

'SEGREGATION FOREVER'?:



The Continued Underrepresentation of Black Undergraduates at the Nation's 122 Most Selective Private Colleges and Universities



THE EDUCATION TRUST
#EndCollegeSegregation



The Education Trust



TABLE OF CONTENTS

Executive Summary.....	4
Introduction.....	8
Why it Matters Who Attends a Selective Private College or University	10
<i>Figure 1: Six-Year Completion Rates by Race/Ethnicity and Sector</i>	
<i>Figure 2: U.S. Leaders Who Earned an Undergraduate Degree at a Four-Year Selective Private College or University in Our Sample</i>	
How Colleges & Universities Were Graded	14
How Accessible Were These Institutions for Black Students in 2000?.....	16
<i>Figure 3: Percentage Distribution of Access Grades and Scores at Selective Private Colleges and Universities in 2000</i>	
Have Institutions Increased Black Student Enrollment Since 2000?	18
<i>Figure 4: Change in the Share of Black Students at Four-Year Selective Private Colleges From Selected Years 2000 to 2020</i>	
Has Black Student Enrollment Kept Pace With Institutional Enrollment Benchmarks?.....	20
<i>Figure 5: Comparing Changes in State Demography and Enrollment at Four-Year Selective Private Colleges and Universities</i>	
<i>Figure 6: Percentage Distribution of Access Grades and Scores at Four-Year Selective Private Colleges and Universities in 2020</i>	
How HBCUS and Minority-Serving Institutions Bolster Black Student Access Across the Nation	24
<i>Figure 7: Percentage Distribution of Black Student Access Grades and Scores at Four-Year Selective Minority-Serving Institutions (2000 and 2020)</i>	
Insufficient Statewide Black Student Access.....	26
Limited Progress, Insufficient Access for Black Students.....	26
<i>Table 1: The Least Accessible Selective Four-Year Private Colleges and Universities for Black Students</i>	
<i>Table 2: The Most Accessible Selective Four-Year Private Colleges for Black Students</i>	
How Can Campus Leaders and Policymakers Improve Access for Black Students?	31
About the Data.....	37
Appendix and Interactive Data.....	39
Endnotes.....	40

‘SEGREGATION FOREVER?’:

The Continued Underrepresentation of Black Undergraduates at the Nation’s 122 Most Selective Private Colleges and Universities

BY: **GABRIEL MONTAGUE, ED.M.**, HIGHER EDUCATION RESEARCH ANALYST

In 2020, The Education Trust released a report titled, [“Segregation Forever?”](#), which explored the continued underrepresentation of Black and Latino first-time, full-time undergraduate enrollees at the nation’s 101 most selective four-year public colleges and universities in 2000 and 2017. This analysis provided evidence that Black and Latino students remained vastly underrepresented at these institutions, based on the population demographics of the states in which these public colleges and universities were located, with Black students having less access in 2017¹ than they did in 2000.

As a follow up to this critical work, authored by the late Dr. Andrew Nichols, we explored access for these same student groups at the nation’s 122 most selective four-year private colleges and universities by looking at the years 2000 and 2020, to see how well Black enrollment at these institutions matched the demographics of Black residents in the states from which first-time students came. While the share of Black student enrollment grew at nearly 3 in 4 of these institutions between 2000 and 2020, enrollment failed to represent the demographics of the states from which students came. While population parity is not the ultimate goal, it is the most reliable benchmark for comparison based on available data at the time of our analysis. This report specifically analyzes access for Black students, and a similar analysis for Latino students is forthcoming.

Access scores, ranging from 0-100, measure how well each institution’s Black enrollment reflects the racial and ethnic demographics of the states from which first-time undergraduate students migrated. (See “How Colleges and Universities Were Graded” on page 14 for more details.) Letter grades were then applied based on an institution’s access score. Scores of 90 or higher received A’s. Scores in the 80s, 70s, 60s, received B’s, C’s, and D’s, respectively. And scores below 60 received failing grades or F’s.

UNPACKING ACCESS & ACCESSIBILITY

In this report, we analyze access through the lens of enrollment for Black residents who are between the ages of 18-24. At The Education Trust, we believe enrollment is just one component of higher education access, and that retention, completion, and student outcomes should be considered as well.

While nearly 74% of the institutions in our sample have increased their Black undergraduate student enrollment since 2000, our findings show that these increases were slight, and that overall, very little progress has been made. The overwhelming majority of the nation's most selective private colleges and universities remain inaccessible for Black first-time, full-time undergraduate students. From 2000 to 2020, the percentage of institutions receiving D's and F's for Black student access only fell by one percentage point, from 81% to 80%. See [Black Student Appendix](#) for a comprehensive list of the access grades, scores, and enrollment benchmark data for each institution.² The lingering underrepresentation of Black students is especially concerning, since the Supreme Court has banned the use of race as a factor in higher education admissions. Already, we have seen the detrimental impacts of banning affirmative action in states like California, where Black student enrollment plummeted following the 1996 adoption of [Proposition 209](#).³

Additionally, we know that boosting racial and ethnic diversity has a positive effect on campus racial climate and student success, so making these institutions more accessible for Black students would benefit [all students](#).⁴



OUR FINDINGS

- Even though Black undergraduate student enrollment increased at 74% of the 122 most selective four-year private colleges and universities in the U.S. from 2000 to 2020, **a similar percentage of institutions (71%) received failing grades for Black student access in 2020.**
 - **The average increase** among the nearly three quarters of institutions that grew their Black undergraduate student enrollment from 2000 to 2020, 2.3 percentage points, **was lower than the average decrease** of 3.7 percentage points among the 26% of institutions where Black undergraduate student enrollment declined between the two years.
- In both 2000 and 2020, the average Black Student Access score **among all institutions in our sample** was a D grade, moving only from an average score of 62 to 68 in the 20-year span.
- **Kentucky, Michigan, Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Tennessee** had the highest statewide median Black student access scores in 2000 and 2020.
- **All eight Ivy League institutions earned D or F grades for Black student access in 2000 and 2020** — earning an average score of 45.1% in 2000, and 52% in 2020.
- Not surprisingly, in 2000 and 2020, most of the institutions with the highest Black student access scores were **predominantly Black institutions (PBIs) or Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)**, which were established specifically to serve Black students.⁵
 - In 2000, **6 of the top 10** Black student access scores were held by HBCUs or Predominantly Black Institutions (PBIs).
 - In 2020, **7 of the top 10** Black student access scores were held by HBCUs or PBIs.

The pattern of Black student underrepresentation highlighted in this report is not by chance, but by choice. Many of these institutions have some of [largest endowments](#) of all degree-granting postsecondary institutions in the U.S., which suggests that limited fiscal resources are not to blame for the continued underrepresentation of Black undergraduates among first-time, full-time enrollees.⁶ That said, financial resources alone will not be enough to move the needle in a higher education system that was built on racism, oppression, and white supremacy. Higher education leaders and policymakers must intentionally work to expand access and be held more accountable.

OUR RECOMMENDATIONS

Here are four actions education leaders and policymakers can take to ensure that more Black students have a chance to attend the nation's most selective private colleges and universities:

1. Develop recruitment strategies that increase access.
2. Assess and improve campus racial climates.
3. Leverage federal accountability.
4. Increase accountability from accreditors and accreditation organizations.

1. Nichols, A. H. (2020). "Segregation Forever?: The Continued Underrepresentation of Black and Latino Undergraduates at the Nation's 101 Most Selective Public Colleges and Universities." The Education Trust. <https://edtrust.org/resource/segregation-forever/>.

2. The Education Trust. "Segregation Forever Privates Graphics & Appendices." (2023). <https://public.tableau.com/app/profile/the.education.trust/viz/SegregationForeverPrivatesGraphicsAppendices/FullDashboard>.

3. Legislative Analyst's Office. Proposition 209 - Prohibition Against Discrimination or Preferential Treatment by State and Other Public Entities. (Legislative Analyst's Office, November 1996). https://lao.ca.gov/ballot/1996/prop209_11_1996.html.

4. The Department of Education. Advancing Diversity and Inclusion in Higher Education. (U.S. Department of Education, November 2016). <https://www2.ed.gov/rschstat/research/pubs/advancing-diversity-inclusion.pdf>.

5. The Department of Education. United States Department of Education Lists of Postsecondary Institutions Enrolling Populations with Significant Percentages of Undergraduate Minority Students. (U.S. Department of Education, n.d.). <https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/edlite-minorityinst.html>.

6. National Center for Education Statistics. (January 2022). Table 333.90. Endowment funds of the 120 degree-granting postsecondary institutions with the largest endowments, by rank order: Fiscal year 2020 [Data table]. In Digest of Education Statistics. U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences. https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d21/tables/dt21_333.90.asp?current=yes

'SEGREGATION FOREVER':

The Continued Underrepresentation of Black Undergraduates at the Nation's 122 Most Selective Private Colleges and Universities

INTRODUCTION

Nearly 70 years ago, on May 17, 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously ruled that racial segregation in public schools is [unconstitutional](#) in the paramount civil rights case of *Brown v. Board of Education*.¹ Almost a decade later, in 1963, newly elected Alabama Gov. George Wallace, a fervent segregationist, delivered an inaugural address in which he [pledged to uphold](#) “**segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever.**”²

Soon thereafter, Wallace bucked federal mandates against segregation and defied a court order to integrate the University of Alabama by physically blocking two Black students, Vivian Malone and James Hood, from entering the university's Foster Auditorium to enroll in classes during his infamous “[Stand in the Schoolhouse Door](#).”³ He stood down only after President John F. Kennedy federalized National Guard troops and sent them to escort the students to class, but the impact of Wallace's words and actions still endures today.

While America's public schools and state flagship universities are still highly segregated, racial segregation in selective private schools and universities is particularly acute. As a form of direct resistance to the anticipated integration post *Brown v. Board*, many White families [began enrolling](#)⁴ their children in private schools, also known as “segregation academies,” throughout the South, such as [Marengo Academy](#)⁵ in Alabama. As private school enrollment at the P-12 level expanded throughout the mid and late 20th century, so did the prevalence of racial segregation, which had purportedly been outlawed. Twenty-two years after *Brown v. Board*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that racially discriminatory admissions policies were a civil rights violation in [Runyon v. McCrary](#).⁶

Today, White students in private schools at the P-12 level make up nearly 70% of enrolled students, even though they comprise less than [50%](#) of all enrolled students in kindergarten through 12th grade.⁷ This overrepresentation has implications for who has access to selective colleges and universities, as students who graduate from a private high school are [more likely](#) to be admitted to highly selective colleges and universities.⁸

To understand the current state of access for Black students at the nation’s most selective four-year colleges and universities, let’s consider the history of America’s first college, Harvard University, which is among the most selective higher education institutions in the world. Harvard was chartered in 1636 with wealth acquired directly from the chattel slavery of Black people in the United States, and it would be more than 200 years before [Richard T. Greener](#) became the first Black student to earn an undergraduate degree from the college.⁹ Before the Supreme Court’s [recent ban](#) on affirmative action, Harvard used a holistic admissions process that considered race alongside myriad other factors.¹⁰ Yet in fall 2020, only 8.6% of the university’s undergraduate student body was Black, despite the fact that Black residents ages 18-24 make up roughly 14% of the population in the states that its first-time students come from.¹¹ So although some of America’s [first Black college graduates](#) earned degrees from the country’s most selective private colleges and universities, enrollment persists as a barrier to access for Black students at these institutions centuries later.¹²

Given the recent ban on the consideration of race in college admissions and Americans’ [mixed sentiments](#)¹³ about racial and ethnic considerations in the college admissions process, there has been a resurgence of calls for race-neutral policies. We urge higher education leaders to be cautious about the harmful implications of race-neutral policies, which [tend to be](#)¹⁴ used as code for a “separate but equal” culture. Our findings suggest [race-conscious policies](#) and practices will be necessary to improve accessibility and equity for Black students.¹⁵

In this report, we examine the state of access for Black students at 122 of the nation’s most selective private colleges and universities by looking at the years 2000 and 2020.¹⁶ We also look at how access for Black students at these institutions has changed in that time, and whether enrollment of Black first-time students matches the demographics of Black residents in the states from which these institutions recruit and enroll their first-time students. We grade each of these 122 institutions on their commitment to access for Black students (see Black Student Appendix & Black Student Enrollment Changes) and list some of the least and most accessible selective private institutions in the country (see Tables 1 and 2). The findings in this report show that although there has been slight progress in enrolling Black students since the start of this century, Black students continue to be woefully underrepresented at these institutions.

ALTHOUGH SOME OF AMERICA’S FIRST BLACK COLLEGE GRADUATES earned degrees from the country’s most selective private colleges and universities, enrollment persists as a barrier to access for Black students at these institutions centuries later.

WHY IT MATTERS WHO ATTENDS A SELECTIVE PRIVATE COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY

To understand why it matters who attends the nation's most selective four-year private colleges and universities, we must understand their history. Eight of these private institutions were [colonial colleges](#), which were founded in the United States prior to the Declaration of Independence, and set a standard of white supremacy and exclusivity for higher education in America.¹⁷

These universities were established¹⁸ to advance England's colonization efforts and relied heavily on multiple forms of corporal punishment, which were inflicted upon Native American people and enslaved African people, who were first traded in 1619 in what is now [Hampton, Virginia](#).¹⁹ For the next two centuries, enslaved people were forcibly stripped of their freedom and cultural identities to generate the wealth required to establish and maintain some of the selective four-year private colleges and universities in this analysis, not to mention the entire American higher education system and U.S.

During the 18th century, slavery flourished in new colonial college towns, which was no coincidence, as governors and faculty at many colleges recognized that access to enslaved people and their labor "could be the difference between success and failure for colonial schools."²⁰ Incoming presidents "often brought enslaved people to campus or secured servants after their arrival."²¹ In its first 75 years, Princeton University, formerly known as The College of New Jersey, had eight presidents who owned enslaved people. Furthermore, an unnamed Yale historian noted that "it was a common custom of the times to own Negro or Indian slaves."²²

It matters who attends these institutions today, because the current state of access for students can be traced directly to their establishment, where in many cases, "there were more slaves than faculty, administrators, or active trustees."²³ It is disheartening that many of these same universities have been so slow to diversify their student bodies by increasing higher education opportunities for the descendants of the enslaved people who helped build them.

