ROLE CLARITY: THE INTERPLAY OF ENTITIES FUNDING HIGHER EDUCATION
ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr. Christopher M. Mullin, is a national expert in the area of higher education finance and policy. Among other publications, he co-authored Community College Finance: A Guide for Institutional Leaders (2015) and Higher Education Finance Research: Policy, Politics, and Practice (2014). He serves on numerous advisory boards and workgroups including those of the National Science Foundation, the National Center for Education Statistics, the State Higher Education Executive Officers, The Hamilton Project at the Brookings Institution, and the Institute for Higher Education Policy. Dr. Mullin is the Executive Vice Chancellor of the Florida College System. In this role he oversees academic and student affairs, financial policy, budgeting, research and analytics for a System of 28 colleges serving more than 800,000 students. Dr. Mullin earned a Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Florida, a Master of Education degree from Teachers College, Columbia University and a Doctorate of Philosophy in Higher Education Administration from the University of Florida.

DISCLAIMER

The views expressed in this paper are provided by the author to spur further conversation and do not necessarily reflect the values, opinions or positions of the Florida College System, Florida Department of Education, Education Commission of the States, Lumina or the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Decades of research reinforce the power of postsecondary education to improve the lives of students and society. To this end, the establishment of an educated citizenry built to sustain and mold the principles governing an ever-dynamic America is increasingly a responsibility incumbent upon institutions of higher education. Just how to fund this enterprise in the midst of cyclical financial downturns with increases in demands for other governmental services and the reduction, or at least a restraining, of fiscal resources awkwardly positions higher education as something everyone believes in, but an increasingly risk-adverse political body is skeptical to support. A reason for this skepticism is an unclear understanding of the purpose of every federal dollar invested. This paper provides a viable resolution through the depiction of current interrelationships in the funding of higher education by reframing the current role of direct federal funding for higher education and concludes with recommendations to improve the interplay of federal funding with other funding partners.

The various federally funded programs have led to a call for a simplified federal role, a refrain that has gained traction. At its heart is the call for a defined structure where each program has a clear role to play - something that is currently lacking. Rather, when contemplating the interplay of federal funding with states and institutions one is reminded of a youth soccer game where players huddle around the ball and chase it wherever it may go. It is reasonable to suggest that role clarity matters as much in the organization and operation of a soccer team as it does in the provision of higher education funding.

For, if roles were clear, states and institutions could operationalize their support efforts to address areas not addressed by federal funding. This segmented approach - an approach whereby state and federal agencies no longer duplicate efforts - is needed to support the interplay of funding between multiple entities while giving states and institutions maximum flexibility to operate efficiently.

This paper illustrates how federal funds flow to, and sometimes through, primary recipients. By tracing the flow of funds, three areas for improvement are identified: Calculating Student Expense Budgets, Improving Communication and Contextualizing College. Specific recommendations on how to improve these areas are provided. By enacting these recommendations two things will be accomplished. One, states and institutions can better target their funding to support students and institutions. Two, the skepticism of policymakers will be assuaged as they have confidence that each federal dollar is efficiently supporting students and institutions to the benefit of society.
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Decades of research reinforce the power of postsecondary education to improve the lives of students and society. To this end, the establishment of an educated citizenry built to sustain and mold the principles governing an ever-dynamic America is increasingly a responsibility incumbent upon institutions of higher education. Just how to fund this enterprise in the midst of cyclical financial downturns with increases in demands for other governmental services and the reduction, or at least a restraining, of fiscal resources awkwardly positions higher education as something everyone believes in, but an increasingly risk-adverse political body is skeptical to support. A reason for this skepticism is an unclear understanding of the purpose of every federal dollar invested.

While it is true the federal government – federal is synonymous with the US Department of Education (USDOE) in this paper – commits a substantial amount of resources to the provision of higher education, states and (private) boards oversee the operation of institutions within the boundaries of federal, state, and institutional policies, laws and regulations informed by quality standards. Furthermore, sources of revenues for any college vary based upon its mission and governance structure and, for public institutions, state policy.

