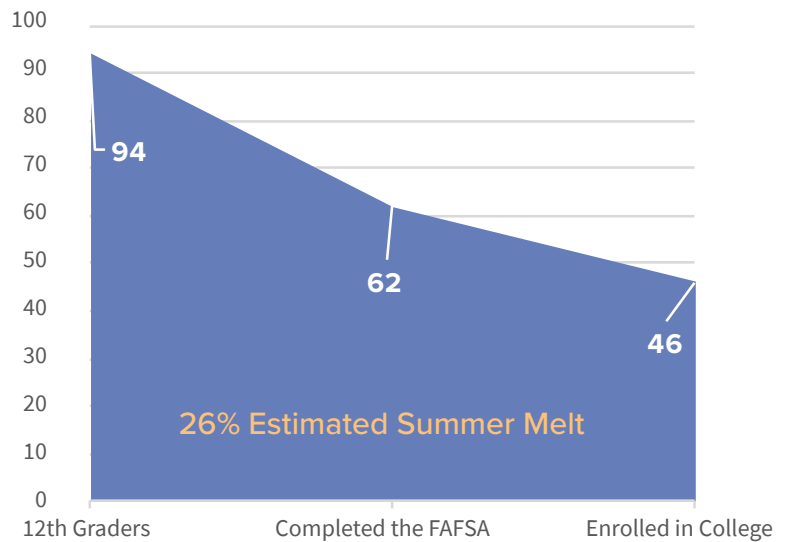
22%

College Completion Rate

College-Going Rate Over Time



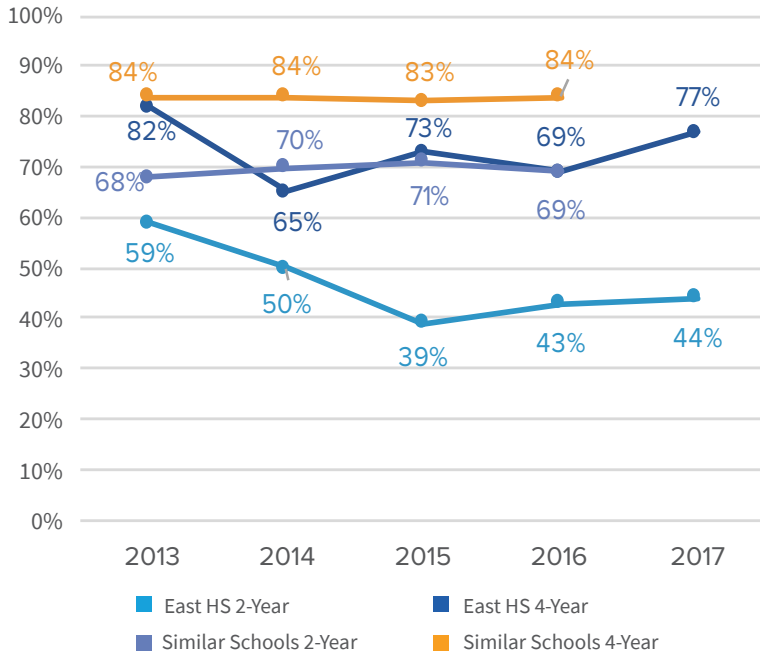
Class of 2018 High School to College Path



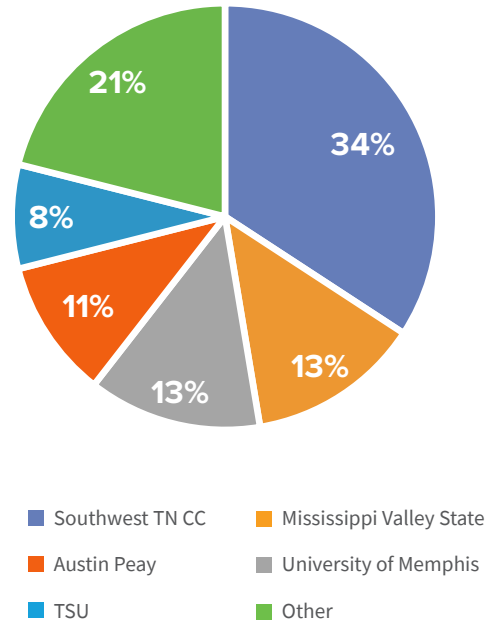
373 STUDENTS

(2018-19 School Year)

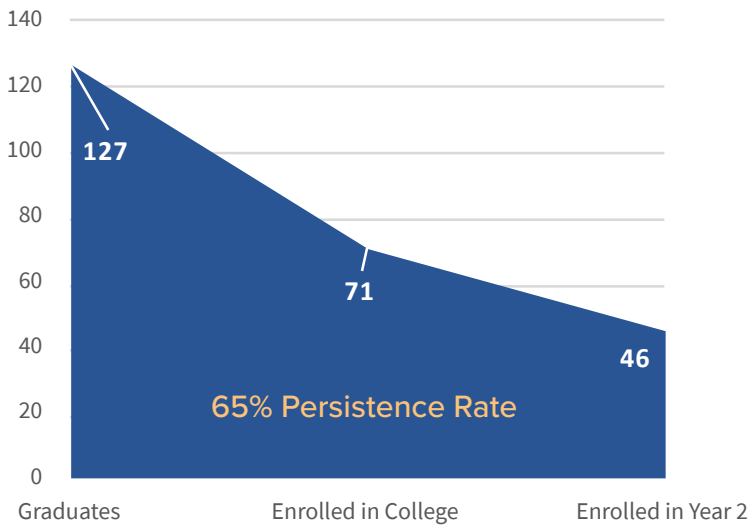
First to Second Year College Persistence



Top Colleges by Class of 2018 Enrollment



Class of 2017 College Enrollment and Persistence



1. Southwest TN CC (13)
 2. Mississippi Valley State (5)
 3. University of Memphis (5)
 4. Austin Peay (4)
 5. TSU (3)
 6. Christian Brothers (1)
 7. Jackson State University (1)
 8. Lane (1)
 9. LeMoyne-Owen (1)
 10. MTSU (1)
- Other (3)

Germantown High School

22.5%

Economically Disadvantaged

36%

ESTIMATED

Students Eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch

2.5%

English Learners

73.9%

Black or African American

8.6%

Hispanic or Latinx

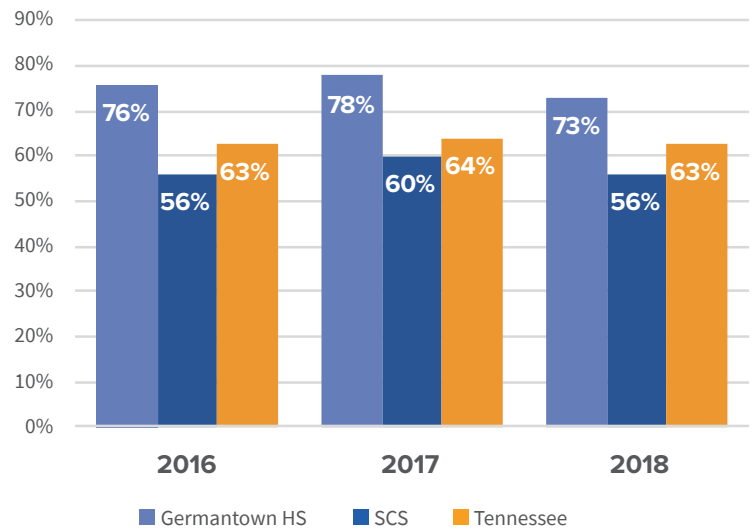
20.5

Average ACT Composite

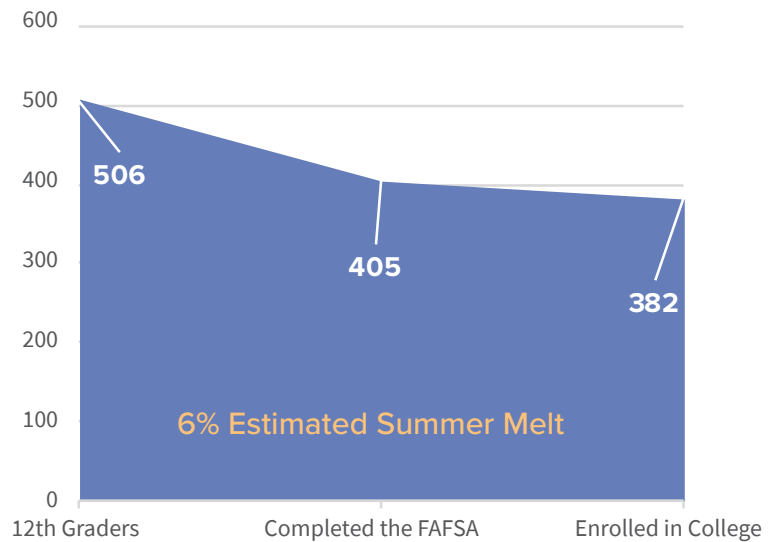
N/A

College Completion Rate

College-Going Rate Over Time



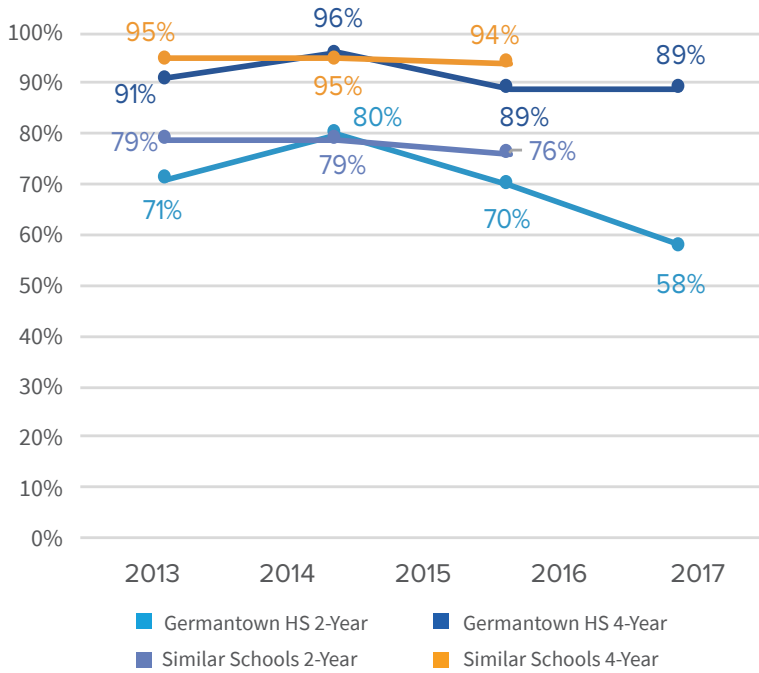
Class of 2018 High School to College Path



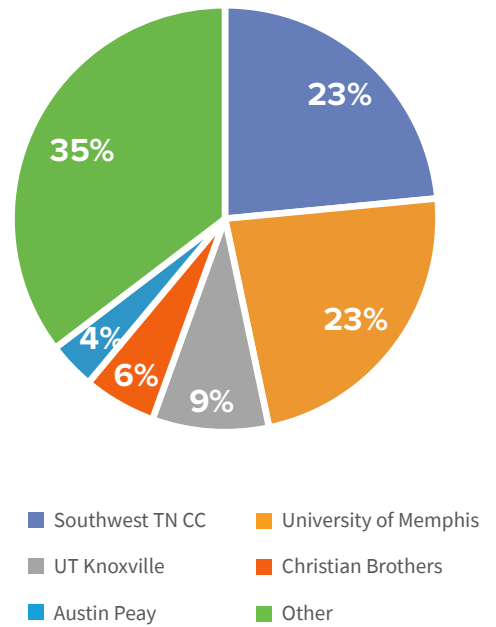
1,976 STUDENTS

(2018-19 School Year)

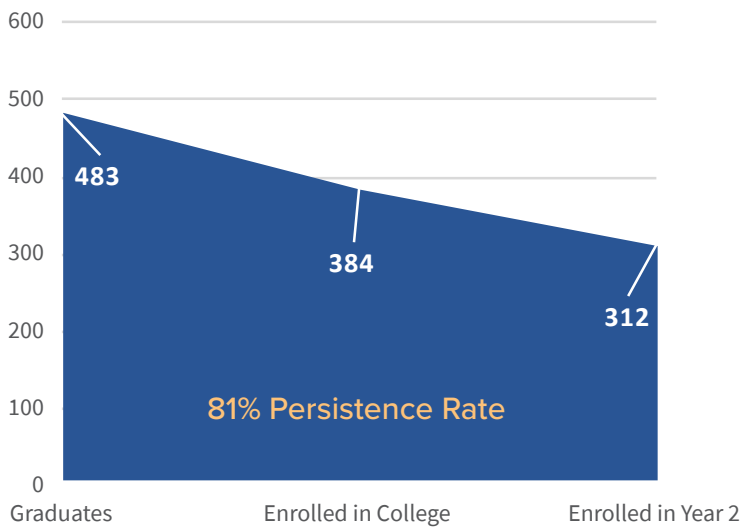
First to Second Year College Persistence



Top Colleges by Class of 2018 Enrollment



Class of 2017 College Enrollment and Persistence



1. Southwest TN CC (85)
 2. University of Memphis (84)
 3. UT Knoxville (32)
 4. Christian Brothers (20)
 5. Austin Peay (13)
 6. MTSU (10)
 7. Lane College (9)
 8. TSU (9)
 9. UT Chattanooga (7)
 10. Mississippi State (6)
- Other (87)

Hamilton High School

77.1%

Economically Disadvantaged

100%

ESTIMATED

Students Eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch

0.2%

English Learners

98.8%

Black or African American

0.9%

Hispanic or Latinx

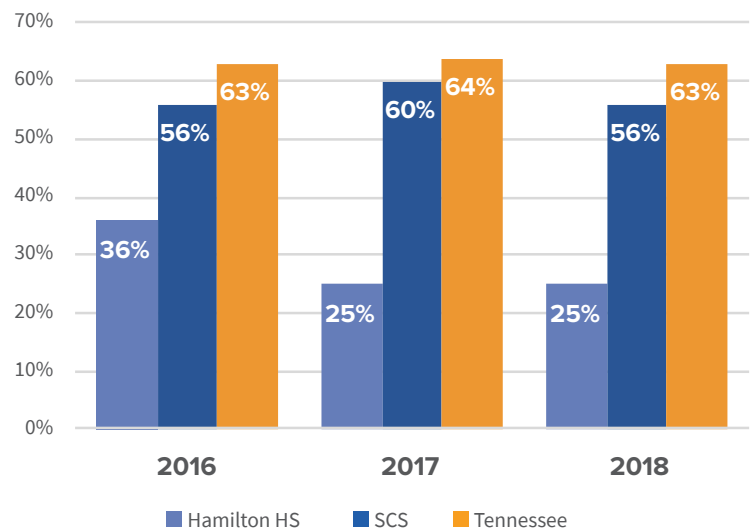
15.2

Average ACT Composite

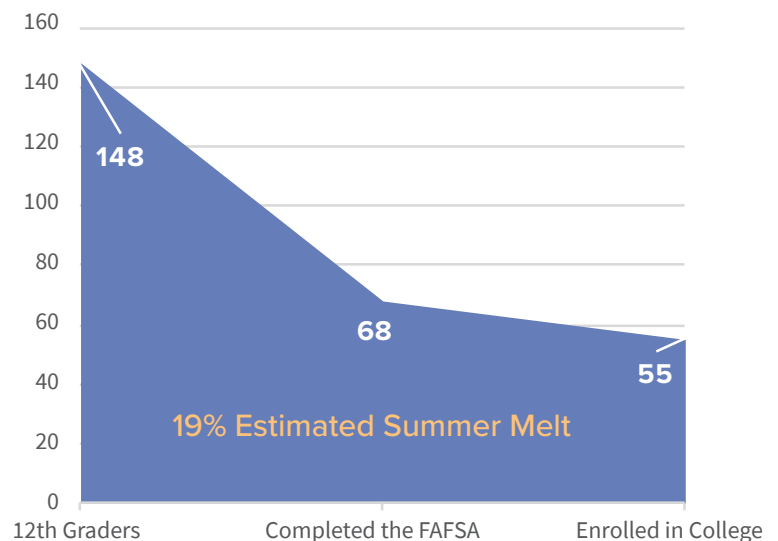
10%

College Completion Rate

College-Going Rate Over Time



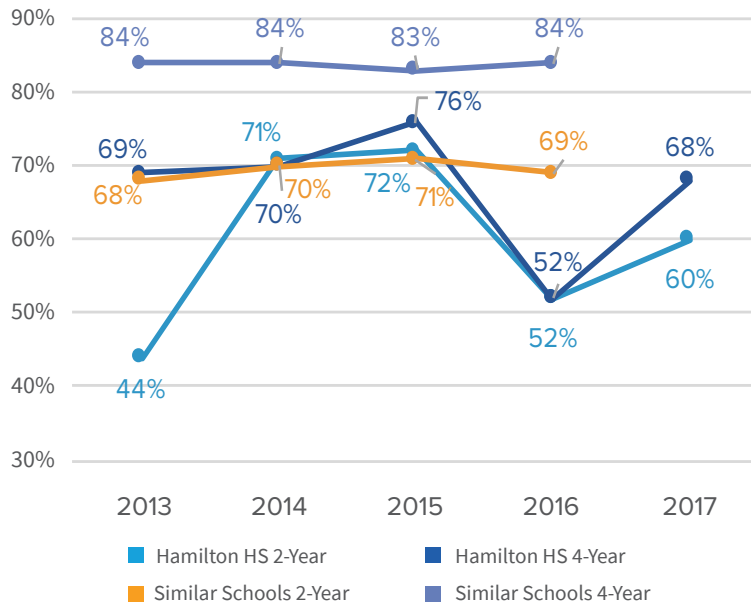
Class of 2018 High School to College Path



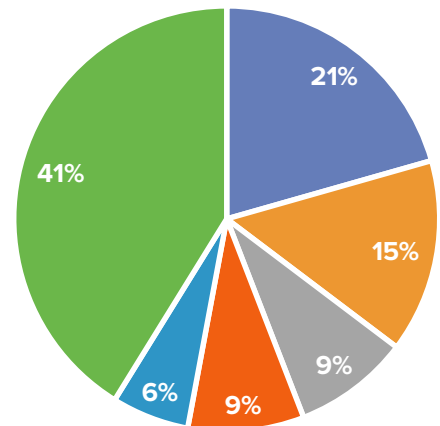
656 STUDENTS

(2018-19 School Year)

First to Second Year College Persistence

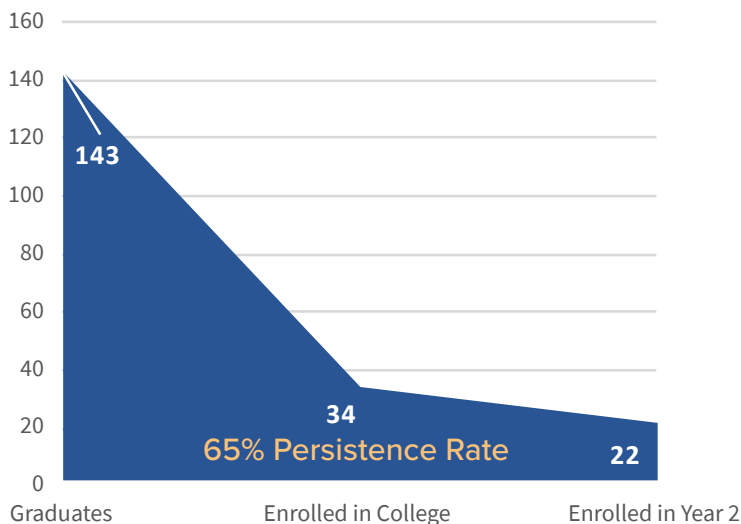


Top Colleges by Class of 2018 Enrollment



- Lane
- Southwest TN CC
- LeMoyne-Owen
- Rust
- Alabama A&M
- Other

Class of 2017 College Enrollment and Persistence



1. Lane (7)
 2. Southwest TN CC (5)
 3. LeMoyne-Owen (3)
 4. Rust (3)
 5. Alabama A&M (2)
 6. Eastern Oklahoma State College (2)
 7. TCAT Memphis (2)
 8. Austin Peay (1)
 9. Christian Brothers (1)
 10. Fisk (1)
- Other (7)