Even after the [14th Amendment](#) was enacted in the late 19th century to secure equal rights for formerly enslaved people, Black people were deliberately excluded from esteemed private colleges and universities.²⁴ While this legislation was pivotal to the advancement of Black people in America, even beyond the field of education, the intentional exclusion of Black students at America's most revered private elite colleges and universities persists.

Years after the *Brown v. Board* decision and the Civil Rights Act, a 1970 policy ([Section 501\(c\)\(3\)](#)) adopted by the Internal Revenue Service extended racial nondiscrimination laws to private educational institutions.²⁵ Formalized in 1975, this policy is a federal reminder that it matters who attends selective private colleges and universities and that these institutions are not exempt from laws barring racial discrimination at private entities.

In the 21st century, postsecondary educational pathways have expanded, along with the availability of data about the outcomes of graduates. But by continuing to admit mostly White and affluent applicants, these elite

institutions are reinforcing systemic inequities, especially since the graduates of selective private colleges tend to have higher earnings, per an analysis by researchers at [Northwestern University](#),²⁶ and dominate the [political](#) and economic ruling class.²⁷ According to a [study](#) by the American Sociological Association, more than half of individuals in a sample composed of America's academic and media elite earned their undergraduate degrees from the country's top 39 colleges.²⁸ It should be noted that one-fifth of the institutions in our sample were also in that group.

Meanwhile, a [Brookings study](#) notes that while public universities move a *larger number* of students from low-income backgrounds into the highest quintile than private universities, the latter put a *greater proportion* of students on the path to upward mobility, based on the number of students from low-income backgrounds they enroll (compared to public universities).²⁹ Research also suggests that despite having higher amounts of debt, graduates of private nonprofit colleges and universities [tend to have](#) higher median annual earnings than graduates of public colleges and universities.³⁰

Additionally, private nonprofit four-year institutions [have](#) higher six-year completion rates for first-time, full-time undergraduates than other college sectors.³¹ In [2020](#), the six-year completion rate for students who began seeking a bachelor's degree in 2014 was 68% at private nonprofit institutions, versus 63% at public institutions and 64% across all four-year degree-granting institutions.³² This pattern remains even when the [data is disaggregated](#) by race and ethnicity (Figure 1).³³

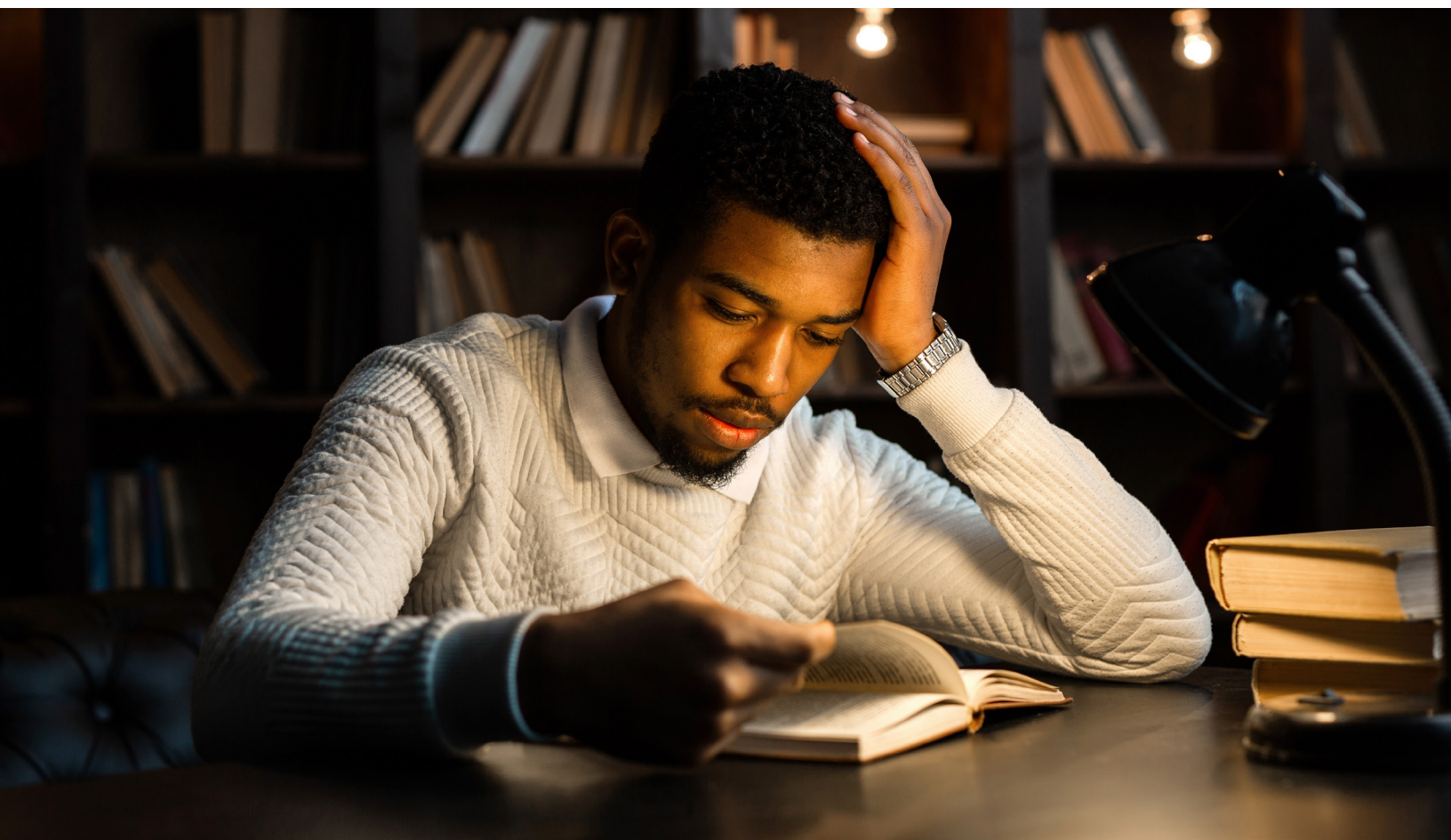
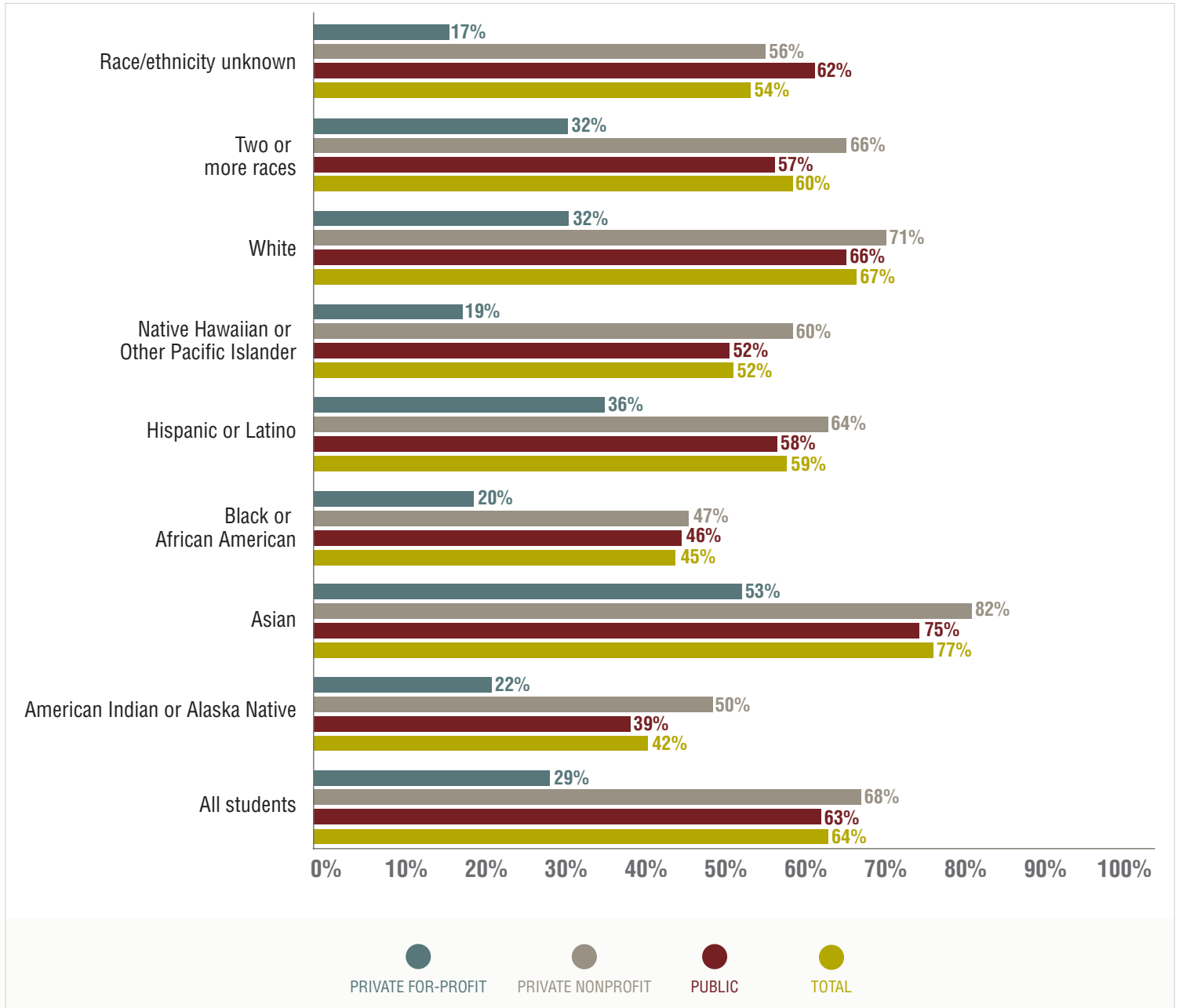


Figure 1: Six-Year Completion Rates by Race/Ethnicity and Sector

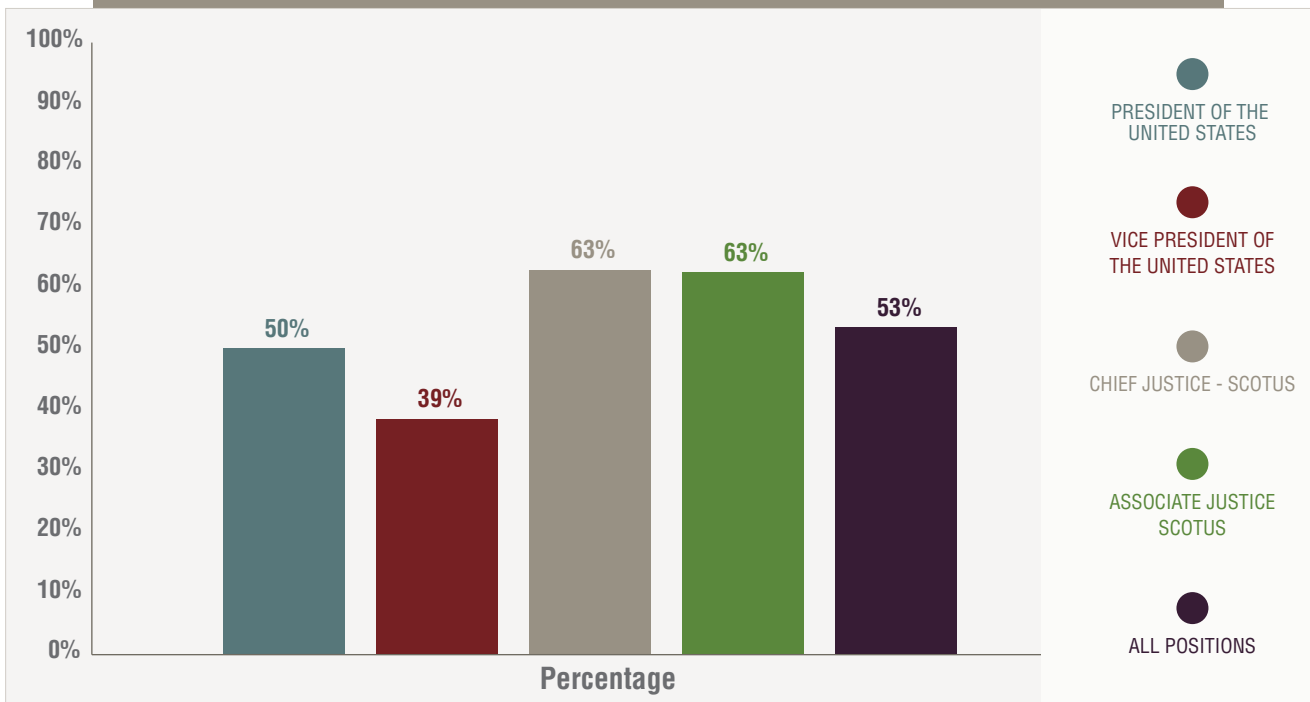


Source: Ed Trust Analysis of data from Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), 2014 Cohort Completion Rate. Note: Calculations may not be exact due to rounding.

“THE ROLE OF PRIVATE SELECTIVE INSTITUTIONS IN EDUCATING AMERICA’S LEADERS

The President, Vice President, and Chief or Associate Justice of the Supreme Court are arguably among the most influential roles in America. In our analysis (Figure 2), we found that among all college graduating individuals who held one of these four roles, more than half (53%) earned an undergraduate degree from one of the four-year selective private institutions analyzed in this report.

Figure 2: U.S. Leaders Who Earned an Undergraduate Degree at a Four-Year Selective Private College or University in Our Sample



Sources Include: Ed Trust Analysis of Data from Supreme Court of the United States, The White House Archives, National Archives, National Governors Association National Park Service, Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, North Carolina History Project, The Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, Office of Art and Archives(National Archives), Arizona University, Boston University, Fordham University, Harvard University, College of William and Mary, Columbia University, Cornell University, Dartmouth University, Gettysburg College, Iowa State University, James Madison University, Marietta College, Marquette University, Middle Tennessee State University, Roger Williams University, Rutgers University, Princeton University, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, University of Pennsylvania, University of South Carolina, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, University of Virginia.