Despite this diversity, institutions of higher education operate with support from three primary entities: state/local governments, the federal government and students. The identification of an appropriate role of federal funding across state and institutional contexts is therefore necessary to assuage concerns emanating from policymakers.

To that end, the purpose of this paper is to provide a viable resolution through the depiction of current interrelationships in the funding of higher education by reframing the current role of direct federal funding for higher education and concludes with recommendations to improve the interplay of federal funding with other funding partners.

THE FOUNDATION OF FEDERAL FUNDING
While not always coherently expressed, the federal government approaches the funding of higher education in distinct ways built upon decades of debate and precedent. Briefly, the G.I. Bill proved to be a great success and national leaders were wondering how to continue the rapid expansion of public higher education while also balancing an appreciation for private higher education.

As an example, in 1948 New York was developing a plan to establish the State University of New York (SUNY). The initial plan was to establish a strong state system built upon appropriations to community colleges, but at the last minute the vote to develop a well-supported state system was overturned as one member noted, “While recognizing that there was a place in our system for community colleges, I could not quite see why community colleges should be placed, as proposed, at the very core of our system of higher education.
The community college would thus become the major recipient of the state’s higher education funds . . . we should strengthen the state’s private universities and colleges through an expanded scholarship program.”

The focus on student financial aid continued, and was debated, in the 1950s and 1960s as a proposed foundation of the federal role. With passage the 1972 Educational Amendments to the Higher Education Act, substantial national conversation about the appropriate federal role came to a close as student financial aid became a cornerstone of the federal approach to supporting higher education.

THE NEED FOR CLARITY
Ideally there is a monolithic approach to federal funding that provides a single answer to all problems by simplifying the federal role. Of late the position of having a single loan and a single grant program is commonly expressed. Given the various programs funded by the USDOE it is understandable why this refrain has gained traction. At its heart is the call for a defined structure where each program has a clear role to play – something that is currently lacking.

Rather, when contemplating the interplay of federal funding with states and institutions one is reminded of a youth soccer game where players huddle around the ball and chase it wherever it may go. This stands in stark contrast to the organized play of professional soccer – where each player has a clear role to play. It is reasonable to suggest that role clarity matters as much in the organization and operation of a soccer team as it does in the provision of higher education funding.

For, if roles were clear, states and institutions could operationalize their support efforts to address areas not addressed by federal funding. This segmented approach – an approach whereby state and federal agencies no longer duplicate efforts – is needed to support the interplay of funding between multiple entities while giving states and institutions maximum flexibility to operate efficiently.

But first, we must enrich our understanding of the federal role as it currently stands.
With the foundation of federal funding for higher education solidified through the Educational Amendments of 1972, the foundation for federal funding was set albeit slightly different than what was advocated for by the leading associations for America’s public colleges and universities who wanted to keep tuition low through institutional grant aid rather than student aid. In the years leading up to the amendments, Clark Kerr summarized the various approaches the federal government could take to funding higher education as direct grants to states, direct grants to institutions and direct grants to individuals. Kerr’s framework continues, but is expanded upon in this paper to advance our thinking.

Figure 1 accomplishes the expansion of Kerr’s typology of federal funding approaches by illustrating the flow of funds to, and sometimes through, primary recipients. In tracing federal funding, six paths become apparent: two paths start with the state serving as the primary recipient; two paths start with the institution being the primary recipient; the third path positions the student as the primary recipient; and the last promotes the dissemination and acquisition of knowledge by scholars via direct support. Each path represents a unique federal approach taken by the USDOE to the direct funding of higher education.

Figure 1

THE FLOW OF FEDERAL FUNDS FROM THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION TO HIGHER EDUCATION
**SUPPORTING STATES**

States play a critical role in the provision of educational opportunity, well-being and economic vitality. Support for higher education is just one way these public goods are provided. In financial terms states allocated $81.8 billion in appropriations and $11.7 billion in state student aid for a total of $93.5 billion. In addition to this substantial investment, local agencies allocated roughly $9.1 billion to support public higher education. These investments are further leveraged by the USDOE.

