

College Access in Baltimore

A Decade of College-Going Among
City Schools Graduates

AUTHORS

Rachel E. Durham

Zyrashae Smith

Curt Cronister

Nathaniel A. Dewey

Marc L. Stein

B·E·R·C



OUR MISSION

BERC'S mission is to develop and support long- and short-term research-practice partnership projects that address questions of critical importance through the conduct and dissemination of rigorous strategic data analysis and research for the benefit of the children and families of Baltimore City. Findings from our projects help educational leaders, partners, and other stakeholders position themselves to move conversations forward, design strategic and practical responses to challenges, advocate for resources, capitalize upon promising practices, and identify levers for positive change.

BERC LEADERSHIP

MARC L. STEIN

Managing Director
Director of Research Operations
Associate Professor
Johns Hopkins University

LIENY JEON

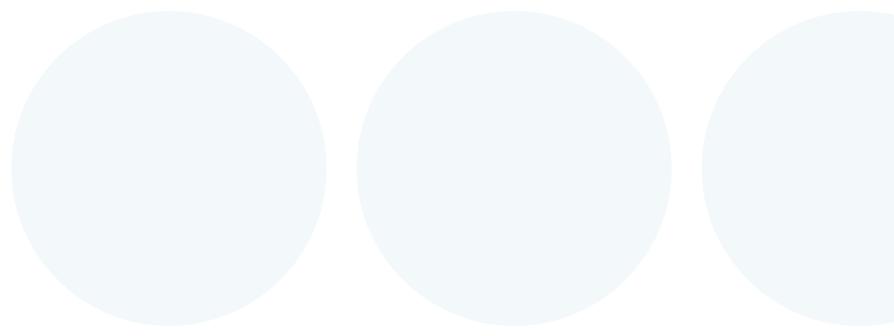
Director of Early Childhood Initiatives
Associate Professor
Johns Hopkins University

CONSORTIUM MEMBERS

- Baltimore City Schools
- Bowie State University
- Coppin State University
- Jacob France Institute, University of Baltimore
- Johns Hopkins University
- Loyola University Maryland
- Morgan State University
- Notre Dame of Maryland University
- Towson University
- University of Maryland, Baltimore, School of Social Work
- University of Maryland, Baltimore County
- University of Maryland, College Park

CONTACT

2800 N. Charles Street, Suite 307, Baltimore, MD 21218 • contact@baltimore-berc.org • baltimore-berc.org



CONTENTS

PREFACE	4
Baltimore Context _____	4
What is a Decade to a City? _____	6
HIGHLIGHTED TRENDS	8
College Enrollment _____	8
Type of Fall College _____	11
Most Popular Fall Colleges _____	13
Free Application for Federal Student Aid Applications _____	14
Applying and Gaining Admission to College _____	16
Summer Melt _____	17
College Degree Completion _____	19
Degrees Completed by Type of Fall College _____	20
College Degrees Completed by Fall Enrollees _____	22
CONCLUSION	23
REFERENCES	25

PREFACE



This report summarizes trends in college-related outcomes among Baltimore City Public School's (City Schools) graduates over a ten-year timespan, from 2011 to 2020. The data presented centers on core activities in accessing college, from applying for admission and financial aid, to college enrollment and, ultimately, degree completion. We acknowledge that pursuing postsecondary education is but one path to independent adulthood. Many young adults wish to engage in other types of training and preparation that are not represented in this report, such as apprenticeships, on-the-job training, and military service. However, research concludes that individuals with at least some college education have higher lifetime earnings (Kim & Tamborini, 2019), better health outcomes (Kaplan et al., 2017), and greater civic engagement (Campbell, 2009). Moreover, higher education attainment in the aggregate yields benefits for the local economy (Koropecykj et al., 2017) and greater well-being for the community (Baum et al., 2013). We thus offer the data in this report as one means of monitoring opportunity for Baltimore youth and Baltimore City as a whole.

Baltimore Context

City Schools includes approximately 30 high schools, and the characteristics of each school's graduates vary systematically according to schools' admissions policies, curricular areas of focus, and resource availability, which depend on school size, management type, and leaders' priorities. To reflect some of this variation, we have categorized high schools into six mutually exclusive types:

- **Entrance criteria** — Schools with college-preparatory curricula that require minimum composite scores for admission via the districtwide lottery.
- **Screening** — Schools participating in the districtwide lottery that have special admission requirements, such as interviews, writing samples, or auditions.
- **Selective career and technical education (CTE)** — Schools that select all students into a CTE program and, until school year 2021–22, required minimum composite scores for admission via the districtwide lottery.

- **Traditional lottery** — Comprehensive high schools with no admissions or screening criteria that participate in the districtwide lottery.
- **Charter lottery** — Charter high schools with no admissions or screening criteria that hold separate, sometimes school-based lotteries to enroll students.
- **Alternative placement** — Schools into which students with accelerated learning needs are placed (e.g., over-aged, under-credited students).

Except for **alternative** school programs, in which students are enrolled by the district, all City Schools students access the district’s citywide choice program by completing a high-school-choice application that allows them to list up to five school options in descending order of preference. A complex assignment algorithm is informed by whether each school-of-choice has entrance criteria, screening criteria, a separate charter lottery, and remaining capacity as students are iteratively assigned to available seats.

Schools with **entrance criteria** require a minimum composite score indexing students’ assessment scores, grades, and in some cases attendance rates, from seventh and eighth grade. During the years examined in this report, **selective CTE** schools also required a minimum composite score for admission, albeit lower than entrance-criteria schools’ required score. **Screening** schools use less formal selection criteria but retain a good deal of latitude in selecting students. Neither **traditional-lottery** nor **charter-lottery** schools

have admissions requirements nor specialized application procedures, but each type uses a different admission lottery when the number of applicants exceeds their enrollment capacity.¹ Participating in school lotteries requires resource-intensive decisions made by students and families, so families with less information or fewer resources may be at a disadvantage in this process.

Students’ high school settings contribute to the pathways available to postsecondary destinations. For example, students in the most stringently selective high schools may have more advanced learning opportunities and more direct support with applying for college and financial aid. Students in some charter-lottery schools may benefit from more bespoke programming, such as work-based learning or external college-access partnerships. Elsewhere, such as in the selective CTE high schools, students may have advanced learning opportunities in addition to career-preparation pathways.

The district’s high schools are academically and socially stratified as a result of sorting that happens before high school entry, i.e., in elementary and middle school. And, to the extent that a student’s home address facilitates attending particular schools, the structural geographic, racial, and socioeconomic features of the city also become an input to students’ experiences during and after high school.

Therefore, much of the data presented in this report are disaggregated by high school

¹ Refer to <https://www.baltimorecityschools.org/high-school-choice> for detailed information about the district’s seat assignment process by high school.

type. Differences between schools are key to interpreting student outcomes, as their features determine the academic profiles of the student body and relate to the resources available to students to plan for college.

These differences also inform differential emphases schools place on meeting graduation requirements, preparing for particular career pathways, or matriculating to college.

What is a Decade to a City?

This report offers college access data for City Schools graduates from 2011 to 2020. During those 10 years, Baltimore was served by four mayoral administrations, and the school district was led by four CEOs. In April 2015, Baltimore experienced a social justice shockwave in the wake of the death of Freddie Gray in the custody of police and the ensuing civic uprising. In spring 2020, the emerging COVID-19 pandemic shuttered school buildings, child care centers, workplaces, and service establishments, introducing new stressors to an already socially and financially burdened city.