We must, therefore, ensure that more Black students can enroll and successfully complete degrees at selective private institutions.

[Research](#) shows that a lack of student diversity can have adverse effects on campus racial climate, which can then impede student engagement, sense of belonging, and degree completion.³⁴ Furthermore, having more racial and ethnic diversity on campus enhances the learning and growth opportunities for [all students](#).³⁵

At the conclusion of this report, we provide campus leaders and policymakers with a series of recommendations nestled within four larger categories that can help increase enrollment access for Black students at the 122 institutions in our sample. Increasing access to these institutions for Black students is long overdue and more important than ever, given the [declines](#)³⁶ in college enrollment that were [exacerbated](#)³⁷ amid the COVID-19 pandemic and are partially due to the [rise](#) in people pursuing career and technical credentials instead of a four-year degree.³⁸

Unfortunately, the decrease in enrollment among first-time Black students at private, nonprofit institutions in the U.S. from 2021 to 2022 (10.4%) is [larger](#)³⁹ than the decrease in Black first-time student enrollment across all sectors (6%) — even as institutions considered race as one of many factors in admissions decisions in states where affirmative action was used prior to its recent federal ban by the Supreme Court.

Now that the use of affirmative action in college admissions is illegal, we urge university leaders and policymakers to take steps to mitigate the chronic exclusion of Black students. As our late colleague, [Andrew Nichols, Ph.D.](#),⁴⁰ said in 2020, the effects of scanty access at these institutions for Black students “will not just limit the social and economic opportunities of these individuals, but will also have a damning collective impact on our nation, which is strengthened by a more educated [populace](#).”⁴¹

HOW COLLEGES & UNIVERSITIES WERE GRADED

Before exploring the Black student access scores and grades, we should note that institutions that received an A grade, or a “perfect” score of 100 or greater, should still be working to maintain racial equity. Regardless of an institution’s score, we encourage stakeholders to be intentional and vigilant about improving access for Black students at private selective colleges and universities.

Each of the 122 institutions in this report was given a set of student access scores and corresponding grades for their commitment to access for Black students. Our grading scale for student access scores ranges from 0 to 100, with 0 being the worst score and 100 being the best score an institution can receive; mathematically, however, some institutions received scores greater than 100 if their Black student enrollment share was larger than the Black demographic share in the states where these students came from, like McMurry University did in 2020, as shown in the example below.

Letter grades were then applied to these scores using a 10-point grading scale: Scores of 90 or higher received A's. Scores in the 80s, 70s, and 60s received B's, C's, and D's, respectively, while scores below 60 got failing grades or F's. In this report, scores are rounded to the nearest whole number but are graded based off their original score (e.g., a score of 79.9999 would be rounded up to 80 but receive a C grade).

The access scores and grades indicate how well an institution's share of Black undergraduate students represents the Black population ages 18-24 in the states from which these first-time students came.⁴²

MCMURRY UNIVERSITY(PBI) 2020 BLACK ACCESS SCORE

In fall 2020, McMurry University enrolled 214 first-time students* from 5 states (1 from Alaska, 1 from California, 2 from Louisiana, 1 from New Mexico, 209 from Texas).

$$\left(1 \text{ student enrolled from Alaska in fall 2020} \times \frac{3211 \text{ Black Alaska Residents ages 18- to 24-years-old in 2020}}{70195 \text{ Alaska Residents ages 18- to 24-years-old in 2020}} \right)$$

$$+ \left(1 \times \frac{231381}{3724239} \right) + \left(2 \times \frac{163292}{427537} \right) + \left(1 \times \frac{6042}{198269} \right) + \left(209 \times \frac{372879}{2804109} \right) = 28.69 \text{ Black Enrollment Benchmark fall 2020}$$

$$\left(\frac{28.69 \text{ Black Enrollment Benchmark fall 2020}}{214 \text{ Total first-time student fall 2020}} \right) \times 100 = 13.41\% \text{ Black Enrollment Benchmark Percentage fall 2020}$$

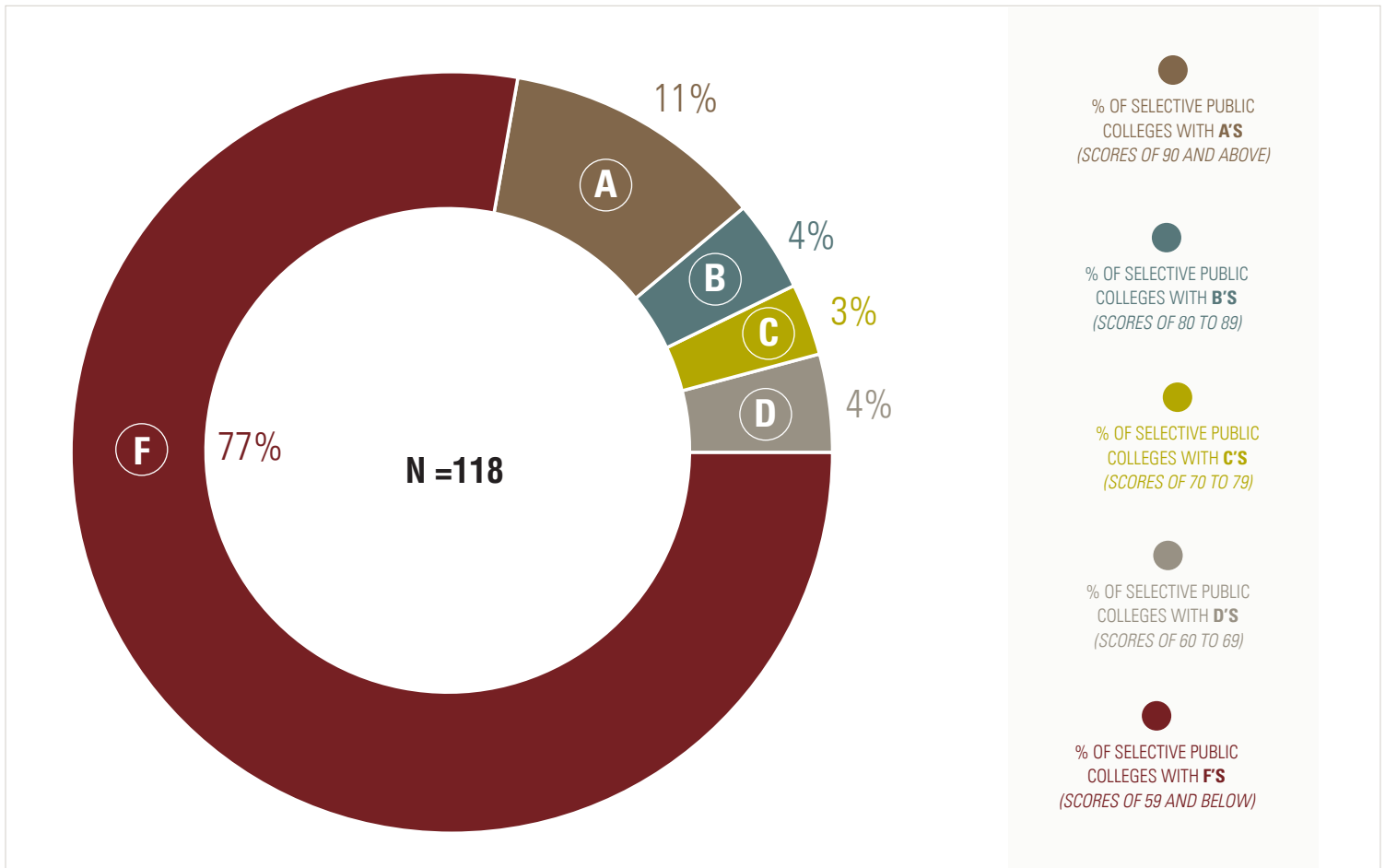
Since McMurry University also reported residence and migration data for their students in 2019 and 2021, we calculate and take the average Black enrollment benchmark over the three years, which is 13.24%. We also take the average percentage of Black undergraduates at McMurry from 2019 through 2021, which is 15.46%.

$$\left(\frac{15.46\% \text{ Average Black undergraduates}}{13.24\% \text{ Average Black enrollment benchmark}} \right) \times 100 = 117 \text{ (A)}$$

HOW ACCESSIBLE WERE THESE INSTITUTIONS FOR BLACK STUDENTS IN 2000?

In 2000, Black students were severely underrepresented at the most selective private colleges and universities (see Figure 3). Per our Black student access grading metrics, more than three-fourths (77%) of the institutions had failing grades, and another 4% had D grades. About 15% of institutions received A or B grades, with 11% earning A grades and 4% earning B grades. Another 3% of these selective private colleges received C grades. The average access score among all institutions in the sample was 62%, a D, with about one-third of institutions earning low F's below 30%.

Figure 3: Percentage Distribution of Access Grades and Scores at Selective Private Colleges and Universities in 2000



Source: Ed Trust Analysis of data from Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) 2000 Fall 2000 through Fall 2001 and United States Census Bureau's Census 2000. See the "How Colleges and Universities Were Graded" and "About the Data" sections for more details. Note: Calculations may not be exact due to rounding.



HAVE INSTITUTIONS INCREASED BLACK STUDENT ENROLLMENT SINCE 2000?

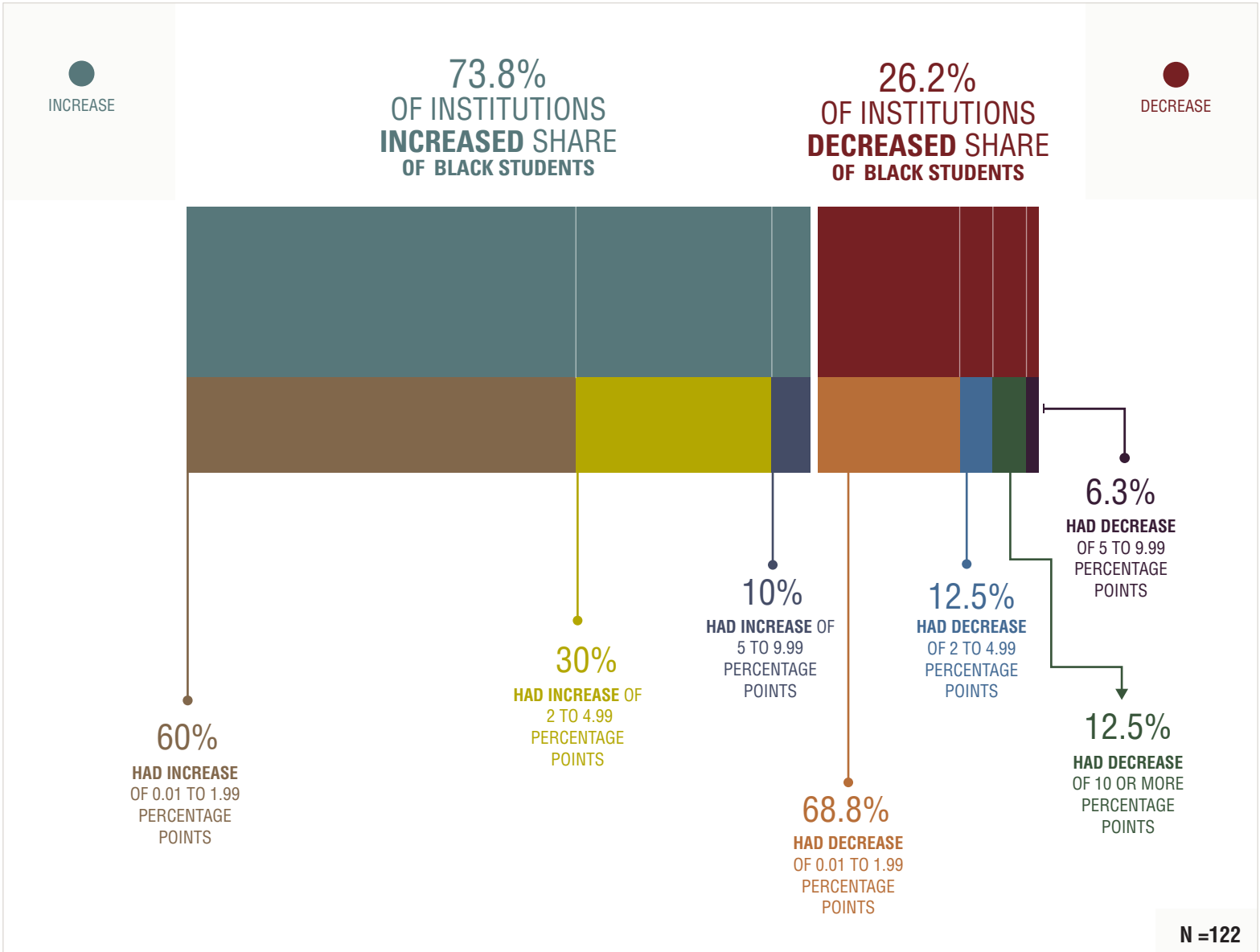
While most of these institutions are enrolling more Black undergraduate students in 2020 than they were in 2000, Black students are still woefully underrepresented at many of them. As noted in Figure 4, roughly 7 out of every 10 (74%) institutions saw an increase in the percentage of Black undergraduate students on their campuses, while nearly 3 out of every 10 (26%) of institutions saw a decrease. While the increases in Black undergraduate student enrollment are good news, we must ask why, on average, progress has been so slow at these institutions.

Ninety colleges and universities (74%) increased their Black undergraduate student enrollment; but the average increase was 2.3 percentage points. Of these 90 institutions, 54 (60%) were in the lowest range of increase, meaning their Black undergraduate student enrollment rose by less than 2 percentage points, and 27 (30%) of these 90 institutions had increases between 2 and 5 percentage points. This means that at 81 (90%) of the 90 institutions that saw an increase in Black undergraduate student enrollment between 2000 and 2020, the rate of increase was less than 5 percentage points. The remaining 22 (10%) had increases between 5 and 10 percentage points. No institution increased Black undergraduate student enrollment by more than 10 percentage points.