**States as Recipients.** Federal appropriations to support state agencies are a rarity in higher education. Most prominent among such allocations were the State Fiscal Stabilization Funds as part of the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act provided during the economic downturn to lessen the recession’s impact on the provision of education in states.

While this program supported state education agencies during the Great Recession, they were not “blank checks” to support education, but rather funding conditional on certain requirements such as a “maintenance of effort” provision requiring states to maintain funding levels at 2006 amounts.

**Federal to State to Student then Institution.** Another rarity in higher education is the allocation of funds to states to then pass onto students and in-part institutions. While not exclusively a higher education program, the Gaining Early Awareness and Readiness for Undergraduate Program (GEAR-UP; Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance [CFDA] #84.334) does provide funding directly to K-12 state agencies to both prepare students for college through specified activities as well as through the provision of scholarships to students who participate in the preparatory activities. GEAR-UP is administered by the Office of Postsecondary Education and allocated an estimated $301.6 million in FY2015.

The path that includes a flow of federal funding from student to institution may be unfamiliar to the reader, but perhaps the most important interplay between funding sources to understand. It is fair to say that the mechanics of student financial aid are confusing. From a policymaker perspective, a fundamental consideration of any conversation related to the federal role in funding higher education is to know this: student aid – be it a scholarship, fellowship, grant or loan – is given to the student who then applies it to the institution of their choice. This is to say that the total amount of student aid a student receives does not necessarily result in institutional revenue. This matters because the total expenditures for student financial aid does not exclusively fund higher education institutions as is commonly suggested. As such, a comparison of gross funding amounts by governing entity has the potential to be misleading.

Student financial aid is designed to offset the cost of attending college, inclusive of room, board, books, supplies and other allowable expenses because students are not able to work during the hours they are in college, and as a result realize the wages associated with working.

By funding states directly, the federal government loses some control over how funds are spent. This may explain why the amount of funding to states is limited in comparison to other approaches.
Let’s take the following example into consideration. Consider a student enrolls in College A where the cost of attendance is $20,000 and the student receives $20,000 in federal student financial aid. At first read this would appear to be a “full-ride” and a common assumption is that the $20,000 was given to the institution of higher education.

However, the student’s cost of attendance is comprised of the following: tuition and fees ($12,000), books and supplies ($1,500), room and board ($6,000), and other allowable expenses such as transportation ($500). In this, albeit simplified, example the institution receives just 60 percent of all revenue by collecting tuition and fees while the other costs are provided to businesses external to the institution (see table below).

### ALLOWABLE COLLEGE COSTS AT COLLEGE A AND THE END RECIPIENTS OF FEDERAL STUDENT AID FUNDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ALLOWABLE COLLEGE COSTS</th>
<th>STUDENT COSTS</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE OF STUDENT COSTS</th>
<th>END RECIPIENT OF FEDERAL STUDENT AID FUNDS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TUITION AND FEES</td>
<td>$12,000</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOOKS AND SUPPLIES</td>
<td>$1,500</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>Private bookstore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROOM AND BOARD</td>
<td>$6,000</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Landlord</td>
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<tr>
<td>OTHER EXPENSES</td>
<td>$500</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>Businesses</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>COST OF ATTENDANCE</strong></td>
<td><strong>$20,000</strong></td>
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### SUPPORTING STUDENTS

USDOE direct support to students and subsequently, but not exclusively, institutions comes in the forms of student aid programs. These programs include the Federal Pell Grant Program (CFDA #84.063), Federal Direct Student Loans (CFDA #84.268), Teacher Education Assistance for College and Higher Education Grants (TEACH Grants; CFDA #84.379), Iraq and Afghanistan Service Grant (IASG; CFDA #84.408), and Graduate Research Opportunities for Minority Students (Minorities and Retirement Security Program; CFDA #84.414).