Shifting political winds, social upheaval, and moving priorities under different leaders are a backdrop to the data presented in this report. Notably, one important metric — the percent of graduates enrolling in college the fall after high school graduation — may be sensitive to these social undercurrents. For instance, in the early part of the decade, City Schools launched the Great Kids Come Back campaign, for which the district targeted outreach to disengaged students and dropouts to encourage re-enrollment and graduation. This effort likely contributed to higher graduation rates during that period; from 2010 and 2014, the ninth-grade cohort graduation rate rose from 61% to 69%, which changed the composition

of graduating cohorts. Specifically, returning students may have been focused primarily on completing diploma requirements rather than competing for college admission; indeed, the percent of 2011–2014 graduates who fall-enrolled in college dropped from 48% to 43%, where it hovered for several years.

Under new leadership, in 2016 the district created a new Office of Career and College Readiness. Between 2017 and 2019, the percent of graduating cohorts fall-enrolling rose from 43% to 47%, perhaps reflecting the office’s dedicated work to increase students’ awareness of college eligibility requirements and to provide professional development to school counselors on supporting students’ college knowledge. Yet, this promising trend was interrupted in 2020 by the pandemic. The 2020 seniors were uniquely impacted, having been sent home from school at the height of the college and financial-aid application season. The fall-enrollment rate for the class of 2020 fell six percentage points to 41%. We cannot draw direct causal conclusions about the impact of these changes on graduates’ outcomes, as many other initiatives have occurred simultaneously, and older ones may have had their intended effects.

For instance, around 1999, City Schools implemented full-day kindergarten, which may have yielded stronger academic and socioemotional skills among the featured cohorts. New adolescent literacy and socioemotional learning initiatives were introduced in 2016. The high school landscape in Baltimore has also undergone tremendous change during the past decade. In 2011, City Schools students graduated from 49 schools serving grades 9 through 12. During the next nine years, 16 (33%) of these schools closed or combined with others, and two more came into existence. At the same time, enrollment in City Schools has fallen in parallel with a declining city population as a whole. In school year 2007–08, when most of the class of 2011 were starting high school, over 6,100 first-time ninth graders were enrolled in City Schools. In 2017, the

district reported approximately 5,200 first-time ninth graders, which represents a nearly 15% drop.

In sum, many highly impactful events and initiatives have shaped the opportunities of the cohorts in this report, and any particular data trend is influenced by a confluence of factors. Further, each individual graduate had a unique experience in high school, and their pathway into adulthood cannot, and should not, be characterized by any set of data points.

We encourage the reader to refer to the companion [Data Digest](#), which offers disaggregated data tables for each of the highlighted outcomes. This Digest includes a Reader's Guide for learning more about how metrics were calculated as well as data limitations.



HIGHLIGHTED TRENDS

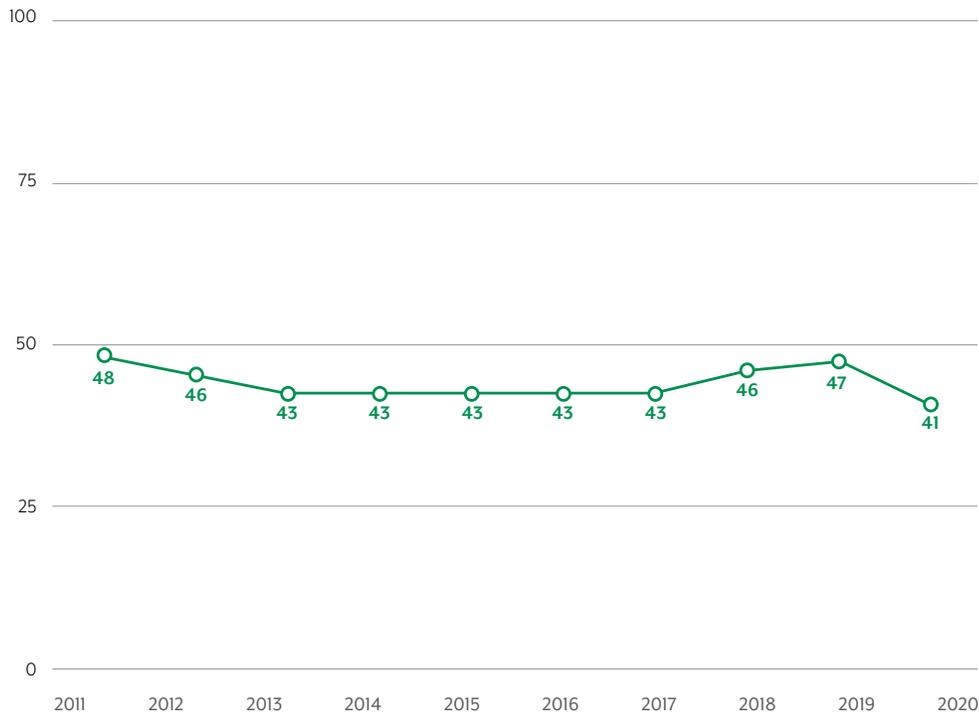


College Enrollment

Between 2011 and 2020, the share of City Schools graduates enrolling in college the fall immediately following high school graduation fluctuated, but on the whole, the percent of graduates enrolling consistently remained below

50% (refer to Figure 1). The fall-enrollment rate for the class of 2020, 41%, is almost certainly low as a result of COVID-19. This comes after a trend of increasing fall enrollment between 2017 and 2019, from 43% to 47%.

FIGURE 1 Percent of Graduates Enrolling in College the First Fall After Graduation, Classes of 2011–2020





The school building and office closures during the immediate onset of the COVID-19 pandemic meant that high school students lost direct, physical access to school counselors who typically support them with completing steps to enroll in college. Second, offices on college campuses took face-to-face services to an online format at the very least and perhaps also lost staff capacity or reduced hours of availability, which may have prevented graduates from getting the assistance they needed to complete applications or register for classes. This would have been particularly problematic for graduates planning to attend local community colleges, where administrative tasks typically can be completed on-demand and on-site.