Hollis F. Price High School

57.8%

Economically Disadvantaged

92%

ESTIMATED

Students Eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch

0.0%

English Learners

100.0%

Black or African American

0.0%

Hispanic or Latinx

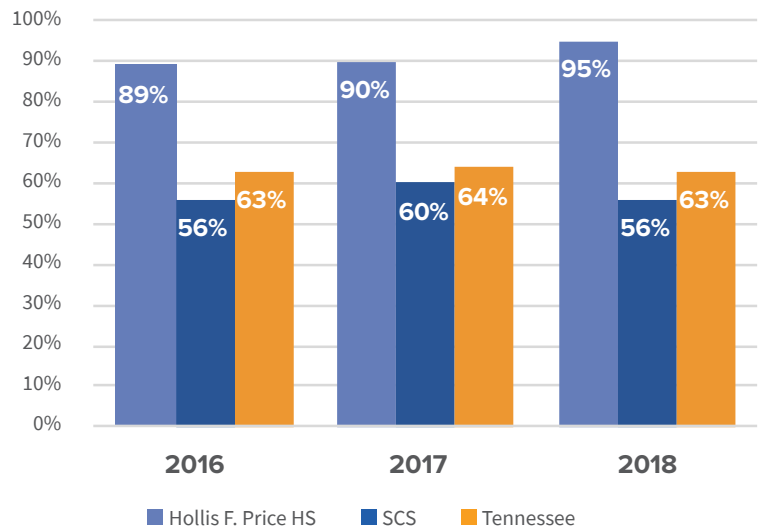
N/A

Average ACT Composite

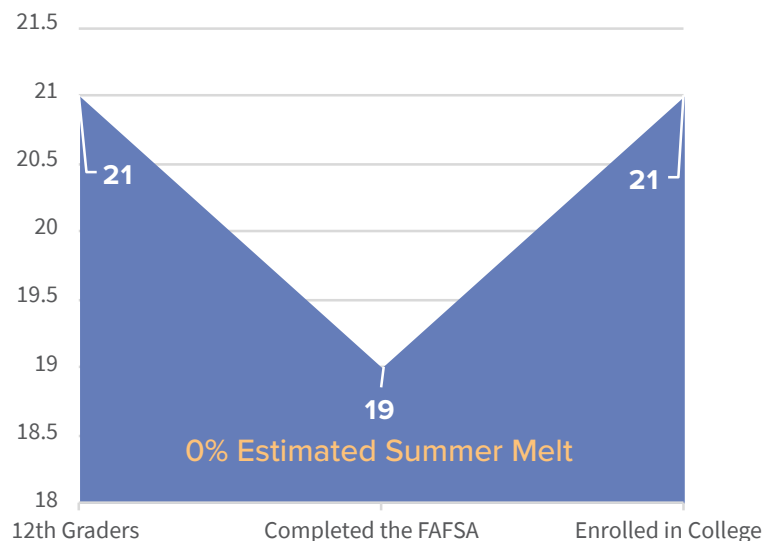
23%

College Completion Rate

College-Going Rate Over Time



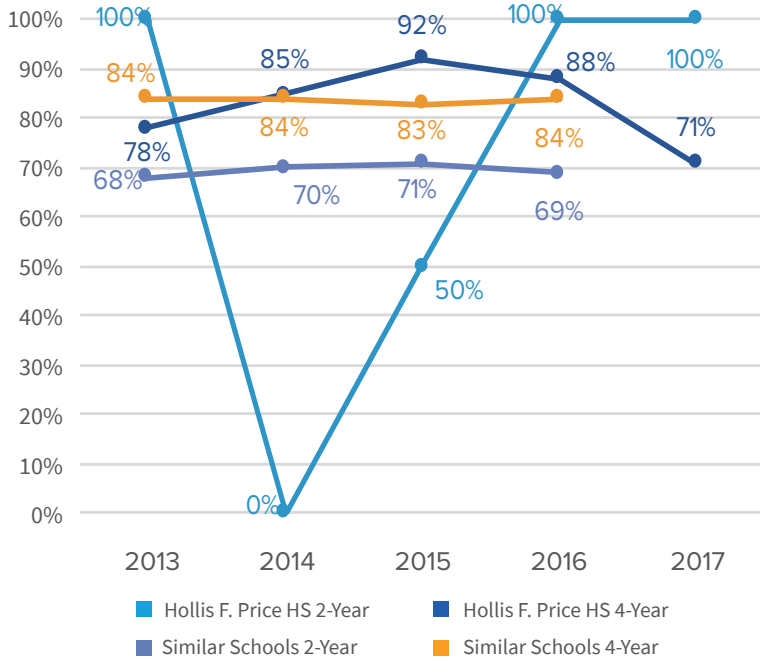
Class of 2018 High School to College Path



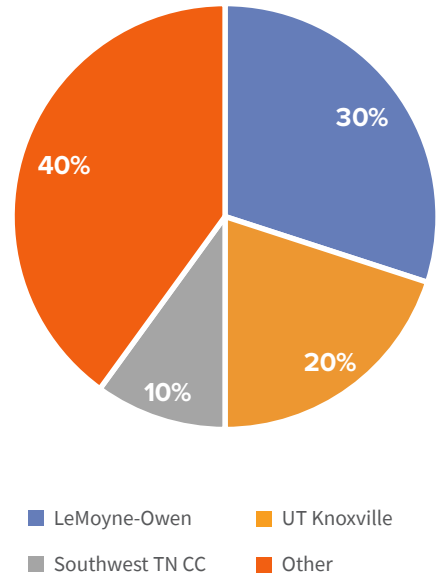
109 STUDENTS

(2018-19 School Year)

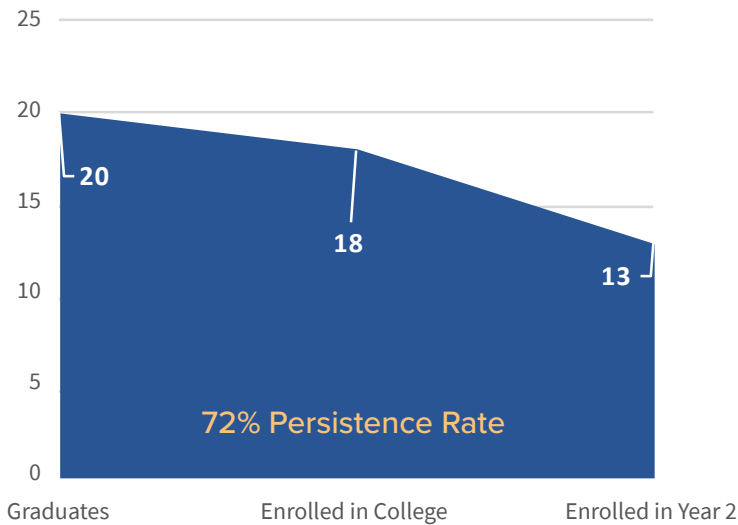
First to Second Year College Persistence



Top Colleges by Class of 2018 Enrollment



Class of 2017 College Enrollment and Persistence



1. LeMoyne-Owen (6)
 2. UT Knoxville (4)
 3. Southwest TN CC (2)
 4. Arkansas State (1)
 5. Christian Brothers (1)
 6. Cochise College (1)
 7. Dillard (1)
 8. Florida A&M (1)
 9. MTSU (1)
 10. Spelman (1)
- Other (1)

Kingsbury High School

54.3%

Economically Disadvantaged

87%

ESTIMATED

Students Eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch

23.7%

English Learners

35.8%

Black or African American

52.3%

Hispanic or Latinx

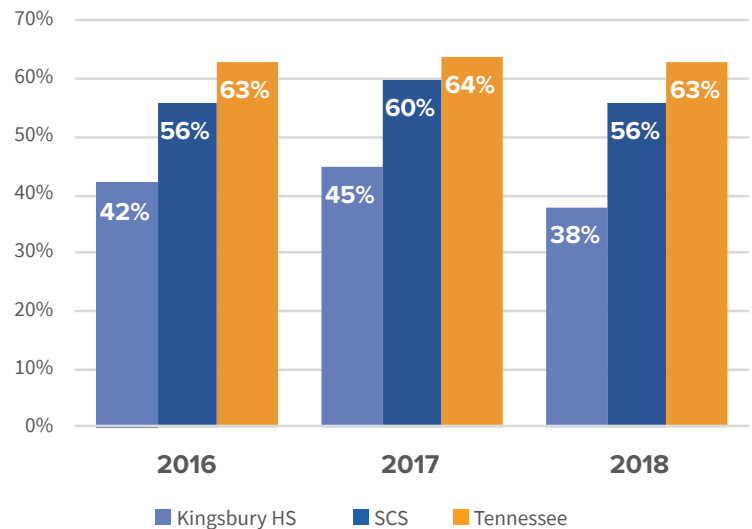
16.2

Average ACT Composite

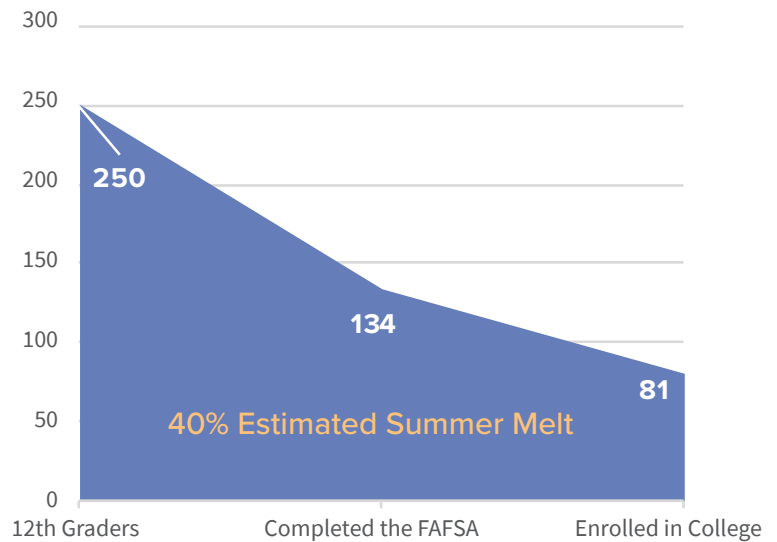
19%

College Completion Rate

College-Going Rate Over Time



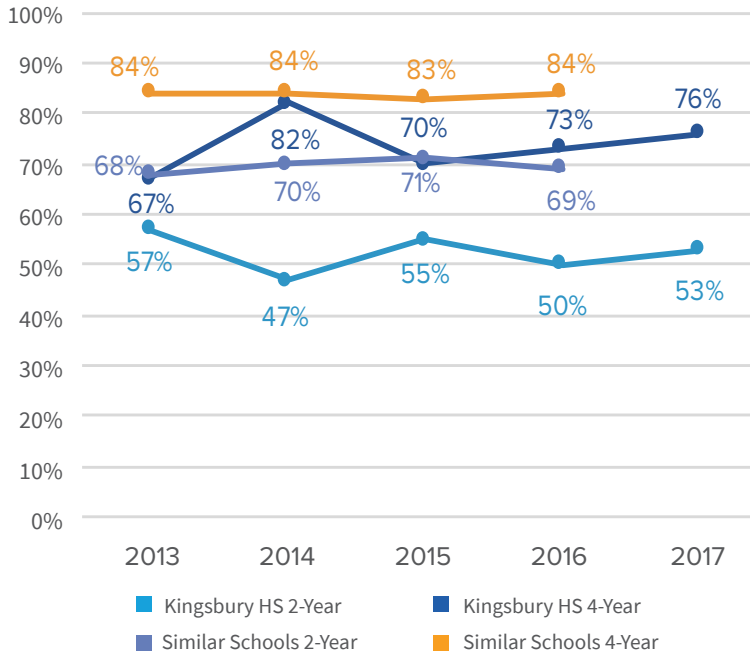
Class of 2018 High School to College Path



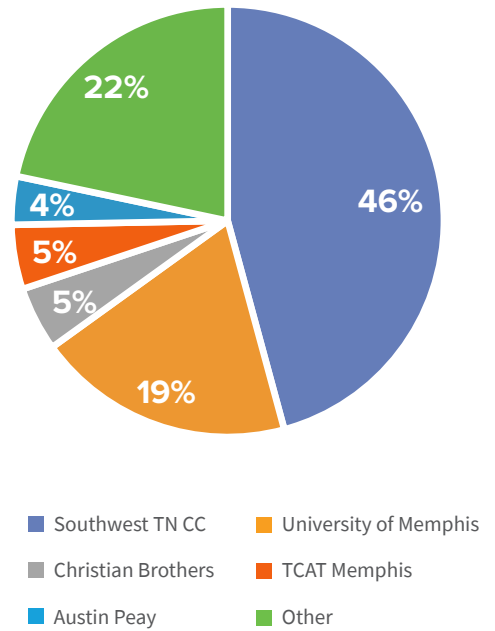
1,289 STUDENTS

(2018-19 School Year)

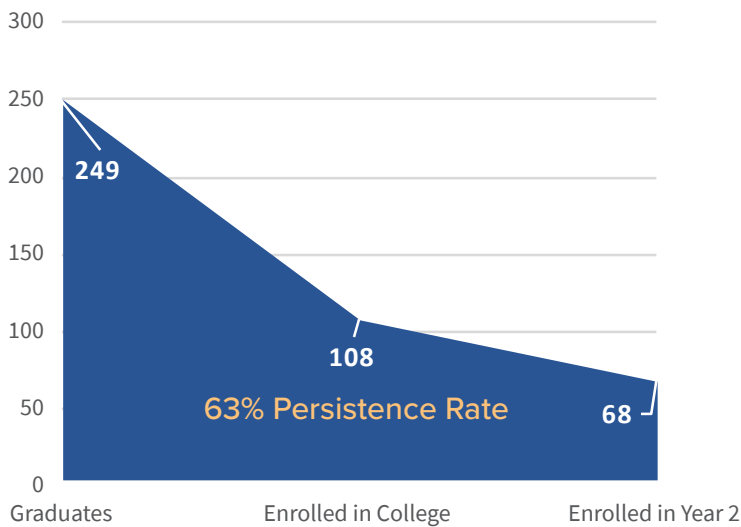
First to Second Year College Persistence



Top Colleges by Class of 2018 Enrollment



Class of 2017 College Enrollment and Persistence



1. Southwest TN CC (38)
 2. University of Memphis (16)
 3. Christian Brothers (4)
 4. TCAT Memphis (4)
 5. Austin Peay (3)
 6. Lane (3)
 7. University of the Ozarks (2)
 8. American Intercontinental University (1)
 9. California Baptist University (1)
 10. Cal Poly (10)
- Other

Kirby High School

62.0%

Economically Disadvantaged

99%

ESTIMATED

Students Eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch

7.2%

English Learners

85.9%

Black or African American

13.5%

Hispanic or Latinx

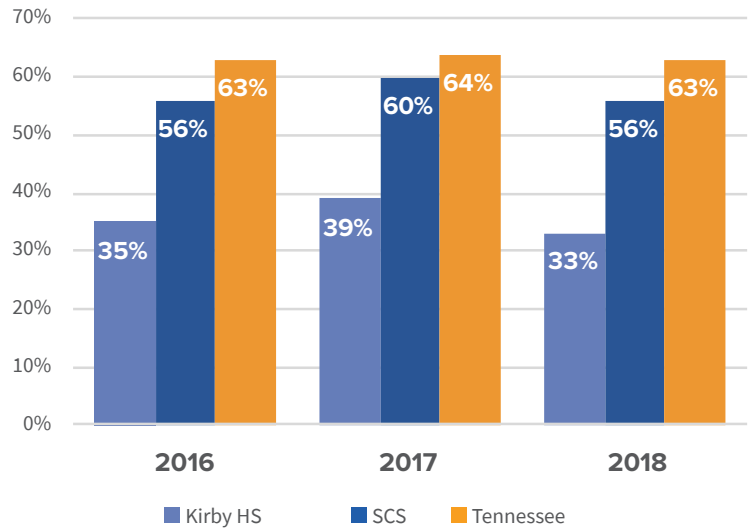
16

Average ACT Composite

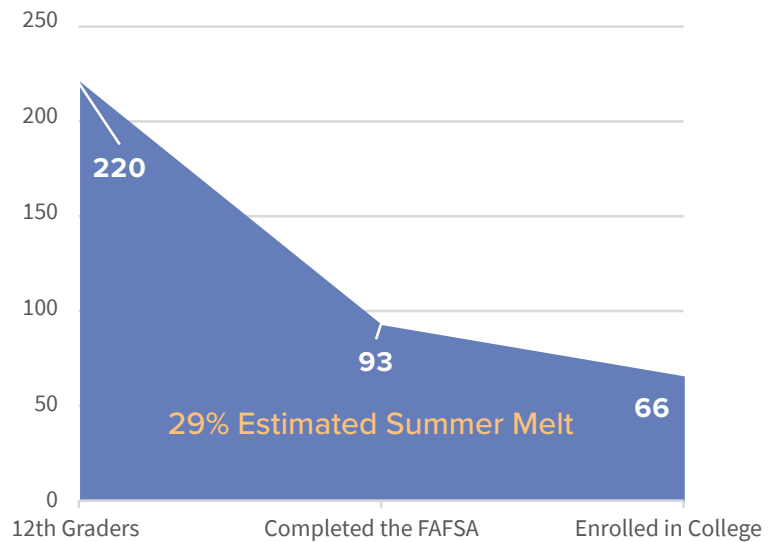
9%

College Completion Rate

College-Going Rate Over Time



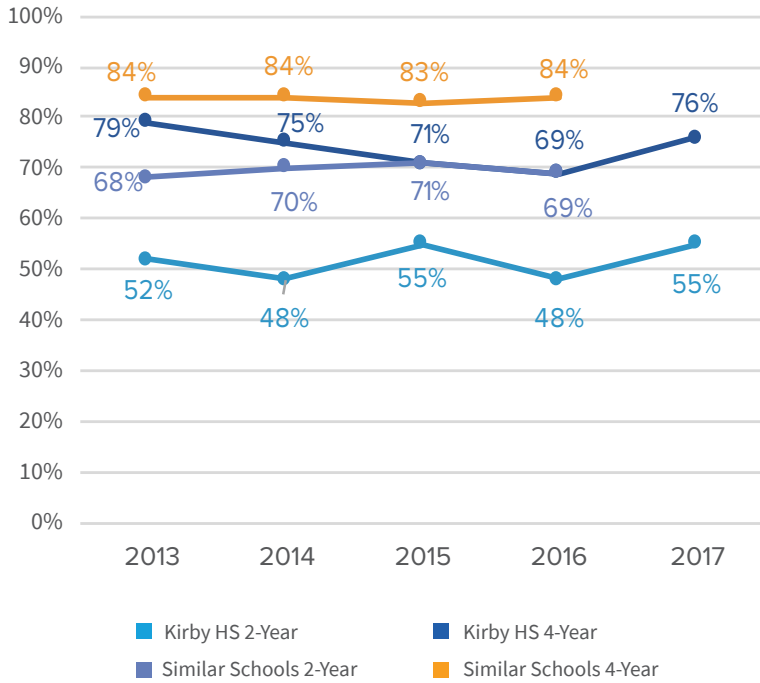
Class of 2018 High School to College Path