Among the 26.2% of institutions that had a decrease in Black undergraduate student enrollment, the average decrease was 3.7 percentage points, which is larger than the average percentage point increase. Twenty-two, or a little more than two-thirds, of these 32 institutions had decreases of less than 2 percentage points, while about 19% of these institutions had decreases between 2 and 10 percentage points. Four schools (13%) from this sample had decreases that exceeded 10 percentage points.

BY CONTINUING TO ADMIT MOSTLY WHITE AND AFFLUENT APPLICANTS, elite institutions are reinforcing systemic inequities, since their graduates tend to have higher earnings and dominate the political and economic ruling class.

Figure 4: Change in the Share of Black Students at Four-Year Selective Private Colleges From Selected Years 2000 to 2020



Note: Due to rounding up some numbers might not add up to 100%.

Source: Ed Trust analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) Fall 2000 through Fall 2001 and Fall 2019 through Fall 2021. See the "About the Data" section for more details. Note: Calculations may not be exact due to rounding.

HAS BLACK STUDENT ENROLLMENT KEPT PACE WITH INSTITUTIONAL ENROLLMENT BENCHMARKS?

As shown in the section on How Colleges and Universities Were Graded on page 14, Black student access scores were not calculated by comparing the raw percentage of Black residents ages 18-24 in an institution's state. Instead, Black fall enrollment benchmarks were determined by adding the percentage of Black residents in each state from which an institution enrolled first-time students multiplied by the number of students that institution enrolled from that state.

It is imperative that changes in Black undergraduate student enrollment at these four-year selective private colleges and universities are contextualized within the state demographics used in each institution's enrollment benchmark calculations. The underlying racial and ethnic demographic changes in the states these institutions are enrolling students from are key to assessing progress in Black undergraduate student enrollment (or the lack thereof). For example, while the percentage of Black undergraduate students at Belhaven University was 4.85 percentage points higher in 2020 than it was in 2000, the percentage of Black residents ages 18-24 in the states in which the first-time students lived prior to enrolling increased by more than 7 percentage points. Figure 5 places these institutional gains and declines in Black undergraduate student enrollment within the context of the institutional enrollment benchmarks, which were created based on the populations of Black 18- to 24-year-olds in the states from which the students migrated.

The average percentage of Black residents ages 18-24 across all 50 U.S. states and the District of Columbia was 13.14% in 2020, up from 12.27% in 2000 — or an increase of about 0.9 percentage points. Given this small increase, institutions had a relatively steady benchmark over the two decades considered in this analysis, yet many still completely missed it or even got farther away from it.

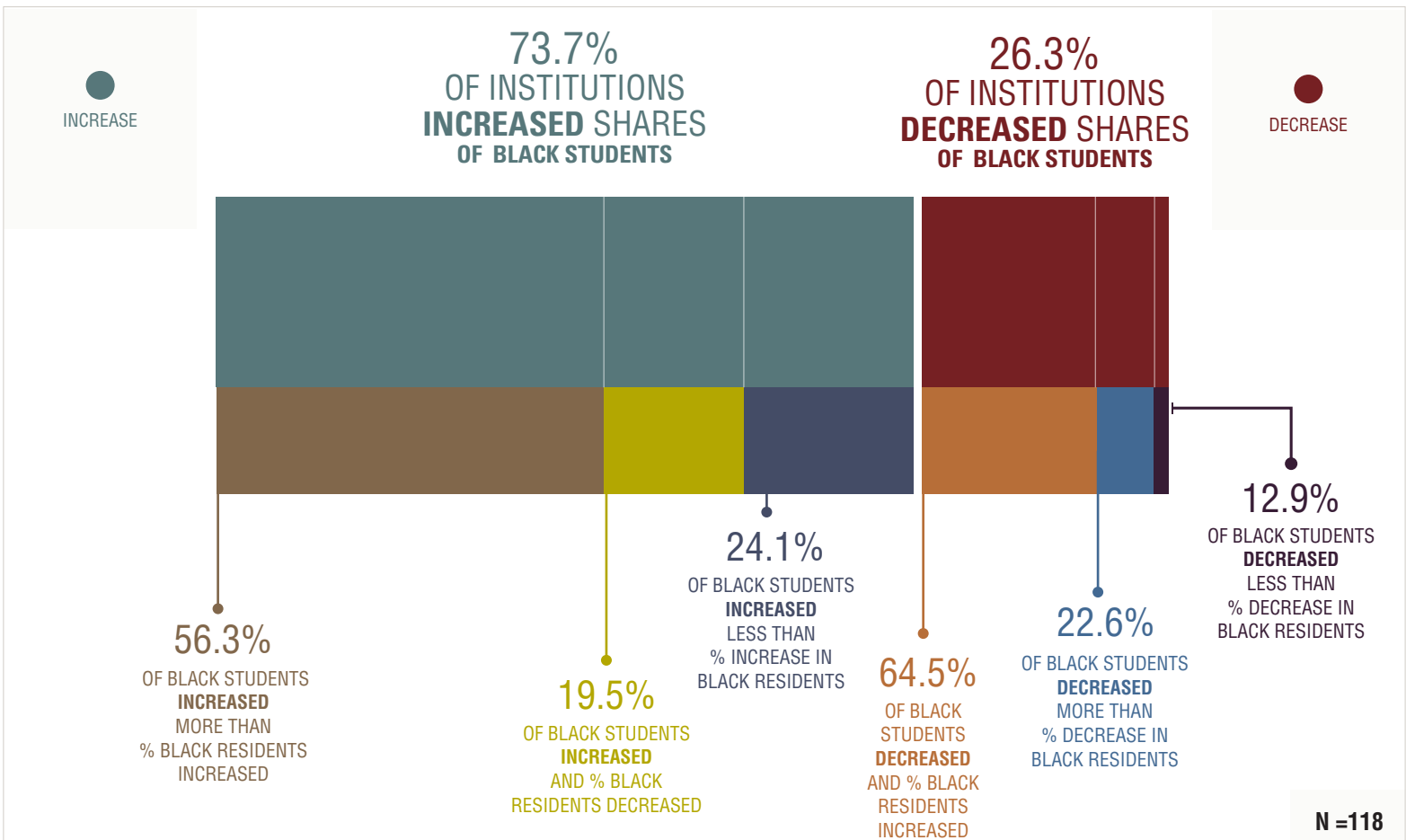
Looking only among the nearly three in four (74%) selective private four-year colleges and universities that increased their Black undergraduate student enrollment from 2000 to 2020, more than half (56%) increased the percentage of Black students more than the increase in the percentage of Black residents ages 18-24 in the states from which first-time students came. At nearly a quarter (24%) of these institutions, Black undergraduate student enrollment rose by less than the increase in the percentage of Black residents ages 18-24 in the states from which first-time students came. The remaining one-fifth (20%) of the institutions that increased the percentage of Black undergraduate student enrollment between 2000 and 2020 did so while the percentage of Black residents ages 18-24 in the states from which these first-time students came decreased.

Considering the 26% of selective private four-year colleges and universities that decreased their Black undergraduate student enrollment from 2000 to 2020, nearly two-thirds failed to keep

pace with the demographic changes for Black residents ages 18-24 in the states first-time students are from. In other words, at about 65% of these institutions, Black undergraduate student enrollment decreased while the population of Black residents ages 18-24 increased in the states from which first time students came.

At nearly a quarter (23%) of these institutions, the decline in the population of Black undergraduate students was greater than the decline in the percentage of Black residents ages 18-24 in the states from which first-time students came, and at about 13% of these schools, the decrease in the Black undergraduate student population was less than the decrease in the percentage of Black residents ages 18-24 in the states from which first-time students came.

Figure 5: Comparing Changes in State Demography and Enrollment at Four-Year Selective Private Colleges and Universities



Note: Due to rounding up some numbers might not add up to 100%.

Source: Ed Trust analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) Fall 2000 through Fall 2001 and Fall 2019 through Fall 2021, United States Census Bureau's Census 2000, and the United States Census Bureau's Census 2020. See the "How Colleges and Universities Were Graded" and "About the Data" sections for more details. Note: Calculations may not be exact due to rounding.

What Was the State of Access for Black Students in 2020?

Figure 6 shows that almost three-quarters (71%) of institutions had failing grades in 2020. The average failing score was 40, and nearly four-fifths of the F grades were scores of 50 and below. Nine percent of the institutions had D grades, and another 2% earned C grades. Only 17% of institutions received A or B grades, with 15% earning A grades and 2% earning B grades.

On average, the underrepresentation of Black students at four-year selective private institutions has persisted since 2000. While Figure 4 shows that Black undergraduate student enrollment increased at nearly 3 out of every 4 of institutions in our sample from 2000 and 2020, Figure 6 reminds us that the proportion of institutions who earned failing scores and grades for access to Black undergraduate students remains high. Noting the difference between 2000 and 2020, the percentage of institutions receiving A's, B's, and C's increased by 1 percentage point (from 18% to 19%) and the percentage of D's increased by 5 percentage points (4% to 9%). Even though the percentage of institutions with failing scores and grades for Black undergraduate student access fell by 6 percentage points, across the 20-year timespan, more colleges failed to enroll equitable shares of Black students compared to the share of colleges that enrolled equitable shares based on our Black Student Access benchmarks.

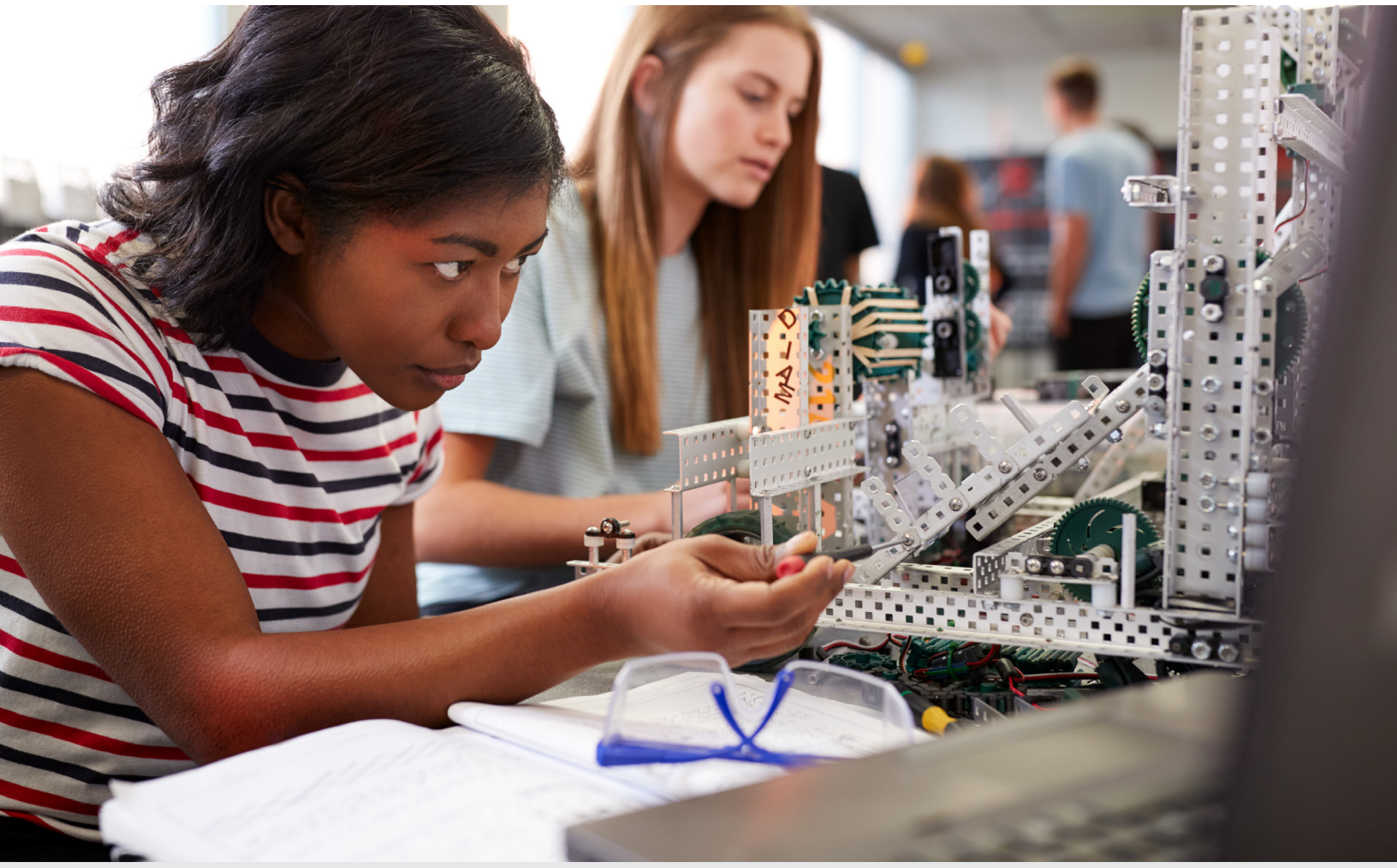
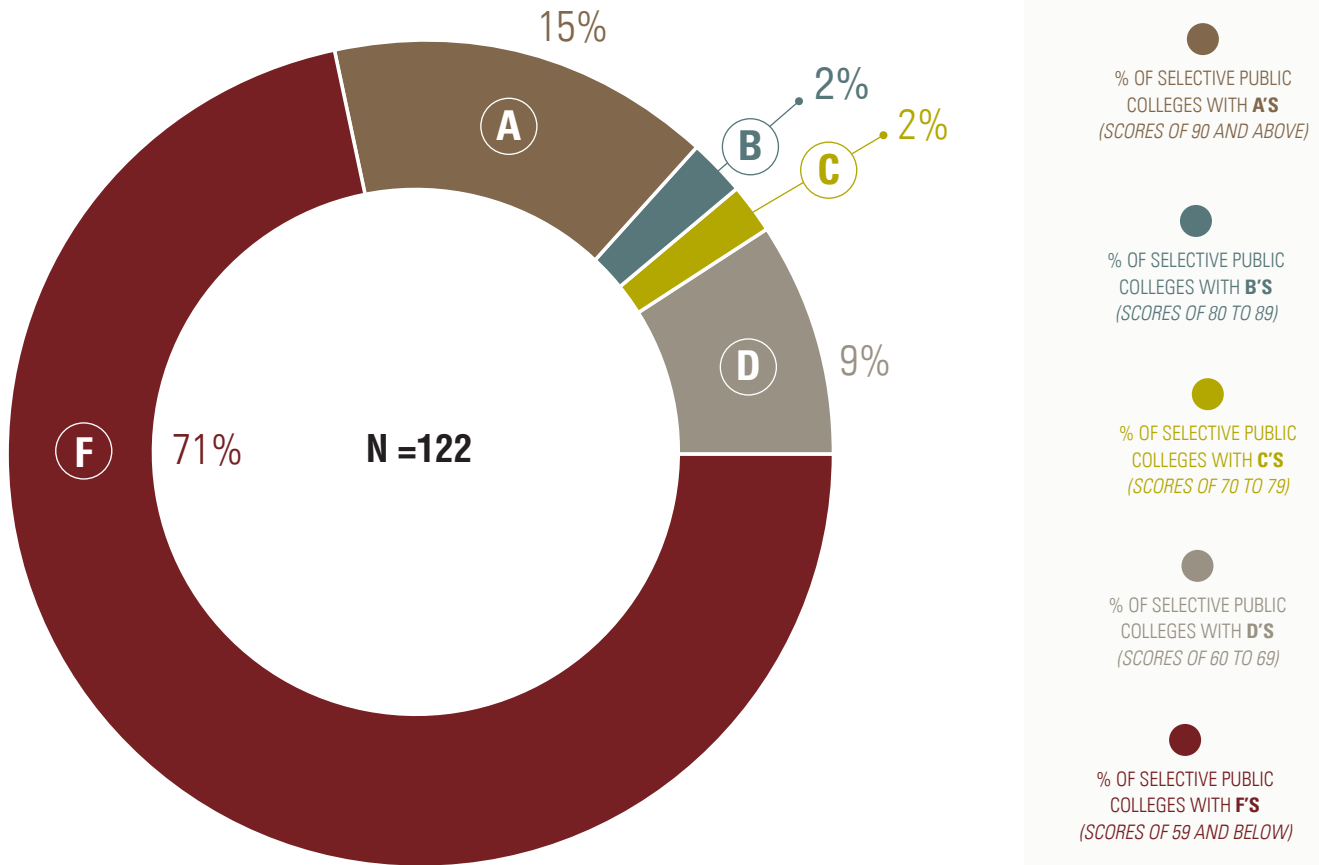