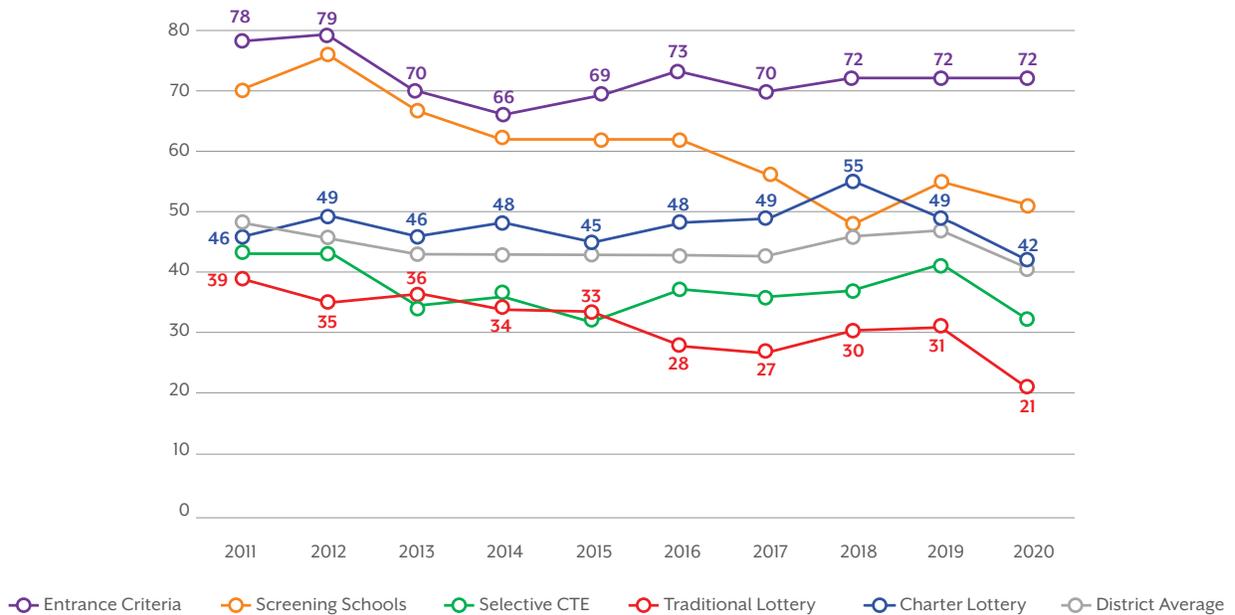
Additionally, the looming threat of a very different college experience, regardless of destination, may have discouraged some students from enrolling in college in fall 2020. Many families may have thought twice about paying large sums of money or taking on student debt for a potentially suboptimal social or academic experience. Last, the COVID-19 shutdowns and lingering economic stagnation resulted in the loss of employment for many in Baltimore. Although one might surmise this could spur more individuals toward pursuing further postsecondary education or training, it is equally plausible that education plans were postponed because of a need to contribute economically to a suddenly income-strapped household.



Suppositions about which of these possible explanations are more likely can be gleaned from other data. For instance, as shown in Figure 2, graduates from entrance-criteria high schools appear to have enrolled in college in the fall

of 2020 at the same rate as in prior years. Yet 2020 graduates of traditional-lottery, screening,² and selective CTE high schools displayed fall-enrollment patterns that depart from past trends.

FIGURE 2 Percent of Graduates Fall-Enrolled by High School Type, Classes of 2011–2020



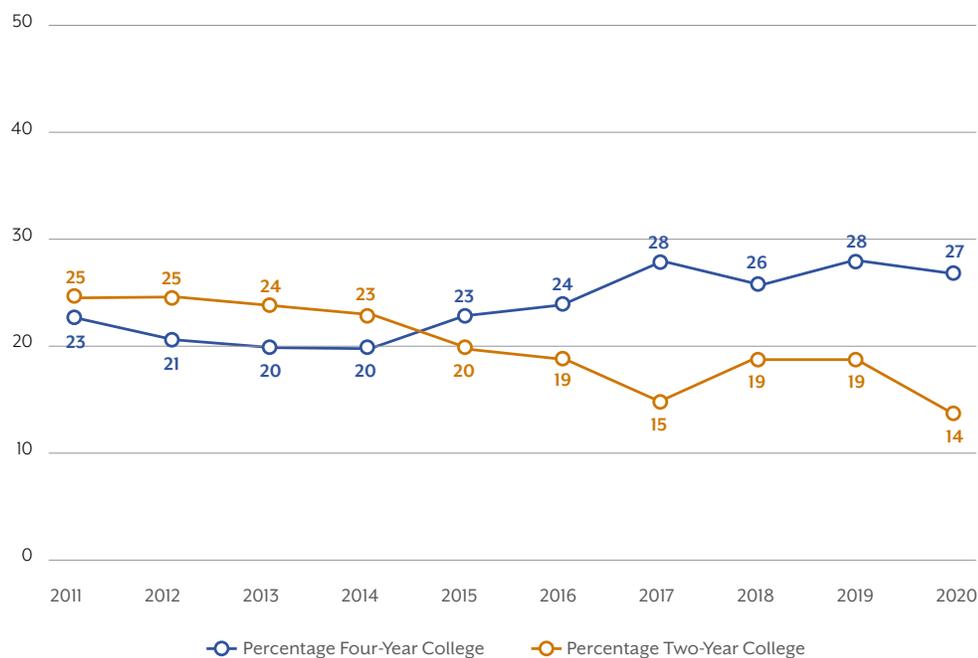
2 The reader should note that the “screening schools” category is somewhat unstable due to a new school opening in 2015 and intentionally adding cohorts in an uneven and staggered fashion. In effect, there were no graduates expected for 2018, although a small number of students finished that year, either ahead or behind their expected graduation date.

Type of Fall College

Trends in the type of college in which most graduates enroll in the fall shifted over the 10 years examined, as shown in Figure 3. Among the classes of 2011 through 2014, graduates were more likely to select two-year degree-granting institutions to begin their studies. Yet, starting with the class of 2015, the trend shifted to more students starting at four-year colleges. One of the most pronounced differences is observed for the class of 2020. Since the percent enrolling in two-year colleges represented a drop-off from 2019 (declining from 19% to 14%), this may suggest that the COVID-19 pandemic had an outsized impact on students who were more likely to have

chosen community college. The share of four-year enrollments among the class of 2020 appeared to be less affected; thus, graduates who aspired to enroll in four-year institutions may have been more equipped to follow through with those plans due to the assistance they had available at home or benefited from already having satisfied four-year colleges' earlier application deadlines (i.e., before March 2020). Conversely, students who were otherwise going to enroll in two-year institutions may have lost access to support that has historically helped them through the process or were more vulnerable to COVID-19-related financial challenges.