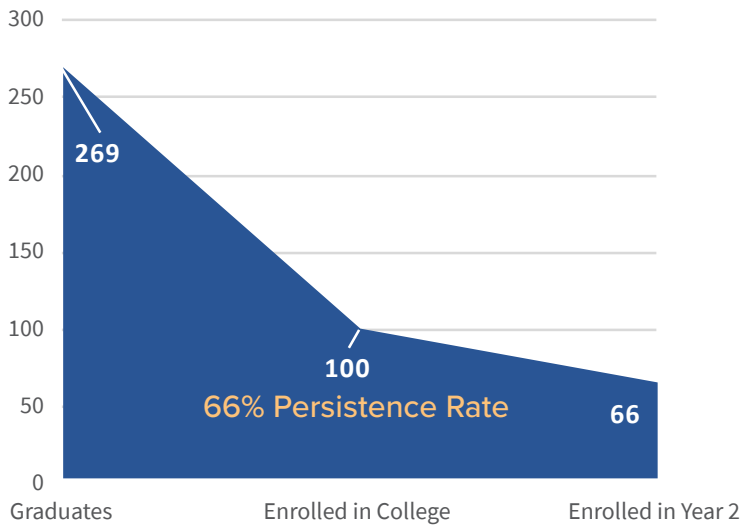
821 STUDENTS

(2018-19 School Year)

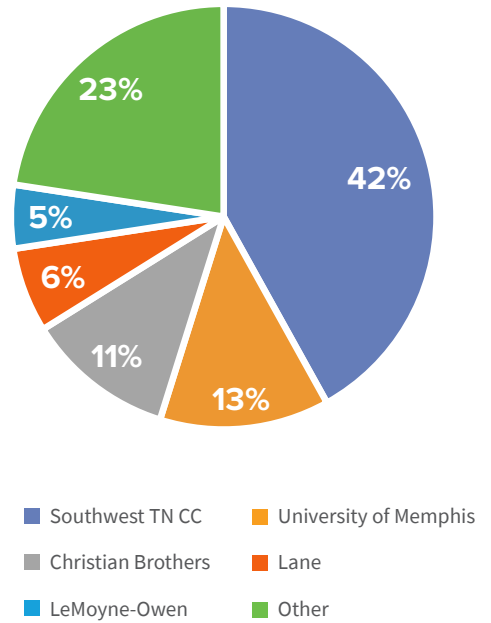
First to Second Year College Persistence



Class of 2017 College Enrollment and Persistence



Top Colleges by Class of 2018 Enrollment



1. Southwest TN CC (26)
 2. University of Memphis (8)
 3. Christian Brothers (7)
 4. Lane (4)
 5. LeMoyne-Owen (3)
 6. TCAT Memphis (2)
 7. TSU (2)
 8. UT Martin (2)
 9. Baptist Memorial College of Health (1)
 10. Dyersburg State CC (1)
- Other (6)

Manassas High School

82.6%

Economically Disadvantaged

100%

ESTIMATED

Students Eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch

0.9%

English Learners

98.0%

Black or African American

1.3%

Hispanic or Latinx

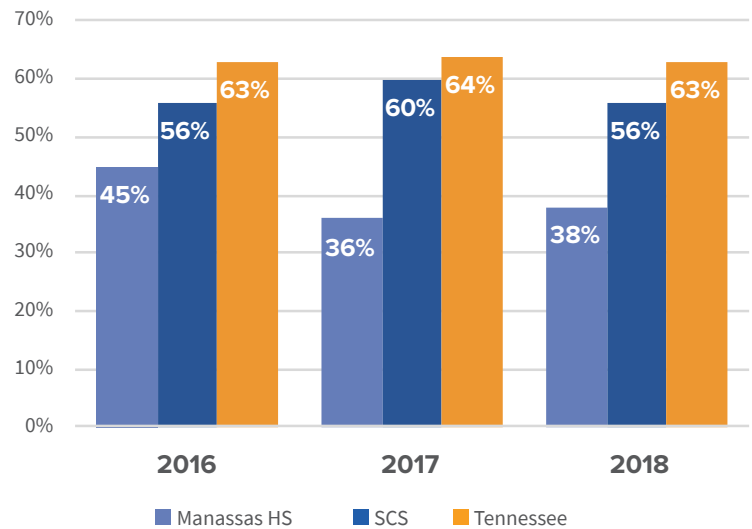
14.4

Average ACT Composite

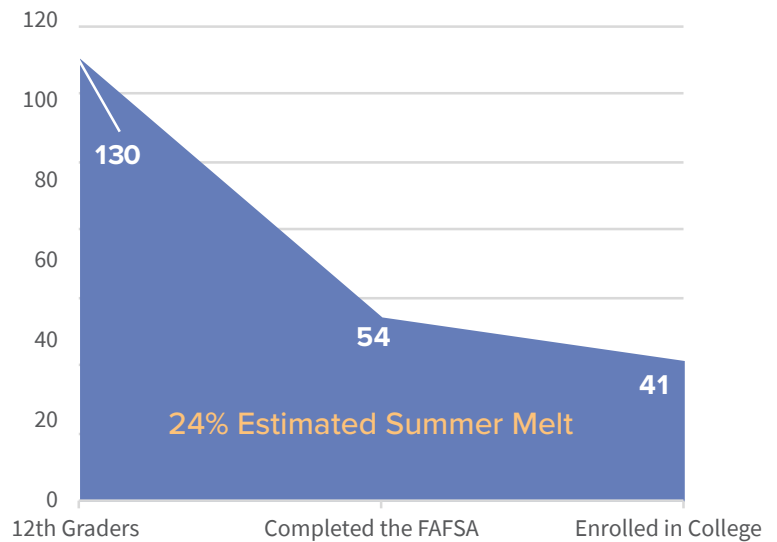
8%

College Completion Rate

College-Going Rate Over Time



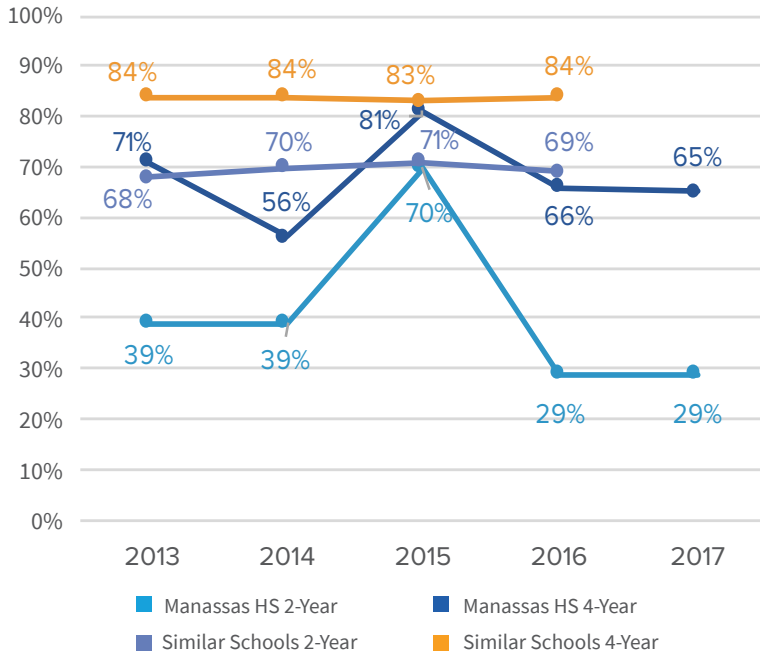
Class of 2018 High School to College Path



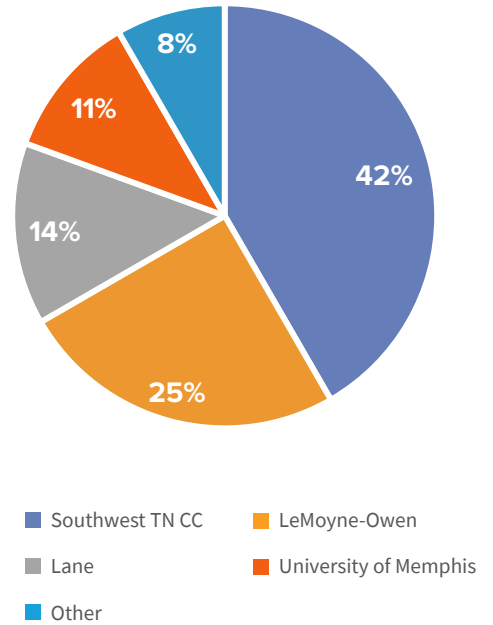
454 STUDENTS

(2018-19 School Year)

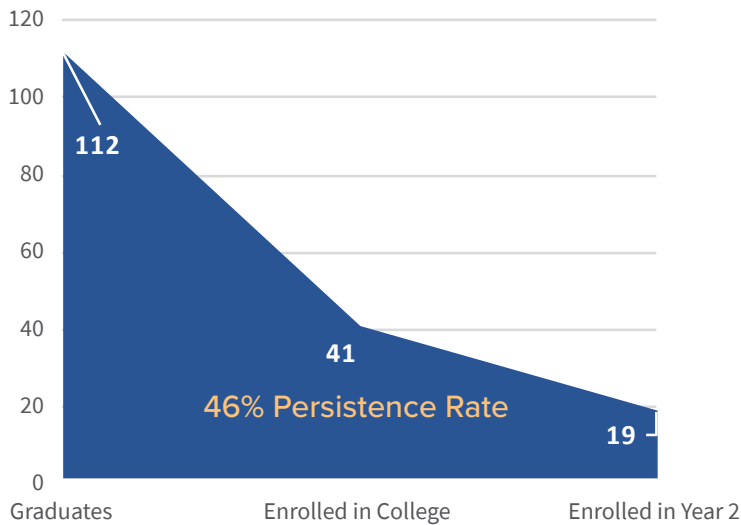
First to Second Year College Persistence



Top Colleges by Class of 2018 Enrollment



Class of 2017 College Enrollment and Persistence



1. Southwest TN CC (15)
2. LeMoyne-Owen (9)
3. Lane (5)
4. University of Memphis (4)
5. Jackson State University (1)
6. Lyon College (1)
7. MTSU (1)

Melrose High School

75.9%

Economically Disadvantaged

100%

ESTIMATED

Students Eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch

0.5%

English Learners

97.1%

Black or African American

2.4%

Hispanic or Latinx

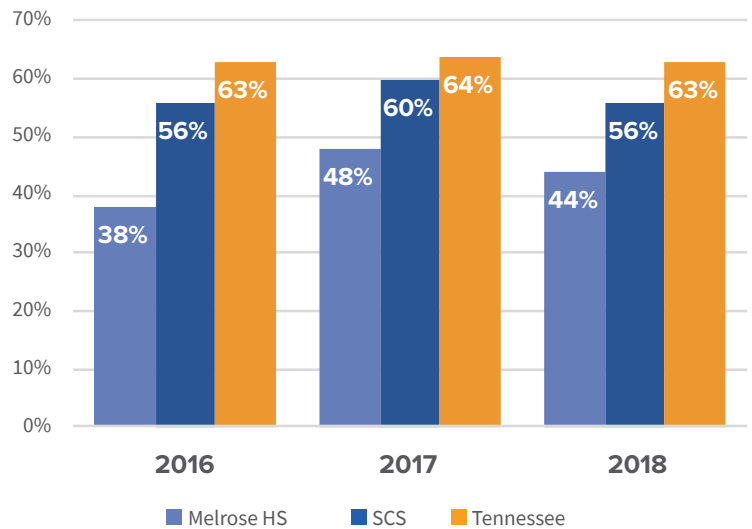
15.4

Average ACT Composite

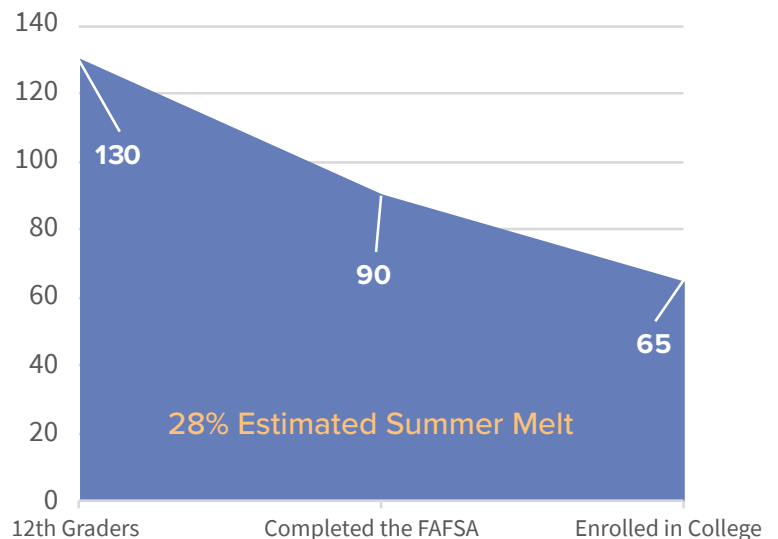
12%

College Completion Rate

College-Going Rate Over Time



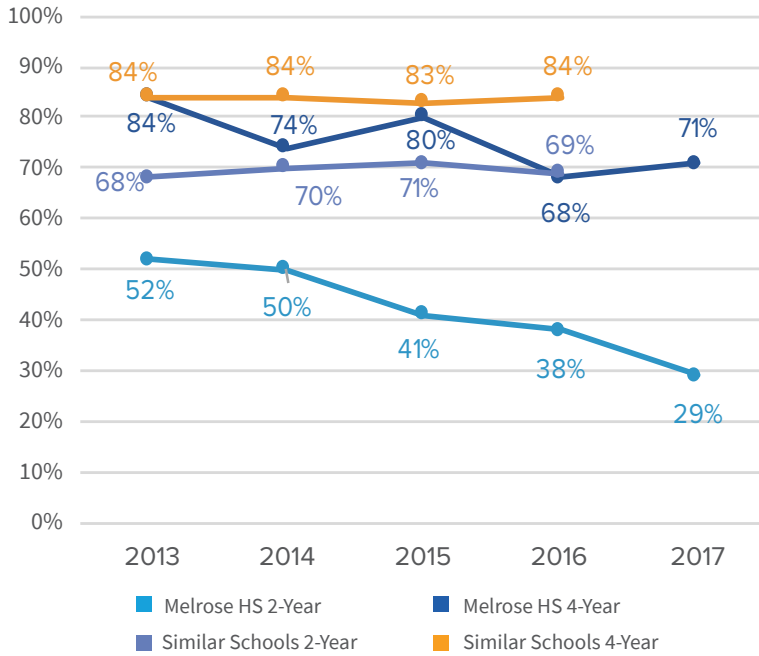
Class of 2018 High School to College Path



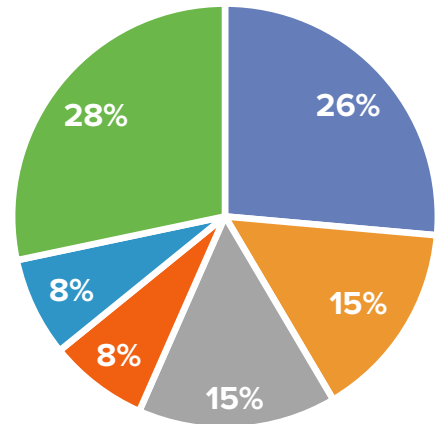
588 STUDENTS

(2018-19 School Year)

First to Second Year College Persistence

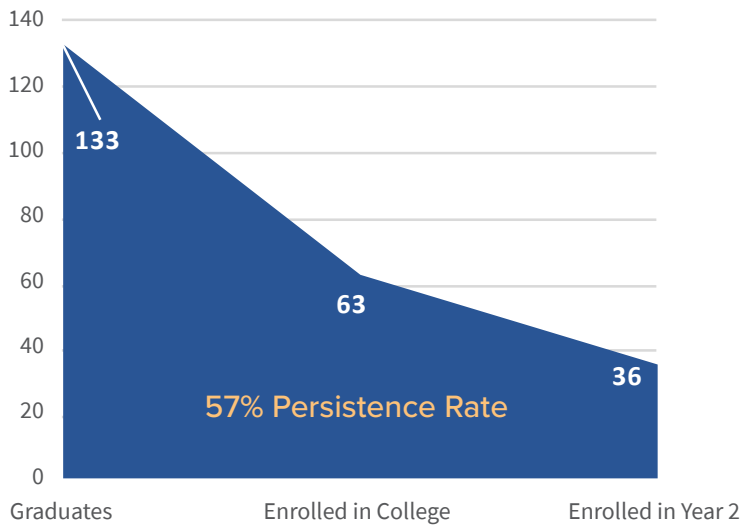


Top Colleges by Class of 2018 Enrollment



- Southwest TN CC
- Lane
- University of Memphis
- Mississippi Valley State
- TSU
- Other

Class of 2017 College Enrollment and Persistence



1. Southwest TN CC (14)
 2. Lane (8)
 3. University of Memphis (8)
 4. Mississippi Valley State (4)
 5. TSU (4)
 6. Austin Peay (3)
 7. University of Arkansas Pine Bluff (3)
 8. Alabama A&M (2)
 9. LeMoyne-Owen (2)
 10. Alcorn State (1)
- Other (4)

Middle College High School

27.9%

Economically Disadvantaged

45%

ESTIMATED

Students Eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch

0.0%

English Learners

89.3%

Black or African American

4.9%

Hispanic or Latinx

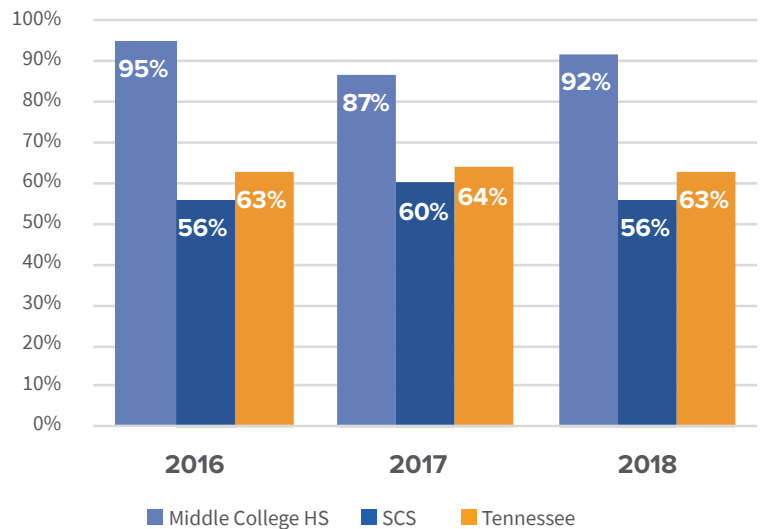
23.3

Average ACT Composite

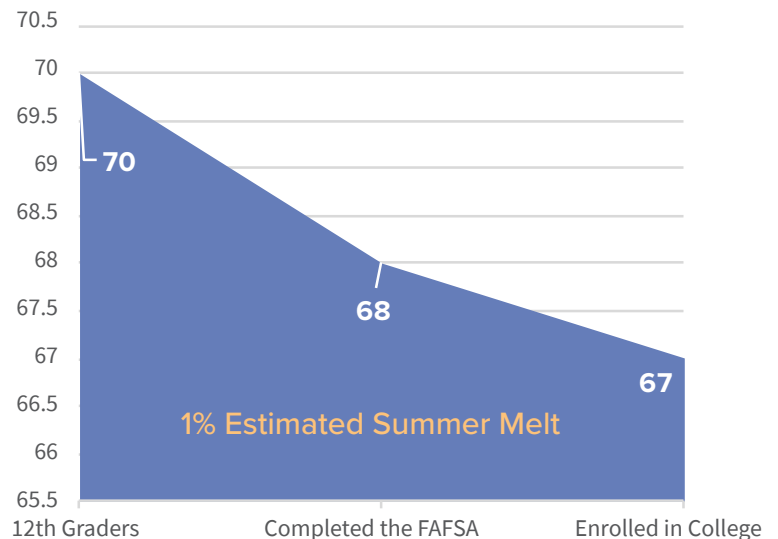
36%

College Completion Rate

College-Going Rate Over Time



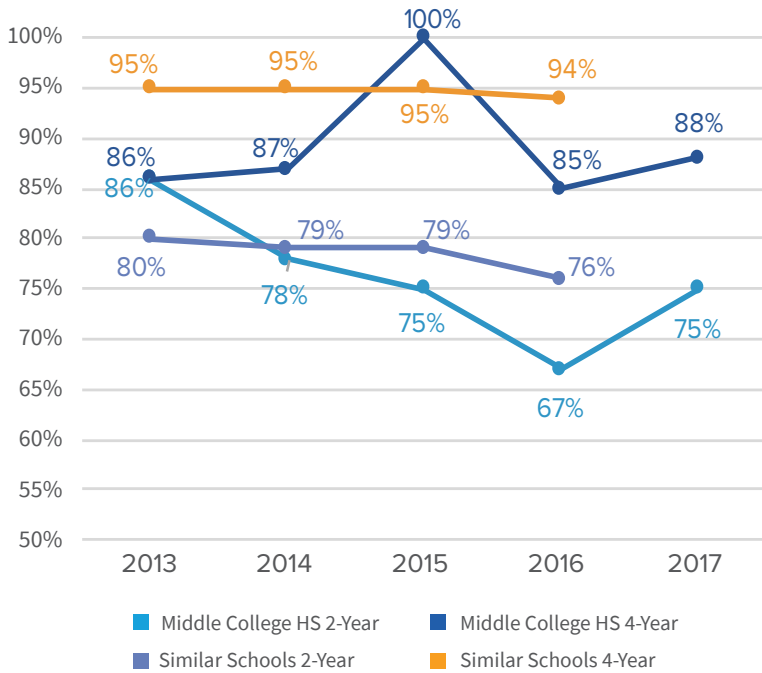
Class of 2018 High School to College Path