Figure 6: Percentage Distribution of Access Grades and Scores at Four-Year Selective Private Colleges and Universities in 2020



Black Student Access

Change Since 2000 (percentage points)

- % of four-year selective private colleges and universities with **A's** (Scores of 90 and above) **+4 percentage points**
- % of four-year selective private colleges and universities with **B's** (Scores of 80 to 89) **-2 percentage points**
- % of four-year selective private colleges and universities with **C's** (Scores of 70 to 79) **-1 percentage points**
- % of four-year selective private colleges and universities with **D's** (Scores of 60 to 69) **+5 percentage points**
- % of four-year selective private colleges and universities with **F's** (Scores of 59 and below) **-6 percentage points**

Source: Ed Trust analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) Fall 2019 through Fall 2021 and the United States Census Bureau's Census 2020. See the "How Colleges and Universities Were Graded" and "About the Data" sections for more details. Note: Calculations may not be exact due to rounding.

HOW HBCUS AND MINORITY-SERVING INSTITUTIONS BOLSTER BLACK STUDENT ACCESS ACROSS THE NATION

Minority-serving institutions (MSIs), specifically HBCUs, have historically played a [substantial role](#) in enrolling and graduating Black students, and this is supported by our analysis (See Table 2).⁴³ **In both 2000 and 2020, 100% of HBCUs and predominantly Black institutions (PBIs) in the sample earned A grades for Black student access.** Among the 13 (11%) institutions earning A grades for Black student access in 2000 (Figure 1), nearly 85% are MSIs. Of the 18 (15%) institutions earning A grades for Black student access in 2020 (Figure 4), about 72% are MSIs.

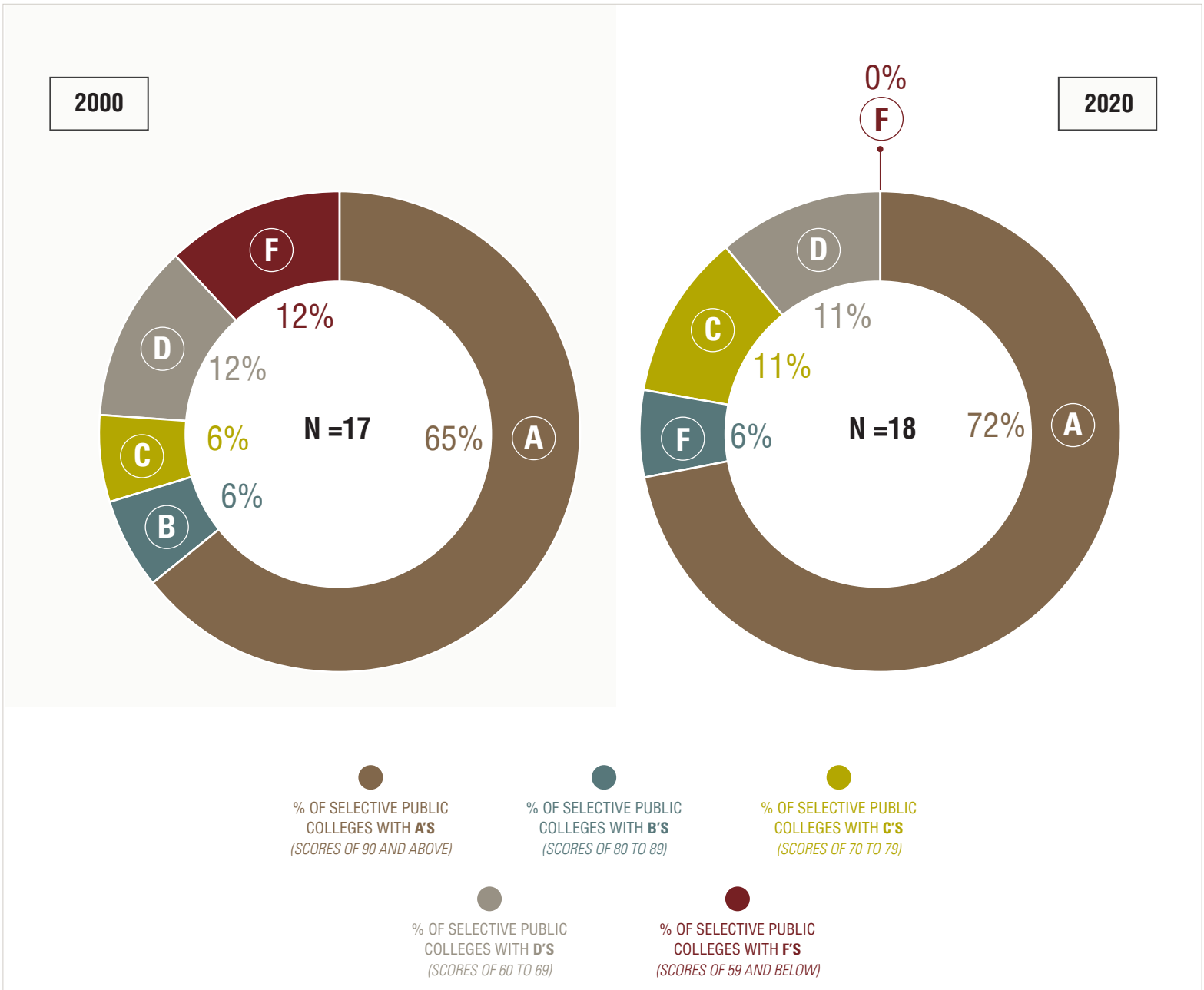
Of the 122 four-year selective private colleges and universities in our sample, 18, or about 15%, were MSIs. More specifically, eight institutions are HBCUs or PBIs, and eight institutions are Hispanic-serving institutions, meaning that these three MSI types make up about 89% of the MSI representation in the sample. (See Appendix Table A for a comprehensive list of all MSI types represented in the sample.)

When we isolated the MSIs, we found that the grade distributions for Black student access in 2000 and 2020 (Figure 7) were the opposite of the overall grade distributions shown in Figure 3 and Figure 6. For the year 2000, the average Black student access score for MSIs in the sample was 187, with nearly two-thirds earning A's and 6% earning B's. Six percent of institutions received C grades, 12% earned D grades, and 12% of MSIs received failing grades for Black student access. In 2020, the average Black student access score for these same MSIs was 182, with the A grades increasing to 72% and the share of B grades staying consistent at 6%. The percentage of MSI's earning C grades rose to 11% and D grades fell to 11%. The most noticeable change was among F grades, as **no MSIs earned a failing grade for Black student access in 2020.**

While it is expected that MSIs, specifically HBCUs and PBIs, would enroll more Black students than non-MSIs, we must ask why the gap between MSIs and non-MSIs was so pronounced, especially given the significant [funding disparities](#) at MSIs.⁴⁴ University leaders at PWIs should strive to reduce this drastic gap in Black student access and should be held accountable through [race-conscious policies](#).⁴⁵

WHILE WE ACKNOWLEDGE THE ARRAY OF ACADEMIC, cultural, professional, and social benefits that minority-serving institutions have for Black students, these should not be the only private institutions that are accessible for Black students.

Figure 7: Percentage Distribution of Black Student Access Grades and Scores at Four-Year Selective Minority-Serving Institutions (2000 and 2020)



Source: Ed Trust analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) Fall 2000 through Fall 2001 and Fall 2019 through Fall 2021, United States Census Bureau's Census 2000, and the United States Census Bureau's Census 2020. See the "How Colleges and Universities Were Graded" and "About the Data" sections for more details. Note: Calculations may not be exact due to rounding.

INSUFFICIENT STATEWIDE BLACK STUDENT ACCESS

View our interactive statewide Black student access data [here](#).⁴⁶

We also calculated the median Black student access score for each of the 32 states and territories in our dataset. Although some of these states have as few as one or two institutions based on our selection criteria, there were some interesting similarities among some of these states over the 20-year span in our analysis.⁴⁷

Among the 10 states with the lowest Black student access scores in both 2000 and 2020 were Colorado, Indiana, Iowa, New York, Pennsylvania, Vermont, and Virginia (listed in alphabetical order). Some of the schools in these states include the University of Notre Dame, Columbia University, New York University, University of Pennsylvania, and Washington and Lee University. The consistent underrepresentation of Black students at private institutions in Virginia is notable, given the state's historical ties to [slavery](#).⁴⁸ Additionally, although Hampton University scored an A in 2000 and 2020, the Black student access scores were so low at the other three institutions in Virginia that the statewide median was among the lowest in the two-decade time span we used.

On a brighter note, Kentucky, Michigan, Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Tennessee (listed in alphabetical order) had the highest median Black student access scores in 2000 and in 2020 of the states in our sample. Readers should note, however, that the institutions in Michigan and Oklahoma are MSIs. Furthermore, two of the three institutions in Mississippi are an HBCU and a PBI; and the one remaining institution, Mississippi College, received F's for Black student access in 2000 and in 2020. Christian Brothers University, in Tennessee, and Berea College and Brescia University, both in Kentucky, are all PWIs.

LIMITED PROGRESS, INSUFFICIENT ACCESS FOR BLACK STUDENTS

In the mid-18th century, when many selective private institutions were established, their leaders owned more Black enslaved people than their universities enrolled students. Today, more than 300 years later, many highly ranked universities and colleges enroll [more legacy](#) students than Black students.⁴⁹

In 2000, all eight Ivy League institutions earned F grades for Black student access, with an average score of 45.1. In 2020, the average Black student access score among these institutions was a 52, with all but one earning F grades. These institutions may boast large endowments, strong alumni networks, and academic reputations, but they are laggards when it comes to increasing access for Black students. It's time for a change.

Although a few institutions have made marginal progress, an overwhelming majority of the nation's most selective four-year private colleges and universities remain inaccessible to Black students. Eighty percent of these institutions had D or F grades for Black student access in 2020, with an average D/F access score of 43. The least accessible selective four-year private colleges and universities for Black students are listed in Table 1 below. Additional grades, scores, and data for all private selective colleges and universities in this analysis are provided in Appendix Table A.

On average, institutions with higher Black student enrollment benchmarks (22% or above) had higher Black student access scores. These 11 institutions had an average Black student access score of 128, with about two-thirds scoring A's and B's and the remaining one-third earning F's. It should be noted, however, that all these institutions are in Southern states, and more than one-third are HBCUs or PBIs, which carried the weight of the group's high average Black student access score. **When all MSIs are removed from the sample, the average Black student enrollment score among institutions with larger Black student enrollment benchmarks drops by more than 100 percentage points to 26.9.** While we acknowledge the array of academic, cultural, professional, and social benefits that minority-serving institutions, such as HBCUs and PBIs, have for Black students, these should not be the only private institutions that are accessible for Black students. Unfortunately, many of the non-MSIs in our sample have a long way to go before they are accessible for Black students.

Although more than half of the institutions in our sample have increased both their Black student enrollment and Black student access scores since 2000, the gains were slight and Black students remained underrepresented in 2020. At most of the institutions we examined (79%), less than 10% of the student body was Black; 58% of the institutions had Black student enrollment of less than 7%; and 32% had Black student enrollment below 5%. Between 2000 and 2020, the U.S. Black population ages 18-24 grew only 0.9 percentage points. Although individual Black student benchmarks vary based on the number of students who enroll from each state, the relatively steady Black population gave institutions ample time to catch up, but they have largely missed the mark.

The data paints a bleak picture. Overall, these selective private institutions were slightly more accessible for Black students than they were in 2020, but their progress has been painfully slow. Only 17.2% of institutions had Black student enrollment that was somewhat representative (A and B grades) of the population of Black residents ages 18-24 in the states from which their students migrated. The need for Black student access at selective private institutions is outpacing admissions rates.