The approach with the largest budget pertains to offsetting the costs to students in their quest to complete a college credential. In total, these five programs allocated an estimated $135.5 billion in FY 2015 — $33.9 billion for the Pell Grant (direct payments), $101.6 billion in gross loan volume (without consolidations), $98.5 million for TEACH grants, $355,000 for the IASG, and $480,000 for the Minorities and Retirement Securities Program.

Nearly 96 percent of USDOE’s higher education funding was for student aid programs, positioning it as the most debated and scrutinized funding approach taken by the USDOE.
By funding students directly, the federal government enacts the market mechanism in higher education, retains control over eligibility requirements and avoids concerns of the separation of church and state when students use federal funds at religiously affiliated institutions.

SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS
The federal government allocated $1.97 billion to institutions in the 2015 fiscal year. These funds were directed to support students through institutions by meeting eligibility criteria to support the institutional operations of select colleges or to support centers of national importance.

FEDERAL TO INSTITUTION THEN STUDENT
Institutions are also provided an opportunity to administer certain federal programs that serve students. These programs serve students and institutions that meet eligibility criteria.

While supporting students with roughly $2.2 billion in FY 2015, these programs fund individual students based in-part on institutionally-based criteria. They include the Federal Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants (CFDA #84.007) and Federal Work-Study Program (CFDA #84.033) and other similar but lesser known programs including Child Care Access Means Parents in School (CFDA #84.335), Overseas Programs - Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad (CFDA #84.022), and Graduate Assistance in Areas of National Need (CFDA #84.200).

SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS
There are several institutions of higher education in the United States that receive direct support from the federal government in distinct ways.

Direct appropriations from the USDOE to institutions include Howard University and Gallaudet University.

These institutions have historical significance and/or governance structures that statutorily direct federal funding. In FY 2015, the USDOE allocated an estimated $342 million to both institutions.

In addition to these institutions of significance, the federal government funds colleges that serve particular populations through its Strengthening Institutions program. In particular, these programs fall under the Higher Education Institutional Aid (CFDA #84.031), the Strengthening Minority-Serving Institutions (CFDA #84.382), and Minority Science and Engineering Improvement (CFDA #84.120) programs. In general, the institutions within this classification serve a proportionally large share of populations from underserved backgrounds and are therefore provided additional fiscal support to improve an eligible institution’s ability to serve the identified populations through particular activities including academic programs such as those in science and engineering education. In FY 2015, these two programs allocated approximately $766.7 million directly to institutions.

Along with supporting institutions who serve a proportionate number of students from underserved backgrounds, the USDOE supports specific programmatic activity for students from underserved backgrounds, including outreach and support services, offered by institutions of higher education through its TRIO programs, specifically the TRIO Student Support Services (CFDA #84.042), TRIO Talent Search (CFDA #84.044), TRIO Upward Bound (CFDA #84.047), TRIO Educational Opportunity Centers (CFDA #84.066), TRIO Staff Training Program (CFDA #84.103), and TRIO McNair Post-Baccalaureate Achievement (CFDA #84.217) programs. Students and institutions supported by these programs received approximately $833.6 million in FY 2015.
Lastly, institutions of higher education are encouraged to start centers of national importance and include the Undergraduate International Studies and Foreign Language Programs (CFDA #84.016), Centers for International Business Education (CFDA #84.220), Language Resource Centers (CFDA #84.229), American Overseas Research Centers (CFDA #84.274), and Transition Programs for Students with Intellectual Disabilities into Higher Education (CFDA #84.407). In total these centers received $27.2 million to meet programmatic objectives in FY 2015.

SUPPORTING SCHOLARS
Specialized knowledge acquisition and dissemination activities are not normally funded by the USDOE, but rather through numerous other agencies that support basic and applied research. (These funds can offset operational costs of institutions through indirect cost rates and need further study). However, through the Fulbright Scholars programs (CFDA #84.018 and 84.021), the advancement of knowledge is supported. In FY 2015, an estimated total of $3.9 million supported scholars.