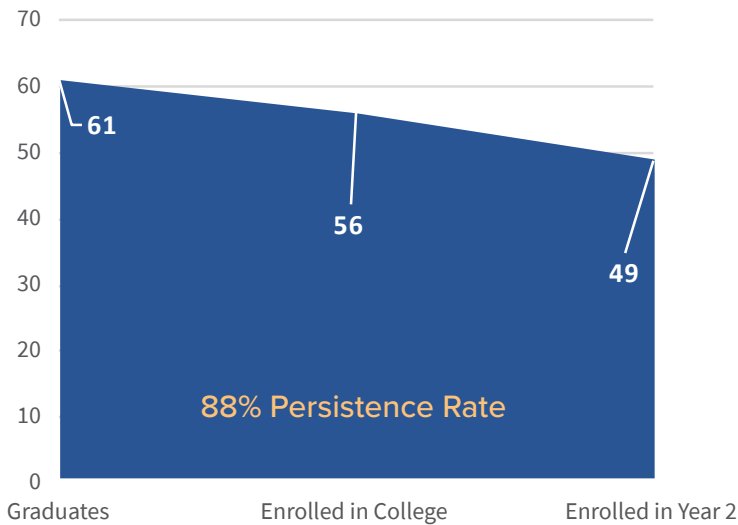
326 STUDENTS

(2018-19 School Year)

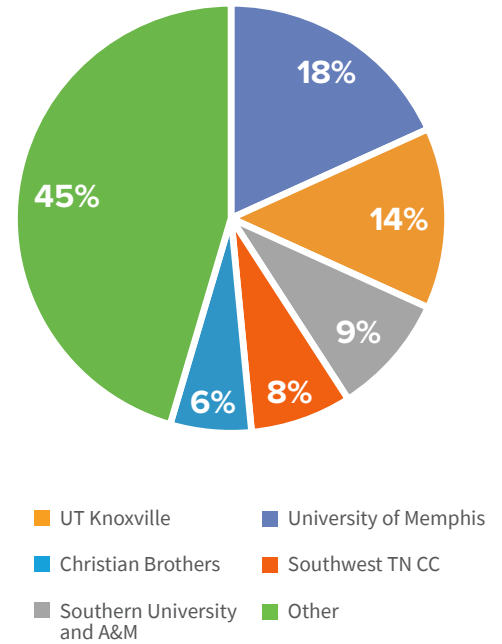
First to Second Year College Persistence



Class of 2017 College Enrollment and Persistence



Top Colleges by Class of 2018 Enrollment



1. University of Memphis (12)
 2. UT Knoxville (9)
 3. Southern University and A&M (6)
 4. Southwest TN CC (5)
 5. Christian Brothers (4)
 6. Xavier University of Louisiana (4)
 7. Austin Peay (3)
 8. Alcorn State (2)
 9. Harris-Stowe State (2)
 10. MTSU (2)
- Other (17)

Mitchell High School

77.0%

Economically Disadvantaged

100%

ESTIMATED

Students Eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch

0.4%

English Learners

98.7%

Black or African American

0.9%

Hispanic or Latinx

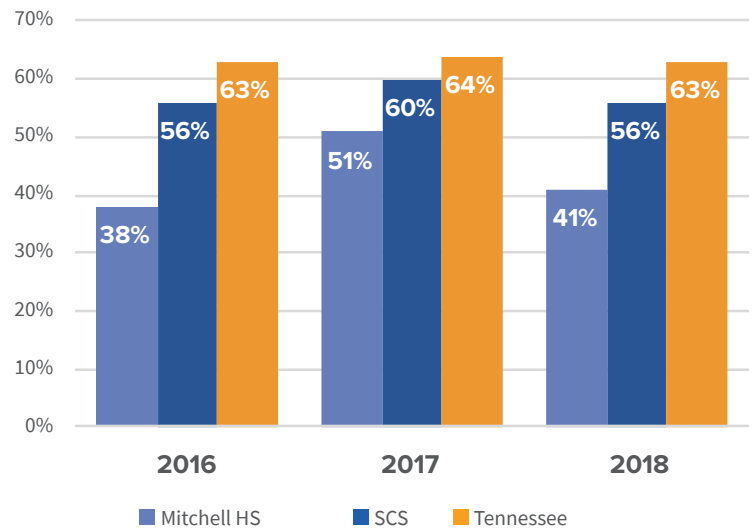
14.7

Average ACT Composite

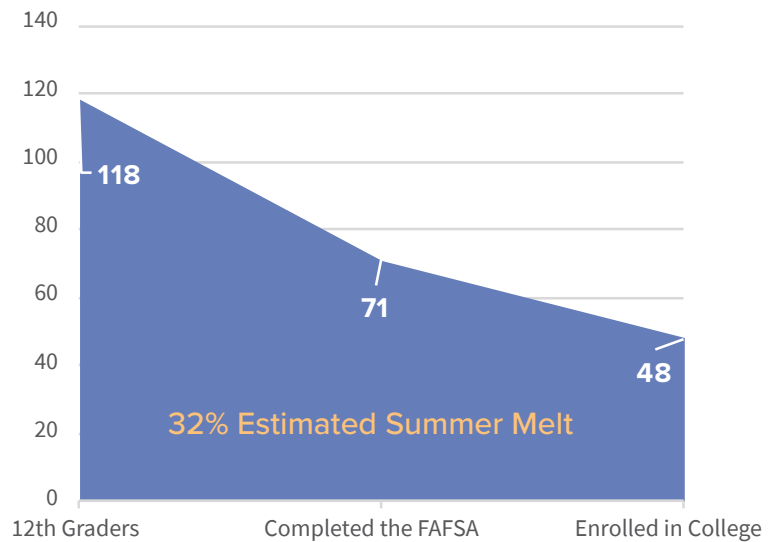
8%

College Completion Rate

College-Going Rate Over Time



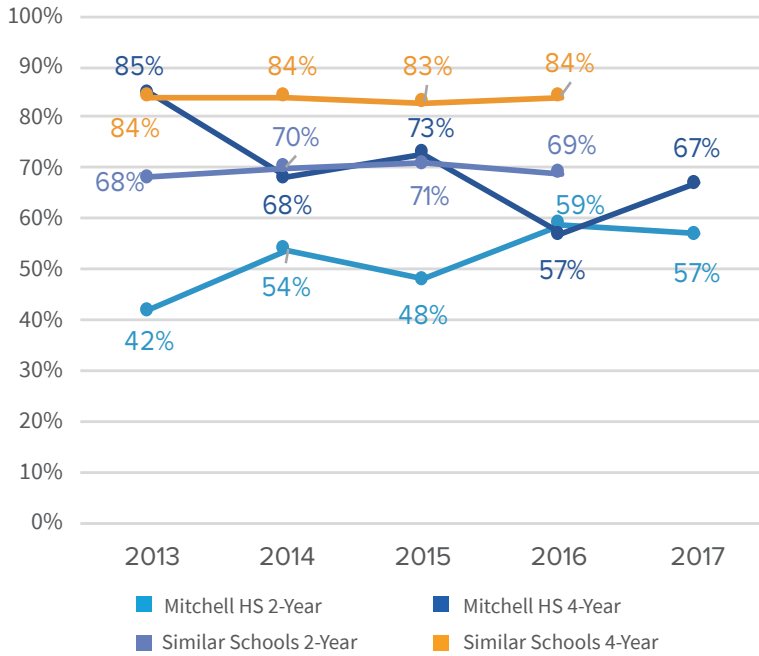
Class of 2018 High School to College Path



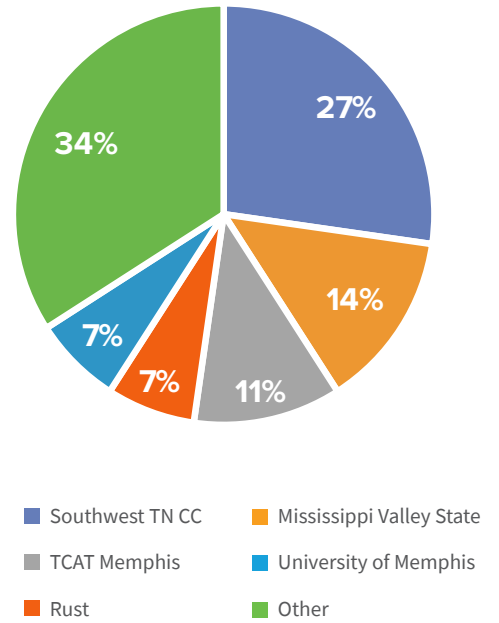
456 STUDENTS

(2018-19 School Year)

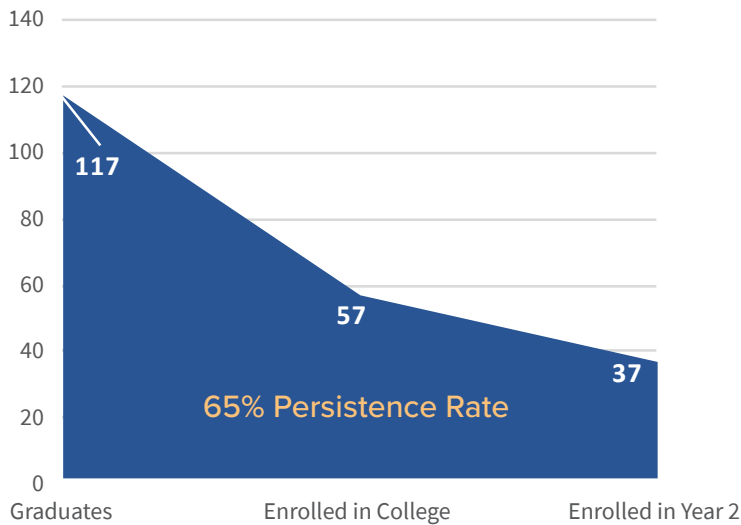
First to Second Year College Persistence



Top Colleges by Class of 2018 Enrollment



Class of 2017 College Enrollment and Persistence



1. Southwest TN CC (12)
 2. Mississippi Valley State (6)
 3. TCAT Memphis (5)
 4. Rust (3)
 5. University of Memphis (3)
 6. Coahoma CC (2)
 7. Lane (2)
 8. Austin Peay (1)
 9. Cleveland State CC (1)
 10. Fisk (1)
- Other (8)

Oakhaven High School

70.2%

Economically Disadvantaged

100%

ESTIMATED

Students Eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch

2.7%

English Learners

90.3%

Black or African American

8.6%

Hispanic or Latinx

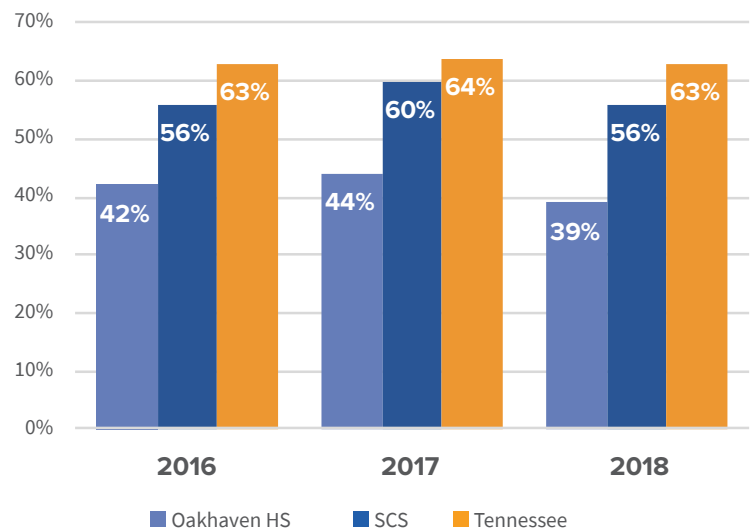
15

Average ACT Composite

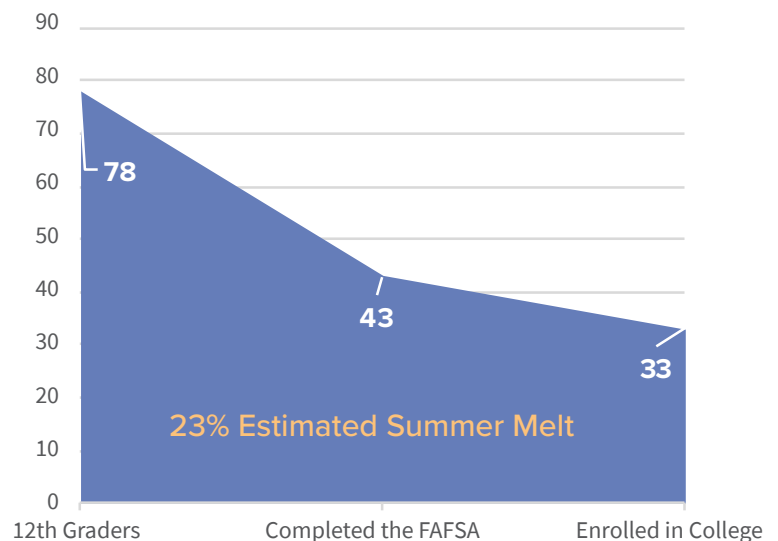
9%

College Completion Rate

College-Going Rate Over Time



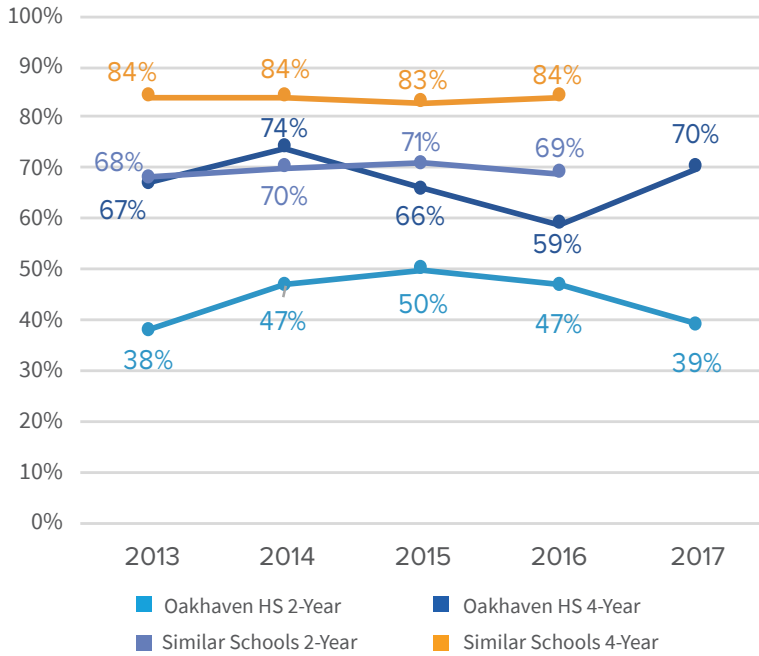
Class of 2018 High School to College Path



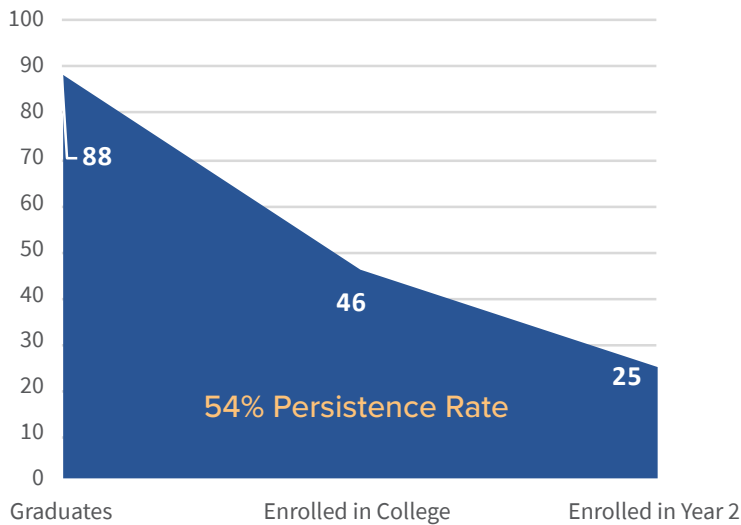
339 STUDENTS

(2018-19 School Year)

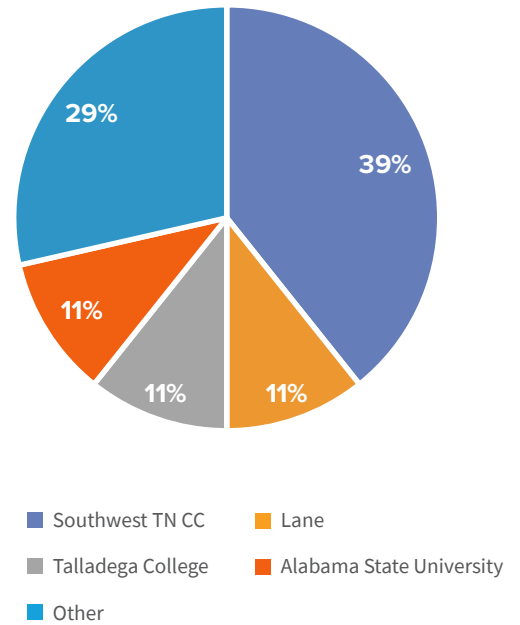
First to Second Year College Persistence



Class of 2017 College Enrollment and Persistence



Top Colleges by Class of 2018 Enrollment



1. Southwest TN CC (11)
 2. Lane (3)
 3. Talladega College (3)
 4. University of Memphis (3)
 5. Alabama State University (1)
 6. Delta State University (1)
 7. Jackson State University (1)
 8. LeMoyne-Owen (1)
 9. Strayer (1)
 10. TSU (1)
- Other (2)