Each of these institutions should have increased their Black undergraduate student enrollment by about 8.2 percentage points, on average, based on the demographic growth in Black residents ages 18-24 in the states from which first-time students came.

THESE INSTITUTIONS MAY BOAST LARGE ENDOWMENTS, strong alumni networks, and academic reputations, but they are laggards when it comes to increasing access for Black students. It's time for a change.

Table 1: The Least Accessible Selective Four-Year Private Colleges and Universities for Black Students

**Institutions with "N/A" do not have a Black student access grade in 2000. (For more information, see "About the Data.")*

Institution Name	State	Black Student Access Score 2020	Black Student Access Grade 2020	Black Student Access Grade 2000	Change in Black Student Access Score Since 2000
College of the Ozarks	MO	8	F	F	+5
Reed College	OR	14	F	F	+8
Washington and Lee University	VA	18	F	F	+2
California Institute of Technology	CA	22	F	F	+9
Kenyon College	OH	22	F	F	-2
Bucknell University	PA	24	F	F	+3
Hamilton College	NY	24	F	F	-4
University of Notre Dame	IN	25	F	F	0
Vassar College	NY	27	F	F	-12
Carnegie Mellon University	PA	27	F	F	0
Gettysburg College	PA	27	F	F	+14
Colorado College	CO	28	F	F	0
Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art	NY	28	F	F	+3
Colgate University	NY	28	F	F	-1
St Lawrence University	NY	29	F	F	+14
Hampden-Sydney College	VA	29	F	F	+14
Boston University	MA	30	F	F	+8
Lehigh University	PA	31	F	F	+8
Trinity University	TX	31	F	F	+13
Case Western Reserve University	OH	32	F	F	-8
Union College	NY	32	F	F	0
Emerson College	MA	32	F	F	+18
Wake Forest University	NC	32	F	F	-6

Table 1: Continued

Institution Name	State	Black Student Access Score 2020	Black Student Access Grade 2020	Black Student Access Grade 2000	Change in Black Student Access Score Since 2000
Boston College	MA	33	F	F	-3
Davidson College	NC	33	F	F	+6
Lafayette College	PA	34	F	F	+5
Villanova University	PA	34	F	F	+13
University of Rochester	NY	34	F	N/A	N/A
Middlebury College	VT	34	F	F	+16
Northeastern University	MA	35	F	F	-15
Connecticut College	CT	35	F	F	+8
Tufts University	MA	36	F	F	-16
Bryn Mawr College	PA	36	F	F	+6
Haverford College	PA	37	F	F	-2
Tulane University of Louisiana	LA	37	F	F	-5
Grinnell College	IA	37	F	F	+4
Georgetown University	DC	38	F	F	-2
College of the Holy Cross	MA	39	F	F	+15
Oberlin College	OH	39	F	F	-14
Skidmore College	NY	39	F	N/A	N/A
University of Chicago	IL	39	F	F	+9
Denison University	OH	40	F	F	+3
Franklin and Marshall College	PA	40	F	F	+21
Texas Christian University	TX	40	F	F	+6
Southwestern University	TX	40	F	F	+19
Clark University	MA	40	F	F	+4
Barnard College	NY	40	F	F	+8
Macalester College	MN	41	F	F	+1
Scripps College	CA	41	F	F	-1

Table 2: The Most Accessible Selective Four-Year Private Colleges for Black Students

Institution Name	State	Black Student Access Score 2020	Black Student Access Grade 2020	Black Student Access Grade 2000	Change in Black Student Access Score Since 2000
Hampton University †	VA	450	A	A	-5
Rust College †	MS	345	A	A	+40
Howard University †	DC	343	A	A	-32
Johnson C Smith University †	NC	322	A	A	-81
Metropolitan College of New York †† §	NY	310	A	N/A	N/A
Florida Memorial University †	FL	299	A	A	-128
Ohio Dominican University	OH	182	A	A	+12
North Carolina Wesleyan College ††	NC	171	A	A	+31
Hope International University §	CA	131	A	A	+34
Texas Wesleyan University §	TX	130	A	A	-3
McMurry University§	TX	117	A	D	+48
Berea College	KY	113	A	B	+25
Andrews University*	MI	111	A	A	-35
Barton College	NC	106	A	C	+31
Christian Brothers University	TN	95	A	A	-24
Belhaven University	MS	94	A	A	-7
Brescia University	KY	94	A	F	+51
Hallmark University§	TX	92	A	C	+20
Pomona College	CA	90	B	F	+47
Point University	GA	84	B	D	+21
Bacone College **	OK	83	B	A	-132

*AANAPII – Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander Institution • †HBCU – Historically Black College or University
 §HSI – Hispanic Serving Institution • **NANTI – Native American Non-Tribal Institution • ††PBI – Predominantly Black Institution

HOW CAN CAMPUS LEADERS AND POLICYMAKERS IMPROVE ACCESS FOR BLACK STUDENTS?

As Dr. Nichols noted in 2020, improving access for Black students at the 122 institutions included in this report “is a matter of political will and institutional prioritization.” The institutions included in this report have the [resources](#) to improve access for Black students, but their leaders must commit to doing so.⁵⁰ The recommendations from Ed Trust’s original “Segregation Forever?” report on public institutions, which was published in 2020, can be found [here](#).⁵¹ Our new findings suggest that many of the recommendations from the original report are as relevant today as they were then, even for private institutions. However, we adjusted some of the original recommendations, considering key differences in how public and private universities are [funded](#) — e.g., the latter get most of their money from private donors — and the recent ban on affirmative action, so institutional leaders, policymakers, and advocates can focus on increasing access for Black students.⁵²

1. Develop strategies to increase access

- a. We urge institutions to alter their recruitment strategies by extending outreach beyond “[student lists](#),” which colleges obtain from test providers and may limit recruitment to students with certain standardized test scores, GPAs, and ZIP codes.**⁵³ Many of the institutions in our sample have adopted test-optional admissions policies, but student lists may also filter recruitment based on [AP enrollment](#),⁵⁴ which is also problematic, since Black students are often [shut out](#) of those courses.⁵⁵ Selective private colleges and universities will continue to see low enrollments of Black students if they don’t change their recruitment strategies. [Research shows](#) more than 30% of Black (and Latino) students with a high school grade point average (GPA) above 3.5 enroll in community colleges compared to 22% of White students with the same GPA.⁵⁶
- b. Supporting Black students on the way to and through college must be a joint effort between secondary and postsecondary institutions.** University leaders may be able to boost Black student enrollment by inviting prospective students from states and high schools with high percentages of Black students to visit their campuses and [paying](#) for those visits or curating virtual experiences for students who are able to visit campuses virtually.⁵⁷ Additionally, institutional leaders should increase the capacity of admissions offices to communicate with the high school guidance counselors of Black students to ensure that these students have the necessary support to officially enroll and reduce [summer melt](#).⁵⁸ High school guidance counselors play a [pivotal role](#) in improving postsecondary access for Black students.⁵⁹

- c. At the P-12 level, school district and state leaders must ensure that Black students have access to high-quality school counselors.** High school students who meet with school counselors are [more likely](#) to complete the FAFSA, go to college, and attend a four-year institution.⁶⁰ Yet, Black students are much more likely to attend schools that lack enough school counselors or have [no school counselor](#) at all.⁶¹ Unmanageable caseloads make it hard for school counselors to meet students' needs, especially when there's rising demand, as there is now coming out of the pandemic. According to the American School Counselor Association, the recommended student-to-counselor ratio is 250:1, but public schools in only three states [meet this benchmark](#).⁶² School counselors should participate in mandatory antiracism and implicit bias training to ensure they are not setting lower standards for Black students throughout their postsecondary education planning.
- d. Selective private colleges and universities should move toward a test-optional or test-blind admissions process if they haven't yet done so.** Seventy-eight percent of the schools in this report did not require the reporting of test scores in 2021. From 2015 to 2021, the number of schools that required applicants to submit test scores dropped from 80% to 6%.⁶³ That's good news, since these tests are not strong predictors of college success and can disproportionately constrict access for Black and Latino students, who — on average — don't score as well as their White and Asian peers. Institutions should place more emphasis on high school grades, which are a [better predictor](#) of college success.⁶⁴ A [recent study](#) found that selective colleges that used a web tool called Landscape — which provides standardized data about an applicant's neighborhood and school — were able to diversify their applicant pools.⁶⁵ And applicants from the most challenging school and neighborhood backgrounds experienced a 5-percentage point increase in the probability of admission compared to the previous year.
- e. Given the [underrepresentation](#) of Black students in advanced coursework in P-12 classrooms, selective private college and university admissions officers should consider whether applicants have had access to rigorous courses.**⁶⁶
- f. Institutions should set or increase recruitment and enrollment benchmarks and develop accessible transfer pathways for students from community colleges.** Since [many](#)⁶⁷ Black students begin their postsecondary education at community colleges, recruiting from community colleges and developing accessible transfer pathways could help [diversify](#)⁶⁸ applicant pools at selective colleges and reduce recruitment costs. Historically, student transfers to selective colleges and universities have [lagged behind](#) transfers to public universities.⁶⁹ While there may be concerns about low bachelor's degree [attainment rates](#)⁷⁰ among students who enter community colleges intending to transfer to a four-year institution, by developing accessible transfer pathways, selective private colleges and universities could help boost attainment rates. While transfer acceptance rates are low at selective private colleges and universities, transfer students are [more likely to enroll upon being accepted](#), which should be an added incentive to use this strategy.⁷¹

Example: In 2018, Princeton University reinstated its [transfer program](#), with the goal of encouraging applicants from low-income, military, or community college backgrounds to apply.⁷² While only 13 of 1,429 applicants were admitted, more than half of the admitted transfer students identified as people of color who had attended community colleges in six other states. Leaders of selective private colleges and universities might increase enrollment among transfer students from community colleges by using [transfer or articulation agreements](#),⁷³ as did [Barton College](#)⁷⁴ in North Carolina, which went from a C for Black Student Access in 2000 to an A for Black Student Access in 2020. These agreements are partnerships between institutions outlining which course credits are transferable to increase pathways for matriculation upon their completion. Institutions should have [webpages](#) that clearly document the transfer credit process for prospective transfer students.⁷⁵

- g. Institutional leaders and policymakers can increase access for Black students by diversifying university faculty, leadership, and admissions staff as faculty diversity is a key component of student success.**⁷⁶ The wide gap between Black and White full-time faculty is particularly alarming. In [fall 2020](#), 7% of full-time faculty at degree-granting postsecondary institutions were Black, while 74% were White.⁷⁷ Things are not much better when looking specifically at university leadership. In 2022, only 13.6% of college presidents were Black, and just 16.2% of provosts were people of color.⁷⁸ College admissions staff are disproportionately White, as well. A 2022 [report](#) by the National Association for College Admission Counseling (NACAC) highlighted a disconnect between college admissions counselors nationally — 71% of whom are White — and undergraduates — less than half of whom are White.⁷⁹ This same study noted that Black males are particularly underrepresented among college admissions staff, further emphasizing the need for greater diversity.
- h. Hiring and recruiting aren’t the only challenges.** Board members and philanthropic partners must also ensure that sufficient funding is allocated for the recruitment of Black students.
- i. Ending the consideration of legacy status** — which tends to favor White applicants and is rooted in [systemic racism](#) — as a factor in admissions might help boost diversity and level the playing field.⁸⁰

2. Improve campus racial climates

- a. **Campus leaders should also improve campus racial climates.** This would make colleges and universities more attractive to prospective Black students and help institutions retain the Black students they currently enroll. A large body of evidence shows that Black students often perceive predominantly White campuses as alienating, unwelcoming, and [racist](#).⁸¹ And a hostile racial climate can negatively influence students' academic and social engagement, sense of belonging, and chances of completing a [degree](#).⁸² Administrators can improve campus racial climates by ensuring that racism and hate crimes on campus are handled swiftly and appropriately, hiring more faculty and staff of color, integrating diverse perspectives and materials into course curricula, and ensuring that students have the social and cultural support they need.

- b. **Campus members (leadership, faculty, staff, and students) should partake in anti-racism and implicit bias educational opportunities on an ongoing basis.** That way, they may come to understand and appreciate the individual, community, and institutional level [benefits](#) of having a diverse student body and can implement what they learn in their work.⁸³ Institutions must also adopt anti-racist language in their missions and goals, followed by action steps for accountability. Selective private four-year institutions could learn from colleges in the [California Community College Equity Leadership Alliance](#), a network of institutions working to acquire resources and adopt strategies to combat racism on their campuses.⁸⁴



3. Leverage federal accountability

- a. **The IRS should increase requirements and compliance measures for private school racial nondiscrimination policies.** [Currently](#), a private institution must not only publish its racial nondiscrimination policy but must also preserve the information necessary to demonstrate compliance with IRS requirements.⁸⁵ This means schools should track admissions, scholarship, and financial aid recipient data, and retain copies of promotional recruiting materials. The IRS should, however, require these institutions to report demographic information about the students to whom they send promotional materials to ensure that these schools are consistently recruiting from a diverse population.
 - i. The IRS should raise standards to ensure that institutions are recruiting and enrolling a meaningful share of diverse students.
 - ii. The IRS should also impose stricter penalties on colleges and universities that fail to comply with racial nondiscrimination policy requirements.
- b. **When the federal government reauthorizes the Higher Education Act** for the first time since 2008, policymakers must include measures that ensure that institutions are serving a racially and socioeconomically diverse student body.
- c. **The Office for Civil Rights (OCR) needs stricter measures of accountability for [Title VI of the Civil Rights Act](#).**⁸⁶ To be Title IV-eligible, an institution is [required](#) to have an updated Program Participation Agreement (PPA) signed by their president, chief executive officer, or chancellor and an authorized representative of the Secretary of Education.⁸⁷ This PPA certifies that the school will comply with laws barring discrimination, including Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which bans discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin. According to this law, forms of [banned discrimination](#) include but are not limited to “school segregation, admissions, recruitment, financial aid, academic programs, student treatment and services, counseling and guidance, discipline, classroom assignment, grading, vocational education, recreation, physical education, athletics, housing and employment, if it affects those who are intended to benefit from the Federal funds.”⁸⁸ OCR should incorporate sector-specific compliance benchmarks for the various agencies and institutions that receive Education Department funds covered by Title VI into compliance reviews to ensure they are being held to an appropriate standard regarding the law’s bans against discrimination based on race, color, and national origin.