Before continuing it is worth noting that the USDOE funds innovation in higher education through the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE; CFDA #84.116) grants. The eligible entity for these programs can vary, but recently the common recipient was institutions of higher education, though to be fair they are not the only eligible entity. In 2014, these grants supported the First in the World grants. In prior years they supported other efforts. While this category of funding is constantly changing, the programs supported play an important role in expanding our collective understanding of how to improve higher education. In FY 2015, an estimated $67.8 million was allocated to support innovation.
This paper provides an overview of federal funding and extends a new framework to examine direct federal funding for higher education by the USDOE. In so doing, three areas for improvement have been identified: Calculating Student Expense Budgets, Improving Communication and Contextualizing College.

CALCULATING STUDENT EXPENSE BUDGETS
At present, institutions develop the student expense budget that includes the cost of attendance – factors that are not tuition and fees. (Tuition and Fees are set by institutional governing boards and informed by state leadership in some states). A comparison of neighboring institutions is illuminating. For example, of all institutions within 10 miles of the University of Chicago, costs for room and board and other expenses varied by almost $20,000. Not only is there variability across neighboring institutions, at some colleges, the room and board costs for living on campus are nearly double that of living off-campus (not with family).

This variability can confuse students, making them take out larger loans than necessary – further decreasing college affordability. The cost of room and board or other allowable costs should neither be dependent on the institution attended nor should taxpayers support luxury living for college students.

It is therefore proposed that Student Expense Budgets be Standardized. College budget officers and leaders appreciate one thing in the planning process: stability. Stability – whether achieved through consistent policies, accurate projections or averaging prior years together – allows colleges to budget appropriately. The same should be true for federal and state governments.

IMPROVING COMMUNICATION
The federal government requires institutions to report a substantial amount of information about their institutions and the students they serve. USDOE also has scores of meaningful data about institutions within a state that have yet to be effectively communicated to state leadership. This leads to inefficiencies in the allocation of state and institutional dollars. Providing state leaders meaningful information could aid in an efficient interplay of policies, strategies and actions across funding agencies.

It is therefore proposed that State Leaders Receive Annual Federal Funding Reports for Each Institution. Communication is a critical aspect of any partnership. By sending state leaders an annual report of federal funding for institutions of higher education in their state, leaders within states could better target their resources and reduce duplication that may occur absent such communication. Ideally these annual reports include not only USDOE funding, but funding from other agencies that support research, agriculture and scientific efforts for example, and in so doing may support institutional operating budgets.
CONTEXTUALIZING COLLEGE
Students enroll in college hoping to work upon graduation. What we can’t lose sight of is that a job is more than a means to a paycheck. It is the backbone of dignity.

All efforts that can be made to embed learning and working together should be.

*It is therefore proposed that Federal Programs Strengthen the Student’s Connection to the Workplace.* Students benefit when their education is contextualized within the major they are pursuing. At the same time, small to midsize employers throughout the country could benefit from the emergent expertise and energy of college students. Federal work-study needs to be revised to make sure these two entities – students and small to mid-sized employers – mutually benefit while also strengthening and sustaining their communities. This could be accomplished through substantive changes to the Federal Work Study program in partnership with state leaders and innovative projects funded through the FIPSE program.

By enacting these recommendations, two things will be accomplished. One, states and institutions can better target their funding to support students and institutions. Two, the skepticism of policymakers will be assuaged as they have confidence that each federal dollar is efficiently supporting students and institutions to the benefit of society.
Here I use the term labor market to refer to the labor market and non-labor market outcomes of education as expressed by McMahon. See McMahon, W. L. (2009). Higher learning, greater good: The private and social benefits of higher education. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Divergent views on the purpose of college held by the likes of Andrew Delbanco, Peter Capelli, Anthony Carnevale and Richard Vedder all recognize that education has returns to individuals and society that are easily measurable and others that are less so. One inclusive view suggests that an individual’s acquisition of knowledge, skills and abilities in college may be applied in either workplace or community settings (or both), but ultimately contribute to the formation of an identity of individual value and that that is the greatest benefit.


Multiple years of data are available from the Digest of Education Statistics (http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/) published by the USDOE.