Overton High School

53.9%

Economically Disadvantaged

86%

ESTIMATED

Students Eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch

11.6%

English Learners

68.3%

Black or African American

25.4%

Hispanic or Latinx

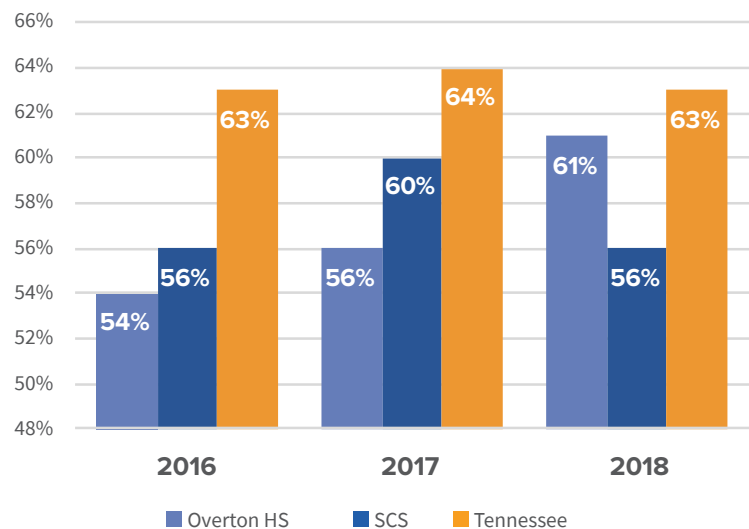
18.1

Average ACT Composite

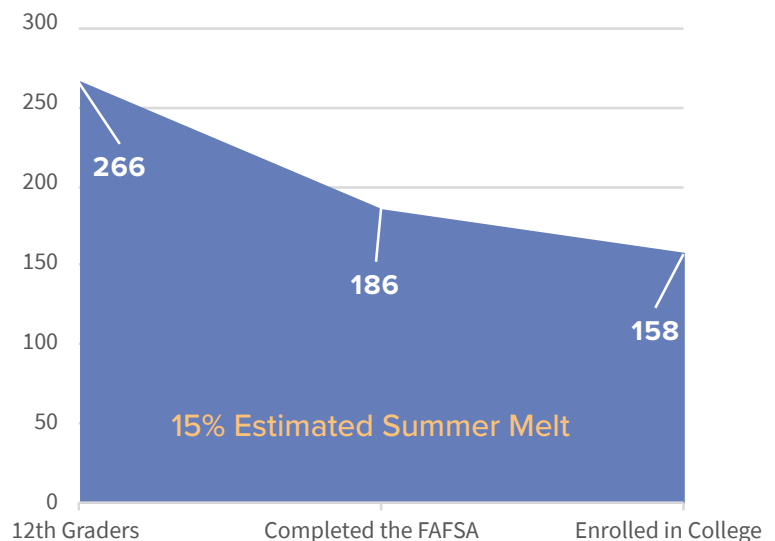
26%

College Completion Rate

College-Going Rate Over Time



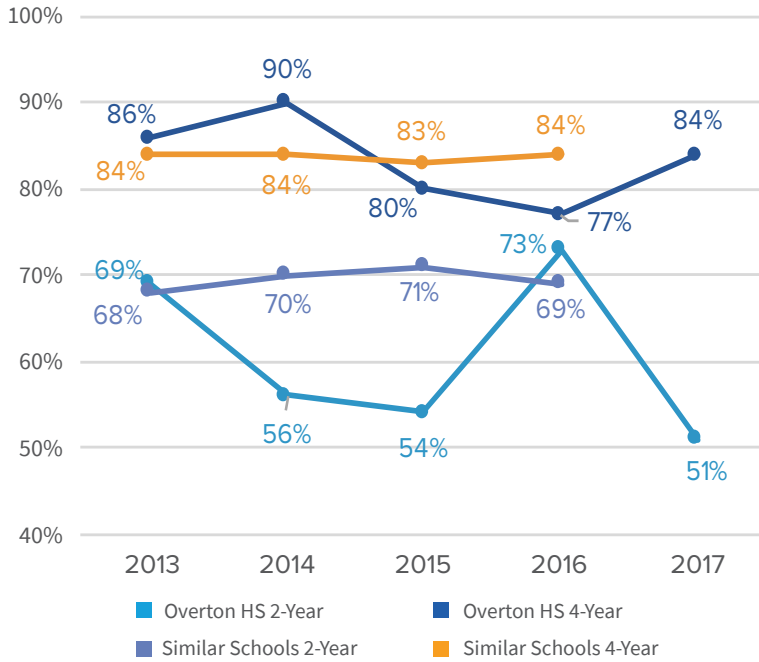
Class of 2018 High School to College Path



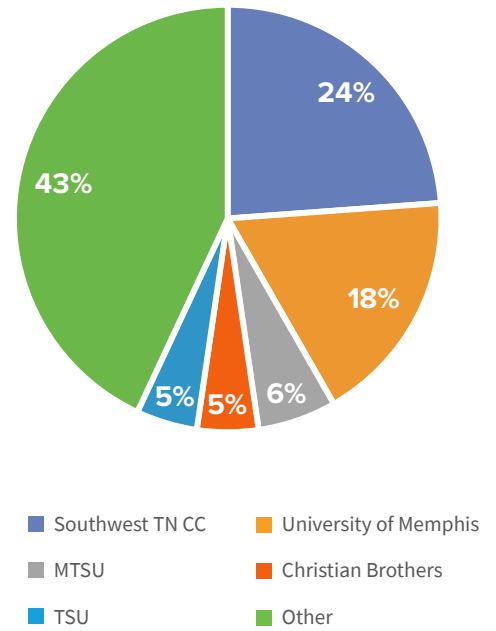
1,116 STUDENTS

(2018-19 School Year)

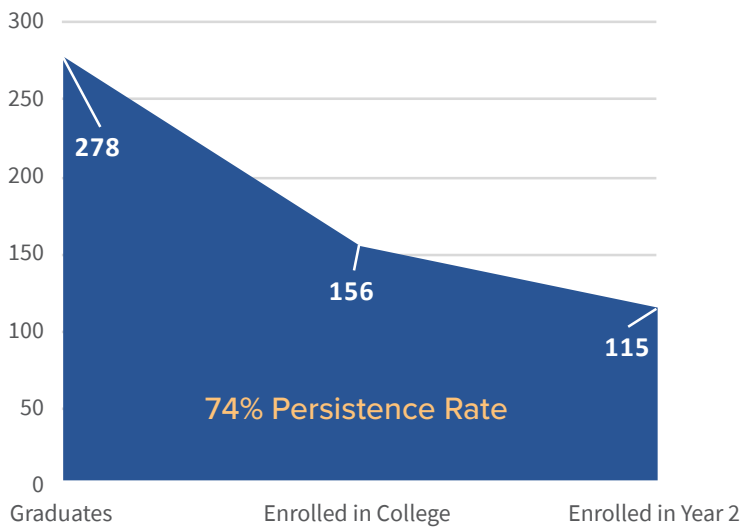
First to Second Year College Persistence



Top Colleges by Class of 2018 Enrollment



Class of 2017 College Enrollment and Persistence



1. Southwest TN CC (36)
 2. University of Memphis (27)
 3. MTSU (9)
 4. Christian Brothers (7)
 5. TSU (7)
 6. UT Knoxville (6)
 7. Alcorn State (3)
 8. Austin Peay (3)
 9. Rust (3)
 10. UT Chattanooga (3)
- Other (47)

Raleigh Egypt High School

76.6%

Economically Disadvantaged

100%

ESTIMATED

Students Eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch

2.8%

English Learners

85.2%

Black or African American

12.7%

Hispanic or Latinx

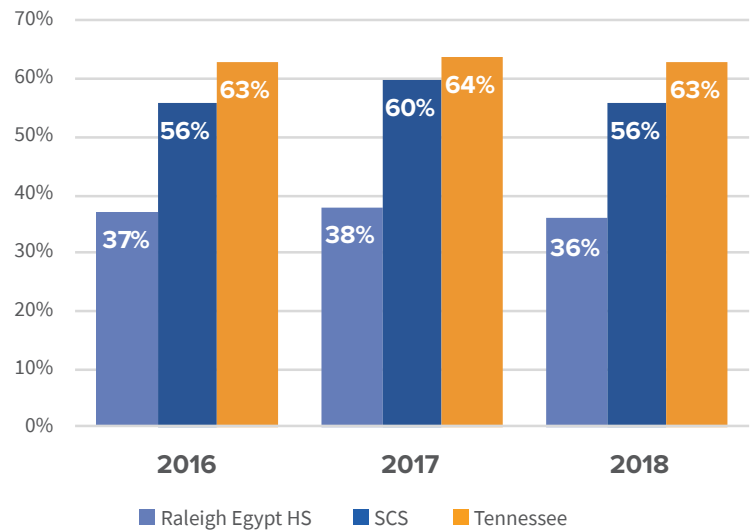
15.2

Average ACT Composite

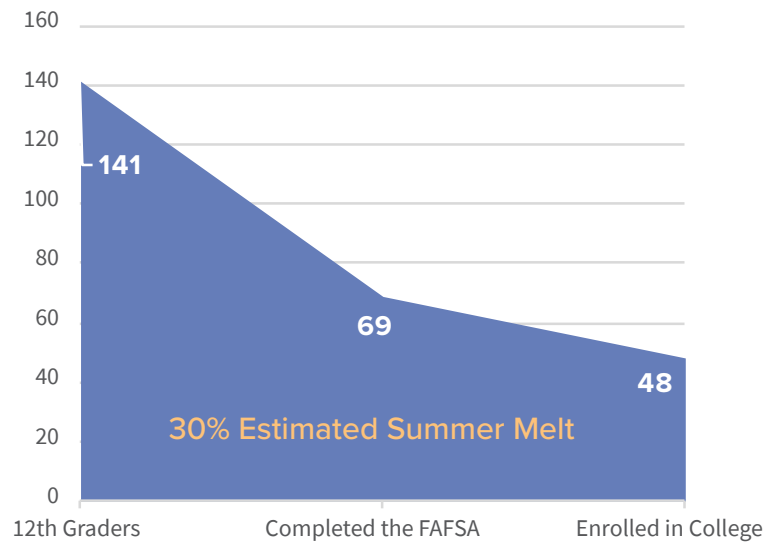
10%

College Completion Rate

College-Going Rate Over Time



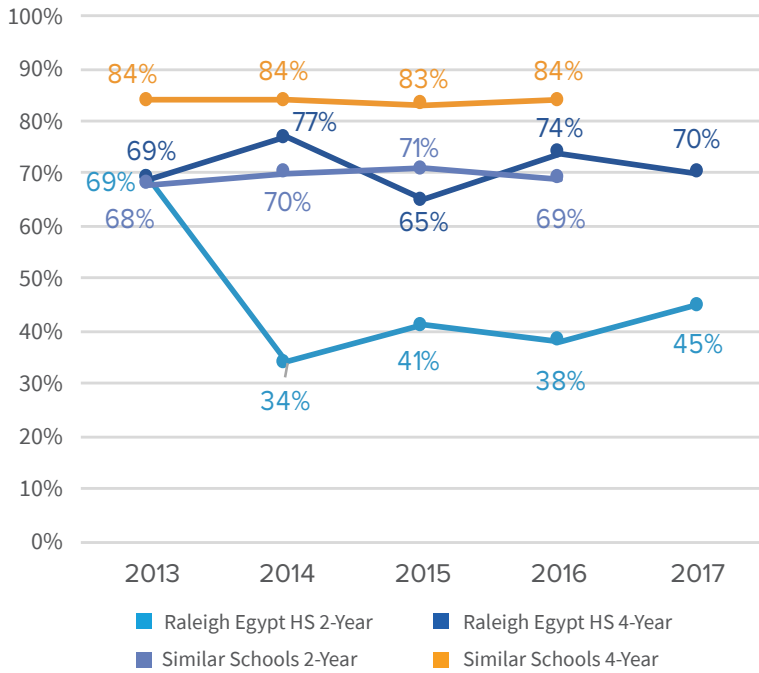
Class of 2018 High School to College Path



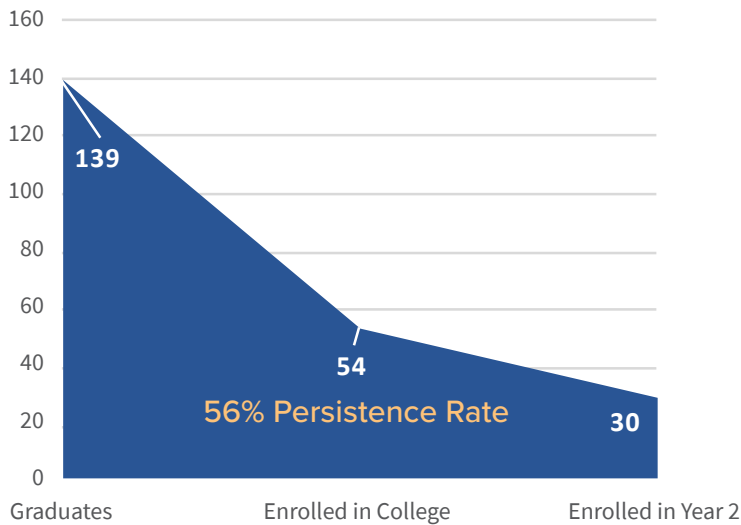
1,006 STUDENTS

(2018-19 School Year)

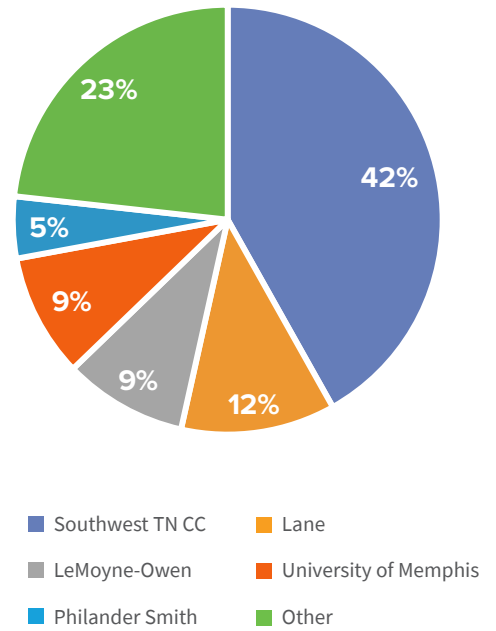
First to Second Year College Persistence



Class of 2017 College Enrollment and Persistence



Top Colleges by Class of 2018 Enrollment



1. Southwest TN CC (18)
 2. Lane (5)
 3. LeMoyne-Owen (4)
 4. University of Memphis (4)
 5. Philander Smith (2)
 6. Bethel (1)
 7. Dyersburg State CC (1)
 8. Fullerton College (1)
 9. Galen College of Nursing (1)
 10. Itawamba CC (1)
- Other (5)

Ridgeway High School

47.7%

Economically Disadvantaged

76%

ESTIMATED

Students Eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch

1.2%

English Learners

92.8%

Black or African American

4.8%

Hispanic or Latinx

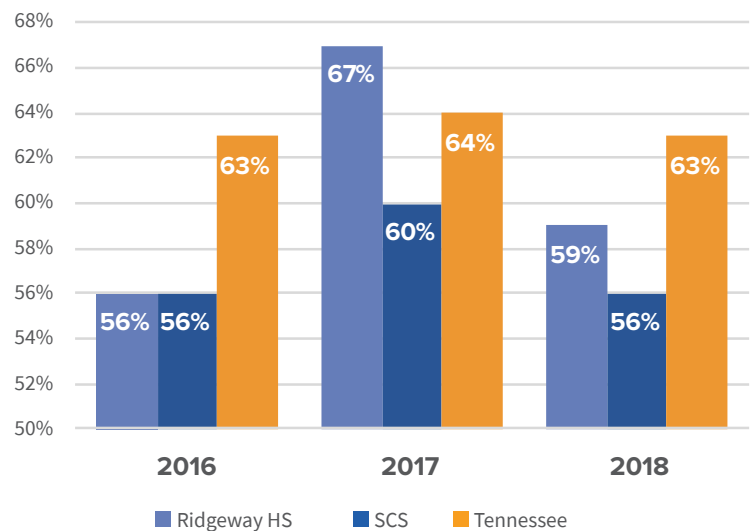
17.1

Average ACT Composite

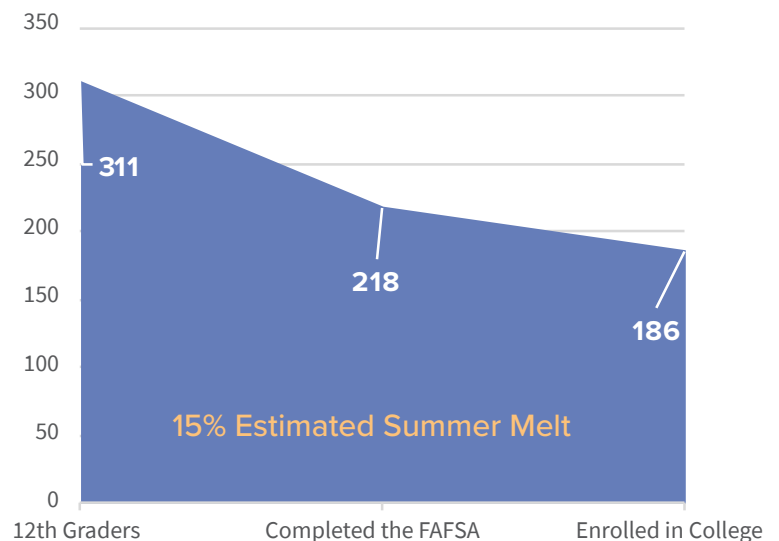
28%

College Completion Rate

College-Going Rate Over Time



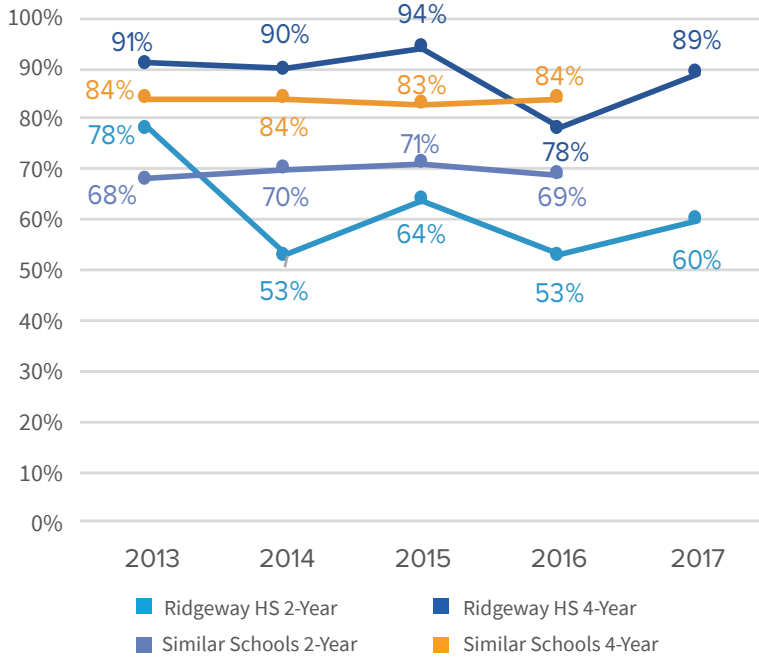
Class of 2018 High School to College Path