4. Increase accountability from accreditors

- a. The U.S. Department of Education (ED) does not accredit educational institutions and programs; however, it [oversees](#) federally recognized accrediting agencies and holds them accountable for enforcing their accreditation standards.⁸⁹ ED should evaluate current forms of accountability using the enrollment, retention, and completion data these institutions are federally mandated to report.
- b. **Accrediting organizations need to provide specific action steps for institutions to increase recruitment, enrollment, retention, and completion for students who have been underserved, such as Black and Latino students.**⁹⁰ According to a [recent study](#), many institutions that purport to have a strong interest in promoting diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) have not been held to any standards, and few express interest until it is required by an accreditor.⁹¹
- c. **Accrediting organizations should develop additional expectations of quality, such as specific goals for increasing access for Black students, accompanied by action steps that can be tailored based on an institution's specific needs.** A key [provision](#) for accreditation in higher education is "assurance to the public that accredited institutions and programs meet or exceed established public expectations (standards) of quality." This arguably includes compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act if an institution receives Title IV funds.⁹² An accrediting organization that has taken [steps in the right direction](#) is the Northwest Commission on Colleges and Universities (NWCCU), which has implemented "some of the most robust DEI requirements among the nation's major accreditors."⁹³ Its mission is supported by benchmarks for effectiveness, using indicators of learning and achievement for all students, with a focus on equity. Additionally, NWCCU provides [educational opportunities and resources](#) related to Black-student success, equity, and antiracism.⁹⁴
- d. **Institutions should apply an anti-racist lens to their goals, incorporate anti-racist language, and provide resources and accountability to help institutions move the needle.** When it comes to increasing access for Black students, DEI initiatives alone are insufficient to address the problem; [race-conscious policies](#) are needed.⁹⁵ The limited access these students face is a product of racism, so policy and practice solutions must be aimed at addressing racism and its role as a barrier.

ABOUT THE DATA

How Colleges and Universities Were Selected

What's New	Explanation
Selectivity metric	We examined selectivity based on a single criterion: the number of applicants admitted divided by the total number of applicants.
No flagship institutions	We did not consider flagship status, because our analysis includes only private colleges and universities. While there is no standardized definition of what constitutes a "flagship institution," and some states have more than one flagship institution, they are typically public state schools.
Not all U.S. states are included	To maintain our selectivity threshold of 50%, we focused on 32 U.S. states and territories represented among the 122 institutions.
State public honors colleges not included in the sample	Our analysis only includes private colleges and universities.
SAT/ACT scores not considered	Since 2014, the proportion of institutions requiring test scores has been declining and hit an all-time low of 7% in 2021.
Expanded Carnegie Classifications	Instead of just using levels 15 (very high research activity) and 16 (high research activity), we expanded our definition of a selective private college or university to include those with values of 15-23 to have enough schools to analyze.
Used enrollment thresholds	Schools with less than 700 students enrolled on average for all nine years analyzed were removed to create a sample of institutions with enrollment numbers that are representative of enrollment at most U.S. institutions.

The 122 selective private colleges and universities included in this analysis were selected because they met three criteria. First, institutions in this analysis were deemed [selective](#) if they admitted less than 50% of applicants. The percentage of applicants who were admitted at each institution was calculated using Admissions and Test Scores Data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), and by dividing the percentage of students admitted by the percentage of applicants. Second, institutions were selected if they were classified by the Carnegie Classification 2018 Basic Variable (IPEDS) as: Very High Research, High Research, Doctoral/Professional, Large Master's Colleges, Medium Master's Colleges, Small Master's Colleges, Baccalaureate Colleges of Arts & Sciences, Baccalaureate Colleges of Diverse Fields, or Mixed Baccalaureate/Associate's Colleges. Third, institutions were considered if the average total undergraduate student population was at least 700 for all years analyzed (1999-2001, 2009-2011, 2019-2021).

Data from the United States Census Bureau's Census 2000, 2010, and 2020 were used to create population estimates of the percentage of 18- to 24-year-old residents in each state who were Black in 2000, 2010, and 2021. Fall enrollment data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) was used in this report. A three-year average of IPEDS enrollment data from 1999, 2000, and 2001 was used to create institutional estimates for the percentages of Black students at the colleges in 2000. Similarly, IPEDS enrollment data from 2009, 2010, and 2011 was used to create estimates for enrollment in 2010 as well as 2019, 2020, and 2021 for enrollment estimates in 2020. These three-year averages were used to soften the influence of any potential yearly data anomalies. Fall enrollment data from IPEDS was also used to analyze the state residence and migration of first-time degree/certificate-seeking undergraduate students who graduated from high school in the past 12 months. The residence and migration data was used in conjunction with the Census data to create an enrollment benchmark variable. Since the IPEDS survey does not require the reporting of residence and migration in odd years, some institutions did not report it for the years 1999, 2001, 2009, 2011, 2019, and 2021. For schools that reported data for some of the odd years, the enrollment benchmark percentages were averaged over two or three years. For example, if a school reported residence and migration data in 2010 and 2011 but not in 2009, then the enrollment benchmark percentage for 2010 would be the average enrollment benchmark percentage of 2010 and 2011. If all three years were reported, then the percentage would be averaged over the three years. While this report only covers data from 1999, 2000, 2001, 2019, 2020, and 2021, the analysis of the data included the years 2009, 2010, and 2011.

Of the 122 institutions selected for this analysis, the following four either did not report or did not have any first-time students who graduated from high school in the past 12 months in the U.S. for the year 2000, so we were unable to calculate and assign Black student access scores/grades.

- Metropolitan College of New York
- Brandeis University
- Skidmore College
- University of Rochester

**Usage note: The Education Trust follows Associated Press style, which treats the word “data” as singular when writing for general audiences and in data journalism contexts.*

APPENDIX AND INTERACTIVE DATA

To view the Appendix and explore Black Student Access data for the colleges and universities in this analysis, please click on this [link](#).



ENDNOTES

1. National Archives. (November 22, 2021). Brown v. Board of Education (1954). (The U.S. National Archives and Records Administration). <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/brown-v-board-of-education#:~:text=On%20May%2017%2C%201954%2C%20U.S.amendment%20and%20was%20therefore%20unconstitutional.>
2. Alabama Department of Archives & History (January 14, 1963). The Inaugural Address of Governor George C. Wallace. <https://digital.archives.alabama.gov/digital/collection/voices/id/2952/>.
3. Bennet, C.J. et al. "Fulfilling his 'Duty': The Stand in the Schoolhouse Door" (University of Alabama, 2020). <https://hgreen.people.ua.edu/q2-stand-at-the-schoolhouse-door.html>.
4. Ford, Chris, et al. (July 12, 2017). "The Racist Origins of Private School Vouchers." Center for American Progress. <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/racist-origins-private-school-vouchers/>.
5. Melson Sydney. (July 28, 2020). "Segregation academies looking to overcome divided past." Alabama Public Radio. <https://www.apr.org/news/2020-07-28/segregation-academies-looking-to-overcome-divided-past>.
6. Runyon v. McCrary. (n.d.). *Oyez*. <https://www.oyez.org/cases/1975/75-62>.
7. United States Census Bureau. (December 3, 2019). "Census Bureau Reports Nearly 77 Million Students Enrolled in U.S. Schools." <https://www.census.gov/newsroom/press-releases/2019/school-enrollment.html#:~:text=Among%20students%20in%20kindergarten%20through.and%209%25%20were%20Asian%20alone.>
8. Barnum, Matt. (September 30, 2019). "Worried about school segregation? Don't forget private schools." Chalkbeat. <https://www.chalkbeat.org/2019/9/30/21108904/worried-about-school-segregation-don-t-forget-private-schools>
9. Harvard University. (2023). The History of Harvard. <https://www.harvard.edu/about/history/>.
10. Supreme Court of the United States. (June 29, 2023). Students for fair admissions, inc., petitioner 20–1199 v. President and fellows of harvard college on writ of certiorari to the united states court of appeals for the first circuit students for fair admissions, inc., petitioner 21–707 v. University of north carolina, et al. On writ of certiorari before judgment to the united states court of appeals for the fourth circuit. https://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/22pdf/20-1199_l6gn.pdf.
11. Source: Ed Trust analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) Fall 2019–Fall 2021. See "About the Data" for more details.
12. Slater, Robert Bruce. "The Blacks who First Entered the World of White Higher Education." *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, No. 4, Summer 1994. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2963372>.
13. Gómez, Vianney. (April 26, 2022). "As courts weigh affirmative action, grades and test scores seen as top factors in college admissions." Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2022/04/26/u-s-public-continues-to-view-grades-test-scores-as-top-factors-in-college-admissions/>.
14. Kendi, Ibram, X. , Jayakumar, Uma Mazyck. (June 29, 2023). "'Race Neutral' Is the New 'Separate but Equal.'" *The Atlantic*. <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2023/06/supreme-court-affirmative-action-race-neutral-admissions/674565/>.
15. Jones, Tiffany, Nichols, Andrew Howard. (January 15, 2020). "Hard Truths: Why Only Race-Conscious Policies Can Fix Racism in Higher Education." The Education Trust. <https://edtrust.org/resource/hard-truths/>.
16. The 122 selective private colleges and universities included in this analysis satisfy three criteria: 1) Admitted less than 50% of applicants in Fall 2020, 2) Classified as Very High Research, High Research, Doctoral/Professional, Large Master's Colleges, Medium Master's Colleges, Small Master's Colleges, Baccalaureate Colleges of Arts & Sciences, Baccalaureate Colleges of Diverse Fields, or Mixed Baccalaureate/Associate's College through the Carnegie Classification 2018 Basic variable (IPEDS), 3) Average total undergraduate student population was at least 700 for all years in the analysis (IPEDS, 1999–2001, 2019–2021).
17. *The Harvard Crimson*. (April 20, 1883). <https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1883/4/20/colleges-in-the-colonial-times-prof/>
18. Wilder, C. S. (2014). *Ebony & ivy: Race, slavery, and the Troubled History of America's universities*. Bloomsbury Press.
19. Austin, Beth. (December 2018). "1619: Virginia's First Africans." Hampton History Museum. <https://hampton.gov/3580/The-1619-Landing-Report-FAQs#:~:text=In%20late%20August%2C%201619%2C%2020.Virginia%20with%20additional%20enslaved%20Africans.>
20. Wilder, C. S. (2014). *Ebony & ivy: Race, slavery, and the Troubled History of America's universities*. Bloomsbury Press. Pg. 135.
21. Wilder, C. S. (2014). *Ebony & ivy: Race, slavery, and the Troubled History of America's universities*. Bloomsbury Press. Pgs. 119–120.

22. Wilder, C. S. (2014). *Ebony & ivy: Race, slavery, and the Troubled History of America's universities*. Bloomsbury Press. Pg. 120.
23. Wilder, C. S. (2014). *Ebony & ivy: Race, slavery, and the Troubled History of America's universities*. Bloomsbury Press. Pg. 114.
24. National Archives (February 8, 2022). 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: Civil Rights (1868). The U.S. National Archives and Records Administration. <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/14th-amendment>.
25. Nonprofit Legal Center (May 2017). Compliance Guide for 501(c)(3) Tax-Exempt Organizations. <https://www.nonprofit-legalcenter.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/IRS-Compliance-Guide-for-501c3-Exempt-Organizations-General.pdf>.
26. Anyaso, Hilary Hurd. (December 7, 2021). "When does selective college matter?" Northwestern Now. <https://news.northwestern.edu/stories/2021/12/when-does-selective-college-matter/>.
27. Wai, Jonathan. (March 2013). "Investigating America's elite: Cognitive ability, education, and sex differences." *Intelligence*, Vol. 41, Issue 4. Elsevier. <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0160289613000263?via%3Dihub>.
28. Brint, Steven, et al. (2020). "Where Ivy Matters: The Educational Backgrounds of U.S. Cultural Elites." American Sociological Association. <https://higher-ed2000.ucr.edu/Publications/Brint%20et%20al%20Where%20Ivy%20Matters%20SOE%201.7.20.pdf>.
29. Reber, Sarah, et al. (July 22, 2020). "Public colleges are the workhorses of Middle-Class Mobility." The Brookings Institution. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/up-front/2020/07/22/public-colleges-are-the-workhorses-of-middle-class-mobility/>.
30. Carnevale, Anthony P., et al. (2019). "A First Try At ROI: Ranking 4,500 Colleges." Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce. https://cew.georgetown.edu/wp-content/uploads/College_ROI.pdf
31. National Student Center Clearinghouse Research Center. (November 2022). "Completing College National and State Reports." National Student Clearinghouse. <https://nscre-searchcenter.org/completing-college/>.
32. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), Winter 2020–21, Graduation Rates component. See *Digest of Education Statistics 2021*, table 326.10. <https://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=40>.
33. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, IPEDS, Winter 2020–21, Graduation Rates component (provisional data). [https://nces.ed.gov/ipeds/search?query=&query2=&resultType=table&page=1&sortBy=date_desc&surveyComponents=Admissions%20\(ADM\)&surveyComponents=Graduation%20Rates%20\(GR\)&surveyComponents=Graduation%20Rates%20200%20\(GR200\)&surveyComponents=Outcome%20Measures%20\(OM\)&surveyComponents=Student%20Financial%20Aid%20\(SFA\)&collectionYears=2020-21&sources=Tables%20Library&overlayTableId=30448](https://nces.ed.gov/ipeds/search?query=&query2=&resultType=table&page=1&sortBy=date_desc&surveyComponents=Admissions%20(ADM)&surveyComponents=Graduation%20Rates%20(GR)&surveyComponents=Graduation%20Rates%20200%20(GR200)&surveyComponents=Outcome%20Measures%20(OM)&surveyComponents=Student%20Financial%20Aid%20(SFA)&collectionYears=2020-21&sources=Tables%20Library&overlayTableId=30448).
34. Museus, Samuel D. (2014). "The culturally engaging campus environments (CECE) model: A new theory of success among racially diverse college student populations." In *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research* (pp. 189–227). Retrieved from https://works.bepress.com/samuel_museus/88/.
35. The Department of Education. Advancing Diversity and Inclusion in Higher Education (U.S. Department of Education, November 2016). <https://www2.ed.gov/rschstat/research/pubs/advancing-diversity-inclusion.pdf>.
36. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), Fall Enrollment component final data (2002 - 2020) and provisional data (2021). <https://nces.ed.gov/ipeds/Trend-Generator/app/answer/2/5>.
37. Jaschik, Scott. (May 3, 2020). "20% Enrollment Drop Seen." *Inside Higher Ed*. <https://www.insidehighered.com/admissions/article/2020/05/04/surveys-reveal-bleak-picture-colleges-fall>.
38. Weissman, Sara. (December 6, 2022). "Credentialing Market Is 'Innovation' and 'Chaos.'" *Inside Higher Ed*. <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2022/12/07/new-report-finds-over-million-credentials-offered-us>.
39. *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*. (June 6, 2022). "The Devastating Effects of the Pandemic on Black Enrollments in Higher Education." <https://www.jbhe.com/2022/06/the-devastating-effects-of-the-pandemic-on-black-enrollments-in-higher-education/>.
40. Nichols, Andrew H. (2020). "'Segregation Forever?': The Continued Underrepresentation of Black and Latino Undergraduates at the Nation's 101 Most Selective Public Colleges and Universities." The Education Trust. <https://edtrust.org/resource/segregation-forever/>.
41. Trostel, P. (2015). "It's not just the money: The benefits of college education to individuals and society." Lumina Foundation: Indianapolis. <https://www.luminafoundation.org/files/resources/its-not-just-the-money.pdf>.
42. For more information, see "About the Data."

