

POLICY NOTES

News from the ETS Policy Information Center

Volume 22, Number 1
Policy Evaluation &
Research Center

Spring 2015



In this Issue

African-American boys and men lag well behind their peers of other races on many indicators of social and educational well-being. College attendance and completion rates are no exception to this pattern: only 28 percent of adult Black men hold a two-year or four-year college degree, compared with

(continued on page 11)

Addressing Achievement Gaps

Advancing Success for Black Men in College

“More Black men are in prison than in college.” This often-repeated contrary claim is a myth: In 2009, 841,000 African-American men were behind bars, but more than 1 million were enrolled in higher education.

Still, by the standards of the global economy, too few African-American men of college age are on track to earn college degrees. President Barack Obama’s college-completion goal — that by 2020, 60 percent of American adults should hold some kind of postsecondary credential — is an ambitious target for a country in which only 41.5 percent of the

adult population currently meets that standard. But for the nation's African-American men, it's an especially tall order: In 2013, only 28 percent of Black men over age 25 held a postsecondary degree. On this indicator of social well-being, as on so many others, Black men are struggling. "When we look at the data, we find that African-American males are farthest behind," ETS Senior Vice President **Michael Nettles** told an audience of 460 at a recent ETS-Children's Defense Fund (CDF) symposium.

"When we look at the data, we find that African-American males are farthest behind."

— *Michael Nettles, ETS*

Black men of college age, between 18 and 24, face numerous obstacles as they seek to enroll in, pay for and complete postsecondary studies, conference speakers said. In addition, African-American men in great numbers end up placed in non-credit-bearing remedial coursework, and the tuition increases accompanying the rollback of public funding for higher education saddle them with debt. On campus, Black male students sometimes feel isolated and alienated in an environment that can seem unwelcoming. But an array of initiatives both big and small offers hope for progress, conference speakers said.

The importance of helping young African-American men turn their college dreams into reality was the subject of the ETS-CDF symposium "Advancing Success for Black Men in College." The conference, which took place on June 23, 2014, at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., featured a keynote address and panel discussions involving college students, academics and representatives of nonprofit organizations.

"A generation ago, you could make a living, raise a family and even put a kid through college with just a high school degree and a factory or construction job. That's simply not the case today."

— *Walt MacDonald, ETS*

The symposium is part of a two-conference series: it was the 18th of ETS's "Addressing Achievement Gaps" conferences and the fourth in the ETS-CDF "Promising Practices for Black Male Success" series on the educational challenges facing African-American males. The ETS-CDF series began three years ago, with a 2011 program on the youngest Black boys, and continued in 2012 with a program on Black boys in middle school and in 2013 with a program on Black males in high school.

Helping college-age Black men earn postsecondary degrees is an urgent priority, speakers at the most recent conference said. In an economy that no longer provides well-paying jobs for those with little formal education, the low college-completion rates of African-American men foreshadow a bleak future. "A generation ago, you could make a living, raise a family and even put a kid through college with just a high school degree and a factory or construction job," ETS President **Walt MacDonald** told the audience. "That's simply not the case today."

Beating the odds

The conference featured four African-American male college students who detailed their experiences and success at overcoming the challenges to succeed in college. **Sixto Cancel**, a student at Virginia Commonwealth University, grew up in Bridgeport, Conn., spending time in foster care

because his mother was a drug addict. During the conference, he described drawing on the examples of peers — including negative examples — in deciding what path to follow. Some of the foster children he knew escaped the neighborhood and went on to do well, he said; others never left, or ended up behind bars. “What the difference was, was education,” Cancel said. Like Cancel, conference speaker **Marvin Perry**, a student at Cuyahoga Community College, chose schooling when he looked at the people in his Cleveland neighborhood who were not doing well. “What they’re doing was not working, so I just decided to do the opposite — just go to school and get my education,” Perry said. “I see people who made it through poverty and made it through the struggle, and I want to be one of those persons that make it.”

“I see people who made it through poverty and made it through the struggle, and I want to be one of those persons that make it.”