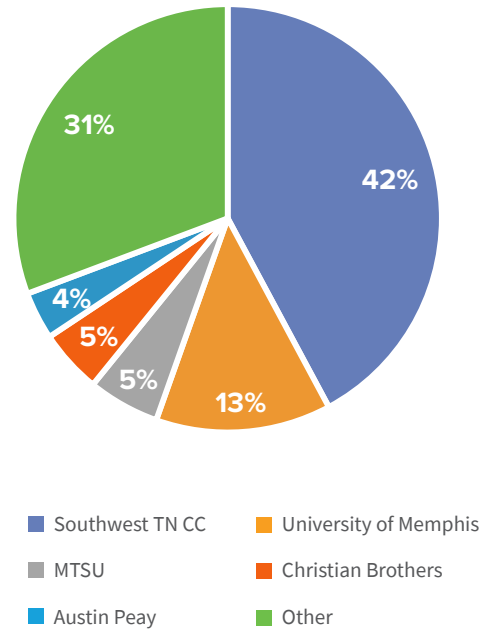
1,184 STUDENTS

(2018-19 School Year)

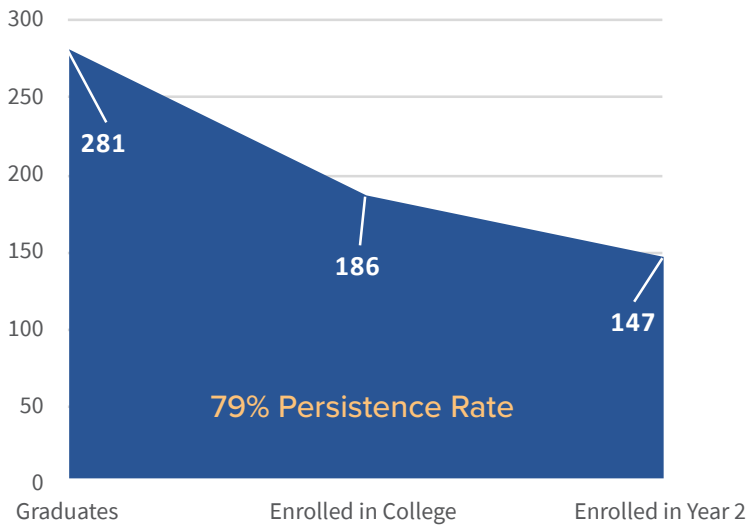
First to Second Year College Persistence



Top Colleges by Class of 2018 Enrollment



Class of 2017 College Enrollment and Persistence



1. Southwest TN CC (70)
 2. University of Memphis (22)
 3. MTSU (9)
 4. Christian Brothers (8)
 5. Austin Peay (6)
 6. Lane (5)
 7. LeMoyné-Owen (5)
 8. UT Knoxville (5)
 9. Alabama State University (2)
 10. Bethel (2)
- Other (32)

Sheffield High School

59.7%

Economically Disadvantaged

96%

ESTIMATED

Students Eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch

22.8%

English Learners

66.9%

Black or African American

31.3%

Hispanic or Latinx

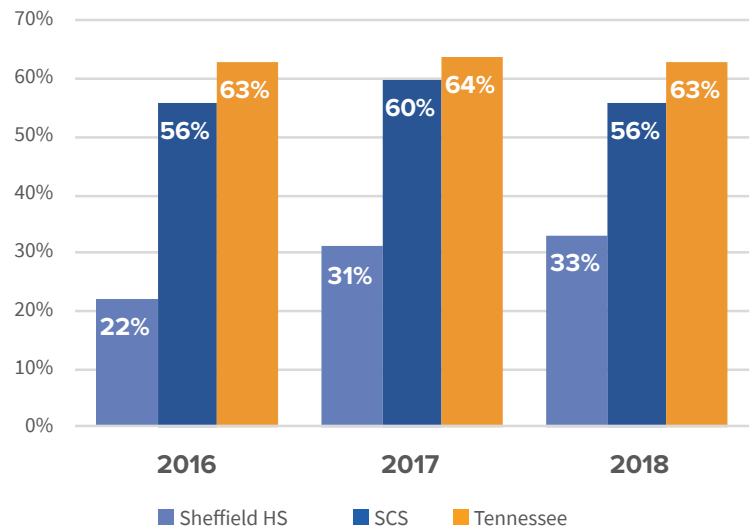
14.6

Average ACT Composite

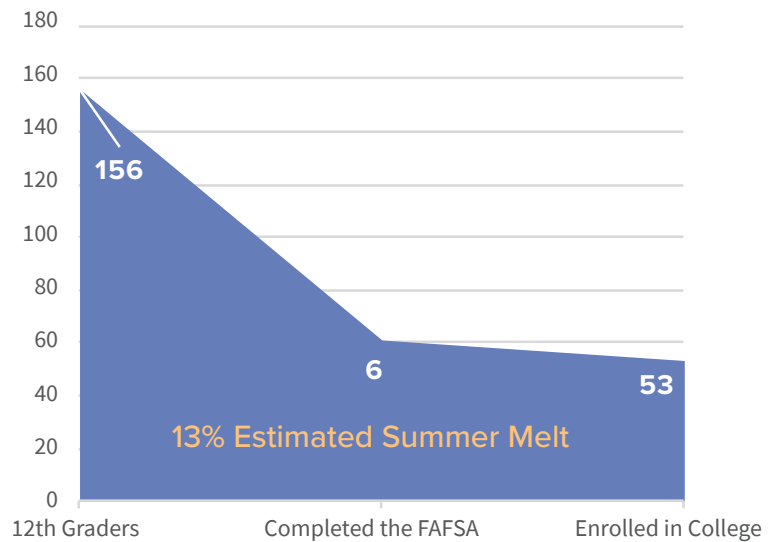
9%

College Completion Rate

College-Going Rate Over Time



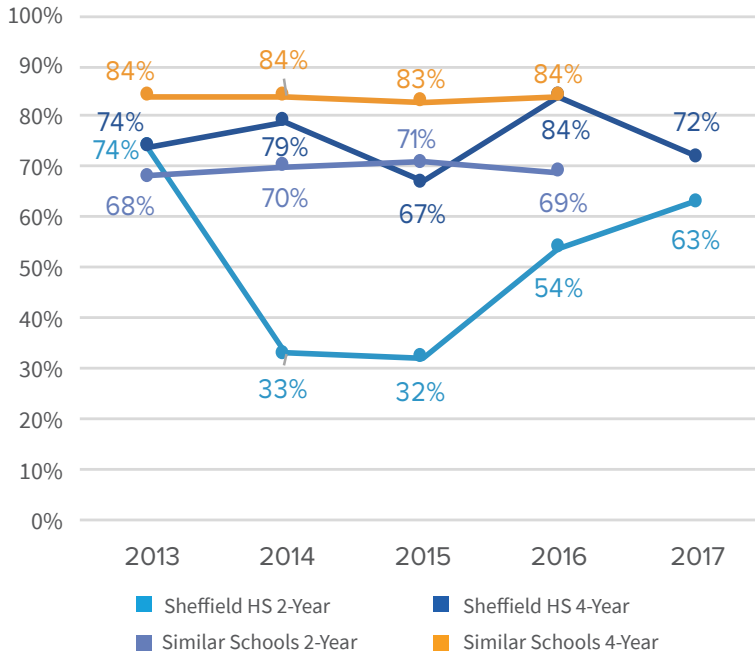
Class of 2018 High School to College Path



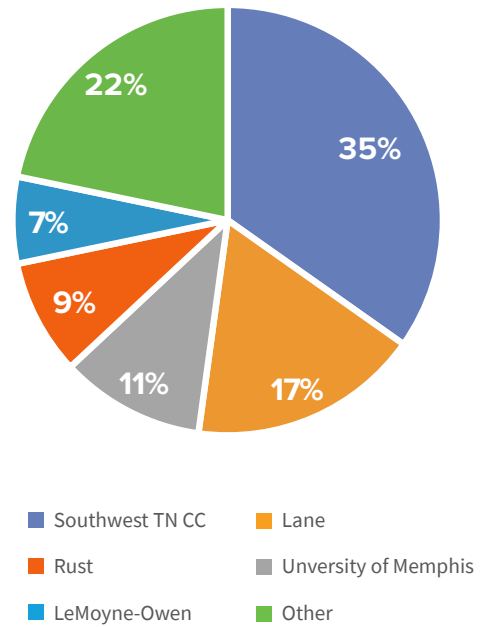
668 STUDENTS

(2018-19 School Year)

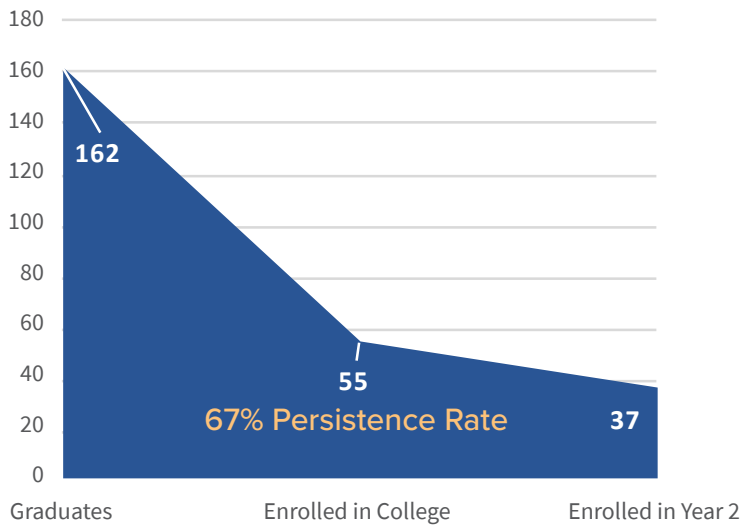
First to Second Year College Persistence



Top Colleges by Class of 2018 Enrollment



Class of 2017 College Enrollment and Persistence



1. Southwest TN CC (16)
 2. Lane (8)
 3. University of Memphis (5)
 4. Rust (4)
 5. LeMoyne-Owen (3)
 6. Chattanooga State CC (1)
 7. Cleveland State CC (1)
 8. Kentucky State University (1)
 9. Milwaukee Area Tech College (1)
 10. Mississippi Valley State University (1)
- Other (5)

Southwind High School

42.9%

Economically Disadvantaged

69%

ESTIMATED

Students Eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch

3.5%

English Learners

83.7%

Black or African American

14.6%

Hispanic or Latinx

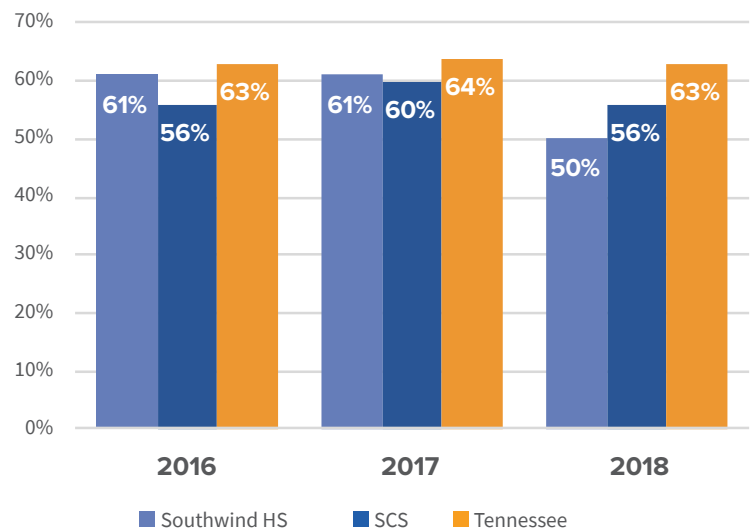
16.6

Average ACT Composite

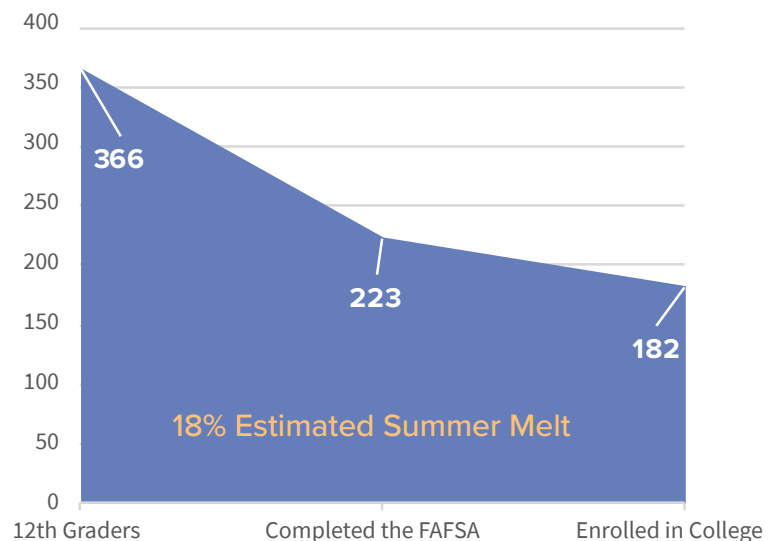
N/A

College Completion Rate

College-Going Rate Over Time



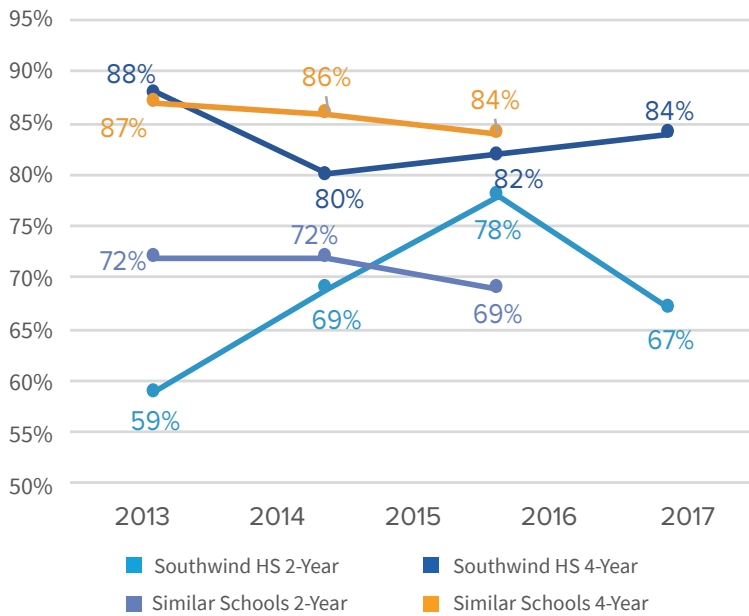
Class of 2018 High School to College Path



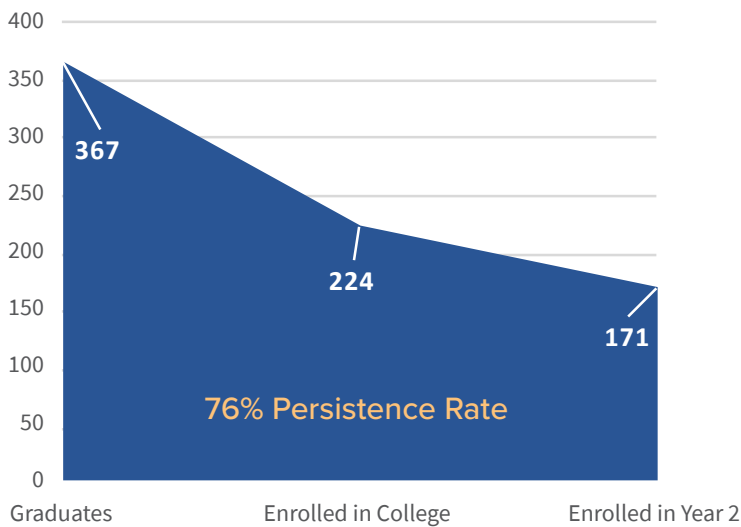
1,640 STUDENTS

(2018-19 School Year)

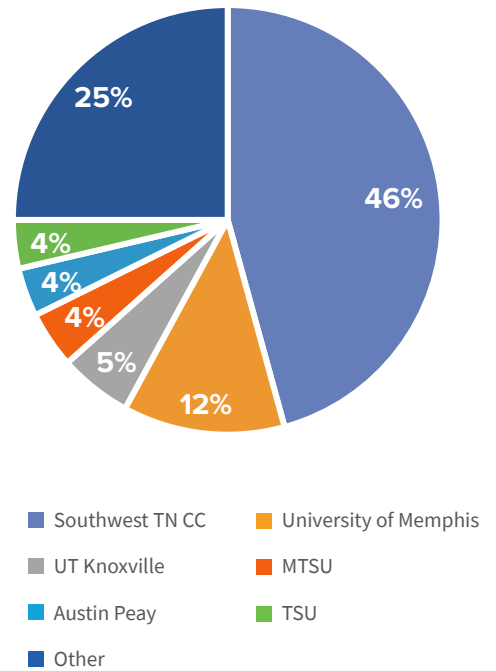
First to Second Year College Persistence



Class of 2017 College Enrollment and Persistence



Top Colleges by Class of 2018 Enrollment



1. Southwest TN CC (75)
 2. University of Memphis (20)
 3. UT Knoxville (9)
 4. MTSU (7)
 5. Austin Peay (6)
 6. TSU (6)
 7. Christian Brothers (3)
 8. Coahoma CC (3)
 9. Jackson State University (3)
 10. TCAT Memphis (3)
- Other (29)

Trezevant High School

80.3%

Economically Disadvantaged

100%

ESTIMATED

Students Eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch

0.7%

English Learners

96.8%

Black or African American

2.3%

Hispanic or Latinx

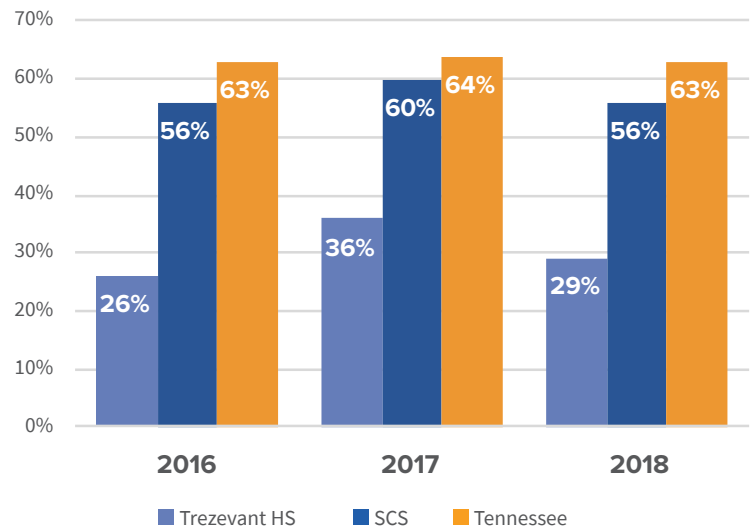
14.2

Average ACT Composite

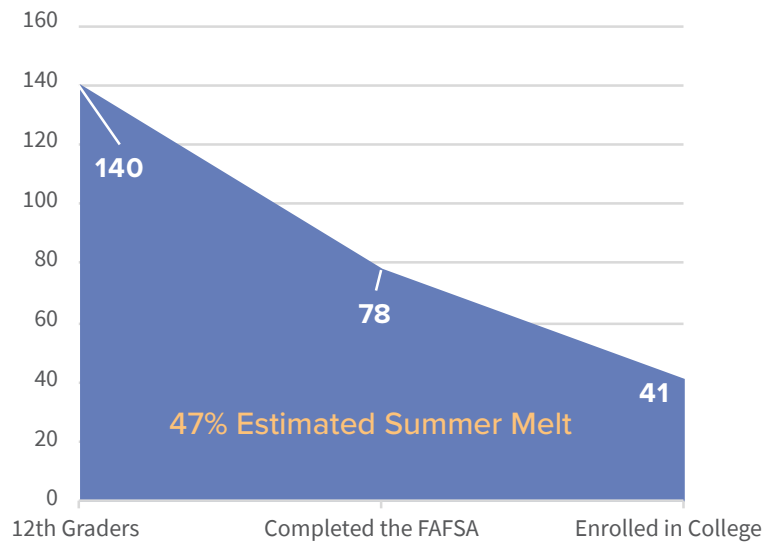
15%

College Completion Rate

College-Going Rate Over Time



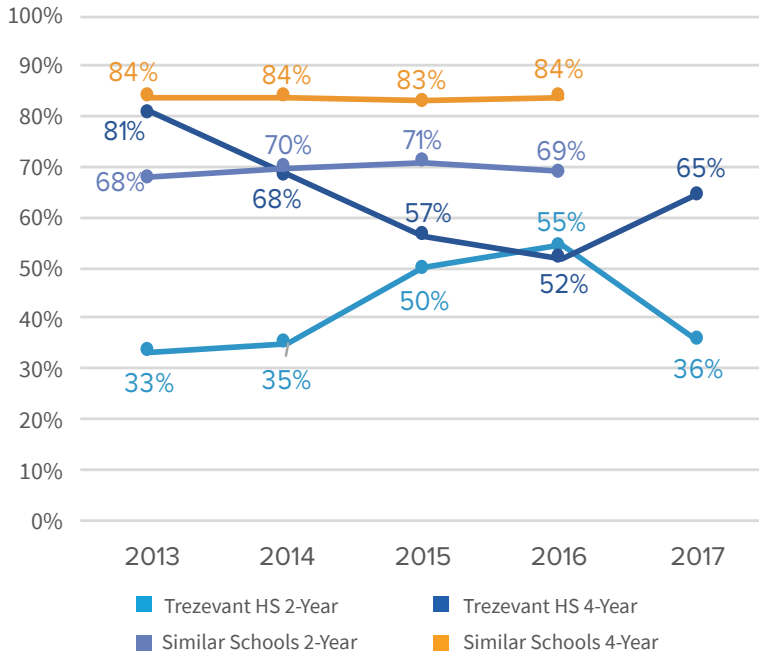
Class of 2018 High School to College Path