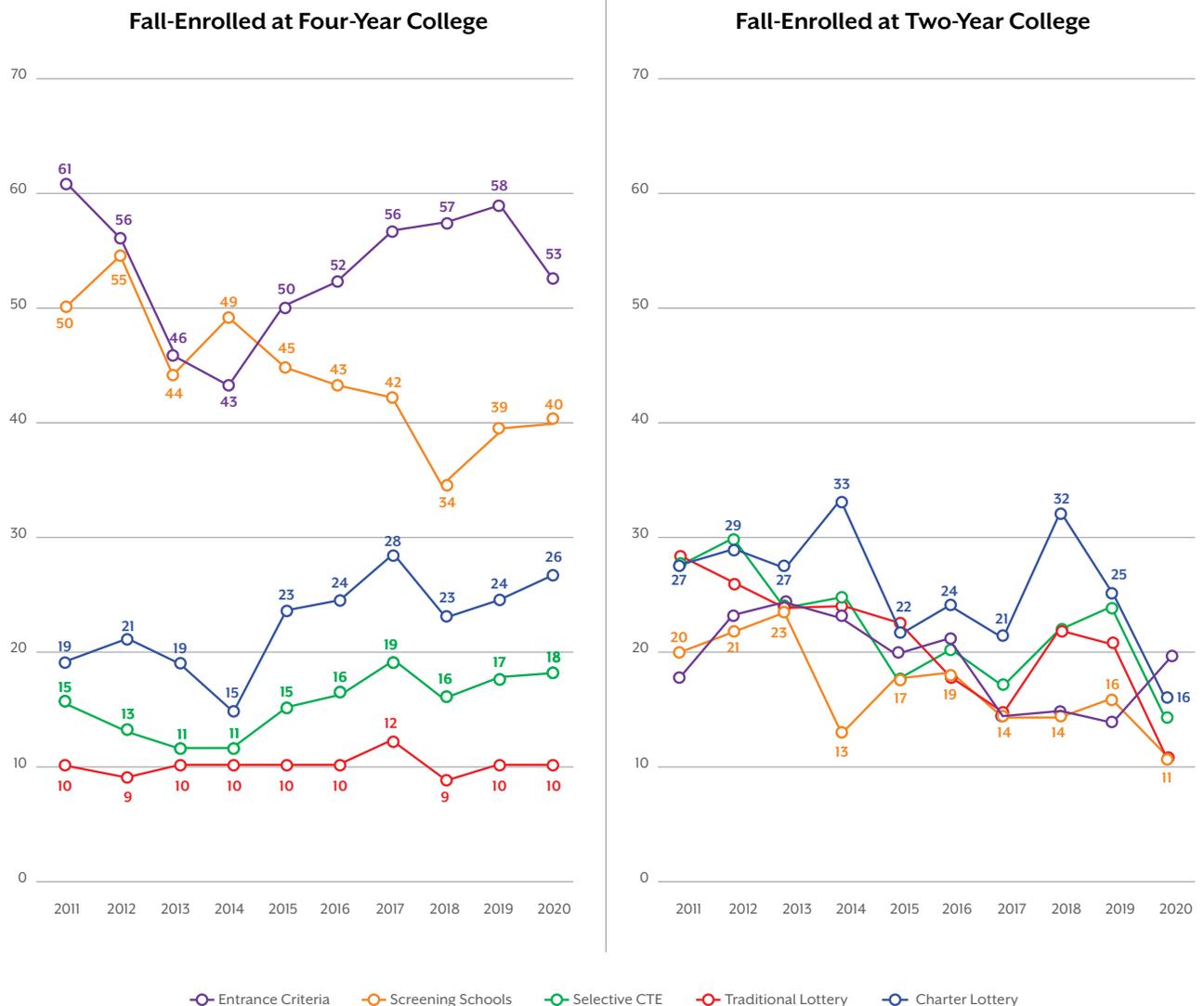
FIGURE 3 Percent of Graduates Fall-Enrolling in Four-Year or Two-Year Colleges, Classes of 2011-2020



A noticeable pattern also emerges between high school type and the type of college into which students fall-enrolled (refer to Figure 4). Generally, graduates of high schools with the most selective entrance criteria have been the most likely to enroll in four-year colleges. Graduates of high schools that use special screening criteria for admission have also had relatively high rates of fall enrollment at four-year colleges. Graduates

of charter-lottery schools appear equally likely to choose two-year or four-year schools while graduates of traditional lottery and selective CTE high schools appear to consistently be the most likely to fall-enroll in a two-year college. There do not appear to be substantial differences across high school types in the percent of graduates fall-enrolling in two-year colleges.

FIGURE 4 Percent of Graduates Enrolling in Four-Year or Two-Year Colleges, by High School Type



Most Popular Fall Colleges

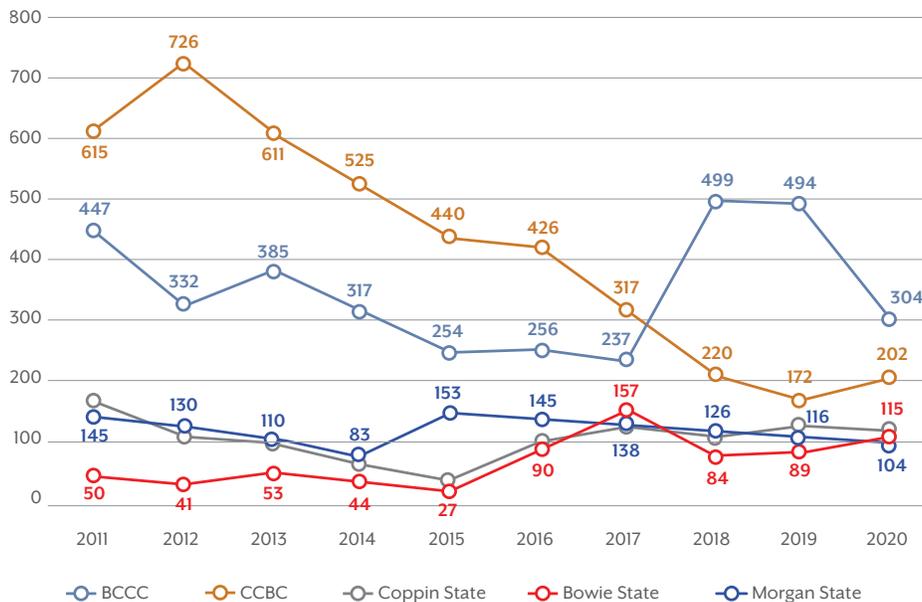
Among the classes of 2011 through 2016, the Community College of Baltimore County (CCBC) was the most popular destination for fall enrollees (refer to Figure 5). Yet, beginning with the class of 2018 — the year in which the Baltimore Mayor’s Scholars Program launched — the trend shifted to Baltimore City Community College (BCCC) as the most common destination. The Mayor’s Scholar Program is a last-dollar grant program for City Schools graduates to enroll in BCCC, offering free tuition after needs-based financial aid is exhausted.

Among fall enrollees at four-year colleges, Morgan State University was consistently the most frequently enrolled college between 2012

and 2016. However, between 2015 and 2017, Bowie State University enrollments increased substantially. More recently, Coppin State University has enrolled the highest numbers of graduates entering a four-year college in the fall (129 and 125 in 2019 and 2020, respectively).

Despite CCBC and BCCC being the individual colleges with the most fall enrollees, beginning with the class of 2015, the majority of City School graduates who fall-enroll began at four-year colleges. The majority of graduates’ destinations capture only one, or just a handful of graduates. Table 4 in the companion [Data Digest](#) presents some of this nuance.

FIGURE 5 Number of Fall Enrollees at Top Five Fall-Enrollment Destinations, Classes of 2011-2020