— Marvin Perry, Cuyahoga Community College

College success demands a degree of intentionality, the student speakers said. “College is like a sport,” Perry said, in that it requires that participants eat well and develop a serious and committed mindset. Cancel knew that statistics showed that once he earned 15 college credits, he was more likely to finish his degree; as a result, he planned carefully for his first semester. In each class, he said, he seeks out the most prepared fellow student, and makes that individual his best friend for the semester. “The people who I choose to be on my team are the people who don’t let me settle,” said speaker **Shawon Jackson**, the student body president at Princeton University. “My friends are constantly pushing me, and that extra push is what I need.”



Sixto Cancel, Virginia Commonwealth University

Conference speaker **Javon Mullings**, a student at Wheaton College in Massachusetts, who grew up in a financially strapped immigrant family, said counselors helped him avoid that mistake, explaining that “there are avenues around to help you get to those places. You just have to locate them.”

Heartbreaking statistics

They are “the kinds of statistics that break our hearts,” Ford Foundation President **Darren Walker** said in his luncheon keynote address to the conference, referring to the statistics that show how strongly college completion is correlated with family income. Mediocre students with high family incomes are more likely to finish college than high-achieving students from poor families. Students with family incomes in the top 10 percent of the income distribution have a 90 percent chance of finishing college in four years, Walker said; those with family incomes in the bottom 50 percent of



Benjamin Castleman, University of Virginia

the distribution have only a 25 percent chance of finishing in six years. And African-American men of college age are more likely than their peers to be poor, Census data show. Perhaps as a result, only 37 percent of college-age Black men are enrolled in postsecondary education, compared with 44 percent of the whole college-age population. Less than a third of Black men who graduate from college finish in four years; of the men who started college in 2003, 35 percent of the White men — but only 17 percent of the Black men — had earned a bachelor's degree six years later.

“For me, education was my skyrocket skyward, as it has been for generation after generation of Americans,” said Walker, an African American who grew up in a single-parent family in a small town in east Texas and attended the state university on a Pell grant. “Countless people in this nation have entered the middle class by riding the mobility escalator,

that great American social mobility escalator, the engine of which has always been and always will be higher education.” But at a time when college completion has become essential to economic self-sufficiency, “the engine has started to smoke and sputter, and many would say that it is actually in reverse,” Walker said. The achievement gaps dividing racial and income groups have turned the nation’s higher education system into a force for greater inequality, rather than a way of leveling the playing field for low-income and minority students.

“Countless people in this nation have entered the middle class by riding the mobility escalator, that great American social mobility escalator, the engine of which has always been and always will be higher education.”

— Darren Walker, Ford Foundation

Led by the U.S. Supreme Court, judges are banning affirmative-action programs designed to help get students of color into college, said conference speaker **Theodore Shaw**, Director of the Center for Civil Rights at the law school of the University of North Carolina (UNC) at Chapel Hill. “We have this jurisprudence that says race consciousness is the evil — not racism, race consciousness,” Shaw said. “In that scenario, voluntary efforts to integrate public schools are racial discrimination against people who are not Black. That is Orwellian.” The inequality that results is no accident, said conference speaker **Ronald Mason Jr.**, President of Louisiana’s five-campus Southern University and A&M College System, the country’s only historically Black university system. Oppression of Black citizens is the traditional “business model” of the United States, Mason said. “It’s the way the nation is designed,

starting with slavery and working its way through Jim Crow and now with the war on drugs,” he said. “I almost feel like saying, ‘It’s the color, stupid.’”

Continuum of college readiness

The barriers preventing college-age African-American men from earning college degrees begin with issues of access, conference speakers said — among them, academic underpreparation. Only 5 percent of African-American high school students earn ACT® scores indicating college readiness, and 40 percent of the students enrolled in open-access institutions must take at least one remedial course, said speaker **Michael Lawrence Collins**, Associate Vice President of Jobs for the Future, a nonprofit focused on college and career paths for low-income youths.

“The notion of college ready or not is a false dichotomy. You’re not 100 percent ready and 100 percent not. There’s a continuum. Even college-ready students struggle and need supports.”

— Michael Lawrence Collins, Jobs for the Future

Another serious problem is an excessive focus on high-stakes testing for remedial placement. Collins said: in some states, barely missing a cut score can strand students in remedial courses that burn up tuition dollars and provide no college credit, putting a degree even further out of reach. “We have to get away from that one-shot, high-stakes assessment,” he said. North Carolina, where research suggested that high school grades were at least as useful in placement as assessment test scores, has stopped using single cut scores for college placement and instead uses multiple measures, including high school GPA and assessments of

motivation. Other states have taken a similar approach, Collins said, noting that using a single test score for college admissions promotes misleading beliefs about college readiness. “The notion of college ready or not is a false dichotomy,” Collins said. “You’re not 100 percent ready or 100 percent not. There’s a continuum. Even college-ready students struggle and need supports.”