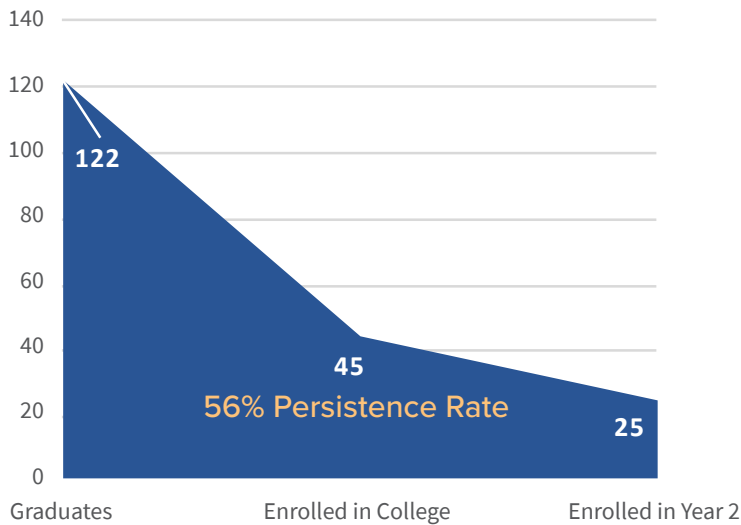
554 STUDENTS

(2018-19 School Year)

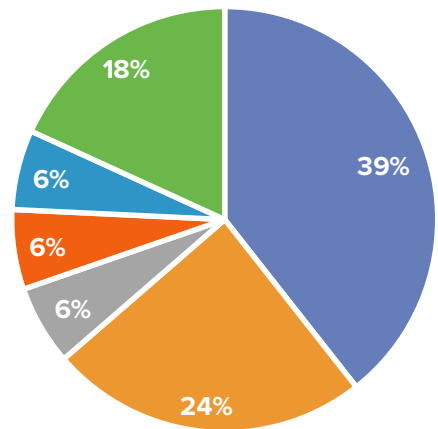
First to Second Year College Persistence



Class of 2017 College Enrollment and Persistence



Top Colleges by Class of 2018 Enrollment



- Lane
- Southwest TN CC
- Austin Peay
- LeMoyne-Owen
- TCAT Memphis
- Other

1. Lane (13)
2. Southwest TN CC (8)
3. Austin Peay (2)
4. LeMoyne-Owen (2)
5. TCAT Memphis (2)
6. Lincoln University (1)
7. Mississippi Valley State University (1)
8. Rust (1)
9. Strayer University (1)
10. UEI College (1)
- Other (1)

Westwood High School

76.7%

Economically Disadvantaged

100%

ESTIMATED

Students Eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch

0.8%

English Learners

99.2%

Black or African American

0.5%

Hispanic or Latinx

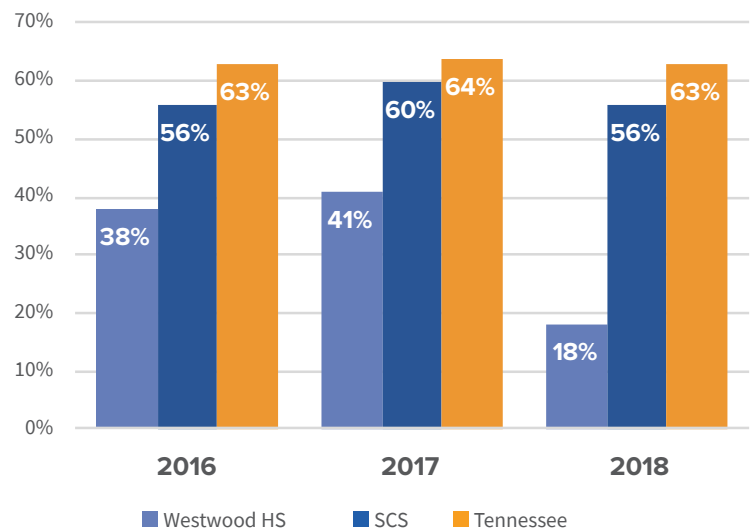
15.7

Average ACT Composite

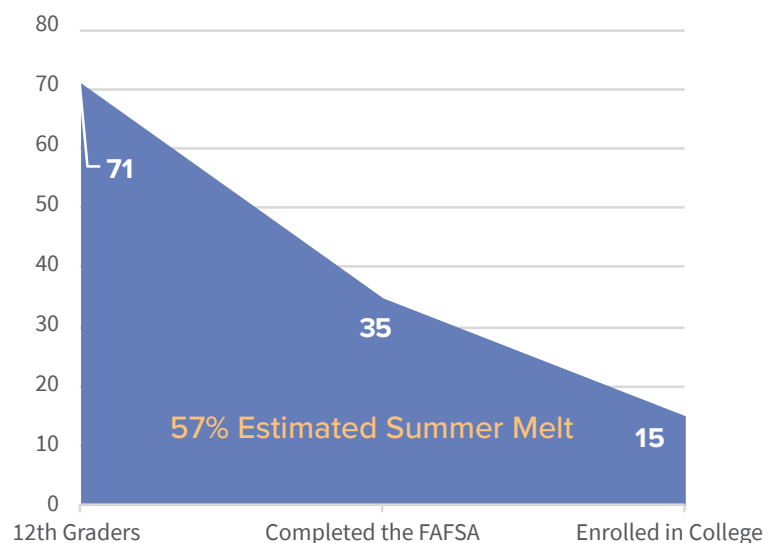
9%

College Completion Rate

College-Going Rate Over Time



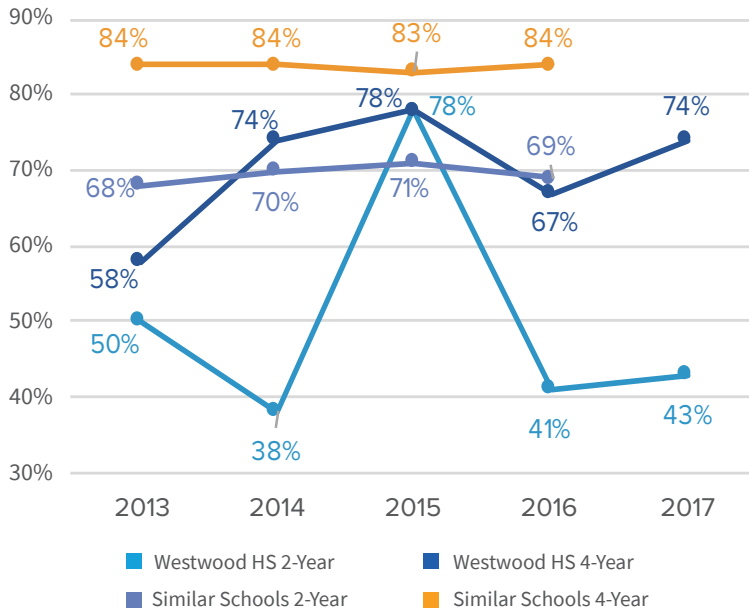
Class of 2018 High School to College Path



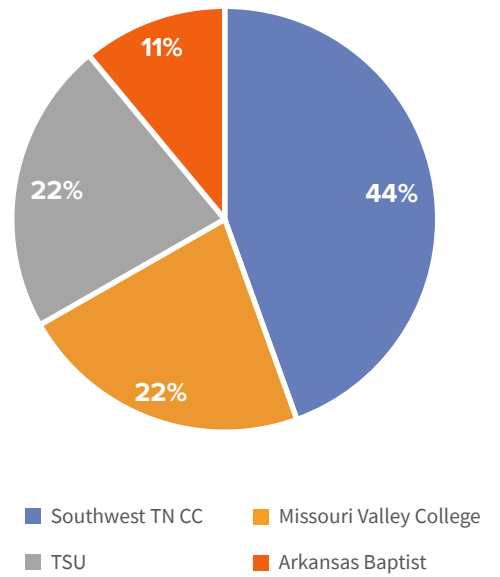
373 STUDENTS

(2018-19 School Year)

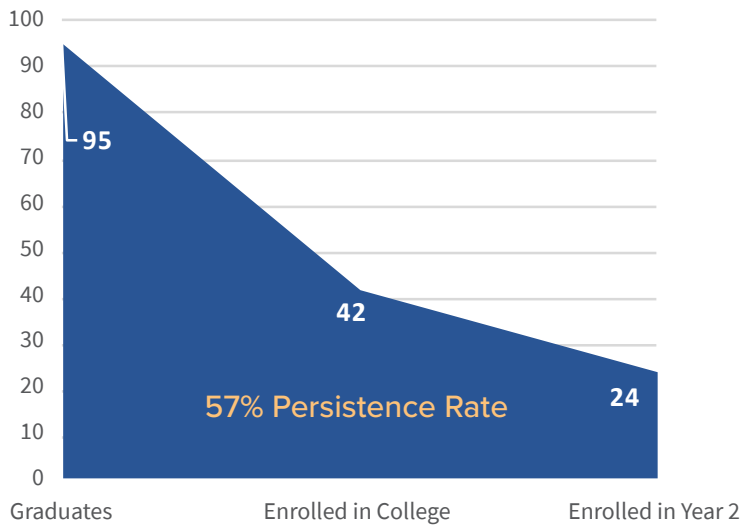
First to Second Year College Persistence



Top Colleges by Class of 2018 Enrollment



Class of 2017 College Enrollment and Persistence



1. Southwest TN CC (4)
 2. Missouri Valley College (2)
 3. TSU (2)
 4. Arkansas Baptist (1)
- Other (0)

Whitehaven High School

54.6%

Economically Disadvantaged

87%

ESTIMATED

Students Eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch

0.7%

English Learners

99.3%

Black or African American

0.4%

Hispanic or Latinx

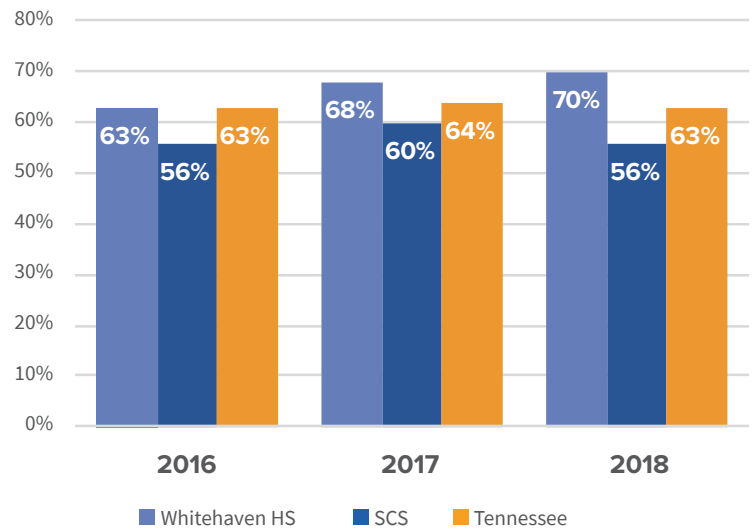
18.1

Average ACT Composite

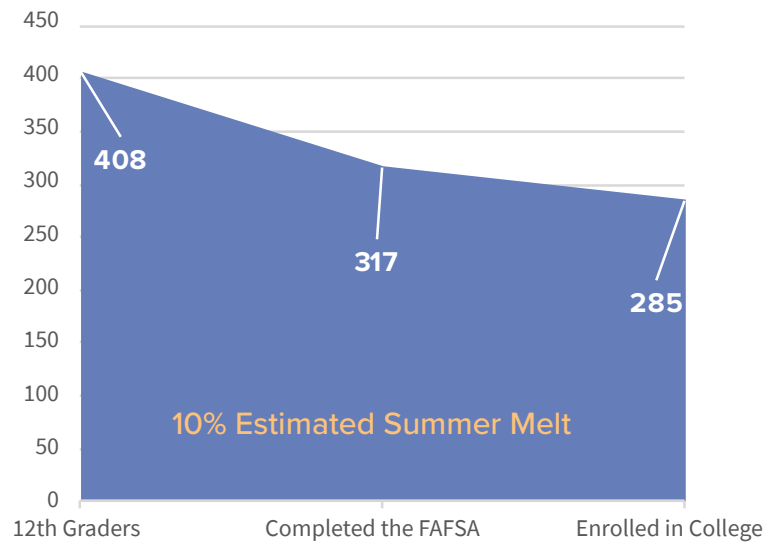
23%

College Completion Rate

College-Going Rate Over Time



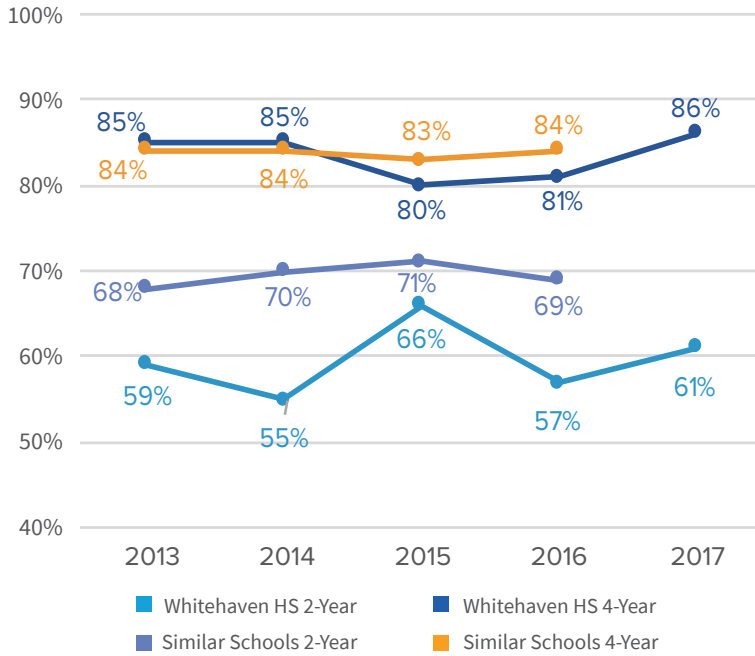
Class of 2018 High School to College Path



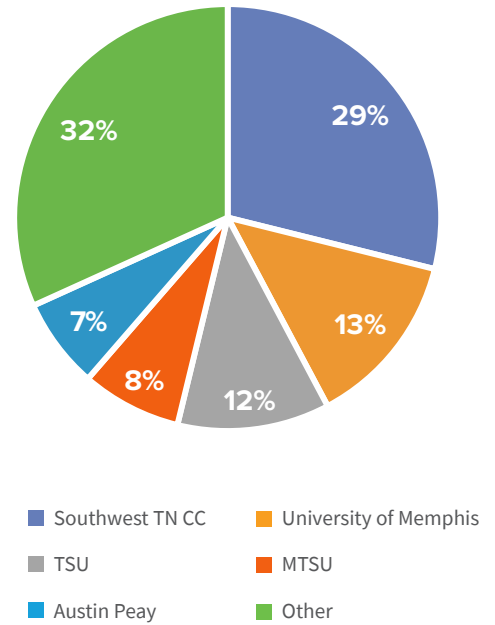
1,652 STUDENTS

(2018-19 School Year)

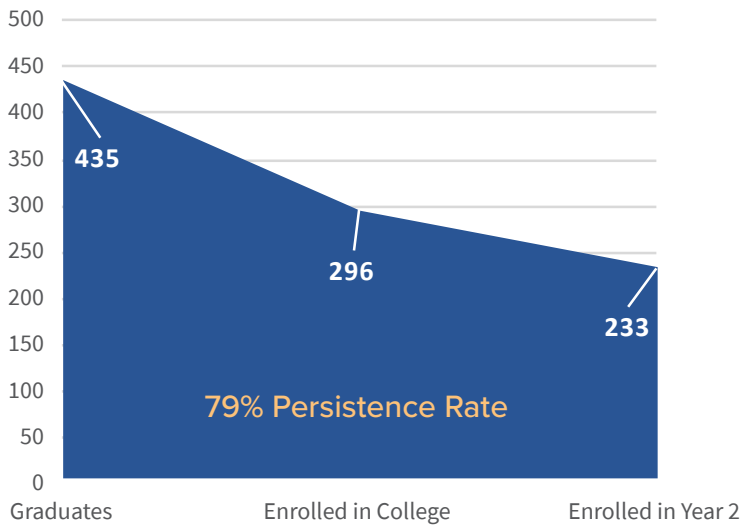
First to Second Year College Persistence



Top Colleges by Class of 2018 Enrollment



Class of 2017 College Enrollment and Persistence



1. Southwest TN CC (80)
 2. University of Memphis (37)
 3. TSU (32)
 4. MTSU (21)
 5. Austin Peay (19)
 6. Lane (13)
 7. Alcorn State (7)
 8. Bethel (7)
 9. Southern University and A&M (7)
 10. Coahoma CC (5)
- Other (49)