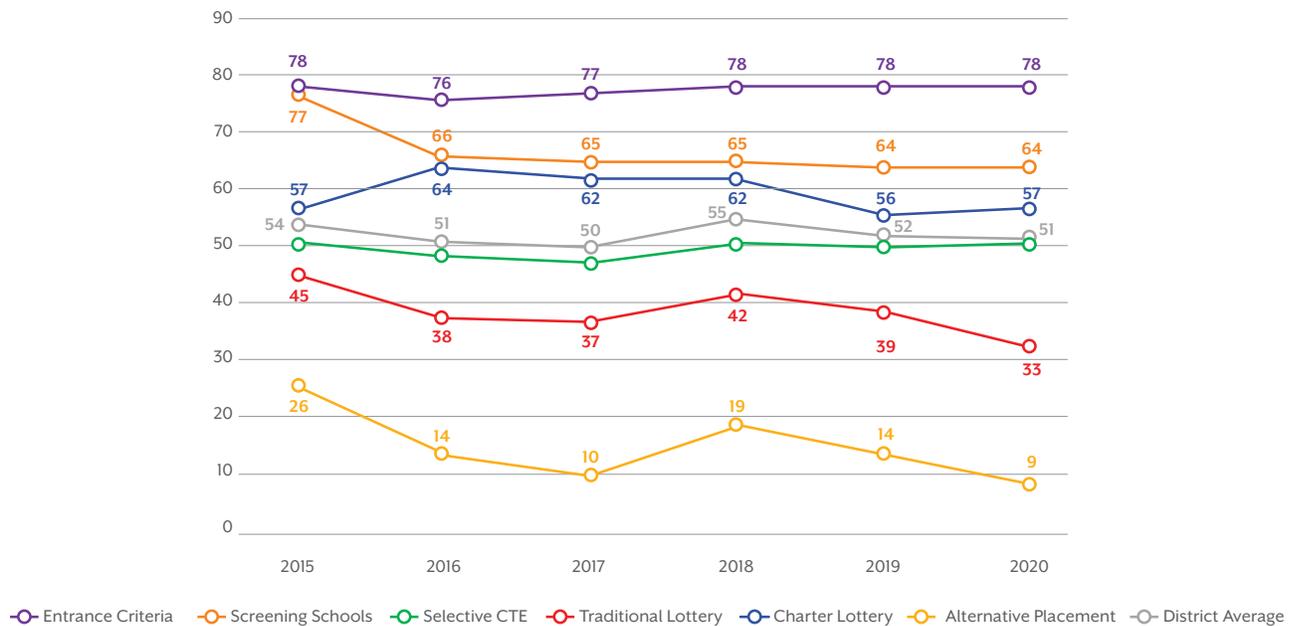


Free Application for Federal Student Aid Applications

Completing the Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA) is the first step students take to apply for any sort of financial support for college, regardless of whether the support is merit- or needs-based. The information provided in the FAFSA is used to generate a Student Aid Report, which informs the student and target institutions the amount of attendance costs that the family is expected to contribute. In Figure 6, the percent of 12th graders who completed FAFSA is presented by high school type for 2015 through 2020.

The share of seniors at entrance-criteria high schools who completed the FAFSA appears relatively stable between 2015 and 2020, ranging from 76% to 78%. The percent completing at screening and charter-lottery schools has also been higher than the district average, which hovers between 50% and 55%. FAFSA completion among students at traditional-lottery high schools has been somewhat lower (between 37% and 45%), which, along with the rate at alternative schools, appeared to drop substantially for high school seniors in 2020.

FIGURE 6 Percent of Seniors Completing FAFSA, Classes of 2015-2020





Completing the FAFSA can be intimidating for a student, as it requires information from parents' or caregivers' IRS tax forms and other data about their family's economic situation (e.g., sources of income, household size and structure, income-assistance program participation, etc.). Further, FAFSA applications can hit roadblocks, for instance when data submitted on the application conflict with data held by the IRS. Sometimes errors as simple as misspellings or differences in address formats cause an application to be returned. Applications may also be flagged for verification, further complicating the experience

for a student. Successfully completing the FAFSA necessitates active parent involvement and often also requires assistance from other knowledgeable adults in the school or community. It is thus unsurprising that rates of FAFSA completion appear to vary systematically across high school types since, as noted, resources available for college planning vary by high school. COVID-19-related school closures in spring 2020 also seem to have affected FAFSA completion at many high schools, highlighting the importance of community- and school-based supports for this critical college-going step.

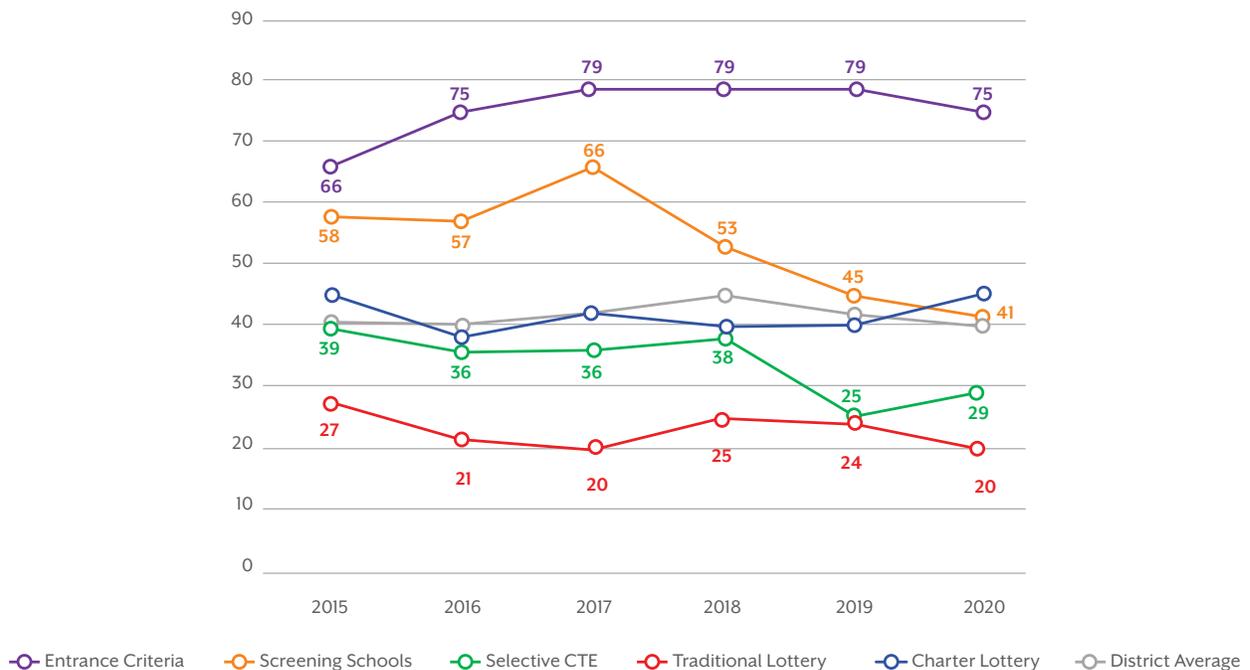
Applying and Gaining Admission to College

Beginning with the class of 2015, data are available to explore graduates' outcomes in college application submissions and acceptances. Guidance from the College Board suggests that by junior year, students should have a list of 5 to 10 colleges that they have researched or visited to ensure a good fit with career plans, social interests, or financial needs. This guidance also advises that students complete applications to at least three types of schools: 1) "target" schools at which the student has a reasonable chance of admission; 2) "safety" schools, including those

with flexible or open admissions policies, at which the student has virtually no chance of rejection; and finally 3) "reach" schools, or more selective schools at which a student may or may not be accepted due to high demand.

In this spirit, we examined the percent of students who completed at least three applications. The results are shown in Figure 7, disaggregated by high school type, which shows substantive and steady differences.

FIGURE 7 Percent of Graduates Completing Three or More College Applications by High School Type, Classes of 2015-2020



As represented by the gray line in Figure 7, approximately 40–44% of all City Schools graduates completed three or more college applications in the years examined. Graduates of entrance-criteria high schools were the most likely to meet this

threshold, with the share ranging between 66% and 79%, followed by screening schools and charter-lottery schools. Around one-quarter of graduates of traditional-lottery high schools completed three or more applications each year.