By quality standards I refer to accreditation standards and requirements, which is an important part of policy considerations and institutional expenditures, but is tangentially related to the focus of this paper: higher education revenues.

I differentiate here between direct funding for the purpose of funding instruction and institutional operations, and indirect funding for related activities such as research.


When one reviews the seminal works that considered and contributed to the framing of the federal role in higher education, by and large the experts came from leading private universities. See, for example, Harris, S. E. (1960). Higher education in the United States: The economic problems. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.


See Kerr, C. (1968). Financing higher education: The policy dilemmas. Public Interest, 11, 99-136. Kerr identified four categories. The fourth, tax policy, was not considered here as it is an indirect form of funding rather than directly allocating funding. This is not to say that it is unimportant, but that the scope of tax policy extends beyond this paper.

Beneficiaries are detailed in the Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance (CFDA; www.cfda.gov).

which present data for 2013-14. This was the most recent available at the time of writing.

13 To learn more about the State Fiscal Stabilization Fund, see the program webpage at http://www2.ed.gov/programs/statestabilization/index.html.


15 The compromise to support both access to college through the reduction of costs and choice among institutions is one of, if not the, greatest compromise in higher education policy. Interested readers are directed to Cunningham, A. F. (2002). The policy of choice: Expanding student options in higher education. (The New Millennium Project on Higher Education Costs, Pricing, and Productivity). Washington, DC: Institute for Higher Education Policy.

16 This section would be remiss if it neglected the importance of Land-grant institutions. There are three Morrill Act land-grant institution types, which are typically categorized the year they were recognized as being such: the 1862 Land-grant colleges and universities, the 1890 Historically Black Colleges and Universities, and the 1994 Tribal Institutions. These entities are funded by the U.S. Department of Agriculture and beyond the scope of this analysis of U.S. Department of Education funding. A review of federal funding through each agency is a worthy undertaking requiring an extensive period of time unachievable within the timeframe allowed to develop this paper.

17 The source of these values differs from the Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance (CFDA) used for other programs in this paper as they were derived from the Department of Education Fiscal Year 2015 Congressional Action Table published April 20, 2015.


19 To arrive at these values, I entered the University of Chicago in the U.S. Department of Education’s College Navigator (collegenavigator.ed.gov) and used the website to identify colleges within 10 miles. I then looked up data for those institutions using the USDOE Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS; nces.ed.gov/ipeds). The data were for the 2014-15 year.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to first thank the Education Commission of the States Postsecondary Federalism Project team – Brian Sponsler, Lexi Anderson, and Emily Parker – for their decision to support this work and their valuable contributions throughout the development of the paper.

Second, I would like to acknowledge the numerous staff of federal agencies that collect data and make it available for researchers such as myself to access, who run programs that aid millions of students and who work tirelessly to support the aspirations of a nation.

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I would also like to acknowledge the constant support of my family as I spent nights and weekends away from them to complete this project.

Finally, I dedicate this paper to my mother, who taught me to embrace who I am at my core, to be empathetic to others and to doggedly chase down ideas.
ABOUT THE INITIATIVE

Education Commission of the States coordinated the creation and dissemination of a series of policy briefs focused on the interaction between state- and federal-level policies pertaining to higher education. The briefs are composed by a diverse collection of education policy and thought leaders representing state and federal perspectives. The goal of this collection of briefs is to highlight how federal and state higher education policies can provide a cohesive policy playbook to support student success and the progression toward meeting aggressive attainment goals.

The brief production process began in late-summer 2016 with authors beginning the writing process. Dissemination of the briefs was provided through informal policy briefings with state and federal audiences through fall 2016 and the public release in December 2016. Topics explored in the briefs include, but are not limited to, financial aid, data policies, funding, the “triad” and workforce needs.

Education Commission of the States would like to thank the two core funders for this initiative, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and Lumina Foundation, for their support of this paper series and the ongoing work with federal and state higher education policies. Both foundations understand the necessity of marrying federal and state higher education policies to better serve students and citizens. Education Commission of the States would also like to thank the brief authors for their hard work and dedication to this important topic.