White Station High School

27.1%

Economically Disadvantaged

43%

ESTIMATED

Students Eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch

3.7%

English Learners

45.4%

Black or African American

14.6%

Hispanic or Latinx

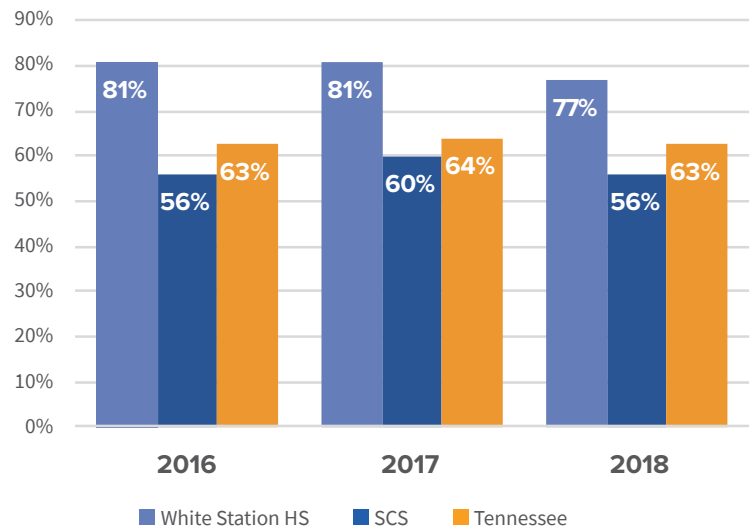
23.6

Average ACT Composite

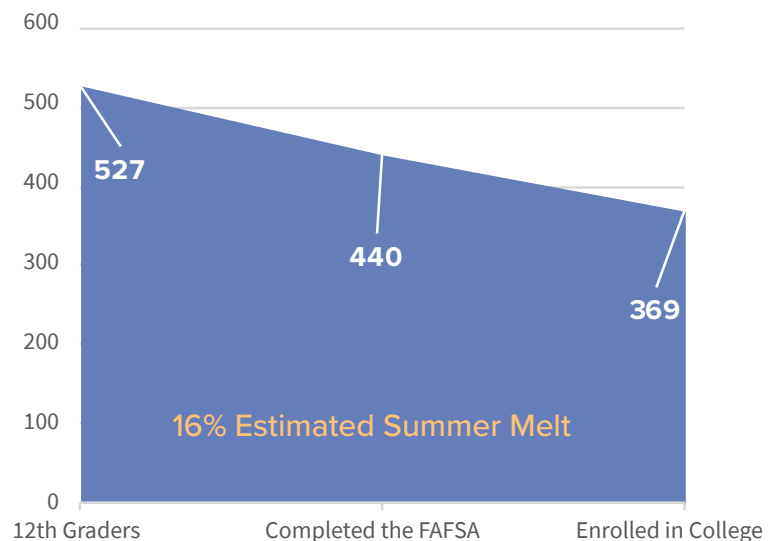
61%

College Completion Rate

College-Going Rate Over Time



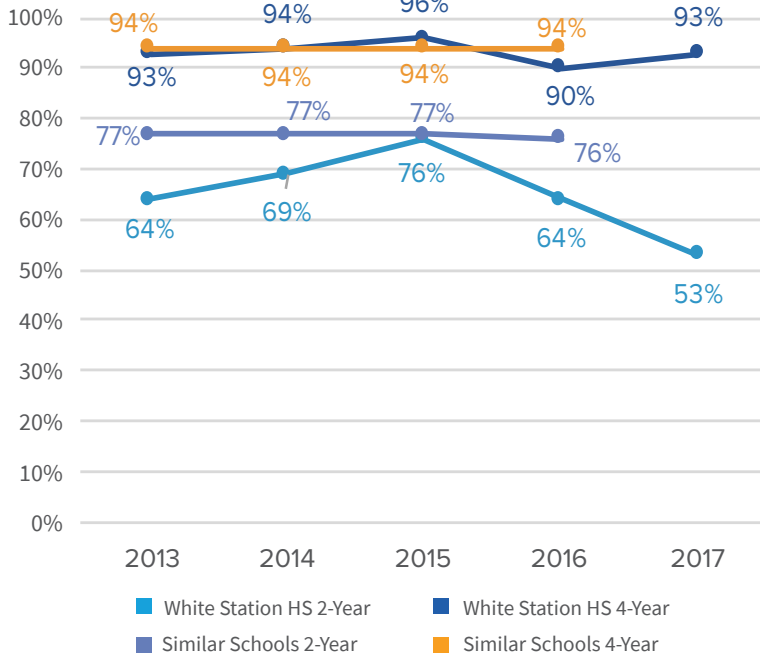
Class of 2018 High School to College Path



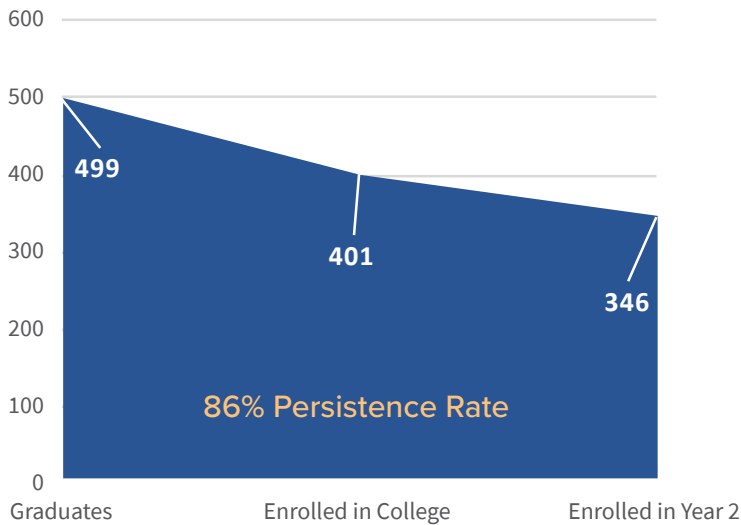
2,144 STUDENTS

(2018-19 School Year)

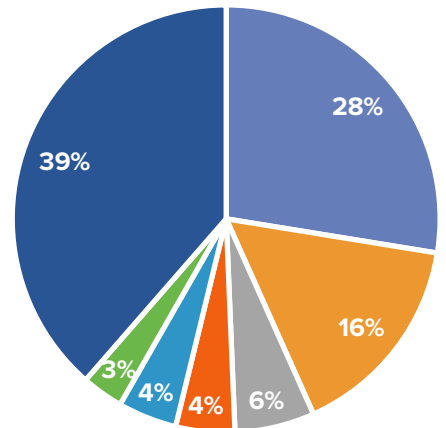
First to Second Year College Persistence



Class of 2017 College Enrollment and Persistence



Top Colleges by Class of 2018 Enrollment



- Southwest TN CC
- University of Memphis
- UT Knoxville
- MTSU
- Rhodes
- Christian Brothers
- Other

1. University of Memphis (105)
 2. Southwest TN CC (60)
 3. UT Knoxville (23)
 4. MTSU (17)
 5. Rhodes (17)
 6. Christian Brothers (12)
 7. Xavier University - Louisiana (7)
 8. University of Alabama Huntsville (5)
 9. Millsaps (4)
 10. University of Arkansas Fayetteville (4)
- Other (127)

Wooddale High School

67.3%

Economically Disadvantaged

100%

ESTIMATED

Students Eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch

9.2%

English Learners

81.4%

Black or African American

16.1%

Hispanic or Latinx

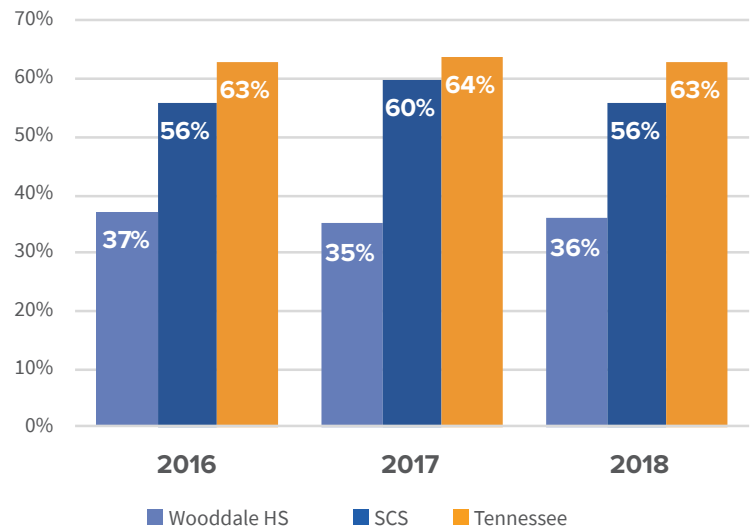
15.9

Average ACT Composite

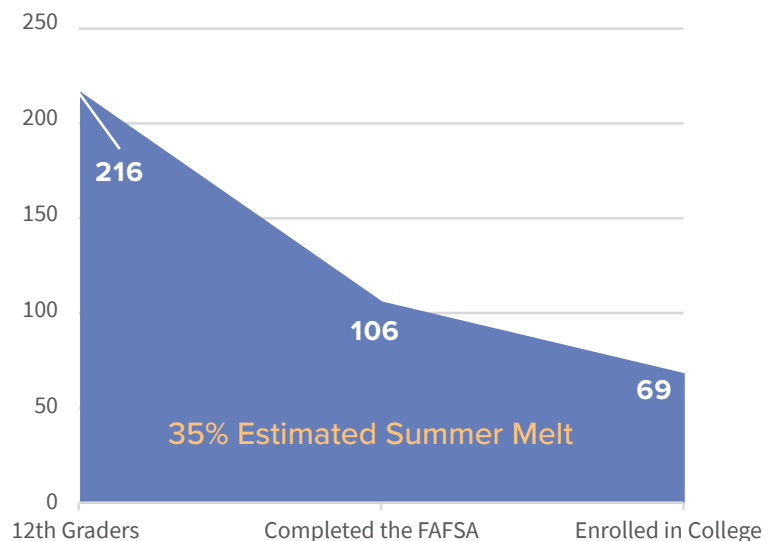
15%

College Completion Rate

College-Going Rate Over Time



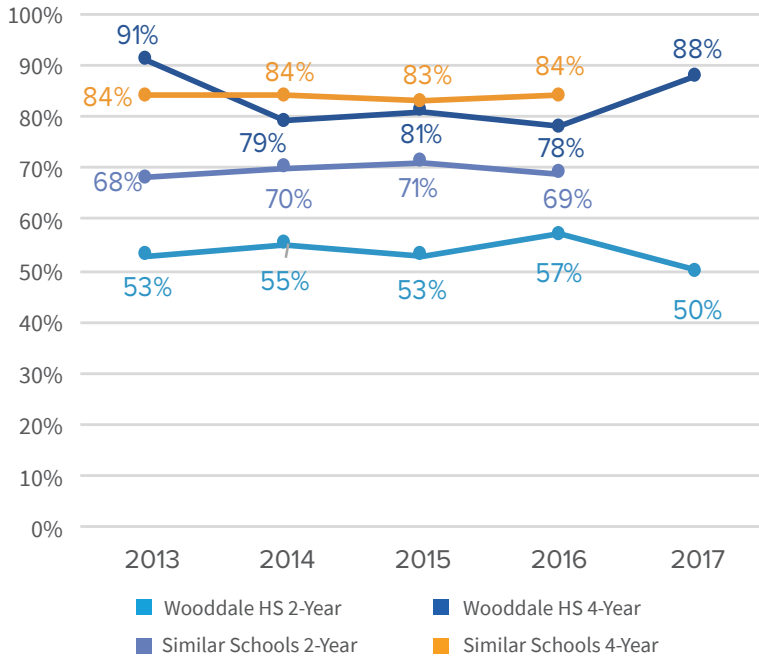
Class of 2018 High School to College Path



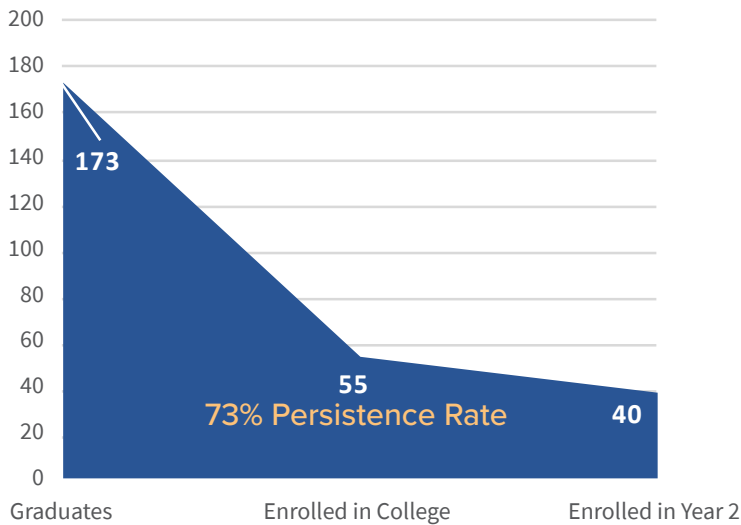
597 STUDENTS

(2018-19 School Year)

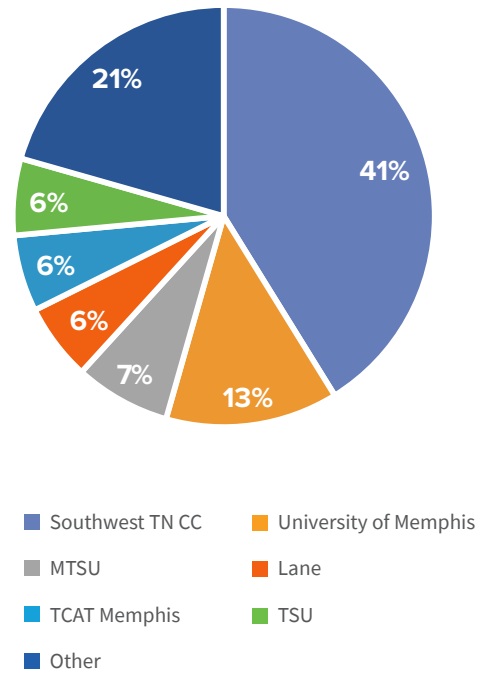
First to Second Year College Persistence



Class of 2017 College Enrollment and Persistence



Top Colleges by Class of 2018 Enrollment



1. Southwest TN CC (28)
 2. University of Memphis (9)
 3. MTSU (5)
 4. Lane (4)
 5. TCAT Memphis (4)
 6. TSU (4)
 7. UT Knoxville (3)
 8. Jarvis Christian College (2)
 9. Christian Brothers (1)
 10. Freed-Hardeman (1)
- Other (7)

ENDNOTES

¹Information on students taking steps toward college enrollment based on Tennessee Promise data showing between proportion of students applying for Tennessee Promise by county for high school class of 2018 (2019 Tennessee Promise Annual Report, THEC). Information on immediate college enrollment from TDOE Report Card. Information on persistence to second year and degree within six years from NSC provided by SCS.

²College-going rate for SCS and Tennessee from TDOE Report Card Data. College-going rate for United States from National Center for Education Statistics, data for class of 2018 not yet available.

³e.g., Hillman, Nicholas W., and Erica Lee Orians. 2013. "Community Colleges and Labor Market Conditions: How Does Enrollment Demand Change Relative to Local Unemployment Rates?" *Research in Higher Education* 54 (7): 765–80.

⁴Hussar, B., J. Zhang, S. Hein, K. Wang, A. Roberts, J. Cui, M. Smith, F. Bullock Mann, A. Barmer, and R. Dilig. 2020. "The Condition of Education 2020." NCES 2020144. National Center for Education Statistics. <https://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2020144>.

⁵Data from TDOE Report Card. Data on Hollis F. Price not provided due to the small number of students so for Hollis F. Price, NSC data is provided instead.

⁶Data on college enrollment by race and ethnicity from NSC provided by SCS.

⁷Hussar, B., J. Zhang, S. Hein, K. Wang, A. Roberts, J. Cui, M. Smith, F. Bullock Mann, A. Barmer, and R. Dilig. 2020. "The Condition of Education 2020." NCES 2020144. National Center for Education Statistics. <https://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2020144>.

⁸McFarland, J., B. Hussar, X. Wang, J. Zhang, K. Wang, A. Rathburn, A. Barmer, E. Forrest Cataldi, and F. Bullock Mann. 2018. "The Condition of Education 2018." NCES 2018144. <https://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2018144>.

⁹Institutional Data provided by SCS, Inform TN database

¹⁰Data on persistence by institution type for SCS from NSC data provided by MNPS. Data on persistence by institution type for similar schools uses data from NSC High School Benchmarks reports 2013-2019. Similar schools used are low-income high schools nationally, which have 50% or more students eligible for free and reduced price lunch.

¹¹Data on persistence by race and ethnicity from NSC provided by SCS

¹²Data from NSC

¹³Finney, J., Leigh, E. W., Ruiz, R., Castillo, W., Smith, E., & Kent, D. C. (2017). *Driven to perform: Tennessee's higher education policies and outcomes—A Case Study*. Philadelphia, PA: Institute for Research on Higher Education, Graduate School of Education, University of Pennsylvania.

¹⁴Manyanga, Fidelis, Alec Sithole, and Shawn M. Hanson. "Comparison of Student Retention Models in Undergraduate Education from the Past Eight Decades." *Journal of Applied Learning in Higher Education* 7 (2017): 30-42.

¹⁵Stewart, Sheilynda, Doo Hun Lim, and JoHyun Kim. "Factors influencing college persistence for first-time students." *Journal of Developmental Education* (2015): 12-20.

¹⁶Leonardo, Zeus, and W. Norton Grubb. *Education and racism: A primer on issues and dilemmas*. Routledge, 2018.

- ¹⁷Venezia, Andrea, Anthony L. Antonio, and Michael W. Kirst. *Betraying the college dream: How disconnected K-12 and postsecondary education systems undermine student aspirations*. US Department of Education, 2003.
- ¹⁸Rendón, Laura I., Romero E. Jalomo, and Amaury Nora. 2000. "Theoretical Considerations in the Study of Minority Student Retention in Higher Education." In *Reworking the Student Departure Puzzle*, edited by John M. Braxton, 127–56. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press. <https://books.google.com/books?id=WF8itWof7alC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>.
- ¹⁹Hurtado, Sylvia, Cynthia L. Alvarez, Chelsea Guillermo-Wann, Marcella Cuellar, and Lucy Arellano. 2012. "A Model for Diverse Learning Environments." In *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research*, 27:41–122. Springer Netherlands.
- ²⁰Goldrick-Rab, Sara, Christine Baker-Smith, Vanessa Coca, Elizabeth Looker, and Tiffani Williams. 2019. "College and University Basic Needs Insecurity: A National #RealCollege Survey Report."
- ²¹Ibid.
- ²²Hallett, Ronald E., Rashida M. Crutchfield, Jennifer J. Maguire, and Timothy P. White. 2019. *Addressing Homelessness and Housing Insecurity in Higher Education: Strategies for Educational Leaders*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- ²³Data on college persistence by race and ethnicity from NSC provided by SCS.
- ²⁴Six-year completion rate data from NSC provided by SCS.
- ²⁵McKinsey & Company, [COVID-19 and US higher education enrollment: Preparing leaders for fall](#)
- ²⁶SCORE, [COVID-19 Impact Memo 7: Postsecondary Policy Changes](#)
- ²⁷Fain, Paul, Steep Decline in FAFSA Renewals, Inside Higher Ed, May 7, 2020, <https://www.insidehighered.com/quicktakes/2020/05/07/steep-decline-fafsa-renewals>
- ²⁸U.S. Department of Education, Office of Federal Student Aid, <https://studentaid.gov/data-center/student/application-volume/fafsa-completion-high-school>
- ²⁹NCAN, Bill DeBaun, presentation to the TN College Access Covid Task Force using USDOE data, May 8, 2020
- ³⁰All MNPS data available in the recently released 2020 Nashville Bridge to Completion report available here: <https://nashvillepef.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/2020-BridgeToCompletion.pdf>.
- ³¹[Shelby County Schools Proposed 2020-21 District Budget](#)
- ³²Thayer, Paul B. "Retention of students from first generation and low income backgrounds." (2000).
- ³³Orfield, Gary, and Chungmei Lee. "Why segregation matters: Poverty and educational inequality." Civil Rights Project at Harvard University (The) (2005).
- ³⁴Governance and the Future of Black Colleges, Inside Higher Ed, 2017, <https://www.insidehighered.com/views/2017/12/20/struggling-hbcus-must-consider-new-options-survival-opinion>