43. Espinosa, L. Lorelle, Taylor, Morgan, Turk, M. Jonathan, "Pulling Back the Curtain" (American Council on Education | Center for Policy Research and Strategy, 2017). <https://www.acenet.edu/Documents/Pulling-Back-the-Curtain-Enrollment-and-Outcomes-at-MSIs.pdf>.
44. Espinosa, Lorelle L. (2018). "Minority Serving Institutions as Engines of Upward Mobility." American Council on Education. Center for Policy Research and Strategy. <https://www.acenet.edu/Documents/MSIs-as-Engines-of-Upward-Mobility.pdf>.
45. Jones, Tiffany. (2021). "Postsecondary Education's Role in Promoting Justice: Adopt Campus-Level Race-Conscious Policies." Postsecondary Value Commission. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED617156.pdf>.
46. The Education Trust. "Segregation Forever Privates Graphics & Appendices". (2023). <https://public.tableau.com/app/profile/the.education.trust/viz/SegregationForeverPrivatesGraphicsAppendices/FullDashboard>
47. See About the Data and Appendix Table A.
48. Waxman, Olivia B. (August 20, 2019). "The First Africans in Virginia Landed in 1619. It Was a Turning Point for Slavery in American History—But Not the Beginning." *Time*. <https://time.com/5653369/august-1619-jamestown-history/>.
49. Murphy, James. (Fall 2022). "The Future of Fair Admissions" Issue Brief 2: Legacy Preferences. Education Reform Now. <http://edreformnow.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/The-Future-of-Fair-Admissions-Legacy-Preferences.pdf>.
50. Nichols, A. H. (2020). "'Segregation Forever': The Continued Underrepresentation of Black and Latino Undergraduates at the Nation's 101 Most Selective Public Colleges and Universities." The Education Trust. <https://edtrust.org/resource/segregation-forever/>.
51. Nichols, A. H. (2020). "'Segregation Forever': The Continued Underrepresentation of Black and Latino Undergraduates at the Nation's 101 Most Selective Public Colleges and Universities." The Education Trust. <https://edtrust.org/resource/segregation-forever/>.
52. SHEEO. (2023). SHEF State Higher Education Finance FY 2022 Report. https://shef.sheeo.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/SHEEO_SHEF_FY22_Report.pdf.
53. Access and Affordability. (September 30, 2022). "How do 'student lists' used for college recruitment shape access?" Georgetown University | The Feed. <https://feed.georgetown.edu/access-affordability/how-do-student-lists-used-for-college-recruitment-shape-access/>.
54. Salazar, Karina, et al. (September 21, 2022). "Geodemographics of Student List Purchases." The Institute for College Access & Success. <https://ticas.org/student-success/series-of-reports-find-common-recruiting-practice-perpetuate-bias-but-crucial-for-college-access-of-underrepresented-students/>.
55. Patrick, Kayla, et al. (January 2020). "Inequities in Advanced Coursework: What's Driving Them and What Leaders Can Do." The Education Trust. <https://edtrust.org/resource/inequities-in-advanced-coursework/>.
56. Carnevale, P. Anthony, Strohl, Jeff. (July 2013). "Separate & Unequal How Higher Education Reinforces the Intergenerational Reproduction of White Racial Privilege". Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce. <https://cew.georgetown.edu/cew-reports/separate-unequal/#resources>.
57. Glynn, Jennifer. (September 2017). "Opening Doors How Selective Colleges and Universities Are Expanding Access for High-Achieving, Low-Income Students." Jack Kent Cooke Foundation. https://www.jkcf.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/JKCF_Opening_Doors.pdf.
58. Homeroom. (July 12, 2013). U.S. Department of Education. <https://www.ed.gov/content/summer-melt>.
59. Mulhern, Christine. (Spring 2023). "Better School Counselors, Better Outcomes." *Education Next* Vol. 23, No. 2. <https://www.educationnext.org/better-school-counselors-better-outcomes-quality-varies-can-matter-as-much-as-with-teachers/>.
60. Velez, Erin Dunlop. (2020). "How Can High School Counseling Shape Students' Postsecondary Attendance? Exploring the Relationship between the High School Counseling Context and Students' Subsequent Postsecondary Enrollment." National Association for College Admission Counseling. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED608301.pdf>.
61. Bryant, Rhonda Tsoi-A-Fatt. (February 2015). "College Preparation for African American Students: Gaps in the High School Educational Experience." Center for Law and Social Policy. <https://www.clasp.org/sites/default/files/public/resources-and-publications/publication-1/College-readiness2-2.pdf>.
62. Clinedinst, Melissa, Patel, Pooja. (2018). "State-by-State Student-To-Counselor Ratio Maps By School District." National Association for College Admission Counseling. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED615227.pdf>.
63. Ed Trust Analysis of IPEDS Data, Fall 2015 through Fall 2021.
64. Howe, Cynthia. (February 5, 2020). "Test Scores Don't Stack up to GPAs in predicting college success." U Chicago News. <https://news.uchicago.edu/story/test-scores-dont-stack-gpas-predicting-college-success>.

65. Mabel, Zachary, et al. (March 14, 2022). “Can Standardizing Applicant High School and Neighborhood Information Help to Diversify Selective Colleges?” *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 44(3), 505-531. <https://doi.org/10.3102/01623737221078849>.
66. Jones, Carolyn. (May 22, 2018). “Latino, African-Americans have less access to math, science classes, new data show.” EdSource. <https://edsources.org/2018/latino-african-americans-have-less-access-to-math-science-classes-new-data-show/598083>.
67. Camardelle, Alex, et al. (September 21, 2022). “The State of Black Students at Community Colleges.” Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. <https://jointcenter.org/the-state-of-black-students-at-community-colleges/>.
68. Fresquez, Benjamin, et al. (October 27, 2020). “How Private Four-Year Institutions Can Pave a Path for Community College Transfers to Postsecondary Success.” American Talent Initiative. <https://americantalentinitiative.org/how-private-four-year-institutions-can-pave-a-path-for-community-college-transfers-to-postsecondary-success/>.
69. Glynn, Jennifer. (September 2017). “Opening Doors How Selective Colleges and Universities Are Expanding Access for High-Achieving, Low-Income Students.” Jack Kent Cooke Foundation. https://www.jkcf.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/JKCF_Opening_Doors.pdf.
70. Fink, John, Jenkins, Davis. (January 2016). “Tracking Transfer New Measures of Institutional and State Effectiveness in Helping Community College Students Attain Bachelor’s Degrees.” Columbia University Teachers College. Community College Research Center. <https://ccrc.tc.columbia.edu/publications/tracking-transfer-institutional-state-effectiveness.html>.
71. Clinedinst, Melissa. (2019). “State of College Admission.” National Association for College Admission Counseling. https://nacacnet.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/soca2019_all.pdf?_ga=2.152420601.1968590338.1683837906-1775775141.1683837904.
72. Hotchkiss, Michael. (May 9, 2018). “Princeton offers admission to 13 students in reinstated transfer program.” Princeton University. <https://www.princeton.edu/news/2018/05/09/princeton-offers-admission-13-students-reinstated-transfer-program>.
73. College Transfer. “What is an Articulation Agreement?” AcademyOne. <https://www.collegetransfer.net/AskCT/What-is-an-Articulation-Agreement>.
74. Barton Community College. Transfer Agreements. <https://bartonccc.edu/transfer/articulationagreements>.
75. Marquez, Mat. (October 18, 2020). “Private Colleges Should Take Transfer Seriously.” *Inside Higher Ed*. <https://www.inside-highered.com/admissions/views/2020/10/19/private-colleges-need-to-take-transfer-seriously>.
76. Bitar, Jinann, Montague, Gabriel, et al. (December 2022). “Faculty Diversity and Student Success Go Hand in Hand, So Why Are University Faculties So White?” The Education Trust. <https://edtrust.org/resource/faculty-diversity-and-student-success-go-hand-in-hand-so-why-are-university-faculties-so-white/>.
77. National Center for Education Statistics. (2022). Characteristics of Postsecondary Faculty. *Condition of Education*. U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences. <https://nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/indicator/csc>.
78. Melidona, Danielle, et al. 2023. “The American College President: 2023 Edition.” Washington, DC: American Council on Education. <https://www.acenet.edu/Research-Insights/Pages/American-College-President-Study-2023.aspx>.
79. Salesforce. “DEI Challenges in the College Admission Counseling Profession.” (March 2022). National Association for College Admission Counseling. <https://www.salesforce.org/education/download-dei-college-admissions/?leadcreated=true&redirect=true&s-fuuid=99368c12-1ab6-4ba4-8440-afc4fac2f414&d=70130000000sUVq&nc=7013y0000029sx2AAA>.
80. Murphy, James. (Fall 2022). “The Future of Fair Admissions” Issue Brief 2: Legacy Preferences. Education Reform Now. <http://edreformnow.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/The-Future-of-Fair-Admissions-Legacy-Preferences.pdf>.
81. Anderson, Melinda D. (2017). “How campus racism could affect Black students’ college enrollment.” *The Atlantic*. Retrieved from <https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2017/10/how-racismcould-affect-black-students-college-enrollment/543360/>.
82. Museus, Samuel D. “The Culturally Engaging Campus Environments (CECE) Model: A New Theory of College Success Among Racially Diverse Student Populations,” *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research (2014)*. https://works.bepress.com/samuel_museus/88/.
83. Salesforce. “DEI Challenges in the College Admission Counseling Profession.” (March 2022). National Association for College Admission Counseling. <https://www.salesforce.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/sfdo-nacac-dei-report-032222.pdf>.

84. Amour, Madeline S. (June 11, 2020). "California's Community Colleges Unite on Racial Equity." *Inside Higher Ed*. <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2020/06/12/california-community-college-alliance-aims-improve-racial-equity-higher-education>.
85. Wagenmaker & Oberly (August 3, 2016). "FAQs: IRS Requirements for Private School Racial Nondiscrimination Policies." <https://www.wagenmakerlaw.com/blog/faqs-irs-requirements-private-school-racial-nondiscrimination-policies>.
86. Office for Civil Rights. (April 2023). "Education and Title VI." U.S. Department of Education. <https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/hq43e4.html>.
87. Federal Student Aid. 2020-2021 Federal Student Aid Handbook, Volume 2, School Eligibility and Operations. <https://fsa-partners.ed.gov/knowledge-center/fsa-handbook/2020-2021/vol2>.
88. Office for Civil Rights. (March 29, 2023). "Race, Color, or National Origin Discrimination Issues." U.S. Department of Education. <https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/front-page/pro-students/issues/race-origin-issue.html>.
89. The Database of Postsecondary Institutions and Programs. U.S. Department of Education's Office of Postsecondary Education (OPE). <https://ope.ed.gov/dapip/#/home>.
90. Regional Accrediting Organizations. Council for Higher Education Accreditation. <https://www.chea.org/regional-accrediting-organizations>.
91. Bohanon, Mariah. (March 16, 2022). "DEI in Accreditation." Insight Into Diversity. <https://www.insightintodiversity.com/dei-in-accreditation/>.
92. "What is Accreditation?" (February 1, 1998). Council for Higher Education Accreditation. Vol. 1, No. 2. <https://www.chea.org/what-is-accreditation>.
93. Bohanon, Mariah. (March 16, 2022). "DEI in Accreditation." Insight Into Diversity." <https://www.insightintodiversity.com/dei-in-accreditation/>.
94. Kelderman, Eric. (April 3, 2023). "The New Accountability How accreditors are measuring colleges' diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts." *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. <https://www.chronicle.com/article/the-new-accountability>.
95. Jones, Tiffany. (2021). "Postsecondary Education's Role in Promoting Justice: Adopt Campus-Level Race-Conscious Policies." Postsecondary Value Commission. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED617156.pdf>.



SPECIAL THANKS TO THE
JOYCE FOUNDATION FOR
PROVIDING SUPPORT
FOR THIS PROJECT.



The Education Trust

ABOUT THE EDUCATION TRUST

The Education Trust is committed to advancing policies and practices to dismantle the racial and economic barriers embedded in the American education system. Through our research and advocacy, Ed Trust improves equity in education from preschool through college, engages diverse communities dedicated to education equity and justice and increases political and public will to build an education system where students will thrive.



edtrust.org