Summer Melt

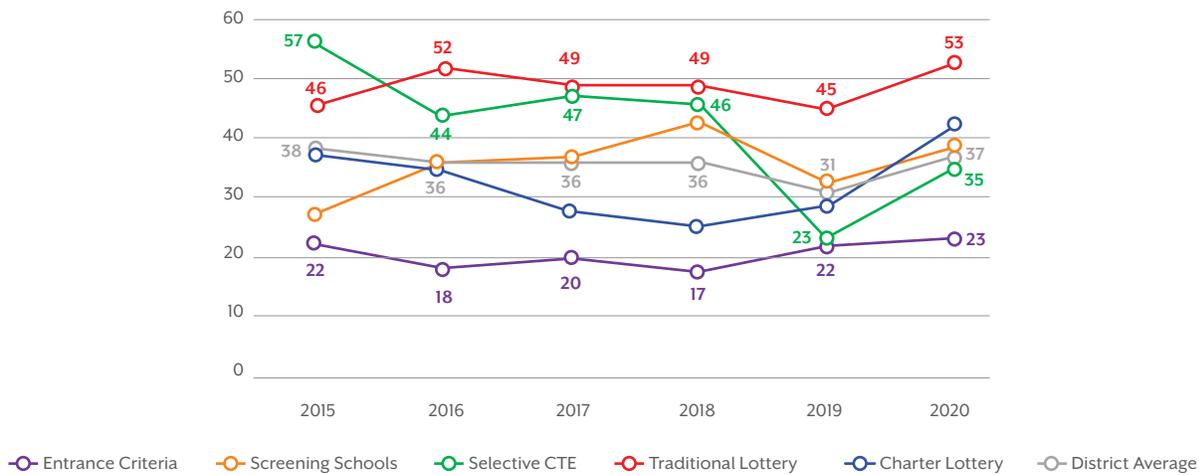
“Summer melt” is the phenomenon whereby a graduate with at least one acceptance to college does not enroll anywhere in the fall. Applying to college indicates some intention to enroll, and gaining an acceptance implies that a great deal

of effort was made to complete all enrollment requirements. So, when summer melt occurs, it suggests that the student confronted some last-minute barriers to their plans, which schools or external partners may be able to address.

Among the classes of 2015 through 2020, a substantial share of City Schools graduates with an acceptance to college experienced summer melt. On average, the percent of accepted graduates who did not fall-enroll ranges between 31% and 38%. As evident in Figure 8, summer melt is less commonly experienced by graduates in high schools with the most stringent entrance criteria. The data suggest that barriers are most commonly experienced by graduates at traditional-lottery high schools as well as selective CTE schools. Though at first glance the summer-

melt rate for selective CTE graduates in 2019 seems to decline, another review of the data show that in 2019, graduates of these schools simply completed fewer applications in general. As a result, the students who applied and were accepted may have had firmer plans compared to prior years. Notably, the data also show a sharp increase in the summer-melt rate for the class of 2020 across all high school types, again suggesting a dampening effect of COVID-19 on graduates' college plans.

FIGURE 8 Percent of Graduates Accepted to College Who Did Not Fall-Enroll (Summer Melt) by High School Type, Classes of 2015-2020

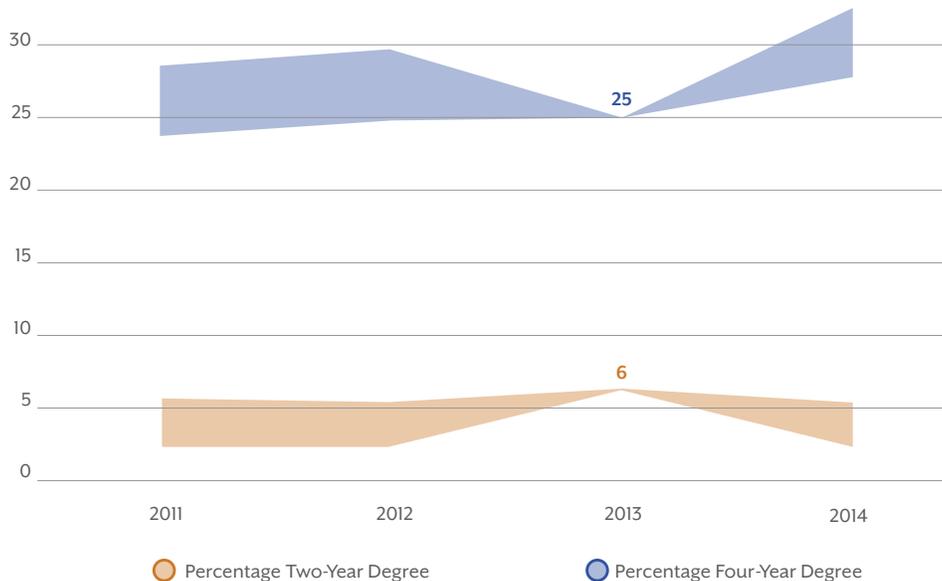


College Degree Completion

The majority of high school students prepare to attend college with the ultimate goal of completing a postsecondary credential. Below, we present data on certificate or degree completion occurring within 72 months (six years) of students' first fall-enrollment window. This allows 150% of expected time for completion of a bachelor's degree and 300% of expected time for associate degrees.

Figure 9 shows the percent of fall enrollees from the classes of 2011 through 2014 who completed either a two-year (associate or certificate) or four-year degree within six years. The majority of fall enrollees who graduated from college completed four-year degrees, with the rate ranging between 24% and 33% and increasing over time. A lower percentage completed two-year degrees, with the share for the class of 2013 peaking at 6%.

FIGURE 9 Percent of Fall Enrollees Completing Two-Year or Four-Year Degrees within Six Years, Classes of 2011-2014



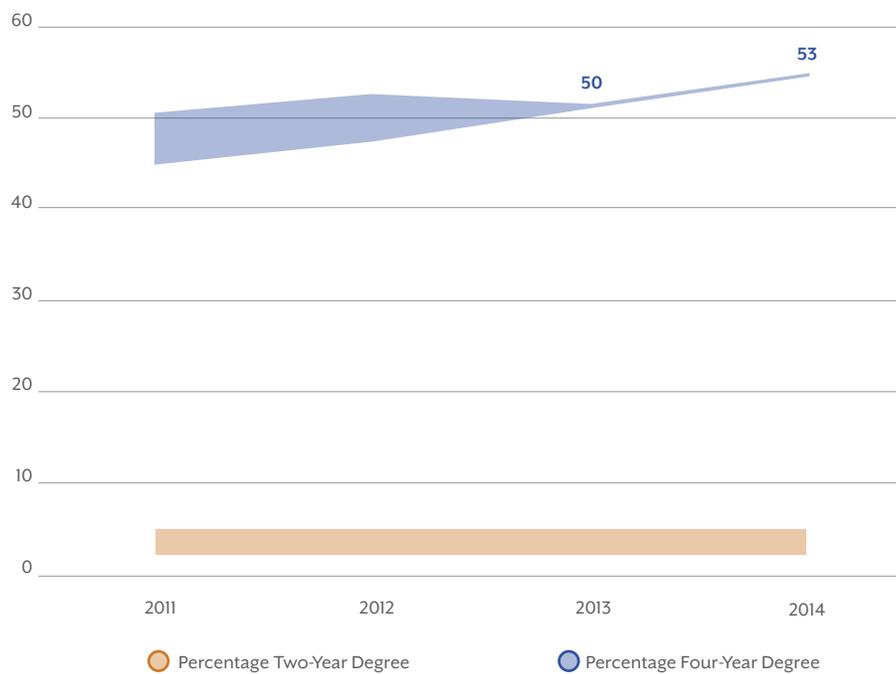
Note. Values for classes of 2011, 2012, and 2014 are masked for confidentiality. In this graph, shading represents margins around true values.