“If we want to talk about Black men in post-secondary education, then the first place we should be looking is the community college, because that’s where they’re at.”

— J. Luke Wood, San Diego State University

Much policy attention is trained on helping African-American men access the higher rungs of the educational ladder, but any discussion of college access for African-American men cannot ignore two-year colleges. This theme arose across multiple panels and with multiple conference speakers. “If we want to talk about Black men in postsecondary education, then the first place we should be looking is the community college, because that’s where they’re at,” said speaker **J. Luke Wood**, Assistant Professor of Community College Leadership at San Diego State University. More than 70 percent of the Black men enrolled in public institutions of higher education attend community colleges, Wood said. For the most severely underprepared students, academic skills may even need to be embedded in occupational content, Collins said: “We need to think about it expansively. We need to spend as much time on these strategies and on-ramps into higher forms of postsecondary as we do into getting students into the top tiers. We need to solve the problems that we have and not the problems that

we want to have.” But while community colleges are a useful option, success in the global economy increasingly requires a bachelor’s degree, said Mason, the Southern University President, during a different panel. The ultimate aim should be encouraging students to attend four-year schools, he said, “because that’s really where the action is.”

Perceptions of cost

The cost of college is another barrier keeping African-American men from earning postsecondary degrees, conference speakers said. And sometimes the perceived cost of college is even more daunting than the real figures. In one study, the average White family believed that a year of community college costs \$7,000 to \$10,000, while the average Black family put the cost at \$40,000 to \$50,000, said **Terrell Strayhorn**, an associate professor of higher education at Ohio State University, who spoke at a dinner held the night before the ETS-CDF conference. (“That’s quite the prestigious community college,” Strayhorn quipped.) For four-year colleges, the gulf in perception was similar, Strayhorn said: White families estimated the annual cost of a public four-year college at \$45,000 to \$50,000, while Latino families put it at \$90,000. These exaggerated perceptions can dissuade students from even applying to colleges they believe to be hopelessly unaffordable, Strayhorn said.

Perceptions of cost also contribute to the phenomenon known as “under-matching” — the tendency for students of color and first-generation college students to attend community colleges and less-selective institutions, even when their academic records suggest they could do better, said conference speaker **Vanessa Coca**, a Research Fellow at the Research Alliance for New York City Schools, housed at New York University.

Families recoil at the published price of college, assuming attendance would mean taking on an unmanageable debt load; they do not realize that many expensive selective schools offer financial aid packages that include minimal or no borrowing. “Students are basing their college applications and their search processes on published tuition prices, as opposed to net tuition prices,” Coca said.

“Students are basing their college applications and their search processes on published tuition prices, as opposed to net tuition prices.”

— Vanessa Coca,
Research Alliance for New York City Schools, New York University

Inaccurate perceptions of the cost of college feed into a growing pessimism about whether that cost is ultimately worthwhile, conference speakers said. Economists have little doubt that it is: the median annual salary for a bachelor’s degree recipient is \$21,000 more than for a high school graduate, and college graduates are more likely to be employed, said session moderator **John Lee Jr.**, Vice President of the Association of Public and Land-grant Universities.

“There are young men who look like me all across this country who are starting to believe that [college] doesn’t pay off . . . If they get to the point where they honestly believe it, they’re never going to attempt it. It’s impossible to achieve that which you do not attempt.”

— Terrell Strayhorn, Ohio State University

Nonetheless, pessimism about the value of college abounds. “There are young men who look like me all across this country who are

starting to believe that it doesn't pay off," said Strayhorn, who is African American. "If they get to the point where they honestly believe it, they're never going to attempt it. It's impossible to achieve that which you do not attempt."

This new pessimism about the value of college coincides with a two-decades-long retreat from public funding for higher education, conference speakers said. Over the past 20 years, tuition at four-year public universities doubled as states cut back their higher-education funding, said conference speaker **Heather McGhee**, President of the public-policy organization Demos. Costs once borne by taxpayers were shifted to students and their families in the form of higher tuition, McGhee said, converting a largely public system into a largely private one. In Louisiana, said Southern University President Mason, the state once paid 70 percent of the cost of higher education while students paid 30 percent; today, those shares have reversed. "Not only is the burden being put more and more on poor students, but the impact on Black students is even more critical," Mason said.