Degrees Completed by Type of Fall College

We note that the type of college in which graduates fall-enrolled relates to the probability of completing a degree. As shown in Figure 10, between 43% and 53% of those beginning their

studies at a four-year college completed a four-year degree, with a handful instead completing a two-year credential.

FIGURE 10 Percent of Four-Year College Fall Enrollees Completing Four-Year or Two-Year Degrees Within Six Years, Classes of 2011-2014



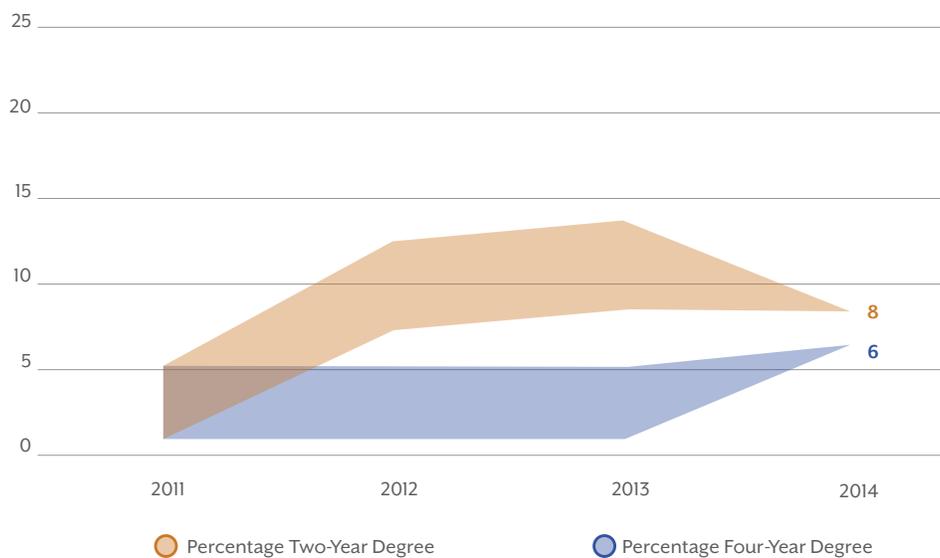
Note. Some values are masked for confidentiality. In this graph, shading represents margins around true values.



As shown in Figure 11, between 3% and 12% of two-year fall enrollees completed a two-year degree

within six years, with a small share (between 1% and 6%) transferring and completing four-year degrees.

FIGURE 11 Percent of Two-Year College Fall Enrollees Completing Two-Year or Four-Year Degrees Within Six Years, Classes of 2011-2014



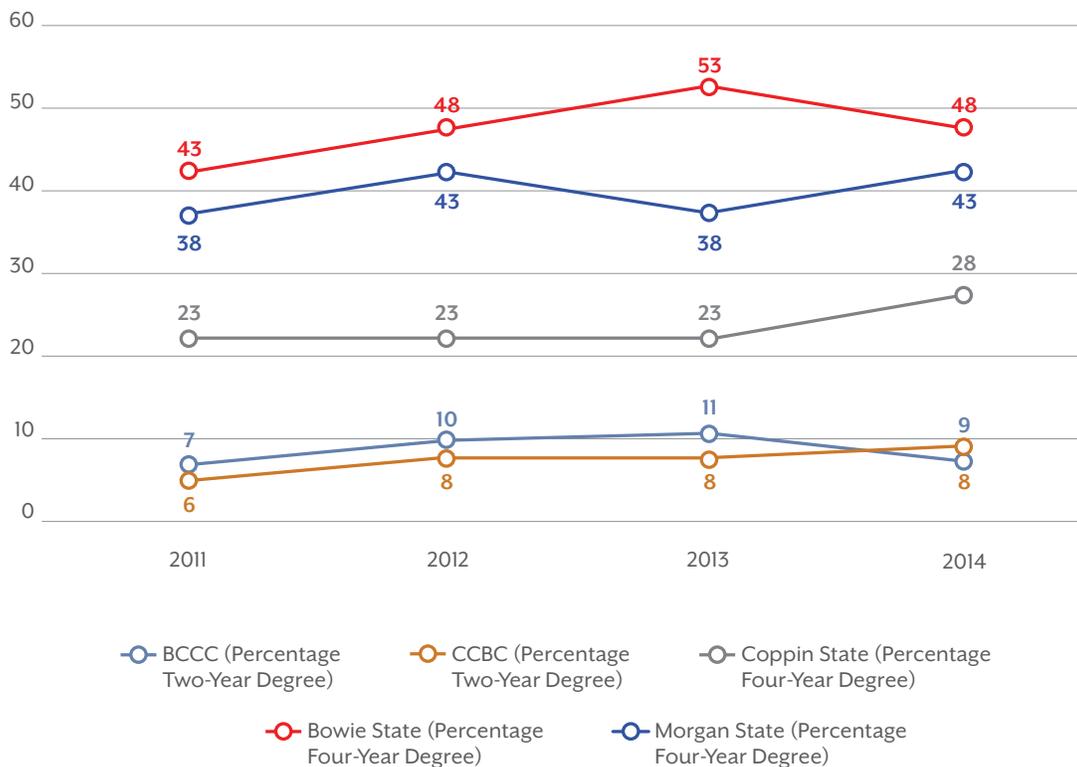
Note. Values for 2011–2013 are masked for confidentiality. In this graph, shading represents margins around true values.

College Degrees Completed by Fall Enrollees

Finally, we examined degree completion among graduates who fall-enrolled at specific colleges. Returning to the five most popular fall-enrollment destinations (BCCC, CCBC, Coppin State, Morgan State, and Bowie State University), Figure 12 presents their fall enrollees' six-year degree-completion outcomes. Our analysis allowed for fall enrollees to complete a degree anywhere, regardless of their initial college.

After six years, Bowie State fall enrollees from the classes of 2011–2014 had the highest degree-completion rates, ranging between 43% and 53%, followed by Morgan State with a range of 38% and 43% of fall enrollees completing a four-year degree. Among 2011–2014 graduates who started at Coppin State, between 23% and 28% completed a four-year degree. Among those starting at CCBC or BCCC, two-year degrees were completed by between 6% and 11%.

FIGURE 12 Percent of Fall Enrollees Completing Degrees Within Six Years, by Specific Fall College, Classes of 2011-2014



CONCLUSION



For the first time, this report offers a 10-year window onto the college-going patterns of Baltimore City Schools graduates. Consistently, fewer than half enrolled in a postsecondary institution the fall after they graduated from high school, and for more recent classes (2015-2020), the majority of those fall-enrolling started at a four-year college. Analysis of degree completion for the classes of 2011-2014 suggest that starting at a four-year school is associated with the highest likelihood of degree completion.