"Public policy created this problem. Public policy can fix it. Higher education is a public good and should be financed that way."

— Heather McGhee, Demos

Rising tuition, rising debt

State funding cuts and the tuition increases they forced have been accompanied by similar belt-tightening in federal student aid programs, speakers said. In 1986, a student who qualified for the biggest possible Pell grant, under the leading federal aid

program for low-income students, could cover half the cost of a four-year degree, Lee said; today, the maximum Pell grant, about \$5,600 a year, pays only 30 percent of that cost. Even community college typically costs \$15,000 a year, he said.

The racial component to these policy changes is inescapable, conference speakers suggested. The U.S. Congress restricted Pell grants just as a generation of non-White students was preparing to attend college, McGhee said. As the war on drugs filled prisons with Black men, Congress revoked prisoners' eligibility for Pell grants, making it difficult for inmates to get an education behind bars. "There was a time in this country when it was a criminal act to educate a Black person," said conference keynote speaker Walker, the Ford Foundation President. "And it's just so interesting to me, the idea that you would have huge numbers of African Americans incarcerated and that the system would place barriers to their education."

"Higher education is restructatifying society. It's perpetuating inequality, but just at a different level."

— Zakiya Smith, Lumina Foundation

The manifold pressures on the system have forced students and their families to take on debt to pay for college, conference speakers said: 71 percent of students graduate from college with an average of \$29,400 in debt, Lee said. In lost home equity and retirement savings, college debt ends up costing four times its face value at graduation, said McGhee. And even controlling for family income, African-American college students are more indebted than students of other races, said conference speaker **Zakiya Smith**, Strategy Director at the Lumina



Michael Nettles, ETS

Foundation. As a result, African Americans with college degrees cannot live as prosperous a life as White people with degrees, Smith said: "Higher education is re-stratifying society. It's perpetuating inequality, but just at a different level."

Proactive solutions

As college administrators consider implementing programs that will help African-American men enroll and graduate, it is crucial to have accurate data about the scope of the problem, conference speakers said. And that data isn't always easy to come by. "People don't want to give it to you," said Collins, of Jobs for the Future. "And they don't want to give it to you because it's so bad."

But the bleakness of the statistical picture may itself be an impetus to change. On a campus, informal estimates of Black male graduation rates may range

from 20 percent to 50 percent, said conference speaker **Bryant Marks**, associate professor of psychology at Morehouse College, and whatever the reality, the person offering the 20 percent estimate will feel "a higher sense of urgency" about the problem. When the Stuart Foundation, a West Coast youth-development nonprofit, wanted to spur change in educational policies for foster children in California, it issued a data-filled report on their plight, said conference speaker **Teri Kook**, the foundation's Director of Child Welfare. Among the sobering details: Only 45 percent of foster children graduate from high school, compared with 79 percent of the general population. "To us, it was very important to be able to prove how bad things are, in order to be able to create the public will to do something differently," Kook said.

Although the problem of lagging college attendance is big and important, helpful interventions can be surprisingly small, conference speakers said. Summertime text messages reminding students about upcoming college-attendance deadlines and offering one-on-one help increase college going the following autumn by more than 10 percent, at a per-student cost of only \$7, said speaker **Benjamin Castleman**, an assistant professor of education at the University of Virginia. Researchers sent aides to tax preparer H&R Block® to help families complete the federal financial aid form while they were filing their taxes; that 10-minute intervention increased college going and college persistence by 30 percent, Castleman said. In the world of college attendance and financial aid, "we've operated on an 'If we build it, they will come' mentality — that just putting the information out there is good enough," Castleman said. "I believe in trying to be much more proactive and personalized in how we reach out to students."

But small interventions alone are not enough to reverse the harmful effects of decades of judicial and legislative decisions, speakers said. Proponents of affirmative action programs to increase college access for minority students must fight back against the judicial redefinition of such programs as illegitimate, said conference speaker Shaw, of the UNC law school. “At the end of the day, there are going to be challenges, and we should implement the programs that we need,” Shaw said. “And there are some points at which we have to say, ‘If you’re going to come at us, come at us’ — but we should be smart and intentional about how we do it.”

In the realm of college affordability, as well, big public commitments remain necessary, because nothing less matches the scope of the problem, speakers said. “You can increase Pell grants to \$10,000 tomorrow, and you’d still be \$6,000 short,” said Smith, of the Lumina Foundation. The nation needs to commit itself to the goal of making a debt-free college education available to everyone, said McGhee, of Demos, perhaps by giving states incentives to reinvest in public higher education at a level that would permit low-income and moderate-income students to attend without borrowing. The effort would cost \$30 billion a year — less than the nation currently spends on federal student loans or tax credits for college, and less than the income lost by taxing capital gains and dividends at a lower rate than regular income, she said. “Public policy created this problem. Public policy can fix it,” McGhee said. “Higher education is a public good and should be financed that way.”

Nurturing networks

Keeping young Black men in college until graduation requires making them feel that their



Marian Wright Edelman, Children’s Defense Fund

needs are valued and their future success matters to somebody, speakers said. An early promise of college financing — the kind of promise embodied in the GI Bill or, on a smaller scale, in the scholarships that philanthropists sometimes offer to entire classes of middle schoolers — can change academic trajectories, said Smith, of the Lumina Foundation. “It’s not just about the scholarship,” she said. “But it’s about having somebody believe in you.” Institutions of higher education should fund campus diversity centers and make a public commitment to diversity, said Jackson, the Princeton student. “It’s very easy to avoid the race conversations in higher education, but I think those are exactly the conversations that administrators need to have,” Jackson said. “It’s going to make Black men feel valued in that community.”

Developing networks of nurturing relationships, both among students and between students and faculty or administrators, is key to the process, speakers suggested. At UCLA, a first-year class for

Black men brought students into regular contact with deans and representatives of such university offices as career services, said conference speaker **Shaun Harper**, associate professor at the University of Pennsylvania's Graduate School of Education and Executive Director of the university's Center for the Study of Race and Equity in Education. Students discussed the racial stress they encountered at UCLA, and older students offered advice on handling it. The course has been taught three times, and all but two of the men who took it are still attending UCLA, Harper said, adding, "I'm a real believer in the way that this course has brought UCLA to these men."

"Black colleges often say they wrap their arms around their students."

— *Marybeth Gasman,*
University of Pennsylvania Graduate School of Education

At historically Black Norfolk State University, a "Breakfast Club" program involves peer-to-peer mentoring and close relationships with faculty, said conference speaker **Marybeth Gasman**, professor of higher education at the University of Pennsylvania's Graduate School of Education and Director of the Penn Center for Minority Serving Institutions. At Morehouse College, science students teach each other in collaborative, noncompetitive shadow classes with no faculty supervision, she said. At Paul Quinn College in Dallas, another HBCU, students told Gasman that faculty "believe in us more than we believe in ourselves, and that's how we've become who we wanted to become," Gasman said. "Black colleges often say they wrap their arms around their students."

Sometimes, that nurturing amounts to a level of in-your-face supervision that students may not

welcome, said Marks, the Morehouse psychology professor: mandatory attendance in freshman classes, or frequent quizzes designed to give teachers early warning about struggling students. "That intrusive piece has to be consistent," Marks said. "It has to be an ecosystem around the student in order to have some level of impact."

But traditionally, college faculty are not trained to provide this kind of deeply personal support, and not all professors think it's part of their job, conference speakers said. "What we need to do is teach people how to teach to a diverse classroom, and not to the classroom that they may have grown up with," Gasman said. Similarly, establishing mentoring programs for Black boys and men, an intervention that sounds promising, often does not work well, said Strayhorn, the Ohio State professor. "It sounds like it ought to work, but we don't do the work it requires for it to be effective," Strayhorn said, such as the work of teaching mentors how to hold high expectations, engage with young people and help them achieve their goals. And yet, the simplest interaction can have far-reaching results. Perry, the Cuyahoga Community College student, recalled an elementary school teacher — a Black man teaching an all-Black, all-boys class — who showed him how to tie a necktie. "Ultimately, that right there was what made me want to become a teacher," Perry said.