One key takeaway from this study centers on the relationship between student outcomes and high school type. The data show that many college-going outcomes depend upon students' high school setting. The majority of students attending entrance-criteria schools completed three key college-going tasks (applying for admission, completing a FAFSA, and enrolling in college) and at higher rates than students at other types of schools. A number of variables could explain this pattern in outcomes, including school resources. Students' self-selection into these schools must also be acknowledged, as they may have chosen to attend entrance-criteria or screening high schools because of their historically high college-going rates. Alternatively, these students may have more familial support that helped them gain admission into one of these high schools

and assisted them during the college application process. These possible mechanisms may also be associated with lower rates of summer melt.

The analyses presented in this report suggest many reasons for optimism about City Schools graduates' college-related outcomes; however, when the data were disaggregated by high school type, dissimilarities suggest more targeted and intentional efforts are needed. The association between high school type and college outcomes is non-trivial given the district's universal high-school-choice program, which sorts students, at least in part, on their prior academic achievement. Further investigation is required to determine possible causes of these differential outcomes. Particularly helpful would be data on students' postsecondary plans at different points throughout middle and high school since this could inform what goals the district might set for FAFSA completion, college application submissions, and college enrollment.

According to nationally representative data analyzed by the authors, about 77% of students have expectations of completing some type of college credential when in 11th grade.³ This percentage is roughly the same for both African American and white students. College expectations are lower among students in the

³ We analyzed the High School Longitudinal Survey, which collected data for a nationally representative cohort of 9th graders in school year 2009-10.

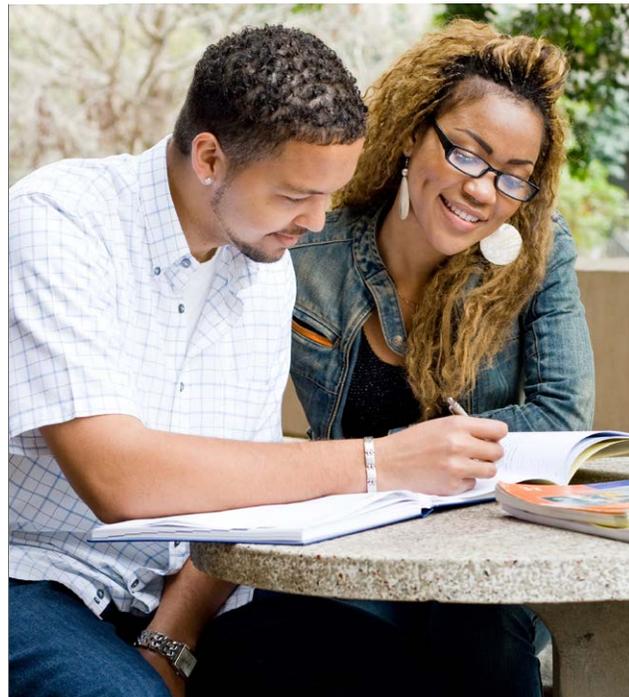
lowest socioeconomic quintile (63%) compared to the highest quintile (89%). Looking out three years post-high-school-graduation, 70% of the national cohort had spent at least some time in enrolled college, though the share was lower for African Americans (63%) and even lower for African Americans in the lowest socioeconomic quintile (53%). In analyses not shown, we also found that consistently across cohorts, about 70% of City Schools graduates ever enrolled in college. Yet altogether, these data suggest a likely gap between students' expectations and outcomes.

As discussed in prior research (Bozick et al., 2010; Johnson & Reynolds, 2013) adolescents' plans for adulthood are driven by aspirations from childhood as much as by ongoing events. From a life course perspective, a dream to attend college can emerge in childhood; in schools, such dreams can be encouraged through advanced learning opportunities and a culture of college-going (Roderick et al., 2011). Yet, such dreams can also be discouraged when schools place weak emphasis on attending college or by negative academic experiences and certainly also by individual experiences that impose doubt on a student's emerging orientations toward college.

This perspective implies that for adolescents, particularly members of low-income or historically marginalized groups of students, aspirations to attend college should always be viewed as tentative — perhaps precarious — and needful of continuous encouragement by caring adults at school and in the community. Given the salience of experiences throughout adolescence, waiting until the final years of high school to familiarize students with the steps required to access college, and to succeed academically and socially once

enrolled, is unwise since it places those with fewer resources outside of school at a tremendous disadvantage when new exigencies emerge. This is exemplified in the shift in trends for the class of 2020, as graduates' plans were impacted by unexpected challenges due to COVID-19, especially students in schools with lower college enrollment rates historically.

At the time of writing, City Schools is undertaking a massive recovery effort to accelerate learning from losses due to COVID-19-related school closures. While this work is expected to have immediate impacts on socioemotional health and proficiency in core subjects, it will also have downstream effects on readiness for college. Simultaneous efforts may also be needed to help students recover expectations of attending college and reimagine the systems that support students to do so.



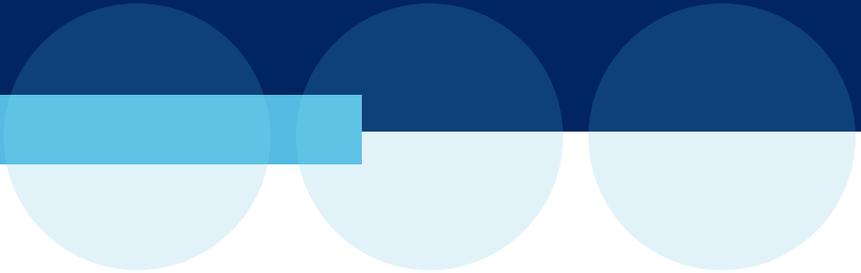
REFERENCES



- Baum, S., Ma, J., & Payea, K. (2013). *Education Pays, 2013: The Benefits of Higher Education for Individuals and Society*. Trends in Higher Education Series. College Board. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED572537.pdf>
- Bozick, R., Alexander, K., Entwisle, D., Dauber, S., & Kerr, K. (2010). Framing the future: Revisiting the place of educational expectations in status attainment. *Social Forces*, 88(5), 2027-2052.
- Campbell, D. E. (2009). Civic engagement and education: An empirical test of the sorting model. *American Journal of Political Science*, 53(4), 771-786.
- Johnson, M. K., & Reynolds, J. R. (2013). Educational expectation trajectories and attainment in the transition to adulthood. *Social Science Research*, 42(3), 818-835.
- Kaplan, R. M., Fang, Z., & Kirby, J. (2017). Educational attainment and health outcomes: Data from the Medical Expenditures Panel Survey. *Health Psychology*, 36(6), 598.
- Kim, C., & Tamborini, C. R. (2019). Are they still worth it? The long-run earnings benefits of an associate degree, vocational diploma or certificate, and some college. *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences*, 5(3), 64-85.
- Koropecy, S., Lafakis, C., & Ozimek, A. (2017). *The economic impact of increasing college completion*. American Academy of Arts and Sciences. <https://vtechworks.lib.vt.edu/bitstream/handle/10919/96065/EconomicImpactCollegeCompletion.pdf>
- Roderick, M., Coca, V., & Nagaoka, J. (2011). Potholes on the road to college: High school effects in shaping urban students' participation in college application, four-year college enrollment, and college match. *Sociology of Education*, 84(3), 178-211.



B·E·R·C



baltimore-berc.org