A growing crisis

The lagging educational fortunes of young African-American men threaten not only the life prospects of individuals but also the future of the country, conference speakers said. "This amounts to a crisis, a growing crisis, for Black men in this country," said Walker, the Ford Foundation President. "But it's also a crisis for America, sapping

our competitiveness and confidence, sentencing an entire generation of Americans to diminished opportunities and dimmer dreams.” In North Carolina, where conservative legislators have rolled back taxes and attacked teachers, corporations will eventually begin to realize that only a strong education system will attract employees, said Shaw, of the UNC law school. “There’s really not this great divide between public-sector and private-sector interests,” he said. And nowhere is that fact clearer than in the realm of higher education, said McGhee, of Demos. “The American people know that a college degree is a ticket to the middle class,” she said, and they realize that growing educational inequality ultimately threatens national well-being. “It’s about us being competitive in the global marketplace, about what kind of country and what kind of democracy we have,” she said.

Investing in our democracy by aiding the success of all children, including Black boys, is key, said **Marian Wright Edelman**, President of the Children’s Defense Fund. “Who is going to be our workforce when we have one in three Black boys and one in three Hispanic boys going to prison?” Edelman asked. “We have an adult crisis.” But that crisis can be solved, she said: “It is not going to happen overnight, but we have made tremendous progress. . . . The question is, what are we going to do? And in doing so, we’re going to save our nation and our souls.”



In this Issue

(continued from page 1)

41 percent of men of all races. In a world where well-paying jobs for the less educated are swiftly vanishing, this discrepancy threatens to trap many Black men in permanent disadvantage.

African-American men face obstacles at every step of the college attendance process. The nation’s retreat from public financing of higher education has made tuition increasingly unaffordable for those who choose to attend. Isolation, alienation and lack of confidence make it harder for Black men to finish college once they’ve begun.

But a promising array of strategies, both macro and micro — from Supreme Court battles to text-message reminders — offers hope for improving the daunting odds. And the effort to help the 2.3 million Black men of college age become college graduates is crucial to boosting American competitiveness in the global economy.

These were the conclusions of “Advancing Success for Black Men in College,” a symposium co-sponsored by ETS and the Children’s Defense Fund. The conference, held on June 23, 2014, in Washington, D.C., was the 18th in ETS’s “Addressing Achievement Gaps” symposium series and the fourth in the ETS-CDF “Promising Practices for Black Male Success” symposium series on the educational challenges facing African-American males. The ETS-CDF series began in 2011 with a program on the youngest Black boys; continued in 2012 with a program on Black boys of middle school age; and in 2013 featured a program on Black males in high school.

The most recent conference featured conversations among college students, academics and



Rosedale Road
MS 19-R
Princeton, NJ 08541-0001

NON-PROFIT
ORGANIZATION
US POSTAGE
PAID
EDUCATIONAL
TESTING SERVICE

ETS *Policy Notes* is published by the ETS Policy Information Center Educational Testing Service Rosedale Road, MS 19-R Princeton, NJ 08541-0001 609-734-5212

email: pic@ets.org

www.ets.org/research/pic

This article was written by Deborah Yaffe.

Copyright © 2015 by Educational Testing Service. All rights reserved.

Educational Testing Service is an Affirmative Action/ Equal Opportunity Employer.

ETS and the ETS logo are registered trademarks of Educational Testing Service (ETS). MEASURING THE POWER OF LEARNING is a trademark of ETS. All other trademarks are property of their respective owners. 29590

In this Issue

(continued from page 11)

representatives of nonprofit organizations. Panel discussions included a focus on practical strategies to advance completion, moderated by **David Johns**, Executive Director of the White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for African Americans; the challenges to affording college, moderated by **John Lee Jr.**, Vice President of the Association of Public and Land-grant Universities; and ways to increase college access and completion, moderated by **Hal Smith**, Senior Vice President of the National Urban League. Perhaps the cornerstone of the event was a panel that showcased four young Black men who have overcome obstacles to succeed in

college. This discussion, moderated by **Jeff Johnson**, Chief of Strategy for Illume Communications, a Baltimore-based branding firm, discussed not only the obstacles they faced, but the interventions that occurred in their lives that helped them on their path to academic success. CDF founder and President **Marian Wright Edelman** and ETS President **Walt MacDonald** made opening remarks, and Edelman and ETS Senior Vice President **Michael Nettles** made closing remarks.

More information about the symposium can be found at www.ets.org/achievementgap.